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Drawn by J. Cleveley Esq.r (From Milbery.) Engraved by George Cooke

View of the Table Mountain, Cape of Good Hope.

A

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF THE

BEST AND MOST INTERESTING

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;

MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

DIGESTED ON A NEW PLAN.

BY JOHN PINKERTON,

AUTHOR OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOLUME THE SIXTEENTH.

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A

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

AFRICA.

AN ACCOUNT OF

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,

AND

SOME PARTS OF THE INTERIOR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

By C. P. THUNBERG, *M.D. Profeſſor of Botany at Upſal, &c. &c.**

ON the 16th of April 1772, after a proſperous voyage, we reached the Cape of Good Hope, and we arrived ſafely in the road of Table Bay, dropped our anchor, fired our guns, and, with mutual joy, congratulated each other.

Immediately on our arrival, the ſuperintendant over the ſhips came to us from the town, accompanied by a ſurgeon; the former to fetch off the letters and papers for the Company, and the latter to get information with reſpect to the number of people that had died during the voyage, and of thoſe that were ſtill indiſpoſed. The number of the latter was now not very great, but that of the former amounted to a hundred and fifteen, of which, ten died before we left the Texel, and two had unfortunately fallen overboard. The other ſhips in our company ſuffered a ſtill greater mortality, viz. the Hoencoop one hundred and fifty-eight in all, of whom one hundred and thirty-ſix died while we were in the Texel. The William V. loſt in all two hundred and thirty men, and the Jonge Samuel, of Zeeland, one hundred and three.

We were hardly come to an anchor, before a crowd of black ſlaves and Chineſe came in their ſmall boats to ſell and barter, for clothes and other goods, freſh meat, vegetables, and fruit, all of which our crew were eager to procure.

* Extracted from his Travels 1795, 4 vols. 8vo.

In the road we found, among others, a Swediſh ſhip, which had arrived but a ſhort time before at this ſouthernmoſt point of Africa, and had brought my friend, Profeſſor Sparrman.

On the 17th, I went with the captain on ſhore, and took a lodging at M. Hendrik Fehrſen's houſe.

Being ſafely arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, my firſt care was to wait on the lieutenant-governor, Baron Joachim von Plettenberg, and the other gentlemen of the regency, to whom I was recommended, in order to deliver to them the letters I had brought with me. And as the reſpectable and univerſally-beloved veteran, Governor Tulbagh, had, in conſequence of age and gout, on the 11th of Auguſt in the preceding year, exchanged this life for a better, I delivered the letters directed for him to Baron Plettenberg, who received me with the greateſt kindneſs, and promiſed to aſſiſt me in my deſign of travelling into the interior part of the country, during the term of my reſidence in that quarter of the globe.

Whereas in my native country, to the northward of the equator, the moſt delightful of the ſeaſons, ſpring, was now approaching; here, to the ſouth of the line, winter was ſtealing upon us, ſo that I could not as yet, or for ſeveral months to come, travel to any advantage through the interior parts of the country, but muſt wait till the beginning of September. The intervening months I employed in informing myſelf of the internal economy and inſtitutions of the Company, and examined the plants and animals in the environs of the town, and in the neighbouring mountains, making alſo ſhort excurſions into the country, which I was in hopes of penetrating deeper into afterwards, and of viewing it with a curious and obſerving eye.

The Cape of Good Hope is the extreme point of Africa, and of the Old World, to the ſouthward, and is probably the moſt capital promontory in the whole world.

Bartholomew Diaz, a Portugueſe, was the firſt who diſcovered this promontory in 1487, and King Emanuel gave it the name of the Cape of Good Hope. Vaſco de Gama viſited it next in 1497, by order of the ſame monarch. According to the obſervations of M. de la Caille, it is ſituated in latitude 33° 35′ S. and in longitude 35° 2′ E.

The ſhips that anchor in Table Bay, in a conſiderable extenſive road, are ſomewhat above a mile diſtant from the town.

The day after our arrival our ſick men were taken to the hoſpital, attended by the ſurgeon's mate; and afterwards the ſoldiers, under the conduct of their commanding-officer, who was to ſerve in the capacity of ſerjeant after his arrival on ſhore.

The town is very regularly built, from the ſhore along the declivity formed by the Table Mountains, and its ſtreets cut the quarters at right angles, the whole being bounded at the back part by Table Mountain (Taffelberg), to the weſtward by Lion Mountain (Leuweberg), and towards the eaſt, in ſome meaſure, by the Devil's Mountain (Duyvelſberg). So that it is moſt open towards the ſouthern and eaſtern ſides.

In diſembarking, one is not incommoded here by the ſhutting of toll-gates, or by cuſtom-houſe officers. The town has neither walls nor gates, and yet enjoys a perfect ſecurity in a land of ſavages.

The houſes are all of brick, white-waſhed, and one, ſeldom two, but very rarely three ſtories high, and covered in, for the moſt part, with flat roofs of brick-work, or a kind of graſs indigenous to this country (*reſtio tectorum*), laid upon very low frame work. On account of the violence of the winds that prevail here, the roofs cannot be tiled over, nor raiſed higher. The houſe of the lieutenant-governor, and the Company's warehouſe, were the only houſes that were three ſtories high.

The domeſtics here do not conſiſt of Europeans, but of black or tawny ſlaves from Malabar, Madagaſcar, or other parts of India. Theſe, in general, ſpeak either broken

Portugueſe,

Portugueſe, or elſe the Malabar, ſeldom the Dutch language, and learn various trades, by which they bring their maſters conſiderable profit, eſpecially ſuch as are taylors, carpenters, bricklayers, or cooks. The ſlaves are let out by the month, week, or day, during which term they are to earn for their maſters a certain fixed ſum *per diem*. The male ſlaves wear their own hair, upon which they ſet a great value, wrapped up in a twiſted handkerchief like a turban, and the females wreath up their hair and fix it on their heads with a large pin. Trowſers conſtitute the other part of their dreſs; and, as a token of their ſervile condition, they always go barefoot, and without a hat.

Previous to the company's ſitting down to meals, either dinner or ſupper, a female ſlave brings a waſh-hand baſon and towel, to waſh their hands, which is alſo done on the company's riſing from table. In the houſes of the wealthy, every one of the company has a ſlave behind his chair to wait on him. The ſlave has frequently a large palm leaf in his hand, by way of a fan, to drive away the flies, which are as troubleſome here as they are in Sweden.

As well within as without the town, neat and excellent gardens are laid out, both for fruit and culinary vegetables, being watered by the ſtreams that run down from the mountains. Among theſe, that extenſive and beautiful garden belonging to the company diſtinguiſhes itſelf, like an old oak amidſt a thicket of buſhes. It is from theſe gardens that the ſtranger, on his arrival, meets with his firſt refreſhments; and from their ſuperfluous ſtock the Dutch and other ſhips are ſupplied with ſtores for their voyage. The garden-ſeeds muſt be brought every year freſh from Holland, as they otherwiſe, almoſt all, degenerate in time, excepting the ſeeds of cauliflowers, which are brought to great perfection here, and, on that account, exported from hence to Holland, where they gradually degenerate.

Apples, pears, and other European fruits, are mellower and riper, but have not that flavour which they have in Europe, neither will they keep long. Nor are the peaches produced here equal in goodneſs to thoſe of the ſouth of Europe. They are ſometimes dried like pears, with or without ſtones.

The trees imported from Europe, ſuch as oak (*quercus robur*), the white poplar (*populus alba*), and others, ſhed their leaves in the winter, as they do in their native places, whereas the African trees do not part with theirs. It is not long, however, before they recover their leaves again. This circumſtance is ſingular enough: firſt, becauſe the cold here in winter is not more ſevere than it is in Sweden in the autumn; and, in the ſecond place, becauſe they ſhed their leaves to the ſouthward of the equator at the very time that they put them forth to the northward of it. The lime-trees (*tilia Europæa*) do not thrive well, on account of the violent winds that rage here; and the ſame may be ſaid of the hazel (*corylus avellana*), cherry-tree (*prunus ceraſus*), gooſeberry-tree (*ribes groſſularia et uva criſpa*), currant-tree (*ribes rubrum et nigrum*), all of which degenerate, and ſeldom yield any fruit.

The myrtle (*myrtus communis*) grows to the height of a tree, though its ſtem is neither thick nor ſtiff, nor does it throw out many branches. For this reaſon it ſeems to be proper, and indeed, is frequently uſed, for forming high hedges, in a country ſubject to violent winds, as its ſupple ſtem bends to the ſtorm.

The foot of the mountain, or the hills round the town, conſiſted of a red flame-coloured clay, which proceeds from the water's running down the cracks, and tinging the earth with its acid, charged with ferruginous particles. Higher up on the hills, lie ſcattered without order, ſtones of all ſizes, that have been rolled down from the mountains.

Among others, I viſited M. Auge, the gardener, who has made many, and thoſe very long, excurſions into the interior part of the country, and has collected all the plants and inſects, which the late Governor Tulbagh ſent to Europe to Linnæus, and to the

Profeſſors Burmann and Van Royen. And as he ſtill continued his journeys yearly into the country, he ſold to ſtrangers, as well herbals as birds and inſects. It was of him that M. Grubb, and the director of the bank in Sweden, purchaſed that fine collection of plants, which was afterwards preſented to Profeſſor Bergius, and ſo well deſcribed by this latter gentleman in his book of the *Plantæ Capenſes*. M. Auge's knowledge of botany was not very conſiderable, nor did his collections in general extend much farther than to the great and the beautiful; but, in the meantime, we are almoſt ſolely indebted to him for all the diſcoveries which have been made ſince the days of Hermannus, Oldenlandus, and Hartogius, in this part of Africa.

The citadel is ſituated on the ſea-ſhore, below the city to the eaſtward, and is ſurrounded with high walls and deep ditches; there is room enough in it for the governor, though he never lives there, as well as for the major, the other officers, and the ſoldiers. At ſun-ſet the great gate is ſhut, when all the ſoldiers, that have not leave of abſence, are ſummoned by beat of drum, and their names called over in each company. The little gate is kept open till ten o'clock, when the ſoldiers, who are abſent, without having previouſly obtained leave of abſence for the night, are ſummoned by a bell, and their names are called over; the gate is after this not to be opened till the morning, except in caſe of neceſſity, ſuch as to fetch a midwife. A ſurgeon always ſleeps in the caſtle.

The firſt thing a ſoldier muſt provide himſelf with, is his own uniform; this he receives of the company, but muſt ſerve to the amount of its value. Every third year the Company orders a number of new uniforms to be made for the uſe of the militia, and at no other time. If it ſhould ſo happen, that the quantity ready-made ſhould not ſuffice for recruits that arrive during this interval, they muſt for ſome time do their duty in their own clothes, and frequently in the jackets of the Zeelverkoopers, or kidnappers, who have ſent them thither.

Soldiers, who have received in Holland what is called a bill of tranſport, receive no pay till they have ſerved to the full value of it. This takes at leaſt a year and a half, or more; during which time they only receive a little ſubſiſtence-money and ſervice-money. What more they may want for ſubſiſtence and clothes, they muſt earn by any trade that they may happen to have learned, or by doing duty for the others on their leiſure days. A ſoldier who has learned a good trade, may earn half a dollar a day, and pays to him that does duty for him four ſchellings. They have alſo an opportunity of making ſomething by waſhing for others. A ſoldier may indeed obtain double ſubſiſtence-money; but then, two guilders per month are deducted from his pay, for what they term ſubſidy-money.

The ſoldiers go upon guard every other or every third day, and conſequently have a day or two to themſelves. The ſame guard continues for twenty-four hours together, and conſiſts in the ſmaller poſts of a corporal and three men; but in the greater, of a ſerjeant and twelve men. When a man has been upon guard two hours, he is relieved, and exempt from duty, till four hours more are expired, when he goes upon guard again.

A ſoldier is obliged to ſerve five years, excluſive of the time taken up in the voyage, during which term he is not at liberty to return home; but by the favour of the officers, conſiderable deductions may be made from this term, inſomuch, that ſometimes a ſoldier returns by the ſame ſhip that brought him. Sometimes a ſoldier is alſo metamorphoſed into a ſailor for this purpoſe.

When his agreement is at an end, he may either return home or renew it; if he chooſes the latter, which is generally done for three years at firſt, his pay is increaſed two guilders more per month; this term being expired, he may engage for two years more, and then receives a freſh augmentation of two guilders per month; but in caſe of his continuing in the ſervice after that term, his pay is augmented no more, unleſs,

indeed, he is advanced. A ſoldier, if he has received any education, may be advanced to be a corporal, ſerjeant, or officer, to be an aſſiſtant in a factory, or to be ſurgeon, if he has learned that art in Europe.

There are ſeveral means by which a ſoldier may be releaſed from the obligation of doing duty. The moſt common way is by what they call a furlough; in this caſe he is exempt from all duty, and at full liberty to get his livelihood in what manner ſoever he is able, or by any trade that he may have learned. For this he pays four dollars per month, and to the adjutant of the company one ſhilling, in which caſe he receives his monthly pay. Of the men belonging to the garriſon, there were now about one hundred and fifty that had furloughs. The profits of the furloughs are diſtributed among that part of the garriſon that does duty, and are called ſervice-money; a ſoldier receives eight or nine, a corporal twelve, and a ſerjeant ſixteen ſhillings; the remainder is divided between the officers. The furlough money is to be paid duly, the laſt day of every month, into the hands of the chaplain, whoſe duty it is to receive it. In time of war theſe furloughs are not given, but every one muſt then do duty. The governor takes from among the ſoldiers as many as he chooſes, to work gratis for him; the major takes four and twenty or more; the fiſcal two, the book-keeper one, and ſo on. Theſe then are either to work for the above-mentioned gentlemen, or to pay them their furlough-money. The greater number there is taken of theſe men, the heavier does the duty fall upon the reſt of the ſoldiers.

The ſoldiers receive their pay of the lieutenant of the company every four months; which for this reaſon is called the good month.

If any perſon in the town or country wiſhes for a ſoldier, either as a teacher for his children, or to work in his ſhop, he may get one by the means juſt indicated; but if ſuch ſoldier has taken up a bill of tranſport in Holland, this muſt now be repaid to the value of about eighty dollars, for which the fellow muſt ſerve till it is paid off; if in the mean time he ſhould die, the loſs will be on the ſide of the tradeſman.

Sailors may in the ſame manner take out furloughs, by paying to the purſer eight dollars per month.

A perfect immunity from ſervice, as well as eraſure from the paymaſter's books, may indeed be alſo obtained; but on no other conſideration than that of being held diſqualified for the company's ſervice.

There are others, called Lichten, who neither do duty, nor have any furloughs, nor receive any pay, and are always at their full liberty in time of peace; but when once they enter into the ſervice again, they muſt ſerve their five years out, for which they agreed.

Prayers are read in the citadel every morning and evening by a chaplain. On Sunday a ſentinel is placed before the church-door, but within the church-door a ſoldier would ſcarcely be tolerated.

Before the citadel, in a large convenient place, are laid the wine and water-caſks that come from the ſhips to be repaired; as likewiſe a great quantity of planks and ſpars. In order to prevent any thing from being ſtolen, a ſentinel is placed here in the night-time. This poſt is not unprofitable, when the ſoldier happens to catch a young fellow engaged in cloſe converſation with ſome female friend; in which caſe he muſt make the ſoldier a compliment of a few dollars to avoid being taken into cuſtody, and diſcovered, or, at all events, incommoded and diſturbed in his *menus plaiſirs*.

If a ſoldier falls ſick, he is taken to the hoſpital, where he has medicines and his diet gratis, till he recovers, but he receives no pay, except his ſhare of the furlough-money. Yet, if his diſeaſe is of a venereal nature, even this is withheld from him. If he does not chooſe to go to the hoſpital, he is at liberty to go elſewhere, though then he is obliged

obliged to pay his own phyſician, his attendants, and other neceſſary expences, out of his own purſe, but receives his pay and ſubſiſtence-money.

Chimneys are not uſed in this country, nor are they wanted; and to ſtoves they are utter ſtrangers. Yet I have known a family or two that had a fire-place in their hall, though rather for pleaſure than for any other occaſion they had for it. The ladies have generally live coals in a kind of covered chaffing-diſh or ſtove, which in winter-time they ſet on the ground under their clothes to warm them.

The cold is ſevereſt in the months of Auguſt or September, eſpecially on mornings and evenings, when it rains or blows hard. The wind feels very piercing on account of the thin clothing that is worn here. The winter at the Cape reſembles the months of Auguſt, September, and October in Sweden.

The mothers in this country ſeldom put their children out to nurſe, but ſuckle them themſelves, for which reaſon they have, in general, eaſier labours.

There are a few families who have deſcended from Blacks in the female line, for three generations back. The firſt generation, proceeding from an European who is married to a tawny ſlave that has been made free, remains tawny, but approaching to a white complexion; but the children of the third generation, mixed with Europeans, become quite white, and are often remarkably beautiful.

The ſlave-houſe of the Company is adjacent to the garden, and contains a great number of ſlaves, who work in the garden and on buildings, carry burdens from the ſhips, &c. Thoſe that are ſick here have a ſurgeon to attend them. The Company brings the greateſt part of its ſlaves from Madagaſcar, whereas private perſons buy their's of the officers belonging to the ſhips, as well Dutch as French, that are on their return home from the Eaſt Indies, ſeldom of the Engliſh, and never of the Swediſh.

Before the ſhips weigh anchor, all the convaleſcents are ſelected out from the hoſpital, and diſtributed on board the ſhips.

The officers of the ſhips, during their ſtay here, ſell to great advantage ſeveral European commodities, ſuch as wine, ale, tobacco-pipes, coarſe and fine hardware, clothes, ſhoes, glaſs, and houſehold furniture; the European hams, beef, ſauſages, tongues, herrings, ſtock-fiſh, ſalmon, and cheeſe, with ſome other articles, were alſo in great requeſt.

Whereas the foreign ſhips, that ſtop here, lie in the roads a ſhort time only to take in proviſions, and then reſume their voyage, the Dutch ſhips are obliged to ſtop a great while, in order to take the convaleſcents on board, who after all come thither in a very indifferent ſtate of health. The Dutch have alſo occaſion for a greater number of ſailors to work their ſhips than other nations, as their rigging is made after the old faſhion, with large blocks and thick cordage, heavy and clumſy in every reſpect.

The Company's garden is always open to the public. It is nine hundred and ninety-ſix paces long, two hundred and ſixty one broad, and has forty-four quarters, which are ſeparated from each other by hedges, conſiſting, for the moſt part, of oaks or bays (*laurus nobilis*), ſeveral yards in height. I obſerved here, that a *roÿena villoſa*, that grew beſide one of theſe oaks, had fairly perforated one of its branches through the very trunk of the oak, in which it now grew like a paraſitic plant. In like manner I obſerved in another garden, in which a ſeat had been fixed between two trees, that the bark of one of the trees had grown over the ſeat, like a fungus (*boletus*), and held it faſt. In the menagerie were ſeveral rare and uncommon animals, and particularly great numbers of birds.

Male and female ſlaves, though belonging to different maſters, frequently cohabit together, by permiſſion of their owners, in which caſe the children always become the property of him who is the owner of the female ſlave. Though the man, that cohabits with

with the woman ſlave, be a freed man, or even a European, ſtill their offspring are ſlaves. So that the bonds of wedlock among ſlaves are but looſely co ntracted, and eaſily broken through. A maſter has the right of chaſtiſing his ſlaves with a whip, but has no power over their lives, as this belongs to the magiſtrate. If a ſlave is too ſeverely treated by his maſter, he may complain to the fiſcal; and if it then appears that he has been ill uſed, the owner is made to pay a conſiderable fine. If a ſlave lifts up his hand againſt his maſter or miſtreſs, or any white man, he is puniſhable with death.

A ſlave can give no evidence; nor has he the power of bearing, much leſs of having in his poſſeſſion, any kind of fire-arms: by theſe means the ſlaves, who always greatly exceed the Europeans in number, are kept unarmed. As ſoon as a ſlave is enfranchiſed, he wears ſhoes, ſtockings, and a hat, as a mark of his freedom.

In the months of April, May, and June, when the ſhips lie in the road, the naval officers frequently put up at auction ſuch commodities as they wiſh to diſpoſe of at this place; for this they pay five per cent. to the fiſcal, who receives five dollars for every cheſt brought on ſhore, for which five guilders only were paid in Holland. All European merchandizes are ſold here at thirty, fifty, and one hundred per cent. profit.

The winter months are reckoned here from the middle of May till the middle of Auguſt, during which times ſhips muſt not enter Table-Bay, on account of the ſtormy north-weſterly winds that prevail then, and might drive them on ſhore; but they are obliged to anchor in Falſe-Bay.

Ratans, ſplit very thin and faſtened together with ſtrings, ſo as to roll up eaſily, are much uſed here for window-blinds. They are alſo employed for making baſkets, bottoms or beds, and ſeats of chairs.

The thick bamboo canes, though hollow, are very ſtrong. They are uſed for making the ſides of ladders, and as perches to carry burdens on; of the more young and ſlender ſtems are made fences, to ſet up on the tops of walls and of wooden pales.

The ſeed-veſſels of the ſilver-tree (*protea argentea*) ſerve as fuel; the *reſtio dichotomus* (Beſem riet) for brooms.

Kukumakranka (*gethyllis*) is the name given to the legumen or pod of a plant, that grew at this time among the ſand-hills near the town, without either leaves or flowers. This pod was of the length of one's finger, ſomewhat wider at top than at bottom, had a pleaſant ſmell, and was held in great eſteem by the ladies. The ſmell of it reſembled in ſome meaſure that of ſtrawberries, and filled the whole room.

On the clay-hills near the ſhore before the citadel, I obſerved people digging up the earth, which was mixed with a great many ſea-ſhells, and putting it into baſkets. This they waſhed till nothing but the ſhells remained. In like manner I ſaw them carefully gather the larger ſhells thrown up by the ſea on the beach, and lay them up in large heaps to dry. Theſe ſhells they burn to lime for building. For this purpoſe they make a pile of billet and buſh-wood, within which the ſhells are laid and burned. In Robben Iſland a great quantity of ſhells are collected, and made into lime for the Company's ſervice, by the criminals exiled there. In the whole country there is no other lime to be found, nor any mountains containing either chalk or lime-ſtone.

Poets are ſaid to be born ſo; but the Dutch here, and indeed all over the Eaſt-Indies, may be ſaid to be born merchants; for in caſe the father does not trade, but carries on ſome handicraft buſineſs, his wife, daughter, or ſon muſt; and this is always done in a particular way of their own, and often without any regular ſyſtem. There is ſcarce one regular merchant to be found; but every body carries on trade, and keeps a certain ſpecies of goods only, at a certain time of the year, by which he endeavours to gain the moſt he can.

Two winds in particular prevail here throughout the year, and are frequently very violent, viz. the ſouth-eaſt wind in the ſummer, and the north-weſt in winter. When the eaſt or ſouth-eaſt wind begins to blow, it drives the clouds againſt the mountains, and away over them, which occaſions a kind of drizzling rain up in thoſe regions; the clouds are afterwards diſperſed bebow the ſummit of the mountain; and when the clouds are carried off, the wind may continue indeed, but then it is always accompanied with fine dry weather.

The town has but one Calviniſtical church, which is tolerably large and handſome. The Lutherans have not hitherto been able to obtain permiſſion to erect one, though their number here is very large: the Calviniſtical church is ſerved by two clergymen, who live in the town, and are well paid.

The hoſpital is ill ſituated, and much out of repair, inſomuch that a new one will ſhortly be erected on a more extenſive and convenient plan. The patients here are not remarkably well taken care of, on account of the ſmall portion of medical ſkill poſſeſſed by the perſon who ſuperintends the hoſpital; though the company ſpares for no expenſe with regard to them. I was informed, that the company pays two hundred ducatoons per annum, or ſomething more than ſix hundred guilders, for the article of almonds only, for the patients, of which, perhaps, they do not get one. Every half year the moiety of this ſum is paid down, an exact calculation having been previouſly made, how many thouſands of almonds may be had for that money, according to the then current price. So that the ſum is always the ſame, though the quantity of almonds varies with the price; and the patients always receive the ſame quantity, that is, little or nothing. For every one in the hoſpital, that goes through a courſe of mercurial friction for the venereal diſeaſe, the ſurgeon receives eight dollars; and the patient muſt pay two dollars for his medicines, as it is not thought proper that he ſhould be cured of this diſeaſe gratis.

Several ſtreets in the town are adorned with canals filled with the water that comes from the ſuperimpending mountains; but the bringing of the water, by means of wooden pipes, from the ſame mountains down to the great bridge in the harbour, at the ſide of the citadel, where the ſhips unload, is of greater importance; as the ſhips' boats may conveniently lay along-ſide of it, and fill their caſks with the pureſt water.

The ſmall-pox and meaſles are the moſt fatal diſtempers here; for the prevention of which they make the ſame proviſions, as is done in other places againſt the plague. Conſequently, as ſoon as a ſhip has anchored in the road, a ſurgeon is ſent on board of it, to examine whether any body in the ſhip is at that time infected, or during the voyage has been infected with either of theſe diſeaſes. In the latter caſe, no one from the ſhip is ſuffered to come on ſhore; but the commander is adviſed to go to ſome other place with the veſſel; which, in the mean-time, is furniſhed with whatever it may ſtand in need of. When at any time the ſmall-pox is carried thither, every one flies in haſte to the interior parts of the country. This infectious diſorder, I obſerved, and ſome French ſhips, which they took for enemies, were the only things that at this juncture could inſpire theſe rich farmers and burghers with fear, and make them ſhift their quarters. They were not yet become rational enough to adopt inoculation. In 1713, the ſmall-pox was brought here by a Daniſh ſhip, when it made a dreadful havoc among the Europeans as well as Hottentots, only three houſes having eſcaped. The Hottentots died in ſuch multitudes, that their bodies lay in the fields and highways unburied.

In 1755, this diſorder appeared for the ſecond time; and in 1767, in April, for the third and laſt time, being in like manner brought by a Daniſh ſhip. The laſt time

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the meaſles prevailed in theſe parts, they were the more deſtructive, as the ſurgeons ſent out by the governor, from ignorance of the diſeaſe, treated it perverſely. It is much to be lamented, that the account given of the medical practitioners of the Cape for ſome time paſt, ſhould ſo exactly tally with that tranſmitted to us by Kæmpfer, in his *Amœnit. Exot.* Faſcic. 3. p. 534 & 535, of the ſurgeons in the Eaſt Indies.

The town is adorned with three large ſquares; in one of theſe ſtands the Proteſtant church; it likewiſe has a fountain in it, which furniſhes the inhabitants of the town with water; in the other is the town-hall; and the third is lately laid out for the convenience of the country people who bring their goods to market, and in this is to be built the watch-houſe for the fire-men.

On the ſhore itſelf ſeveral batteries of different ſizes are erected for the defence of the city. The citadel is intended to protect them as well againſt internal as foreign enemies, but the batteries more particularly againſt the ſhips of a foreign power; and in fact, theſe can do no more execution in the road than the citadel poſſibly can do. There were now, though in rather an indifferent ſtate of repair, the Great Battery, the Little Battery, the New Battery, the Bones, and the Line-Guard.

In the beginning of July, I made a day's excurſion to Mount Paarl, in company with Dr. Le Sueur, who was ſent for to ſee a patient that had been ill of a fever, and had now ſuch a weakneſs in his joints and ligaments, that he could not lift his hands to his mouth, and his knee-pans were ſo looſe, that he had loſt the uſe of his legs likewiſe. Dr. Le Sueur was a native of the Cape, but had ſtudied in Holland, and taken his degrees at Groningen.

In many places the roads were interſected by large rivers, which were now ſo ſwelled by the heavy rains, that the water almoſt came into the carriage, the current being at the ſame time very ſtrong.

The land in theſe parts was very poor, being merely looſe ſand, under which lay the ſolid rock, conſiſting of brown ferruginous clumps, compoſed of clay, vitriolic acid, and ſlate. In theſe meagre plains, nevertheleſs, Phylicas, Ericas, and Proteas grew in abundance.

At Paarl the cold is felt more ſenſibly in the mornings and evenings than at the Cape, and the hoar-froſt frequently damages the vegetables in the gardens. The eaſterly winds are ſaid to be very powerful here, and in ſummer-time to blow the grains of wheat out of the ear.

Butter is churned every day in the ſummer, and every other day, or every third day, in the winter. They uſually pour luke-warm water into the churn, in order that the milk may coagulate the better.

The houſes are generally ſituated at the foot of the mountains, from whence water runs down to them. The want of water in other places, and the conſequent poverty of the ſoil, muſt be conſidered as the reaſon why this country, ſo excellent in other reſpects, cannot be very cloſely inhabited. The African ſoil is intrinſically meagre; but its fertility, which is ſo much cried up by many, muſt be aſcribed to the excellence of the climate; for thoſe ſpots where water and a little mould are to be found, and which conſequently are capable of cultivation, produce a rich harveſt of corn, delicious fruits, and excellent wines. The chief object of the farmer, when chuſing a ſpot for his abode, is to find an earthy ſoil in the vicinity of water.

Every peaſant builds his own houſe, ſometimes of bricks, ſometimes only of clay, lime, and ſand. Every one of them poſſeſſes a great number of horſes, oxen, cows, ſheep, goats, ducks, and geeſe, which in the day-time are driven out on the hills, and tended by a ſlave, and driven home again at ſun-ſet. At night all theſe animals

ſleep in the open air, each ſpecies ſeparately, in a place fenced in by a mud wall. This is ſaid to be very detrimental to the wool of the ſheep (the *ovis laticauda*). It was pleaſant in the higheſt degree to ſee the lambkins, which are kept while they are young in the houſe, go in the evenings to meet their mothers on their return home. As ſoon as they heard the voice of their dams at a great diſtance, the little hungry creatures began to cry out and run towards them; but if they could not ſee their mothers diſtinctly, they would immediately run back again. When their dams approach ſtill nearer, their cries increaſed, and the lambs run full ſpeed to meet them, and followed them home again. The wool of theſe African ſheep, which have large tails, is none of the beſt, and is not employed either in the manufacturing of cloth or for any other important purpoſe, much leſs is it exported. M. Hemming, however, had, a few years before, a piece of cloth woven from it large enough to make a complete ſuit of clothes.

I frequently obſerved the ſhin-bones of ſheep uſed, both in town and country, either for ſetting round the trees in the ſtreets, or for dividing the parterres in the flower-gardens, where they had a very pretty effect, the end of the ginglymus articulation being placed uppermoſt.

Wolves were caught by an eaſy and ingenious method: a ſquare or oblong houſe was erected, either of brick or only of clay, of the height of ſix feet or more, without any other covering than a few wooden bars. In the front a low opening is left with a trap-door before it. In the houſe is laid a bait, tied to a rope that is faſtened to a peg. This peg is brought through the lower part of the back wall, and ſtuck into a piece of wood which hangs down the wall on the outſide; to the upper part of this piece of wood is fixed another rope that paſſes over the top of the houſe, and is faſtened to the trap-door, which it thus keeps ſuſpended over the aperture. The wolf having entered the houſe, pulls the bait, and at the ſame time pulls out the peg from the piece of wood, when the trap-door falls down, and makes the wolf priſoner.

The ſtyle of building in the country, among people in good circumſtances, is nearly ſimilar to that in town, viz. firſt, there is a hall at the entrance of the houſe, and before this is a long gallery; on each ſide of the hall is a room; and on one ſide of the gallery is the kitchen, and on the other a bed-chamber. People of inferior circumſtances had a gallery, with a chamber on each ſide of it, and the kitchen behind. The poorer ſort had huts of clay, with doors and windows almoſt pervious to the weather.

The water that runs down the mountains to the farms that lie below them is frequently conducted by art to different places, ſuch as to artificial fountains, or to gardens, for the purpoſe of watering them in time of drought, or to fiſh-ponds to ſupply them with water.

Such waters as accumulated in the plains below the mountains, and formed rivulets, which at times were ſo deep in certain places, as to make ferries or boats neceſſary for paſſing them, the farmers rendered uſeful to themſelves, by damming them up, in order to make them overflow their vineyards planted on their banks; when the water, gently running off from them, manured the ſoil and rendered it fertile.

The vineyards near Paarl flouriſhed amazingly, and vines were ſeen here fifty years old. A vine was ſaid to bear ſo early as the ſecond year after it was planted, but to yield a full vintage in the third. All the vines here were kept low, in order to make them produce large cluſters.

In this place a church was erected and provided with a Calviniſt miniſter and a clerk. Divine ſervice, however, is not performed every Sunday; but when the

miniſter is gone on a journey, ſick, or otherwiſe hindered, the clerk reads to the congregation ſome portion of the Bible.

The farmers, or coloniſts, all through the country are, as well as the inhabitants of the city, all burghers, and are conſequently obliged to be always in readineſs, in caſe of a war, to defend their country. For this purpoſe they are divided into companies, and certain perſons among them appointed their officers.

On the ſudden approach of danger from any enemy, the whole body of the inhabitants may be ſummoned by the firing of guns and hoiſting of flags. For this purpoſe cannons are planted at proper intervals, and at the ſide of each ſtands a flag-ſtaff, to give ſignals in caſe of the approach of an enemy, or of any great fleet belonging to a foreign power. In ſuch caſe, ſeven guns are fired from the Lion's Head. The cannon on the banks of Zour Rivier is next diſcharged, which is repeated by another placed at a greater diſtance, then by a third, and ſo on; the flag being always hoiſted before the firing of the gun, by which means the alarm is ſoon given throughout the whole country.

As an antidote againſt the bite of ſerpents, the blood of the turtle was much cried up, which, on account of this extraordinary virtue, the inhabitants dry in the form of ſmall ſcales or membranes, and carry about them when they travel in this country, which ſwarms with this moſt noxious vermin. Whenever any one is wounded by a ſerpent, he takes a couple of pinches of the dried blood internally and applies a little of it to the wound.

Surgeons, apothecaries, and others, when they cannot find in this country the uſual and genuine medicinal plants, look for others that ſomewhat reſemble them, either in their flowers, leaves, ſmell, or general habit, and then give them the ſame names. The phyſician, who hears this *quid pro quo* mentioned, muſt not let it puzzle or miſlead him.

The leaves of the *calla Æthiopica*, a plant which grew even in the ditches about the gardens near the Cape, were ſaid to ſerve for food for the (Yzer-varken or) porcupines.

The root of the *arctopus echinatus*, which grew both near the Cape and in other places, was of a ſoft texture, and contained a very white and pure gum, which was uſed in the form of a decoction, as an excellent purifier of the blood, and likewiſe as a remedy in the gonorrhœa.

The root of the *byronia Africana* ſerved the country-people for an emetic; infuſed in wine or brandy it proves an excellent purge, eſpecially if a piece of bread be eaten after it.

The *geranium cucullatum*, a fragrant plant, was uſed as an emollient, incloſed in ſmall bags.

Of the leaves of the *barbonia cordata* the country-people made tea.

The *montinia acris*, though it is of a very acrid nature, was ſaid to be eaten by the ſheep.

The Hottentots eat the fruit of the *brabeium ſtellatum*, a large ſhrub that grows near brooks and rivulets, called Wilde Caſtanien (wild cheſnuts), and ſometimes uſed by the country-people inſtead of coffee: the outſide rind being taken off, the fruit is ſteeped in water to deprive it of its bitterneſs; it is then boiled, roaſted, and ground like coffee.

The gout and dropſy were common diſeaſes in this country, proceeding from the great quantities of wine that was drank, and the very varying and cold winds.

The fields were by no means ſo thickly covered with graſs here as they are in Europe, where the graſs-turf, with its great variety of flowers, forms the moſt beautiful carpet; but the graſs grew very thin, ſhewing the bare ſand between the blades, ſo that one could not with any pleaſure lie down on it to reſt one's ſelf.

The barley, after it had attained to a conſiderable height, was mowed once or oftener, and given to the horſes as fodder. It was ſaid, that it might be cut in the month of Auguſt, when in the ear. I frequently ſaw bundles of it brought to town in this ſtate to market. The barley in this country is cultivated chiefly for the uſe of horſes; a few bundles of it being cut every evening, after the horſes are come in from graſs, and laid in the ſtable, or elſe out in the yard, where theſe animals are tied up, for their night-provender.

Beer is never brewed in the country, where the people, when thirſty, drink water, tea, coffee, or wine; but a brewery has been eſtabliſhed near Cape Town. The Cape beer, however, is never remarkably good, but generates wind in the ſtomach, and ſoon turns ſour. This is the reaſon why they are obliged to import their beer from Europe; the Dutch, Daniſh, and Engliſh beer, which they ſometimes drink in ſmall quantities at their meals, being held in particular eſteem.

The vineyards muſt be dug every year, and the ground turned, yet without diſturbing the vines. In manuring them, the old earth is dug away from around the vines, and ſo that a hole is left in which the manure is laid. If a vine dies, a branch of an adjoining vine is bent down into the hole, where it ſoon ſtrikes root, and is afterwards cut off at the top.

A widow at the Paarl had three Hottentots in her ſervice; they ſpoke with much delicacy and ſoftneſs, clacking lightly and rapidly with their tongues both before and while they pronounced their words. Their complexion was brown, but by no means inclining to black, being more like that of a ſun-burnt European. The apparent brownneſs of their complexions, in fact, proceeded more from the great quantity of ſtinking greaſe with which they beſmeared themſelves than from nature. The girls were fond of ſmoking tobacco, which they did with a pipe ſo ſhort, that the bowl of it came cloſe to their lips. Their hair is of a ſingular nature, being quite black, and twiſted up together like ſhort wool, ſo as to reſemble the nap upon frieze, the interſtices between each lock being quite bare.

On my return to the Cape, I ſaw, towards the end of June, a body of Hottentots, men, women, and children, to the number of nine and fifty, brought up about one hundred and fifty miles from the interior part of the country, where they had committed various acts of violence againſt the coloniſts. They had been taken by a Hottentot captain, of the name of Kees, in the cleft of a mountain, where they had concealed and fortified themſelves againſt a party of peaſants and ſoldiers ordered out againſt them, and had for a long time defended themſelves, by rolling large ſtones down upon their enemies. In two villages they had carried off the cattle, killed the inhabitants, plundered the houſes, and taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral fire-arms. They did not deny their crimes, but aſſerted that they acted ſo in their own defence, the Europeans making every year freſh encroachments upon their lands and poſſeſſions, and forcing them continually farther up into the country, whence they were driven back again by the other Hottentots, or elſe killed. Theſe Hottentots were Boſhieſmen, of a dark brown complexion, ſome of whom were naked, wearing only a band round their waiſts, which covered the pudenda before. Others wore, hanging looſe over their ſhoulders, a ſheep's ſkin, the ends of which ſcarcely met before, the upper part going, like a calaſh, over the head. The women had their little ones hanging behind

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on their ſhoulders; and girls eleven or twelve years of age had already children. The women were adorned with ear-rings, and broad rings of metal round their wriſts. Their mouths and cheekbones were very prominent, ſo that they bore the ſtrongeſt reſemblance imaginable to apes. After theſe Hottentots had been confined for ſome time at the Cape, they loſt their colour, and became almoſt white.

On the 28th of June, the Javaneſe here celebrated their new-year. For this purpoſe they had decorated an apartment in a houſe with carpets, that covered the ceiling, walls, and floor. At ſome diſtance from the fartheſt wall an altar was raiſed, from the middle of which a pillar roſe up to the ceiling, covered with narrow ſlips of gilt paper and ſilk alternately: from above, downwards, ran a kind of lace between the projecting edges. At the baſe of this pillar were placed bottles with noſegays ſtuck in them. Before the altar lay a cuſhion, and on this a large book. The women, who were all ſtanding or ſitting near the door were neatly dreſſed, and the men wore night-gowns of ſilk or cotton. Frankincenſe was burned. The men ſat croſs-legged on the floor, diſperſed all over the room. Several yellow wax-candles were lighted up. Many of the aſſembly had fans, which they found very uſeful for cooling themſelves in the great heat neceſſarily produced by the aſſemblage of a great number of people in a ſmall ſpace. Two prieſts were diſtinguiſhed by a ſmall conical cap from the reſt, who wore handkerchiefs tied round their heads in the form of a turban. About eight in the evening the ſervice commenced, when they began to ſing, loud and ſoft alternately, ſometimes the prieſts alone, at other times the whole congregation. After this a prieſt read out of the great book that lay on the cuſhion before the altar, the congregation at times reading aloud after him. I obſerved them reading after the Oriental manner, from right to left, and imagined it to be the Alcoran that they were reading, the Javaneſe being moſtly Mahometans. Between the ſinging and reading, coffee was ſerved up in cups, and the principal man of the congregation at intervals accompanied their ſinging on the violin. I underſtood afterwards, that this was a prince from Java, who had oppoſed the intereſts of the Dutch Eaſt India Company, and for that reaſon had been brought from his native country to the Cape, where he lives at the Company's expence.

On the 30th of June I viſited Paradiſe, and other farms belonging to the Company, and ſituated below Table Mountain. Rondeboſch is a villa belonging to the governor. On this eaſtern ſide, along Table Mountain, the ſouth-eaſt wind does not blow ſo hard as at the Cape, for which reaſon alſo both trees and ſhrubs grow here. Among other trees, the pine (*pinus ſylveſtris*) was conſpicuous by its elegant crown. Wild vines (Wilde Druyven, *vitis vitiginea*) made a diſtinguiſhed figure at this time with their red berries, which reſembled cherries, and were eatable.

In the beginning of July, I ſet out on an excurſion on foot, for a few days, to Conſtantia and the neighbouring farms. In ſome places rivulets ran acroſs the road between the valleys down from the mountains, and at this time they were difficult to paſs.

Ferruginous ſtones (Eiſer Klippen), or ſtones containing iron, were found here, as well as nearer to the Cape.

I obſerved the clouds to be driven in contrary directions, the lower clouds coming from the ſouth-eaſt, and the upper being carried towards the ſame quarter.

The domeſtic animals, which otherwiſe are kept in the open air throughout the whole country, were here ſheltered under a ſhed, that was open in the front.

On my return to town, I had the opportunity of ſeeing a Chineſe burial. In their burying-ground, at a ſhort diſtance from the city, ſmall ratans are ſtuck up, faſtened together with cotton-thread, ſo as to form an arch or a vaulted roof over the tomb.

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In a large hog that was killed, were found ſeveral round worms (*lumbrici*), which was ſaid to be a common caſe here with theſe animals.

July the 21ſt, I took a walk to Paarl and Stellenboſch.

From the Cape the horizon, on the land ſide, appears bounded by high mountains, that ſtretch acroſs the whole country. The plain between the Cape and theſe mountains, which is one day's journey long, is for the moſt part an uncultivated tract of ſand, and deſtitute of water, which for the moſt part is no where to be met with but near the ſmaller ſcattered hills, which lie about as it were inſulated, and without any very evident connexion with each other. A traveller who has not been provident enough to bring water with him, has no other reſource for aſſuaging his thirſt in this burning heat, than ſtrictly to examine, whether any black ſhepherds are to be found attending their maſter's flocks in the neighbourhood, who may either have water themſelves, or may be able to inform him where to find it. In the winter ſeaſon, however, on account of the frequent rains, large tracts of this plain lie under water.

The name of Kapock-bird was given to a very ſmall bird, that forms its neſt (which is as curious as it is beautiful, and is of the thickneſs of a coarſe worſted ſtocking) from the down (*pappus eriocephali*) of the wild roſemary-tree (Wilde Roſmaryn).

In the months of April and May the ſeed is put into the ground; but in June and July the earth, which often has lain fallow for ſeveral, ſometimes ten, twelve, and fifteen years, is ploughed up. The larger buſhes are previouſly pulled up by the roots, and the ſmaller ones left for the plough; all the buſhes are then collected, and burnt on the field, which are richly manured by the aſhes. The ſpots on which the combuſtion has been performed, always produces a thicker and more luxuriant graſs than uſual; ſo that ſuch places are eaſily diſtinguiſhable in a meadow by the high tufts of graſs. The wheat here was ſaid to yield, in general, at the rate of eight and ten, but frequently fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five to one; whereas in many other places again, the produce is ſtill more abundant. I was even told, that at one farm fourteen buſhels of ſeed had produced about fifty-five quarters of grain.

The ant-eater, or Aardvarken (*myrmecophaga*), digs large holes in the earth, in which in the day-time he lies ſecure from his enemies. The country was full of ſuch holes. This animal was ſaid to be ſo ſtrong, that ſeveral oxen together would not be able to drag it out of its retreat. It digs very expeditiouſly. The fleſh of it is eaten, and eſpecially the hams, when hung up and dried. It lives on ſeveral ſorts of ants, eſpecially the large red ones, which build their hillocks of clay, and are very common, increaſing every year.

The daughters of the coloniſts are ſometimes with child by their fathers' black ſlaves. In this caſe, in conſideration of a round ſum of money, a huſband is generally provided for the girl, but the ſlave is ſent away from that part of the country.

Hoſpitality is carried to a great length among the farmers throughout all this country, inſomuch that a traveller may, without being at any expence either for board or lodging, paſs a longer or ſhorter time with theſe people, who with the greateſt cordiality receive and entertain ſtrangers. On the contrary, a ſtranger finds it very dear living in town, where he is obliged to pay at leaſt a dollar, if not a dollar and a half, per day for his board and lodging.

The farmers in general make four regular meals a day, viz. breakfaſt at ſeven, dinner at eleven, their afternoon's luncheon at four, and ſupper at eight.

A ſoldier here is not at liberty to marry, leſt, as in this caſe he muſt live with his wife out of the citadel, he ſhould run in debt in the town, and, in conſequence of this, incur the uſual puniſhment, which is tranſportation to Batavia. Nevertheleſs, it would be much

much better that a ſoldier or corporal ſhould be at liberty to marry, and, receiving his pay, do his duty; and on thoſe days, when he is exempted from duty, earn his livelihood by teaching, or by ſome trade: and although many, as daily experience evinces, for want of this regulation, fall into bad courſes, and ruin themſelves by connexions with black women; not to mention, that a married ſoldier, in caſe of a war ſupervening, always fights for his country, his wife and children, with greater courage and ſpirit than another; yet, in defiance of reaſon and common ſenſe, all ſuch men are obliged to quit the ſervice and become free citizens. This freedom, however, they do not obtain but on condition of entering again into the Company's ſervice, if neceſſity ſhould require, and this in the ſame capacity as that in which they left it.

Though the town is entirely under the Company's juriſdiction, and conſequently is ſubject to the governor and fiſcal; yet, in what concerns the management of its particular affairs, it has its own mayor and aldermen, with other neceſſary officers.

The burghers, both in the town and throughout the whole country, are enrolled as militia-men for the defence of the colony, being divided into ſeveral companies of foot and horſe, and commanded by officers from among their own body. They meet every year to do their exerciſe, and in the town they go upon the municipal guard, &c.

The dead are buried without either clergyman, prayers, or the ceremony of throwing earth on the body.

The ceremonies of marriage and baptiſm muſt always be performed in the church; private baptiſm, in caſe of neceſſity, not being ſuffered.

Slaves are very ſeldom enfranchiſed: the free blacks are not permitted to go upon the municipal guard; but in time of war they are obliged to throw up batteries with their ſpades, which are their weapons. They are commanded, however, by one of their own body. The ſlaves, whom each maſter of a family muſt drive before him out of his houſe himſelf when required, againſt the enemy, are alſo formed into companies. The burghers, as well as the ſervants of the Company, are then ſtationed each at his poſt. All the civil officers are ſtationed within the caſtle, and others at the batteries in different places.

In the month of Auguſt the winter drew near to its end, and the fields began to be decorated with flowers; it therefore now became neceſſary for me to think of ſuch preparations as would be uſeful and requiſite for me in my approaching long journey into the interior part of the country; a journey, relative to which a promiſe had been given me, that I ſhould make it in a great meaſure at the Company's expence.

I therefore provided myſelf with neceſſary cloaths, as well as with boxes and bags, for collecting roots and ſeeds, with boxes and pins for inſects, a keg of arrack for preſerving ſerpents and amphibious animals, cotton and boxes for ſtuffing and keeping birds in, cartridge-paper for the drying of plants, tea and biſcuits for my own uſe, and tobacco to diſtribute among the Hottentots, together with fire-arms, and a large quantity of powder, ball, and ſhot of various kinds. Shoes for the ſpace of four months were no inconſiderable article in this account, as the leather prepared in the Indies is by no means ſtrong; beſides, that it is quite cut to pieces, or ſoon worn out, by the ſharp ſtones that occur every where in the mountains.

My equipage conſiſted of a ſaddle-horſe, a cart covered with a ſail-cloth, like an ammunition-waggon, and three yoke of oxen, by which it was to be drawn through the whole of the journey. My travelling companions were Auge, the gardener, who had before made eighteen journeys of different lengths into the country, and was now to be my ſure and faithful guide; M. Immelman, a youth, the ſon of a lieutenant in the army, together with Leonhardi, a ſerjeant, who undertook this tedious journey for the

ſake

ſake of ſhooting the larger animals and birds; and laſtly, two domeſticated Hottentots, one of whom was to drive, and the other to lead our oxen.

Every one that travels in this country performs his journey pretty nearly in the following way: A large waggon, worth from one hundred and twenty to two hundred dollars, and covered with a large tilt of ſack-cloth, is commonly drawn by five or ſix yoke of oxen, which are driven by a man with a long whip, but led through the rivulets and by the farms. The horſes are but weak in this part of the world, and find no where in Africa either paſture or water; conſequently they cannot be uſed for long journeys. Nor are horſes employed for carrying any wares on their backs up to town from the farms that lie near it, but there are ſome few wealthy perſons that now and then put two or three pair of them into a waggon for ſhort journeys. Still, however, they are made uſe of all over the country for riding on. When farmers, that live far down in the country, go up to the Cape, they generally take five or ſix ſpare oxen with them, for the purpoſe of changing cattle in a journey which laſts ſeveral weeks. The whip is an inſtrument which might ſeem to command reſpect, not only from the oxen, for whoſe ſervice it is principally deſtined, but from every one elſe.

Thus equipped, I ſet out with my company from the Cape on the 7th of September for Jan Beſis Kraal, a ſmall grazing farm belonging to the Company, and ſituated by the ſea-ſide, where we arrived at eleven o'clock.

All over the ſandy fields the *protea hypophylla* was ſeen creeping and procumbent, with its leaves ſtanding up erect on each ſide of it. Near Eland's Fontain (or Elk's Fountain), a plant of this ſpecies was ſeen ſtanding upright like a buſh, much reſembling the former, but with broader leaves.

We proceeded on our journey till twelve o'clock, when we came to another farm belonging to the Company, called Riet Valley; afterwards to Moſtert's Farm; and laſtly, paſſing by Brack Fontain, we came to Groene Kloof (the Green Valley), a conſiderable grazing farm belonging to the Company, at the diſtance of eight hours' journey from the Cape. In this pleaſant place we remained a whole week, as well becauſe we found a great deal to collect here, as becauſe that, in conſequence of the refraction of the ſun-beams from the burning ſand, I was unfortunately attacked with a very violent inflammation in my eyes, which I did not eaſily get rid of.

The country has indeed been much inhabited and cultivated by the European coloniſts, but as yet no mile-ſtones have been ſet up, nor have the farms and rivers every where received ſuitable names. The farms are frequently called after their owners, and the diſtances between places are meaſured by the time required to travel over them in a waggon drawn by oxen, which anſwers pretty exactly to a ſea-league per hour. All this occaſions travellers a great deal of trouble, and is the cauſe that I am obliged to call the places, whicn I paſſed in my travels, by the Dutch names, by which they are known on the ſpot.

The ſandy and low plains, which we traverſed, abounded at this time in bulbous plants, beſides others which were now ſprung up in conſequence of the heavy rains that had fallen during the winter, and which, with their infinitely varied flowers, decorated theſe otherwiſe naked heaths.

The roots (*bulbi*) of the *iris edulis*, when boiled and ſerved up at table, taſted much like potatoes.

The African flowers vary greatly as to colour, eſpecially on the upper part, and are more conſtant on the under part.

Flamingoes (*phœnicopterus ruber*) were ſeen in abundance, wading every where in the ponds and puddles, in which were found alſo ducks and ſnipes (*ſcolopax Capenſis*). In

the plains were heard among the buſhes the Korrhaan (Otis). The Haantje (a ſmall bird), and deer of various kinds were ſeen running about, ſuch as Harte-beeſts (*capra dorcas*), Steen-boks (*capra grimmia*), divers (*capra* ——), as well as the ſtately oſtrich, diſtinguiſhed by its black feathers from its grey females.

A clay, impregnated with ſulphur, was ſhown me, which is to be found near a fountain hard-by Paard Mountain.

The ſeed-veſſels of a ſpecies of Euphorbia, pulverized, were uſed for poiſoning wolves.

Here I ſaw, for the firſt time, the *oleum ricini*, or caſtor oil. The ſeeds were ſaid to be boiled in water, and the oil is ſkimmed off as it riſes, which is taken, in as large a doſe as that of a tea-cup full, for a gentle purge. The leaves of the ſhrub dried, and applied round the head, were affirmed to be ſerviceable in the head-ache.

On the 14th, we paſſed Oranie Fontein, or Orange Fountain, and Uyle Kraal, or the Owl's Kraal, in our way to Thé Fontein, or Tea Fountain, a journey of ſix hours; and afterwards paſſing by Elk's Fountain (Eland's Fontein), got to Saldahna Bay the next day.

The farmers on this ſide of the Cape have neither vineyards nor much arable land, but, inſtead of theſe, plenty of cattle. Butter is made here every day, in a churn like a pump; and the butter-milk, excellent as it is, is thrown out to the calves and dogs. Indeed, they ſcarcely allow their milk to cream beforehand. As to houſehold furniture, they were in great want of it.

We left our ſaddle-horſes at a farmer's houſe; after which, we croſſed the harbour in a veſſel to the Company's poſt, where we ſtaid ſeveral days.

Here was plenty of game, conſiſting of antelopes, ducks, and other animals.

The expreſſed juice of the ſow-thiſtle (*ſonchus oleraceus*), was uſed for cleanſing and healing ulcers.

The black juice of the cuttle-fiſh (*ſepia*), mixed up with vinegar, was uſed for making ink. This animal has real eyes, conſiſting of a cornea, choroidea, and a cryſtalline lens, with all the humours uſually found in the eye.

Among the ſervants I found Eliſæus Hyphoff, who was in the capacity of a cook here, and was the ſon of M. Hyphoff, director of the bank in Stockholm.

The *albuca major* grew in this neighbourhood tall, ſtraight, and elegant. Its ſucculent ſtalk, which is rather mucilaginous, is chewed by the Hottentots and other travellers, by way of quenching their thirſt.

There were a great many ſand-banks in the harbour, which were ſeen at low-water.

Graſs grew on the iſlands in abundance; but there were neither ſheep nor oxen in them.

While I was botanizing, I found a dead tiger near the ſhore. He had probably been eating ſome poiſonous plants, and afterwards went in queſt of water, before he fell down.

On the iſlands without and round Saldahna Bay, ſeals (*phoca*) were caught in abundance, from the blubber of which a good and uſeful oil was prepared. The ſkins of the ſmaller ſort of theſe animals are uſed only for ſhooting-bags and tobacco-pouches. The large ſeals, I was told, would weigh fourteen or fifteen hundred weight. With reſpect to theſe creatures, a diſagreeable accident had happened here lately: a ſoldier was ſent out to ſhoot them, and having wounded one of them, which lay as though it were dead, he went to open a vein in order to draw off its blood, as the oil is ſuppoſed to be the better for this operation, when on a ſudden the ſeal caught hold of his hand,

which the ſoldier pulling back in haſte, his thumb was bitten off, and the tendon drawn out to a great length.

From Saldahna Bay we returned to Thé Fontein, and, at a farm there, had an opportunity of ſeeing with what dexterity the peaſants perform the caſtration of their oxen, fifty of which, two years old, and one at three years, went through this operation in one evening. The cord of a whip was faſtened round the horns, and a rope round one of the hind-legs. The animal being by this means thrown down on one ſide, its four legs were tied together. They then cut with a knife on the exterior ſide through all the integuments quite to the teſticle; after this, they laid hold of the teſticle and ſcraped the funiculus, continually twiſting it at the ſame time, till the teſticle came away.

Great complaints were made of the ſeed-veſſels of the *rumex ſpinoſus* (Dubelties), which grew very common here, as the ſharp prickles of them cut the feet of the ſlaves and others, who walked bare-footed.

In wet years, the *pharnaceum mollugo* (Muggekruyd) grows copiouſly here, and is ſaid to make the cattle, that feed on it, very fat.

Difficult as it is to come within reach of it, we at laſt ſhot a Korhaan, a bird which in its flight cries, kok-karri, kok-carri.

The Secretary Bird (*falco ſecretarius*), made its appearance frequently, with its beautiful head and long legs; it runs very faſt, and lives on the ſerpents it catches. I was told, that its young are not reared without difficulty, as they are very apt to break their legs. Yet I ſaw at Conſtantia an old bird that was tame. They lay two or three eggs, and are ſaid to build their neſts with twigs upon buſhes. They are almoſt always found ſolitary, and in no great abundance.

The black-berries of a buſh called Kraijeboſch, or Crow-buſh, were greedily devoured by the crows at the Cape.

On the 25th, we left Thé Fontein, and ferried over Berg-Rivier (Mountain River).

The root of Aniſe (Anys Wortel) was eaten here roaſted, and taſted well; it is either roaſted in the embers, or boiled in milk, or elſe ſtewed with meat. The farmers ſometimes make their ſlaves dig up a large quantity of them, which they ſell in town.

The root of the Gatagay is likewiſe roaſted in the embers and eaten, but has a bad and diſagreeable taſte.

Wherever we went, we obſerved a black-beetle (*trichius laticollis*) occupied the whole day throughout in rolling large balls of dung with its hind-feet, and conſtantly going backwards. With its fore-feet it digs large holes in the ſand, and alſo throws the ſand on one ſide with its ſcutellum. It probably lays its eggs in theſe balls, which it afterwards buries in the ſand. More than once we obſerved two of the inſects here ſpoken of aſſiſting each other in rolling away one of theſe balls.

The oats brought hither from Europe are now looked upon as the worſt of weeds in this country, as the grains are eaſily ſhaken out of the ears by the violence of the winds that prevail here, and ſowing themſelves, choak up all the other corn. It is to no purpoſe to lay a piece of land ſo ſpoiled fallow for ſeveral years, for when the field comes to be ploughed up, the oats, having lain unhurt in the ground, ſhoot up afreſh.

They gavé the name of nightingale (Nachtigall) to a bird, which in its notes and geſtures imitated ſeveral other birds.

The Oppblazers (*pneumora*), a kind of graſs-hopper, were caught in the evening. After ſun-ſet they begin to make a ſingular noiſe, by rubbing their barbed legs againſt their empty and tranſparent ſtomach. It was ſuppoſed that this ſound was heard at a great diſtance. As I perceived that theſe, like many other nocturnal inſects, were

fond of light, I ordered a large fire to be made in the field, near which they were caught, while they were marching up to it. Their whole body is, as it were, a bladder, and ſo empty, that theſe creatures cannot be carried about ſtuck through with a pin, like other inſects.

Neſts of finches (*loxiæ*) made of the ſtalks of graſs, curiouſly interwoven, hung on the branches of trees over ponds, with a long and narrow neck, by which the bird uſed to enter. This neck prevented the birds of prey from getting at the young ones, and the water, over which the neſt hung on low ſhrubs and buſhes, kept off foxes and other beaſts of prey.

The cattle were liable to various grievous diſtempers, of which they ſometimes alſo died.

The bloody ſickneſs (Blaar or Bloodziekte) is a diſeaſe of the cattle, in which the veins all over the body are extremely turgid. Letting of blood and violent exerciſe were ſaid to be ſerviceable in this diſtemper. The fleſh of ſuch beaſts as die of it, is not eatable.

The ſpongy ſickneſs (Sponziekte) begins in this manner; firſt a foot ſwells, and then by degrees the whole body. This diſorder ſometimes laſt three days, but at other times proves fatal in as many hours. If the foot is taken off immediately, the creature's life may be ſaved. The fleſh of ſuch an animal likewiſe is not eatable: this diſtemper, in my opinion, can proceed from no other cauſe than the bite of ſome ſerpent, a kind of reptile, which, in this warm quarter of the globe, is but too common.

The lame diſtemper (Laamziekte) is, when the cattle are unable to ſtand. It comes on gradually, and is ſlow in its progreſs. After the death of the animal the bones of its legs are found to be quite empty, and without marrow; inſtead of which they are filled with water.

The horned cattle, as well as horſes, are afflicted with the ſtranguary, or a retention of their urine, after feeding on the Euphorbia Geniſtoides, which contains a milk that does no injury to the ſtomach and bowels, but corrodes the bladder, and eſpecially obſtructs the urinary paſſages. If the penis is preſſed, this viſcid matter is ſqueezed out. The peaſants therefore either preſs it out, or with a ſtraw puſh it back again. When the cattle are ſupplied with good and freſh water, this diſeaſe cannot get the upper hand; but in ſummer, when the water is thick and impure, ſo that it cannot dilute the peccant matter, the cattle die.

On the right ſide of Groote Berg Rivier (or Great Mountain River) was ſeen Ribeck-caſtle, which is a high and large ſolitary mountain; and to the left, Picket-berg. We paſſed by the Honing-bergen, and in the evening arrived at a farm belonging to one Griling.

On the 26th we croſſed the river called Four-and-twenty-River, and came to the farm of Arnhem, from thence to little Mountain River, and farther through Rood Zands-kloof (Red-ſand Valley) to Waferſland or Roode Zand. The cleft, through which we paſſed from the ſandy plain, that lies low towards the Cape, but gradually riſes till it comes to Roode Zand, is one of the few chaſms left by the long ridge of mountains, through which it is poſſible for a waggon to paſs, though, perhaps, not entirely without danger. In ſome places it was ſo narrow, that two waggons could not paſs each other. At ſuch narrow paſſes as this, it is uſual for the drivers to give ſeveral terrible loud ſmacks with their long whips, which are heard at the diſtance of ſeveral miles, ſo that the waggon that arrives firſt may get through unimpeded, before another enters it.

As ſoon as we had paſſed the mountains as far as to Roode Zand, the country appeared much higher than the ſide from which we came. At one end this country is bounded

by high mountains, called Winter-hoek (or Winter-corner), becauſe their tops, almoſt the whole year throughout, are covered with ſnow; at the other end it is open, with a range of mountains projecting into it, and forming an angle, called Moſtertſhoek, and grows wider and wider the nearer it approaches to the ſouth.

We took up our lodging with a man of the name of De Vett, a deſcendant of one of the French families, which came with the firſt coloniſts that ſettled in this part of Africa, to lay out vineyards, and plant fruit-trees.

Tintirinties is a name given to a ſpecies of *ornithogalum*, with a white flower, from the ſound it produced, when two ſtalks of it were rubbed againſt each other.

In order to give our cattle time to reſt a little, and, in ſome meaſure, recover their loſt fleſh, we paſſed almoſt a fortnight at this agreeable place, during which time we had the opportunity of drying the plants and ſeeds we had already collected, and of viſiting all the hills and mountains in the environs.

On the 28th, therefore, we ſet out on an excurſion acroſs the cataract and the mountains, to a ſadler's, named Swieger, and the next day went on to a man of the name of Olivier, with whom we left our horſes, and aſcended the mountain on foot.

On the 1ſt of October, we made an incurſion over Mount Witſen; on the other ſide of which was a tract of land, or rather a cleft in the mountain, narrower than Roode Zand, but about four times higher. From this eminence, Table-mountain, near the Cape, was ſeen: and by reaſon of the coldneſs of this place, and the backwardneſs of the ſummer, the plants flowered here at leaſt one month later, than in other parts of the country. Snow frequently falls here to the height of three feet, which lies ſeveral days; but higher up on the mountain, a ſtill longer time. Behind this valley, mountains were ſeen, and behind theſe, ſtill higher ridges of other mountains; on the other ſide of which, the Bokkevelden or Goat-fields, were ſaid to be ſituated. In this narrow, lofty, and cold tract of land, there were ſeveral grazing farms, but no corn was cultivated there, as this latter commodity could not be tranſported from thence over the mountains. It took us up a full hour to paſs the mountain on horſeback.

Being returned to Roode Zand, the much celebrated Snake-ſtone (Slange-ſteen) was ſhown to me, which few of the farmers here could afford to purchaſe, it being ſold at a high price, and held in great eſteem. It is imported from the Indies, eſpecially from Malabar, and coſts ſeveral, frequently ten or twelve, rix-dollars. It is round and convex on one ſide, of a black colour, with a pale aſh-grey ſpeck in the middle, and tubulated, with very minute pores. When thrown into water, it cauſes bubbles to riſe, which is a proof of its being genuine, as is alſo, that if put into the mouth, it adheres to the palate. When it is applied to any part that has been bitten by a ſerpent, it ſticks faſt to the wound, and extracts the poiſon; as ſoon as it is ſaturated, it falls off of itſelf. If it be then put into milk, it is ſuppoſed to be purified from the poiſon it had abſorbed, and the milk is ſaid to be turned blue by it. Frequently, however, the wound is ſcarified with a razor, previous to the application of the ſtone.

I was informed that the Hottentots, when bitten by a ſerpent, immediately go in ſearch of a toad, with which they rub the wound, and thus effect a perfect cure. They have alſo the art of extracting the poiſon, by cauſing another perſon to apply his mouth to the wound, and ſuck it, after ſcarifying the fleſh all round it with a knife.

A ſerpent (Coluber *ſcut. adb.* 197. *ſquam. caudal.* 124) was found here, called the Boomſlang (or tree-ſerpent), on account of its being frequently found in trees. The length of it was eight feet; *ſupra totus fuſcus, ſquamis linea elevata carinatis; ſubtus totus flaveſcens.*

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The Tulbaghia Alliacea (Wilde Knofflook, or wild garlic), the root of which ſmells very ſtrong of garlic, was reported to be a charm for ſerpents.

With the poiſon of ſerpents, and the juice of the Sideroxylum Toxiferum (Gift-boom, or poiſon-tree), the Hottentots poiſon their arrows, which they uſe againſt antelopes and wild buffaloes, as alſo againſt their enemies.

The ſcrota of ſheep are ſometimes ſerved up at table, roaſted, and taſted very well, but were apt to riſe on the ſtomach.

The Aponogeton Diſtachyon (Waater Uynties, or water lilies) grew in many places, in ſhallow puddles of water, very plentifully, and from its white flowers that floated on the water, exhaled a moſt fragrant odour. The roots roaſted, were reckoned a great delicacy.

Cucumbers, which were cultivated in the gardens, were ſerved up at table, by way of deſert, being pickled firſt in ſalt water, and afterwards in vinegar, with Cayenne pepper.

From a decoction of the *ſolanum nigrum* (or deadly night-ſhade) and the *ſonchus oleraceus* (or ſow-thiſtle), which were found growing wild near almoſt every farm-houſe, were formed, with wax and lard, ſome excellent ſalves, for healing of wounds and ulcers of all kinds, remedies which were as common as they were approved.

The ſwallows (*hirundo ruſtica*) were now, in the months of September and October, extremely buſy in the mornings and evenings in building their neſts, and that in the very houſes of the farmers, the doors of which are ſeldom ſhut; ſometimes, though very ſeldom, they fix their habitations in the clefts of rocks. They build their neſts here of clay, which they work up with their bills, and carry in ſmall ſcraps to their habitations, which thus become daily more round and complete. The ſwallows, which conſtantly return hither at this time, migrate every year from hence, as they do in Europe, without the country-people being able to aſcertain whither they retire during winter.

A report that was very general at Roode Zand, ſtruck me with the greateſt aſtoniſhment, and excited my curioſity in the higheſt degree. The inhabitants all aſſured me in one voice, that there was a buſh to be found on the mountains, on which grew various wonderful products, ſuch as caps, gloves, worſted ſtockings, &c. of a ſubſtance reſembling a fine pluſh. I importuned almoſt every body in the neighbourhood to procure me, if poſſible, ſome of theſe marvellous products, and I reſolved not to leave the place till I ſhould have unriddled this myſtery. In the courſe of a few days, I had ſeveral of the leaves brought me down from the mountains, which were covered with a very thick ſhag or down (*tomentum*), and very much reſembled white velvet. The girls, who were uſed to the management of theſe leaves, began immediately, with ſingular dexterity and nicety, to ſtrip off this downy coat, whole and entire as it was, without rending it. After it had been taken off in this manner, it was turned inſide outwards; when the green veins of the leaf appeared on one ſide. Accordingly, as the leaf was more or leſs round or oval, divers of the abovementioned articles were formed out of it, the ſhape being now and then aſſiſted a little by the ſciſſars. The ſtalks of the leaves furniſhed ſtockings and ladies' fingered gloves; the ſmaller leaves, caps. So that the matter was not quite ſo wonderful, as it was wonderfully related. But in the mean-time, it remained ſtill for me to find out to what plant theſe leaves belonged, and this forced me to climb up myſelf the higheſt ſummits of the mountains, where they grow. The plant, indeed, was not ſcarce in thoſe places, but it coſt me a great deal of trouble before I could find one in flower, or in ſeed, and when I did, I was convinced that this plant belongs to the genus of *bupleurum giganteum*.

giganteum. The downy coat, reſembling fine wool, being well dried, was alſo uſed for tinder, and anſwered the purpoſe extremely well.

Roode Zand has a fine church, and its own appropriate miniſter. To this pariſh, all who live farther down in the country muſt neceſſarily belong; though they ſcarcely come more than once a year up to the church, on which occaſion they generally bring their children with them to be baptized.

On the 6th, having made here a fine collection of plants, birds, and ſeeds, and our cattle being perfectly refreſhed, we left this beautiful ſpot, and penetrated into the country over ſeveral rivers, ſuch as Harte-beeſt's Rivier (where we took up our lodging for the firſt night with Michael de Ploi), Hex Rivier, Breede Rivier, and ſo on to Matties Valley and Brandſteeg, and croſſing Mattjes Kloof, arrived at the houſe of Peter de Wett, near the hot bath, where we reſted a day for the ſake of uſing the bath, and of viſiting the neighbouring mountains.

Before we reached De Ploi's houſe, near Harte-beeſt's Rivier, we paſſed by a mountain called Slangenkop (ſerpent's head), which may, perhaps, be conſidered as the moſt remarkable in its kind. It ſtands ſeparated from the other ridges of mountains, like a large ſolitary rock, and is not very high. On one ſide of it is a large and deep crevice, which makes this rock remarkable, as every autumn almoſt all the ſerpents of the neighbourhood creep into it, and aſſemble together, in order to remain there ſecure and unmoleſted, during their torpid ſtate. Towards ſummer, when the heat begins to ſet in, ſerpents of many different kinds, and frequently coiled up together in large knots, are ſeen coming out from this hole, in order to ſpread themſelves afterwards all over the fields, each to its reſpective place of abode, and by means of proper food, to recover the fleſh which they have loſt in this retreat.

The *colutea veſicatoria* bruiſed, was uſed in diſeaſes of the eyes. The *pyrus cydonia*, (or Quince-tree), grew here, being planted out for hedges.

The hot-bath has its ſource at the foot of the mountain, on the eaſt ſide of the ridge, in a ſandy ſoil. The ſprings are ſeven in number, one of which is very large, compared with the others. The ſecond or uppermoſt, is of a midling ſize, to the ſouthward of which the firſt is ſituated, and the third cloſe by it. Below theſe is a fourth, and the fifth is ſituated a few yards farther off, and between theſe two the ſixth, which does not ſpring up in any one regular place, but bubbles up alternately out of ſeveral places. The lowermoſt is the largeſt, and boils with great force. The water is quite boiling-hot, ſo as even to be fit for ſcalding animals in. The ſmoke is ſeen to riſe as it were out of a pot boiling over the fire, and continues ſo to do in the ſtream that runs down from it, to the diſtance of two muſket-ſhots. The ſides and bottom of the channel have no ſediment; but a green Conferva grows in it. The ſtones that lay in the channel, and at this time were elevated a little above the ſurface of the water, were nevertheleſs covered with a grey coat, and in the channel a ſoft ſtone was found, which might be ſcraped with a knife, and was uſed inſtead of chalk. A piece of blue woollen cloth did not change its colour in the water, neither did blue ſugar-paper, a ſign that the water contained no acid. By ſugar of lead it was no otherwiſe affected than that it acquired the colour of milk, and with powder of Peruvian bark it became rather brown. The vein runs always equally ſtrong, without increaſing or diminiſhing; yet the water was ſaid to be hotter in ſummer. Linen may be waſhed in it, without being coloured by it, and meat may be boiled in the uſual manner in the bath itſelf, without acquiring any diſagreeable taſte; all which proves the purity of this water.

From

From the ſprings, the water, in running down, gathers together into ſeveral cavities of different ſizes, in which people may ſit down to uſe the bath. Over two of theſe pits ſmall huts were erected for the convenience of the Company; and to theſe cold water could be brought at pleaſure from a ſtream that ran down from the mountains. Indeed, it would be too ventureſome to go alone into this bath; as the heat of the water, which increaſes the palpitation of the heart, drives the blood into the extremities; and the veins of the lower parts of the body, which are in the bath, become ſo expanded, that the blood is derived in too great a quantity from the head, and one is in danger of falling into a ſwoon in a quarter of an hour. Sometimes both naufea and vomiting ſupervene.

Among the invalids, who were here at this time for the benefit of their health, were two who had a peculiar claim to our pity. The one was a countryman, who had a malignant ulcer in his ſtomach, in conſequence of being gored by a miſchievous ox: he could not take any thing into his ſtomach except a very ſmall quantity of the bath water, as he vomited continually. The other was a ſlave, who had a large fleſhy excreſcence on his right ſhoulder, which had puſhed the arm out of joint before; this was occaſioned by a ſmart blow on the ſhoulder-blade, that he had received by a fall.

The *meſembryanthemum edule* grew here in great abundance, and eſpecially in the ſandy plains, and was called Hottentots figs (Hottentots Vygen) the fruit when ripe and peeled, taſting tolerably well; it varies greatly in the colour of its bloſſoms, which are ſometimes red; at other times, carnation, yellow, or white.

On the 9th of October we paſſed over Maurice's Heights to Koree. From this hill the mountain, in one of its ſloping ſides, was ſeen to conſiſt of ſlate (*ſchiſtus ſcriptura candida*) in laminas, but very brittle and unfit for writing upon. On the other ſide of this eminence were ſeen alſo the Carrow Plains, which are very dry, ſterile, and bare of graſs, being covered with a great number of ſucculent plants only, and buſhes.

The prickly buſh of the *arduina biſpinoſa* now bore ripe berries, which were ſaid to be eaten by the Hottentots.

I had here an opportunity of ſeeing the ſame operation performed upon a great number of lambs, as I had before ſeen done with reſpect to oxen: the farmer himſelf caſtrating them with a ſmall knife, with which he laid open the ſcrotum. The teſticles then were drawn out ſucceſſively, and very dexterouſly ſeparated.

In this place, where the farms ſtand cloſer together than elſewhere, the ſheep were marked, and particularly in the ears. When it rained any great length of time, the ſheep grew ſtiff, and ſome of them died. In conſequence of this, they were alſo attacked with the dropſy (*aſcites*), which the peaſants cured by tapping them in the belly.

The ſheep are ſometimes ſhorn in this country, though the wool is ſeldom made uſe of; but the ſheep-ſkins are frequently given to the ſlaves unſhorn.

The *zygophyllum morgſana*, a handſome ſhrub, now adorned the hills with its bloſſoms, and appeared to be very proper for arbours.

A place or fold, where ſheep as well as horned cattle were incloſed in the open air, was called a Kraal. This place was always near the houſe. It was ſurrounded either by a mud-wall or by very prickly buſhes. For the purpoſe of letting the cattle in or out, an opening was left, before which was placed a gate or door. In theſe parts, where there was plenty of wood, theſe kraals were incloſed by felled trees, conſiſting of the *mimoſa nilotica* and *arduina biſpinoſa*, the moſt prickly of any almoſt in all Africa. Theſe fences keep off wolves, foxes, and other beaſts of prey, as well in conſequence of their breadth, as by their prickles.

The

The *mimoſa nilotica*, while it is cutting down, may ſometimes happen to fall upon a man, and its prickles to enter deep into his body, on which occaſion they may chance to break off, and ſtick faſt in it.

The antelopes eat the leaves of the *mimoſa nilotica*, and frequently the prickles of it run into their feet without doing them any injury.

In the crevices of the mountains a great number of Daſſes (*cavia capenſis*) were found, which were generally ſuppoſed to have the menſtrual flux: and the ſand-hills to the right harboured near the ſummit of their ſides a deep white ſand, which was driven about by the wind.

In a river, which had a ſmall creek, and in this a deep hole, I ſaw in miniature the manner in which Nature forms whirpools, or Maalſtroms. Above the hole, the froth and other impurities were carried round in a direction contrary to that of the current, and were drawn down in the centre.

On account of the flooding of the rivulets we were obliged to remain here a few days; and from hence we took our route on the 14th over the river Koree, which we croſſed twice, and afterwards paſſed over Sand River, which is frequently dried up, to Riet Fontein (Reed Fountein) and farther over Clas Vogt's Rivier, to a farm which at this time belonged to one Le Roux.

The *viſcum capenſe*, a paraſitic plant, was ſeen diſſeminated every where on the branches of trees (eſpecially of the *rhus*) by means of its berries, which the birds are fond of.

On the 15th, paſſing by Gert's houſe, we croſſed a very deep river, in our way to Philip Bota's: and went from thence paſt Droſki's houſe to Jacob Bota's.

Here they ſhewed me a ſpecimen of cat-ſilver (*mica argentea*) found in the mountains, which was mixed with a tranſparent and irregularly cryſtallized calcareous ſpar; as alſo a kind of bitumen, which the country-people were pleaſed to call Daſſes-p—; ſuppoſing it to be the inſpiſſated urine of the great mountain-rat (*cavia capenſis*) that is found there. I was informed that this bitumen was to be found in great abundance in the cracks and crevices of the mountain, eſpecially at one large projecting krants, or ſummit. The bitumen was very impure, and known to the country-people on account of its great uſe in fractures.

The branches of the wax-ſhrub (*myrica cordifolia*), the berries of which are covered with a fat ſubſtance reſembling bees-wax, were put whole into a pot of boiling-water, in order to melt and ſkim off the wax. It reſembles grey impure wax, is harder than tallow, and ſomewhat ſofter than wax. The farmers uſe it for candles, but the Hottentots eat it like a piece of bread, either with or without meat.

On the 17th, paſſing by Bruynties Rivier and Leeuwe Rivier (Lion River), we came to Keureboom's Rivier, which is ſo named from the trees (*ſophora capenſis*) which grow near it in abundance.

An infuſion of the root of *aſclepias undulata* was uſed as a remedy for the cholic.

Cryſtals of gypſum, which were ſaid to be found in the mountains of Africa, were uſed for cleanſing ulcers, when pounded and ſprinkled upon them.

On the 18th we paſſed Puſpas Valley and Rivier, and arrived at Zwellendam, the reſidence of one of the Company's land-droſts, whoſe juriſdiction extends over all the interior part of the country that lies beyond the ſpot, and whoſe office is in ſome reſpect, though not abſolutely, ſimilar to that of the governor of a province.

The acrid berries of the *fagara capenſis* were uſed both here and in other parts of the country in the cholic.

After dining with the land-droſt, M. Mentz, by whom we were received with the greateſt hoſpitality, we continued our journey acroſs the broad river, known by the name of Buffeljagt's Rivier, to one of the Company's poſts, called Riet Valley (Reed Valley), where we ſtayed ſeveral days, to arrange the collections we had made, and to repair our wretched carriage, which had been ſhattered to pieces by the ſtrong and mountainous road; a cart ſo ſmall, old, and crazy, that probably nobody, either before or after us, can boaſt of having made, in ſuch a vehicle, ſo long and dangerous a journey into this mountainous country.

The plains now began to abound more in graſs, and looked ſomething like meadows. The mountains which had followed us, as it were, all the way from Roode Zand, now terminated gradually in large declivities like ſteps and hills. In the ſame proportion, likewiſe, the herds of cattle became larger, and occurred more frequently; while the vineyards and corn-fields which, however, were not wanting as yet, grew more and more ſcarce.

We were told that infectious diſtempers frequently prevailed among the cattle here, and that the Boandziekte was not uncommon. It was deſcribed as firſt attacking the lungs and liver, and then the other parts of the body; in conſequence of which the fleſh became ſo ſoft and tender, that there was hardly any coheſion left between the fibres.

Not far from this farm of the Company's, which particularly furniſhes it with large timber, in a cleft in the mountains, ſtood a large wood, called Grootvader's Boſch, or Grandfather's Wood. To this we made an excurſion, with a view of becoming acquainted with the indigenous trees of Africa. After paſſing by a farm-honſe called Rietkeul, we arrived at Duyvenhoek's Rivier, at a ſpot which had obtained the name of Helle (or hell) on account of the mountain at this part forming a very deep valley. The foreſt was very thick and lofty, but unfortunately the trees at this ſeaſon had neither bloſſom nor fruit on them, to ſatisfy my curioſity.

Camaſſie-hout was a very fine ſort of wood, uſed for the borders of cheſts of drawers, and of other pieces of furniture.

Stink-hoot (ſtink-wood), which reſembles the walnut-tree, is a tall tree, and is uſed for making writing-deſks and cheſts of drawers.

Geel-hout, or yellow wood (*ilex crocea*), is a large tree, the wood of which is very heavy, more or leſs of a pale yellow colour, and is uſed for making tables.

A rock cryſtal that was found here was ſhown to me, of the length of the little finger, and pointed at both ends.

A ſpecies of pepper (*piper capenſe*) that was found in abundance in the wood here, was called by the country people Staart Pepper or tail-pepper, and uſed by them as a ſpice.

We left our cart at the Company's poſt, and in the place of it procured a large waggon tilted over with ſail-cloth, together with ten freſh oxen to continue our intended expedition to the coaſt of Caffraria.

Not far from this farm there lived a few Hottentots, who were ſometimes employed in the ſervice of the farm and the Company. They were quite mad after brandy and tobacco, and ſeemed to place their whole delight in filth and ſtench. Their bodies were beſmeared all over with greaſe, and powdered with the powder of Bucku (*dioſma*); and to ſhow us reſpect as ſtrangers, they had painted themſelves beſides with red and black ſtreaks. The women wore a triangular piece of ſkin, and the men a bag or pouch, on the fore-part of their bodies, for the ſake of decency. Round the neck, arms, and waiſt, they were decorated with ſtrings of blue, white, red, and

motley coloured glaſs-beads in ſeveral rows. Some of them wore rings of iron, braſs, or leather round their arms. A ſheep-ſkin, thrown over their hips, and another over their back, conſtituted the whole of their apparel. The tobacco-pipe was continually in their mouths. They ſubſiſt upon their cattle, and upon bulbous roots, which they are very ready at finding out and digging up in the fields.

For want of clocks, the coloniſts always meaſure time by the courſe of the ſun.

On the 23d and 24th we paſſed over Krakous Rivier, and Krakous Heights (Krakous Hoogt), and at noon arrived at Vett Rivier, and afterwards croſſing this river, paſſed by ſeveral farm-houſes.

In theſe plains the aloe-tree (*aloe perfoliata*), from the leaves of which the gum aloe diſtils, grew in greater abundance than I ever obſerved it to do in any other place.

The ſheep here were feeding on various poiſonous plants, ſuch as the *rhus lucidum*, *lycium afrum*, *&c.*

On the 25th we viſited Martin Lagrans, at Palmit Rivier, a farmer, who had as many fowls as ſupplied him with a hundred eggs every day.

From thence croſſing Zoet-melks Rivier (New-milk River), and paſſing by Zwarte Valley, or Black Vale, we came to a farm called Wel te Vrede (Well ſatisfied) near Valſe Rivier (or Falſe River).

Hard-by Zwarte Valley, to the left, the rock plainly appeared to contain iron.

On the 27th paſſing by Groote Valley, or the Great Valley, and croſſing the broad river, called Goud's River, we arrived at Daniel Pinard's.

Here we were informed, the *rabies canina* and *vulpina* had prevailed.

I obſerved that the peaſants here practiſed a curious method of clearing their poultry-houſes from vermin. Theſe houſes are conſtructed of clay, almoſt like large ovens; and when they are infected with vermin, the owners have nothing more to do, than to put a little ſtraw into them, and ſet it on fire, in order to be rid of thoſe unwelcome gueſts.

On the 28th, we paſſed by a large rock, which, on account of its harbouring bees, has obtained the name of the Honey Rock (Honing Klip), and reached a farm-houſe, ſituated near Attaquas Kloof. The Honey Rock yields, at a great diſtance, a remarkable echo, that repeats ſeveral ſyllables ſucceſſively, on which account it was an object of attention to us in this place.

The wood of the olive-tree (*olea capenſis*), which was white and very heavy, ſerved to make chairs of.

It is true, wheat was not ſown here in great quantities, but the ſoil was ſaid to be ſo fertile, and the roots of the thinly-ſown corn to branch out ſo much, that every grain always produced ſeveral ears. They aſſured us that they had frequently counted twenty, nay, as far as eighty ears, that proceeded from one root. This I conceived to be ſcarcely credible, and in order to gain more accurate information on this ſubject, I undertook to count them myſelf in the field; when I found, that from one ſingle grain of wheat, a great many ears had frequently ſprung up, though the number of thoſe that I examined, did not amount to more than one and forty.

The Hottentots we had hitherto met with in our expedition had either been brought up by the Europeans, or in the neighbourhood of their farms, and conſequently were often much altered from their natural ſtate. Thoſe we viſited now, and eſpecially after this period, lived moſtly at a greater diſtance from the Europeans, had ſometimes villages and families of their own, and preſented themſelves to us more and more in a ſtate of nature, that is to ſay, in the ſtate in which we were deſirous of becoming better acquainted with them.

A century ago it was much eaſier to ſearch into, and get acquainted with, the peculiar manners and mode of living of this people, at which period they dwelt nearer the Cape, were more numerous, and enjoyed their priſtine liberty. Now, the way to their abodes is very long, their ſocieties ſmall, their manners and way of life much altered, and the whole nation under great reſtraint.

Some of thoſe that lived as ſervants with the coloniſts ſpoke Dutch tolerably well. When the farmers firſt ſettled in this part of the world, they found the Hottentots to be very much afraid of gunpowder and fire-arms, not being able, as they expreſſed themſelves, to form the leaſt idea of their arrows, meaning their balls, of which, after they were ſhot, they could not diſcern the flight; nor of their ſcrews, which they could not pull out again, as they could nails.

We heard frequent mention made of a Hottentot, who had died a few years before, and who, in conſequence of having been toſſed by a wild buffalo, had loſt the whole of his lower jaw, notwithſtanding which, he had lived twelve or thirteen years after the accident. He could not ſpeak a word; as for his victuals, he pounded them between two ſtones, (which are commonly uſed by the Hottentots inſtead of a peſtle and mortar,) and then crammed them down his throat with his fingers. He made, likewiſe, ſhift to ſmoke tobacco, by holding his hand over the aperture. At laſt he had the good fortune to ſhoot the very buffalo which had brought this diſaſter upon him.

The leaves of the *atragene viſicatoria* were uſed by the country-people in this and other places, inſtead of Cantharides. Bruiſed, and applied to any part of the body, in the ſpace of half an hour they raiſed a large bliſter, which keeps open a long time. The root alſo cut into ſlices, and applied to any part of the body, draws ſo powerfully, that if it lies on all night the ſore will keep open for a month. This plant grew chiefly near the precipices of mountains, and is uſed in rheumatic and other pains.

All along from Roode Zand, we had now proceeded nearly due ſouth-eaſt, through a country ſurrounded on both ſides with mountains, of which the ridge that lay to the right of us was now at an end, without reaching as far as the ſea-ſhore. The ridge we had on our left ſtretched ſtill farther on, ſo that, as we wiſhed to penetrate deeper into the country, we were under the neceſſity of croſſing it.

Such a paſſage may be effected through Attaquas Kloof, a vale of ſuch a length, that it requires almoſt a day's journey to paſs through it.

On the 29th, we took a reſolution to ſend our waggon this way, with Mr. Immelman, and to make a round on horſeback ourſelves, through the verdant and woody country of the Hautniquas, (which lay to the right of us, and extended quite to the ſea-ſhore,) and afterwards to croſs the mountains in another place, and join our waggon in Lange Kloof.

With this view, paſſing by Little and Great Black Rivers, we came to Zout Fontein, a farm, belonging to a man of the name of Vivier; afterwards we rode through a woody dale, and paſt a colony, where we ſaw only a few Hottentots tending the cattle, and at laſt arrived at Klein Fontein, or the Little Fountain, near Wittel's Rivier.

The following days we continued our journey paſt two or three coloniſts' houſes, to George Bota, at his farm of Sandvliet, near Keerom Rivier, where we reſted ourſelves a little. In our road we caught a yellow ſerpent, ſix inches long, and not venomous, under ſome ſtones.

Of the bark of the *anthyllis*, the Hottentots have the art of making ropes, by means of which they aſcend trees, as by a ladder, when they want to get honey out of them. For this purpoſe, they firſt tie a nooſe round the trunk, in which they put one foot, then

they faſten another nooſe higher up, and when mounted in that, untie the former, and ſo on.

Roads, that can be properly ſo called, are not to be found in all this ſouthern part of Africa; yet the way which people in general take, when they travel, is pretty well beaten in the neighbourhood of the Cape; farther down in the country, indeed, very often not the leaſt veſtige of a road appears. Therefore, in plains that are either very extenſive, or covered with underwood, it may eaſily happen that a traveller ſhall loſe his way; ſo that he ought to be well acquainted with, and accurately obſerve, the marks, by which he may get into the right road again. He muſt ſee then whether there be any ſheep's-dung in the field, which ſhews that there is a farm-houſe in the vicinity; and likewiſe, whether he can diſcover any herds of cattle grazing, or any corn-field.

The country here, in general, conſiſted of extenſive plains, full of rich paſture, interſperſed with hillocks and valleys, that abounded in wood and water.

The trees in the woods were large and tall, but for the moſt part crooked and miſſhapen, and at the ſame time covered with moſs, like thoſe in the northern regions.

The Hottentot women here wore a little cockle-ſhell (*nerita hiſtrio*, and the *cypræa moneta*), by way of ornament, both on their caps, and round their wriſts, in the form of bracelets. Their cap is a ſlip of buffalo leather, of a hand's breadth, without any crown, ornamented on the outſide with theſe ſhells in various rows, according to the different taſte and wealth of the owner.

The Hottentots of this place had a cuſtom, which is not general with this nation, of wearing a bag of leather, that hung by a ſtrap over their ſhoulders, quite down on their hips. At the lower end it was ornamented with thongs of leather, like fringes, to which were tied ſhells, that made a rattling noiſe. This bag ſerved to keep various articles in.

Other Hottentot women wore on their heads a ſtriped conical cap, made of ſeveral narrow ſlips of black, white, and brown lamb-ſkins, in their natural ſtate, ſewed together. Theſe caps were alſo, ſometimes, decorated with glaſs beads, fixed on them in various forms, or hanging down like ſtrings of pearls.

Round their arms and legs they generally wore rings of ox-hides, which I had here the opportunity of ſeeing made. The ſlips, cut from the hide, were beaten till they were quite round, and both the ends ſtuck ſo faſt together, that it could not be perceived where they were joined. Theſe rings they afterwards forced over their feet, wearing, eſpecially the women, ſuch a number of them, as to cover half the leg or more. I have alſo ſometimes ſeen them waſh, and afterwards greaſe theſe rings.

In the eggs of oſtriches, as I was informed, a ſtone was ſometimes found, which was ſet, and uſed for buttons.

There are inſtances of an European's having married a Hottentot woman, who has then been baptized. But it has more frequently happened, that a coloniſt, without regular marriage, has had ſeveral children by a Hottentot miſtreſs, and that theſe children have been baptized when they were ſeveral years old.

In many places I obſerve the land to have been ſet on fire for the purpoſe of clearing it, though in a very different manner from what is done in the north. Divers plains here produce a very high ſort of graſs, which being of too coarſe a nature, and unfit food for cattle, is not conſumed, and thus prevents freſh verdure from ſhooting up; not to mention that it harbours a great number of ſerpents and beaſts of prey. Such a piece of land as this, therefore, is ſet on fire to the end that new graſs may ſpring up from the roots. Now if any of theſe places were overgrown with buſhes, theſe latter

were burned quite black, and left ſtanding in this ſooty condition for a great length of time afterwards, to my great vexation, as well as that of other travellers, who were obliged to paſs through them.

Almoſt every day we were wet to the ſkin, in conſequence of deluging ſhowers of rain, which were ſometimes accompanied with thunder. Though at this ſeaſon they have always fine weather near the Cape, it appeared as if winter and the rainy ſeaſon had not yet taken leave of this part of the country. The rain was the more troubleſome to us, as, beſides that we had no opportunity of getting ſhelter here, and the ſhort intervals of ſun-ſhine were not ſufficient to dry us when wet to the ſkin; the ground, likewiſe, eſpecially of the hills, was now ſo wet and ſlippery, that our horſes being, according to the invariable cuſtom of the country, unſhod, ſtumbled continually, and in many places we were in great danger of breaking our arms and legs.

On the 2d of November we were overtaken by ſome remarkably heavy ſhowers, when we croſſed Quaiman's Drift, a river which, like many other rivers here near the ſea, riſes and falls with the tide; and, after paſſing through ſeveral woody vales and rivers, at length arrived at Magerman's Kraal, a colony or grazing-farm, belonging to Frederick Seelf.

More weary and wet, or in a worſe plight, we never could have been, and worſe we could never have been accommodated than at this place. No European dwelt here, but a black female ſlave acted in her maſter's abſence as miſtreſs of the houſe, and had the ſuperintendance over a great herd of cattle, and over the Hottentots that tended them. The houſe was an oblong cottage, conſtructed of timber, and daubed all over with clay. In this I and my companions, with a great number of Hottentots, were obliged to paſs the night, happy to have ſome kind of ſhelter from the rain, wind, and cold.

As in the courſe of the few days ſince we had left our waggon, we had made ſome collections, and therefore could not poſſibly ſtow every thing upon our horſes' backs, we were under the neceſſity of taking three oxen from the houſe above-mentioned, to carry our baggage, and three Hottentots to lead them.

Oxen are much uſed in theſe parts, when tamed and broken in by the Hottentots, to carry burdens. Theſe oxen have a hole through the cartilage of their noſe, in which is put a ſtick, at both ends of which are faſtened ſtraps, like a bridle, by the help of which the oxen are guided.

In different places we obſerved pits dug, like thoſe in which wolves are uſually caught, and in which, when well covered over by the Hottentots, buffaloes and wild beaſts are taken.

The Hottentots always carry the javelin or two (Aſſagays) with them on their journeys. Theſe aſſagays conſiſt of an iron-ſpear hollowed out on each ſide about ſix inches long, with or without an iron ſhaft, which is ſometimes round and ſmooth, and ſometimes grooved. This ſpear is faſtened with thongs of leather to a ſlender round ſtick, five feet long, made of the aſſagay wood (*curtiſia faginea*), and tapering towards the end. With theſe lances, which they throw with great dexterity to the diſtance even of one hundred paces, they defend themſelves againſt their enemies and wild beaſts, and are able to kill with them, buffaloes, and other animals.

Inſtead of China-veſſels and calabaſhes, poverty had taught them to uſe the ſhells of the tortoiſes, which frequent the buſhes in the ſandy plains, particularly the *teſtudo minuta* and *geometrica*.

From their frequent beſmearing themſelves, as well as from the heat of the climate, the Hottentot women have always very flabby breaſts, that hang down very low. And therefore,

therefore, at the ſame time that they carry their infants on their back, they can with the greateſt eaſe throw the breaſt to them over their ſhoulder. Theſe in ſhape and ſize ſometimes very much reſembled calabaſhes; but among the curious ſights that attracted our notice in this ſolitary place, was a Hottentot girl, whoſe breaſts were ſo long, that they hung down as low as to her thighs, and were the largeſt that I ever ſaw among this people.

Here, alſo, I learned a curious way of baking bread ſpeedily without an oven. The flour was kneaded up with water in the uſual manner to dough, of this afterwards a thick cake was made, which was laid in the embers, and covered with them, ſo that in conſequence of the heat communicated to it, it was ſoon thoroughly baked; but the aſhes that adhered to it made it ſo dirty, that they were obliged to ſcrape it before they could eat it.

The Hottentots always ſit before the fire, ſquatted down upon their hams, on which occaſion the women conſtantly lay the covering of their modeſty, which is here worn in the form of a ſquare, underneath them. The huts in theſe parts were formed of wooden ſtakes, round, and were convex and low, and covered with ſtraw mats, in the form of a hay-ſtack, with a ſmall aperture in the front, where the fire is made.

At the dawn of day, on the 3d of November, we ſet out again on our journey, and croſſed ſeveral rivers, ſuch as the Krakakou, Ao, Koukuma, and Neiſena. The woods we paſſed through were narrow, and full of prickly buſhes. We could find no other paſſage through them than the tracks of the Hottentots, ſo that we were obliged to creep on all fours, and lead our horſes by the bridle. Auge, the gardener, having travelled this way before, was now our guide, and we had left the Hottentots with our oxen behind us. In the afternoon, we arrived at Koukuma Rivier. We forded over one of its branches, and intended to paſs through a thicket to a farm which we diſcovered on an eminence on the other ſide of this thicket, belonging to one Helgert Muller; but we had not advanced far into the wood before we had the misfortune of meeting with a large old male buffalo, which was lying down quite alone, in a ſpot that was free from buſhes, for the ſpace of a few ſquare yards. He no ſooner diſcovered Auge, who went firſt, than roaring horribly he ruſhed upon him. The gardener turning his horſe ſhort round, behind a large tree, by that means got in ſome meaſure out of the buffalo's ſight, which now ruſhed ſtraight forwards towards the ſerjeant, who followed next, and gored his horſe in the belly in ſuch a terrible manner, that it fell on its back that inſtant, with its feet turned up in the air, and all its entrails hanging out; in which ſtate it lived almoſt half an hour. The gardener and the ſerjeant, in the meantime, had climbed up into trees, where they thought themſelves ſecure. The buffalo, after this firſt atchievement, now appeared to take his courſe towards the ſide where we were approaching, and, therefore, could not have failed in his way to pay his compliments to me, who all the while was walking towards him, and in the narrow paſs formed by the boughs and branches of the trees, and, on account of the ruſtling noiſe theſe made againſt my ſaddle and baggage, had neither ſeen nor heard any thing of what had paſſed. As in my way I frequently ſtopped to take up plants, and put them into my handkerchief, I generally kept behind my companions, that I might not hinder their progreſs; ſo that I was now at a ſmall diſtance behind them.

The ſerjeant had brought two horſes with him for his journey. One of them had already been diſpatched, and the other now ſtood juſt in the way of the buffalo, who was going out of the wood. As ſoon as the buffalo ſaw this ſecond horſe, he became more outrageous than before, and attacked it with ſuch fury, that he not only drove his horns into the horſe's breaſt and out again through the very ſaddle, but alſo threw

it

it to the ground with ſuch violence, that it died that very inſtant, and all the bones in its body were broken. Juſt at the moment that he was occupied with this latter horſe, I came up to the opening, where the wood was ſo thick, that I had neither room to turn my horſe round, nor to get on one ſide. I was therefore obliged to abandon him to his fate, and take refuge in a tolerably high tree, up which I climbed.

The buffalo having finiſhed this his ſecond exploit, ſuddenly turned round, and ſhaped his courſe the ſame way which we had intended to take.

From the place I was in, and the eminence I had gained, I could plainly perceive one of the horſes quite dead, the other ſprawling with its feet and endeavouring to riſe, which it had not ſtrength to do, and the other two horſes ſhivering with fear, and unable to make their eſcape; but I could neither ſee nor hear any thing of my fellow-travellers and companions, which induced me to fear that they had fallen victims to the firſt tranſports of the buffalo's fury. I therefore made all poſſible haſte to ſearch for them, to ſee if I could in any way aſſiſt them; but not diſcovering any traces of them in the whole field of battle, I began to call out after them; when I diſcovered theſe magnanimous heroes ſitting faſt, like two cats, on the trunk of a tree, with their guns on their backs, loaded with fine ſhot, and unable to utter a ſingle word.

I encouraged them as well as I could, and adviſed them to come down, and get away as faſt as poſſible from ſuch a dangerous place, where we ran the riſk of being once more attacked. The ſerjeant at length burſt out into tears, deploring the loſs of his two ſpirited ſteeds; but the gardener was ſo ſtrongly affected, that he could ſcarcely ſpeak for ſome days after.

Thus we went back to the very ſpot from which we ſet out, and, after paſſing ſome very tireſome hills, arrived at the place of our deſtination; but as the ſerjeant could not croſs the river without a horſe, I took him up behind me, and after having left him my horſe, walked on to the houſe.

Here my firſt care was to diſpatch ſome Hottentots to the thicket, to take the ſaddles off the two horſes, which hereafter might be of ſervice. Theſe Hottentots armed themſelves with lances, their uſual weapons, and informed us that they had before obſerved that one ſolitary buffalo haunted that wood, which, as they ſaid, was ſo ſpiteful, that he had been driven away from the herd by the other buffaloes, and was obliged to live alone.

No European was to be found in this place, there being none but Hottentots, nor any other hut than thoſe which were inhabited by the Hottentots themſelves, and which, on account of the vermin they harboured, no European, even in a caſe of the greateſt neceſſity, could ever think of lodging in.

We were therefore obliged, with a ſtraw mat under us, a ſaddle under our head, and a fire at our feet, to paſs the night in the open air. Fortunately for us, the ſky was very clear and ſerene; but at the ſame time the cold was ſo great, that we could not ſleep, being obliged every hour to riſe and warm ourſelves all over before the fire, for the purpoſe of making which, we had had the foreſight to order a ſufficient quantity of logs and bruſh-wood to be brought to the hut the night before.

Hemp (*cannabis ſativa*) was cultivated here by the Hottentots in a very ſmall incloſure. This is a plant univerſally uſed in this country, though for a purpoſe very different from that to which it is applied by the induſtrious European. The Hottentot loves nothing ſo well as tobacco, and with no other thing can he be ſo eaſily enticed into a man's ſervice; but for ſmoking, and for producing a pleaſing intoxication, he finds this poiſonous plant not ſufficiently ſtrong, and therefore in order to procure himſelf this pleaſure more ſpeedily and deliciouſly, he mixes his tobacco with hemp chopped very

very fine. It is ſurpriſing, that this nation, although, before the arrival of the Europeans it had no intercourſe with the reſt of the world, and conſequently was ignorant of the uſe of tobacco, ſhould, notwithſtanding, become ſo diſtractedly fond of this poiſonous plant; and that for it and brandy they could be induced to ſell to the Dutch a conſiderable portion of their land near the Cape; a tranſaction which has coſt them ſo dear, both with reſpect to their liberty and to the land of their fore-fathers.

On the 4th we quitted this place, and in the evening reached Peter Plant's farm, called Melkhout Kraal, near the Deep River.

The ſerjeant was obliged to put up with an ox by way of nag for two days, as no horſe was to be found hereabouts; this anſwered tolerably well, though it was very fatiguing, as well on account of the breadth of the ox's back, as becauſe he could uſe no ſtirrups.

On the 5th we croſſed Piſang Rivier, to go to Jacob Bota's farm, called alſo Piſang Rivier.

This farm, which was entirely a grazing farm, was ſituated not far from the ſea-ſhore, and a whole ſociety, conſiſting of more than fifty Hottentots, were here in the ſervice of this farmer, lived in his vicinity, and were ſupported by him. The harbour here was very wide and beautiful.

The farmer himſelf was not at home, having ſet out for the Cape that very day; but an old faithful Hottentot was in the mean-time our kind and attentive hoſt, and gave us all neceſſary aſſiſtance.

My two fellow-travellers, not having yet got the better of their terror, and wearied out with the many croſſes they had met with in the courſe of their journey, now reſolved here to ſet bounds at once to their dangers and their curioſity, ſmall as this latter was, and to make the beſt of their way back from hence to the Cape, where they might get more wine to drink, and be leſs liable to be frightened by buffaloes. But when I repreſented to them what a cowardly appearance this would have, and that they had made but a ſmall collection as yet, likewiſe that we were ſeparated from our waggon, our other fellow-traveller, and the reſt of our baggage; adding beſides, that though they ſhould accompany me no farther, I was nevertheleſs determined to purſue my journey, they were at laſt perſuaded to alter their reſolution.

However, I let my doleful companions reſt here for a few days, while I viſited the ſea-ſhore, and the adjacent mountains, which were covered with ſhrubs and buſhes of various kinds, and particularly with the *arduina biſpinoſa*, ſo that in ſeveral places they were impenetrable; and in theſe I was frequently ſo much entangled, that I was obliged to crawl for a long way on the tops of the ſtiff buſhes, which with their ſharp prickles tore my hands and clothes all to tatters. The bare-footed Hottentot who accompanied me, was ſo much lacerated and ſo bloody, as to be a real object of compaſſion; but in my ſearch after plants, having loſt my way in the thicket, we had no other reſource left. At the foot of the mountains were flat rocks, on which ſeals lay ſleeping in the ſun; a circumſtance, whence the mountain has its name of Robbeberg (or Seal Mountain). It projects a great way into the ſea, like a peninſula, and is covered with ſmall ſea-ſhells (*conchæ*).

The Robbeberg is a ſingular mountain, and different from any other that I have ſeen in Africa. Its middlemoſt ſtratum is a very firm concretion of round and irregularly-ſhaped pebbles, and indurated lime, about four fathoms broad. It perfectly reſembles a piece of maſonry. The uppermoſt ſtratum appeared to me to be a browniſh rock. The lowermoſt is ſand-ſtone. On another ſide of the mountain there is a heap of indurated ſand, which the water has ſcooped holes into. In ſome places the ſand had concreted

concreted with clay in a tubular form, and large maſſes of it had fallen down. The flat foot of the mountain, towards the ſea, had various holes in it of different ſizes, ſome of them as round as if they had been turned, and others oblong. On one ſide, the loweſt ſtratum was a whitiſh-grey quartz, that was greaſy to the touch. The mountain had, moreover, long clefts and crevices, in which hung a number of thick ſtalactites, covered with a fine down-like ſubſtance, which was ſometimes quite green. The ſand-ſtone was of a very fine grain.

The *ſtrelitſia*, with its yellow flowers and blue *nectarium*, grew near this ſpot, and was one of the moſt beautiful plants, of which the bulbs were procured to ſend to Europe. The Hottentots were ſaid to eat the fruit of it.

The Hottentots were at no great pains in dreſſing their victuals. Buffalo's fleſh was merely cut into ſlices, and then ſmoked, and at the ſame time half broiled in the embers over a few coals; this was eaten without bread, though, perhaps, it was in the firſt ſtage of putrefaction.

It is a cuſtom among the Hottentots, that if a cow is barren, ſhe muſt be killed; but in this caſe its fleſh is eaten by married people only, and not by thoſe that are ſingle.

Greaſe is the great dainty of the Hottentots, which they are not only fond of eating, but can alſo drink without finding any inconvenience from it.

The ſmall huts of the Hottentots are at times ſo full of vermin, both of the hopping and creeping kind, as not to be habitable by them: they are then forced to remove them to another place, a removal which does not take a very long time, neither is it particularly expenſive. I have ſeen it performed with the greateſt agility and diſpatch. Firſt, a few withies were fixed in the earth, and bent in the form of arches to determine the height of the hut, and give it a rotund figure. Theſe are afterwards covered with ruſhes, or mats made of ruſhes (*cyperus textilis*), which keep out both wind and rain. All round the bottom dung is laid, to make the hut tight and cloſe in that part.

Su Koa (Potteſlaan) was the name given by the Hottentots to a drum they ſometimes uſed to beat to their muſic. Over a pot with water in it was extended a ſheep-ſkin, which had previouſly been well ſoaked, and was tied round the edge of the pot with a leathern thong. The fingers of the left-hand being placed near the edge, and the thumb in the middle, they beat with the two firſt fingers of the right-hand upon the other edge, which produced a dull heavy ſound, that had nothing pleaſing in it. To this wretched muſic a Hottentot would dance in the following manner: holding in his right-hand a ſtring faſtened to the roof or wall, and remaining on the ſame ſpot, he hopped firſt on one foot, and then upon the other, all the while beating time with them. During this he writhed his body in various curves, and threw his head from one ſhoulder to the other in a ſemicircular direction; all the while ſinging, and all this to a certain modulation. One of theſe dances will ſometimes laſt a conſiderable time, and throws the dancer into a violent perſpiration. They always wipe the ſweat off their faces with a fox's tail.

I obſerved ſeveral things for which the Hottentots had no words in their own language, ſuch as Coffee, Houſings, Company (Compagnie).

The women carried their infants on their backs under the ſheep-ſkin, which they call a Kroſs; the child was faſtened by a leathern ſtrap that went round the mother's and its own neck, and was farther ſecured by another ſtrap that paſſed over the kroſs under its poſteriors, the mother all the while attending to her buſineſs as uſual.

Some of the women here wore ſtrings of glaſs-beads round their legs, others had the dependent ſides of their kroſs ornamented with beads, which, among other things, they receive of the farmers for their wages. Others had a tortoiſe-ſhell hanging at their backs,

in which they preſerved either their tobacco or bucku (*dioſma*). For want of clay tobacco-pipes they uſe wooden ones.

The farmers themſelves, for want of proper veſſels, were often obliged to keep their milk and honey in leathern bags.

The fields hereabouts were full of wild buffaloes, ſo that it was not uncommon to ſee a hundred or two of them in a herd. They generally lie ſtill in the thickets and woods in the day-time, and in the night go out into the fields to graze.

The houſe in which we were lodged was roomy and large, well conſtructed of clay, with doors, and with ſhutters before the window-holes, as glaſs windows could not be eaſily procured from ſo great a diſtance as the Cape. The whole roof in the kitchen was hung with thick ſlices of buffalo's fleſh, which, being dried and ſmoked, they eat as hung-beef.

Buffaloes were ſhot here by a Hottentot, who had been trained to this buſineſs by the farmer, and in this manner found the whole family in meat, without having recourſe to the herd. The balls were counted out to him every time he went a ſhooting, and he was obliged to furniſh the ſame number of dead buffaloes as he received of balls. Thus the many Hottentots that lived here were ſupported without expence, and without the decreaſe of the tame cattle, which conſtitute the whole of the farmer's wealth. The greateſt part of the fleſh of the buffalo falls to the ſhare of the Hottentots, but the hide to that of the maſter.

The Hottentots dreſſed the buffaloes' hides in the following manner: the hide was ſtretched out on the ground by means of ſtakes, after which warm aſhes were ſtrewed over it, and the hair ſcraped off with a knife or ſpade.

For want of the ſhoes uſually worn in other places, which could not be procured ſo far up in the country, and which frequently even the farmers at the Cape cannot afford to buy, they generally wear here what are called field-ſhoes, which the country-people uſually make themſelves, in a way peculiar to them, for the moſt part of buffalo leather, ſometimes of neats leather, and ſometimes, though more rarely, of the ſtriped hide of the zebra.

It was pleaſing to obſerve with what cordiality the Hottentots, as well thoſe who lived upon the farm, as the ſtrangers who had accompanied us hither, offered each other the regale of the tobacco-pipe. Having ſet themſelves down in a circle, the pipe went from one to the other round the whole company. Each man taking a few large whiffs, at laſt gets his mouth full of ſmoke, a ſmall part of which he ſwallows, and puffs out the remainder through his noſe and mouth.

From the woods of Houtniquas the peaſants, who live near the diſtrict of Muſcle Bay, ſell both rough and cut timber, notwithſtanding the length and roughneſs of the road; but from hence the farmers have nothing elſe to carry to market, except oxen for ſlaughter, and butter. If any kind of navigation were ſet on foot, either from this coaſt or from Muſcle Bay, the carriage would be eaſier, and the commodities, eſpecially the timber, cheaper; but this has as yet either not been thought of, or elſe, perhaps, it has not been deemed of any uſe.

Our creſt-fallen ſerjeant having now in ſome meaſure recovered his ſpirits, and procured the loan of a ſaddle-horſe here, we reſumed our journey on the 10th of November, travelling up the country, and towards the mountains, in hopes, on the other ſide of them, of meeting with our waggon, and better fortune. Paſſing by another farm, belonging to Bota, we went through two rivers to Malagaſs Kraal; and afterwards proceeded up Keureboom's Rivier to Jackall's Kraal.

At

At Keureboom's Rivier, Houtniquas Land terminated on this ſide, a land abounding in graſs, wood, and buffaloes. We farther rode over the mountains, and all along them beyond Keureboom's Rivier to Peter Jager's farm.

Here we were refreſhed, thirſty as we were, with Hottentots ſack-milk, as it is called, which, perhaps, few travellers, unleſs urged by extreme thirſt, will be able to prevail on themſelves to taſte. It is a very acid, cool, and refreſhing milk, remarkable as well for the veſſel in which it is kept, as for its great age. I had formerly imagined, that the ſour milk of Norrland (in Sweden), which is ſeveral months old, was the oldeſt milk in the world, but I now found that the Hottentots ſack-milk might at leaſt be conſidered as grand-mother to the Norrland milk. The veſſel in which it is kept, is the hide of an antelope (Eland, Capra Oreas), which is ſewed up cloſe together, and hung up againſt the wall. Other hides were ſaid to be not ſo fit for the purpoſe. In one of theſe ſacks thus hung up, new milk is put, which turns ſour and coagulates. Every day more new milk is poured in, which likewiſe ſoon coagulates, as the ſack is not cleaned out for the ſpace of ſeveral months at leaſt, and frequently not for a year or two.

The Hottentots ſeldom churn any butter; and when they do, it is only to beſmear themſelves with. The Maquas Hottentots are ſaid to churn in the following manner: new milk is poured into a leather bag, which two Hottentots holding by the ends, ſhake the milk in it from one end to the other, till it coagulates.

On the 11th, we paſſed over the very lofty mountains that lead to Lange Kloof, in our way to farmer Matthew Zondag's. Watery clouds hung all over the mountains, by the piercing vapours of which, though it did not rain, we were wetted quite to the ſkin. The ſides of the mountain that we paſſed over, were ſometimes ſo ſteep, and the path ſo narrow, that we did not croſs it but at the hazard of our lives, and ſhuddered when we looked down the precipice. The country on the other ſide, or Lange Kloof, was very elevated, in compariſon with that from whence we came, and conſequently the mountains there were low, when compared with the dreadful height which they exhibited on the other ſide, towards the ſea coaſt.

At this farm they made ſoap from a ley, prepared from the Canna Buſh (Salſola Aphylla), which was boiled a long time and inſpiſſated; when mutton ſuet was added till the maſs acquired a proper conſiſtence. It was then poured out, and formed into long ſquares.

On the 13th, we paid a viſit to Peter Frere, a man who was a great hunter of elephants, and had made long journeys, as far as into the country of the Caffres. Among other particulars, he informed us, that the Hottentots cannot count farther than five in their own language.

On the 16th, going from this man's farm here, called Miſgunſt (or Envy), on the banks of Diep Rivier (or the Deep River), we paſſed by another farm of his, near Aapies Rivier, in our way to Klipp-drift, and afterwards acroſs Krakeel Rivier, to Matthew Streidung's.

Here I ſaw a great number of tombs, conſiſting of ſmall heaps of ſtones. I ſtrictly enquired after their origin, but no European could give me any account of them. An old Hottentot informed me, that the inhabitants of this tract had died of ulcers, in great numbers, which gave me no ſmall reaſon to conclude, that this place had been well inhabited, and even populous, and that it was the ſmall-pox which had made this extraordinary devaſtation.

On the 17th, after paſſing Peter Nickert's farm, called Onverwāgt, we went over Waageboom's Rivier, to Henry Kruger's.

The wild Turkey (Tantalus), which now began to make its appearance, was ſaid to quit the country during the winter, and to return in the months of September and October.

The Meloë Chichorei, with its many varieties, devoured the beans, and other products of the gardens.

In Lange Kloof it is very cold in the winter, and ſnow falls, juſt as at the back of Witſen Mountain.

On the 18th, we arrived at Thomas Frere's, near Kromme Rivier (or Crooked River).

The country as far as here, gradually ſank lower and lower as it proceeded towards the ſea-ſhore, ſo that Lange Kloof was far more elevated than the country about Kromme Rivier.

On the 19th we arrived at Eſſeboſch, a fine foreſt, in almoſt a plain and level country. It had rained the whole day, and it continued pouring during the evening and night, ſo that being wet to the ſkin, we were under the neceſſity, four of us, to crouch under the tilt of our waggon, in expectation of better weather in the morning. The Hottentots, who accompanied us, were obliged to take ſhelter under the waggon, as it was quite impoſſible to keep up any fire.

On the 20th, fair weather and ſun-ſhine; but as we could not get at any dry clothes, we were obliged to let thoſe we had on, dry on our bodies in the ſun. We now rode on to Diep Rivier, Leuwe-boſch Rivier, and ſo on to Zee-ko Rivier.

Here we were informed, that lions were ſometimes ſeen in the mountains, and that they had formerly reſorted thither in great numbers; but were now moſtly extirpated.

The Bread-tree (Zamia Caffra) is a ſpecies of palm, which grows on the hills, below the mountains, in theſe tracts. It was of the height and thickneſs of a man at moſt, very much ſpread, and ſingle. I have ſometimes ſeen from one root, two or three ſtems ſpring. It is out of the pith (*medulla*) of this tree, that the Hottentots contrive to prepare their bread. For this purpoſe, after ſcooping out the pith, they bury it in the earth, and leave it there for the ſpace of two months to rot, after which they knead it, and make it into a cake, which, in their uſual ſlovenly and filthy manner, they ſlightly bake in the embers. I obſerved that the tree ſtood in dry ſterile places, between ſtones, and grew ſlowly.

At Kromme Rivier, a ſhell-fiſh (*ſolen ſiliqua*) was ſaid to be found in holes in the banks, which it is impoſſible to catch by digging after it; but the method of fiſhing for it was, by running a ſtake into it, and then drawing it out.

The ridge of mountains, which at Roode Zand we had on our left hand, and afterwards in Lange-kloof on the right, and which were continued quite from Witſenberg, now terminated here before it reached the ſea-ſhore; whereas the ridges on our left hand were continued farther, and had the Carrow plains behind them.

The berries of the Guarri buſh (*euclea undulata*) had a ſweet taſte, and were eaten by the Hottentots. Bruiſed and fermented, they yield a vinegar, like that made from Pontac.

The *craſſula tetragona*, as being ſomewhat of an aſtringent nature, boiled in milk, in the quantity of a handful, is uſed as a remedy for the diarrhœa.

On the 22d, we arrived at Jacob Kock's, near the mouth of Sea-cow River, not far from the ſea-ſhore, a man whom we now viſited for the ſecond time in the courſe of our journey.

The interior coat of the ſtomach of ſheep, dried, pulverized, and taken inwardly, was ſaid to excite vomiting, and to be ſerviceable in fevers.

The blood of a hare was aſſerted to be a cure for the St. Anthony's Fire, if rags dipped into it, and then dried, were worn upon the body, but not applied to the part affected.

Many people here likewiſe concurred in aſſuring us, that the blood of a tortoiſe, uſed externally, as well as internally, was of the greateſt ſervice to ſuch as were wounded by a poiſoned arrow.

At this place we ſtaid ſeveral days, as well with a view to regulate and put in order what we had already collected, as to inveſtigate all the neighbourhood, and likewiſe to give reſt and paſture to our weary and emaciated cattle.

During this time, however, we made a journey on horſeback to Cabelijauw Rivier, and from thence to Camtour's Rivier, which is very broad and deep, and by which alſo Looris Rivier empties itſelf into the ocean.

Hottentots and Caffres lived promiſcuouſly near this river, as on the frontier of the two countries, the real Caffraria beginning ſeveral miles further up in the country.

The Caffres that lived here, were taller than the Hottentots, more undaunted and valiant, better made, blacker, and ſtronger. They wore round their arms, by way of ornament, rings, either of iron or ivory, and were armed with javelins, which they knew much better how to manage than the Hottentots did. The ivory rings were half an inch in breadth, and they general wore ſeveral of them on each arm.

Their dances were extremely curious. Two or more of them placing themſelves ſide by ſide, or back to back, balanced themſelves on their toes, ſtriking the ground now and then with their heels; during which, they moved every limb, and almoſt every muſcle, eſpecially their eyes, forehead, neck, head, mouth, and chin, keeping time in every motion. The muſic to this dance was a rough ſcreaking kind of ſinging, accompanied ſometimes with a whiſtling noiſe, to produce which, they drew their lips on one ſide, ſhewing their teeth, from between which the ſound iſſued. The women kept running about all the while, ſinging and jumping to the ſame time, with a continual motion of their head and limbs.

In the tip of one ear they had a hole, in which was ſtuck a porcupine's quill.

We were ſhewn here ear-rings of two different ſhapes, made of copper, mixed with ſilver, which they ſaid they had obtained from nations living farther up in the country.

Here too we ſaw baſkets wrought by the Hottentots, that were ſo tight and cloſe, as to hold milk or water. Bottles alſo made of the bladders of the rhinoceros, were uſed for the ſame purpoſe.

The Caffres, as well as the Hottentots, have in each village, or horde, a chieftain, on whom they frequently beſtow that appellation of captain, and who is their leader in their hunting expeditions, and againſt their enemies.

Theſe nations, though deſtitute of fire-arms, nevertheleſs kill buffaloes and wild beaſts with their javelins, called aſſagays. When a Caffre has diſcovered a ſpot where ſeveral buffaloes has aſſembled, he blows a pipe, made of the thigh-bone of a ſheep, which is heard at a great diſtance. In conſequence of this, ſeveral of his comrades run up to the ſpot, and ſurrounding the buffaloes, and at the ſame time approaching them by degrees, throw their javelins at them. In this caſe, out of eight or twelve buffaloes, it is very rare for one to eſcape. It ſometimes happens, however, that while the buffaloes are running off the premiſes, ſome one of the hunters, who ſtands in the

way

way of them, is toſſed and killed, which, by the people of this nation, is not much regarded. When the chace is over, each cuts off his ſhare of the game that is killed.

Beſides the wild animals they may chance to take in hunting, the Caffres, who inhabit the moſt delightful meadows that can be imagined along the coaſt, poſſeſs large herds of tame horned cattle. Their oxen are commonly eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed from others, as they cut them in the lower part of the neck, in ſuch a manner, that long ſlips of ſkin hang down from it; they likewiſe do the ſame with reſpect to their ears, and force their horns to grow in various ſingular forms. The Company got formerly from them and the Hottentots, a great number of cattle, fit for ſlaughter, in exchange for tobacco, brandy, glaſs-beads, and bits of iron; but now this is ſeldom the caſe, although this traffic is prohibited to all the farmers.

The Hottentots, in the ſervice of the coloniſts, frequently uſe tobacco-pipes of clay, though theſe are ſo ſhort, that the bowl of the pipe comes into contact with their lips. They are ſhort, becauſe in the carriage of them to ſo great a diſtance from the Cape, they are apt to break. But otherwiſe, both Caffres and Hottentots uſe a pipe, either made of a long, ſlender, and hollow ſtick, with a hole near one end of it, in which is put another hollow ſtick that is ſhort, and has at top a cylindrical ſtone, which is hollowed out, and is the bowl that holds the tobacco; or inſtead of the long ſtick, an antelope's horn, viz. of the *capra oryx*, near the pointed end of which is bored a hole; in this is put a ſhort hollow ſtick, and upon that the ſtone-bowl. In ſmoking, they ſtretch their mouths over the wide end of the horn, and draw in a few large whiffs. The ſmoke they keep ſome time in their mouths, and then ſwallowing a part, puff the reſt out again. The pipe then paſſes on to the next, and ſo goes round the whole circle. When ſtrangers come to a kraal or village, they are always treated with the tobacco-pipe, which circulates in due form from one to the other.

The Hottentots had boiling veſſels of burnt clay, of their own making.

The beans of the *guajacum afrum*, though a poiſonous ſhrub, are boiled and eaten by the Hottentots. Their water they keep in the inteſtines of animals. The women who carried their children on their backs, gave them ſuck under their arms, by bending the little creatures' heads down to the breaſt.

Sea-horſes (or Sea-cows, Hippopotamus) were ſtill to be ſeen in great numbers in Camtour's River; though many of them have been ſhot of late, and conſequently their number has been greatly diminiſhed. The *proceſſus mamillaris* of this animal was ſaid to be an effectual remedy for the ſtone and gravel. We wounded indeed ſeveral of theſe huge beaſts, but could not kill them; neither did any of them come up the following night, though we ſtaid till the next morning.

A few Hottentots who had pitched their tents here, for the purpoſe of conſuming a ſea-horſe that had been ſhot ſome time before, lived in the midſt of ſuch a ſtench, that we could hardly paſs by them without being ſuffocated.

A great number of the Caffres accompanied us back to Sea-cow River, and diſplayed various ſpecimens of their arts, probably with a view of getting ſome of our good tobacco, to which they had taken a particular fancy.

We were told here, that a coloniſt had been bitten in the foot ſome time before by a ſerpent, of the ſpecies called Ringhals (or Ringneck) as he was walking along in the graſs barefoot, as is the cuſtom here, in default of ſhoes and ſtockings, which the peaſants ſeldom wear, except when they go up to Cape Town or to church. I informed myſelf accurately of the ſymptoms produced by the bite. It ſeems the man was ſeveral miles diſtant from home when he met with this accident. He then immediately diſpatched his ſlave to his houſe to bring him a horſe with all ſpeed, on which he went home,

home, after having bound up his leg tight, in order to prevent the poiſon from ſpreading upwards. On his return home he grew ſo ſleepy, that his wife could not, without great difficulty, keep him awake. He alſo became quite blind in an inſtant, and remained ſo for the ſpace of a fortnight. His leg was ſwelled to ſuch a degree, that the fleſh covered the bandage over, like a ſheath, inſomuch that it could not eaſily be removed. An inciſion was made round the wound with a knife, and the foot waſhed with ſalt-water. He drank new milk copiouſly, and that to the quantity of ſeveral pails-full in a night, but caſt it all up again. After this the ſerpent-ſtone was applied to the wound. By means of this he gradually recovered; but ſtill, though it is now ſeveral years ſince the accident happened, he has pains in the part on any change of weather, and at times the wound breaks completely out again.

The cattle, which conſtituted the farmer's wealth in theſe plains, were ſubject to ſeveral, and thoſe peculiar, diſeaſes.

The Tung-ziekte is a diſeaſe of the cattle, in which veſicles or bladders break out on the tongue, diſcharging a thin ichorous matter. In conſequence of this diſtemper the cattle cannot eat, but grow lean, and ſometimes die. The farmers are accuſtomed to rub the bladders off with ſalt.

The Klaw-ziekte is a diſeaſe, in which the hoofs of the cattle grow looſe, ſo that they cannot walk. It appears to proceed from the ſummer heats, eſpecially if the oxen have been driven on journeys in the day-time. This diſtemper is eſteemed here to be infectious. It is certain, that it attacks one ox after another ſucceſſively, ſo that I have ſeen whole droves affected with it; but it ſeems to me rather to proceed from ſome common and general cauſe than from infection. At firſt they are lamed by it, and afterwards become unfit for journeys. This diſeaſe, however, leaves them in general of its own accord in the courſe of one or two weeks.

I ſaw ſome Chineſe hogs here belonging to different farmers.

A yellow Chryſomela devoured and did great damage to the culinary vegetables in the gardens.

In the beginning of December we directed our courſe back again, after we had refreſhed our oxen, and viſited the country farther up than it has as yet, on that ſide of the Cape, been inhabited by Europeans.

In our journey up Lange Kloof, I obſerved at one farm, the no leſs convenient than advantageous contrivances of the huſbandmen to apply the rivulets that run down from the mountains, to the watering of their vineyards and gardens. The water is always conducted over theſe lands in a channel to the more elevated parts, from whence they let down little rivulets or ſtreams between the vines and beds. When there is no occaſion for watering, theſe ſtreamlets are ſtopped up with a little earth. By the ſame methods water was carried to mills, fiſh-ponds, and other places.

On the 6th we returned to Matthew Zondag's, and on the 7th arrived at Wolfe-kraal; on the 8th, having croſſed Keureboom's Rivier, we proceeded to Diep Rivier, and on the 10th came to Gans Kraal (Gooſe Kraal). Behind the low mountains lay Camenaſſie Land.

The ſickles for reaping corn were jagged at the edge like a ſaw.

The *Iycyperdon carcinomale* grew here on the ant-hills, the brown powder of which was ſaid to be uſed in cancers.

On the 10th we came to Ezelsjagt; on the 11th to Dorn Rivier (or Thorn River), afterwards to Groote Dorn Rivier, keeping always to the right, and leaving Attaquas Kloof to the left.

On

On the 13th we croſſed the barren Carrow plain, and paid a viſit to Gert van Nimwegen.

The ſheep here ate the tender leaves of the *mimoſa nilotica*.

The Meloë Cichorei did great damage to the apple-trees and other vegetables in the gardens, the leaves of which they conſumed entirely.

A *meſembryanthemum*, with a white flower, was chewed by the Hottentots, for the purpoſe of quenching their thirſt, after it had been ſuffered to putrify, and been properly prepared.

A ſpecies of Coccus, called Harpuys, that was found on the branches of trees, was ſaid to prove mortal to ſheep.

On the evening of the 14th, we arrived at Gert Clute's farm, at Slange Rivier (Snake River), which lay ſo deep in the cleft of a mountain, that I ſhould ſuppoſe no one would expect to find a habitation there.

All this tract of land was exceedingly dry and meagre, the huſbandmen's cattle conſiſting only of ſheep.

On the flat rocks that projected from the ſides of the mountains, we obſerved a great number of tigers, which were more common here than I have ever ſeen them in any other place.

The ſoil was a clay, impregnated with ſalt; and every where on the hillocks, and on the banks of the river, the ſalt was cryſtallized by the heat of the ſun, in like manner as I had obſerved it to be on the hills near the Cape.

We had now a dreadful, long, dry, and barren plain to croſs, which is ſcorching hot in the day-time, and which, in conſequence, its want of water could afford us no place for baiting. We therefore employed a great part of the day in baiting, and in the evening, when it began to be a little cooler, in reſuming our journey, we paſſed ſeveral large rivers, the banks of which were covered with wood, but which were now quite dried up; and at length we arrived in the morning to a deſerted houſe, ſituated on the ſide of the mountains to the left.

Here we ſaw quickſet hedges of the Aloë Succotrina.

On the 15th and 16th we continued our journey, proceeding to the farms of Welgevunden, Watervall, and Muyſen Kraal.

On the 17th we came to a farm belonging to one Smidt; and on the 18th, after croſſing the mountains, we went through Platte Kloof.

As we proceeded farther on the 20th and 21ſt, we paſſed ſeveral farms in our way to the Company's poſt at Riet Valley.

While we baited here, we paid another viſit to Grootvader's Boſch, where various ſorts of trees are felled for the uſe of the Company. I hoped now to find ſeveral trees in bloſſom; but the ſeaſon was not yet far enough advanced.

The Calodendrum, however, was then in bloſſom, the honeyed juice of which I perceived beautiful butterflies ſucking, without my being able to reach either the one or the other, but by the help of my gun, which I loaded with ſmall ſhot, and fired in among the trees, I got ſome branches with bloſſoms on them.

On the 24th we croſſed Breede Rivier and Rivier Zonder End (or the river without end), which latter is very deep, and therefore has a ferry for the accommodation of travellers.

Continuing our journey on the 25th and 26th, we paſſed the Company's poſt at Tigerhook, and thence proceeded along the Rivier Zonder End, to another poſt of the Company's, Zoete Melk's Valley.

The

The country was already grown very arid, in conſequence of the ſcorching ſummer-heats, and the high and drying winds.

Pſoralea pinnata (Pinwortel), was a plant, of which the country-people in many places complained, as being the worſt weed in the gardens, on account of the roots ſtriking deep and firm in the ground, and conſequently being difficult to eradicate.

A blue Chryſomela devoured and damaged the corn.

In a diagonal direction acroſs Platte Kloof, lay the Elephant's (Olyfant's) warm bath, which I had not now time to viſit.

The increaſe of the ſummer-heat had cauſed the flies to multiply in ſuch numbers, as to be even extremely troubleſome at moſt of the farms. In order to diminiſh the number of them in the houſe, ſmall boughs were hung up to the roof, and ſprinkled ſeveral times in the day with new milk; and when the flies had ſettled on them in great numbers, a long bag was ſet under them, into which they were ſhaken down. The bag was then twiſted round, ſo that the flies could not eſcape.

The Secretary-bird, which is a great deſtroyer of ſerpents, after having trod them under his feet, and beat them with his pinions, ſo that they cannot hurt him, devours them. This bird eats not only fleſh, but roots alſo.

Wild cheſnuts (*brabejum ſtellatum*) are ſo eagerly devoured by the wild boars, that they ſeldom or ever leave one on the ground to ſpring up, unleſs it ſhould chance to fall between ſtones.

On the 27th we arrived at the warm bath of Zwarte Berg, or what is called the bath, Agter de Berg (i. e. behind the mountain).

The ſpring ariſes from a hillock at the foot of the mountain, to the weſtward of it; and chiefly from two ſources. The water is moderately warm, and depoſits a great quantity of a light yellow ochre at the bottom of the channels in which it runs. The hillock conſiſts of an iron ore or a ferruginous lava: and is heavy, black, ſhining, of a very cloſe texture, and ſtrikes fire with ſteel. The very road is black, owing to the duſt of the broken ore, which lies upon it like ſoot. The water has a chalybeate or inky taſte, but by no means ſulphureous. It became black on mixing Peruvian bark or blue vitriol with it, and white with ſugar of lead. The patients here uſe the water both for bathing in, and at the ſame time for drinking, though without any regulations or proper diet. The water is carried by a channel from its ſource into a boarded hut, where there are a few ſteps, on which the patient may ſit as deep in the water as he chuſes. The Company has cauſed a brick-houſe to be built here, the care of which they have left to an old man. The few rooms that are here for the accommodation of the patients, are parted off by means of ſail-cloth into many ſmall cabins; ſome of the patients live in their own tents or waggons, and others lodge at the farm that is ſituate at the bottom of the hill. The bath is uſed the whole year throughout, but moſt in ſummer, or from Auguſt to February. The mountain above it is called Zwarte Berg (or the black mountain).

On the 28th we left this place, and came to a farm belonging to one Badenhorſt, where they were extremely buſy in threſhing out their wheat. Barns for laying up the corn are neither to be found, nor indeed are they wanted in a country, in which, at this ſeaſon of the year, there is nothing to be apprehended from rain, ſo that the farmers can keep their corn in a ſtack in the open air. The great heat makes the ſtraw ſo brittle, that it crumbles to pieces, and therefore cannot be touched at any other time than in the morning and evening, when the air is become ſomewhat cool. For threſhing, they prepare in the open air, a plain and level ſpot, which they fence in with a low and round wall of clay. Here they ſcatter the corn looſely about, and then turn

in a number of horſes, either looſe, or, as is more frequently the caſe, joined together in a team, in order to tread out the grain. In the center of this area ſtands a man, who holds the foremoſt horſe by a halter, and on the outſide of it another man, who with a long whip drives the horſes continually round, and keeps them in a hard trot. Thus the ſtraw is trodden quite to chaff, and rendered totally unfit for thatching. In this manner half a dozen men, with a few horſes, are able to threſh out clean in one day one hundred and twenty buſhels of wheat. Oxen are ſeldom uſed for threſhing, as their dug would ſpoil the corn.

Having left this place, we croſſed Booter Rivier, where we ſaw the ſea-ſhore, and paſſing by Little Houthoek, went over Great Houthoek and Hottentot Holland's Kloof. This mountain is very high, and on the Cape ſide there is a road over it, that on account of its precipices has a moſt dreadful appearance. This, and the road however, that goes over Roode Zand, are almoſt the only, at leaſt, the moſt common roads, by which all the inhabitants of the country muſt paſs with their large and heavy-loaded waggons. At the foot of the mountain lie ſeveral pretty farms, which, any more than the mountains and the ſea-ſhore, I did not leave unviſited.

Here we kept new-year's day, and, together with almoſt all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, went down to the ſea-ſide to paſs the whole day in mirth and pleaſure.

Here we found thrown up by the ſurge, the Trumpet-graſs (*fucus buccinalis*), in which they blew like a trumpet.

Finally, having ſpent a whole day in croſſing the very level and extenſive ſandy plain that lies between Hottentot Holland and the Cape, we arrived at the town on the 2d of January 1773.

My firſt care after my return to the town, was not only to look over and put into order the collections of animals, plants, and ſeeds, that I had made during my four months' journey; but likewiſe to get them ready for being ſent to Europe by the homeward bound ſhips. Therefore, after having well dried the ſeed, ſpread out the plants, and glued them on imperial paper, packed up the birds and inſects in caſes, planted the live trees, and laid up the bulbous roots in boxes, I ſent conſiderable quantities of each to the botanical gardens at Amſterdam and Leyden, by ſeveral of the homeward bound Dutch veſſels. What I had ſtill remaining, I divided into different parcels, and packed up for my patrons and friends in Sweden, eſpecially the Archiaters and Chevaliers Linnæus and Bæck, Profeſſor Bergius and Dr. Montn; theſe I had an opportunity of ſending in Swediſh ſhips, by the favour of ſeveral naval officers who honoured me with their friendſhip.

The following months I paſſed as I had done the laſt year, in botanizing in the environs of the Cape, and in making ſhort excurſions into the country, as well as in examining and arranging my collections, and in making deſcriptions of ſuch of them as were new and before unknown.

M. Sonnerat, a Frenchman, who, being an excellent draughtſman, had accompanied M. Commerçon in that capacity in his extenſive travels round the world, and to many different parts of India, was lately arrived at this town in a French veſſel from the Iſle of France. I had ſoon an opportunity of making an acquaintance with him at the houſe of M. Berg, ſecretary of the police, and more particularly while we reſided together at this gentleman's villa in the neighbourhood of Conſtantia, where we remained a few weeks for the ſake of botanizing, and of ſhooting a great number of beautiful Cape birds for the cabinets of the curious in Europe.

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Among the many excurſions we made together, we reſolved, in the middle of January, to viſit Table Mountain, and examine what might be the produce of its ſummits at this ſeaſon of the year. Each of us was furniſhed with fire-arms, proviſions, paper, and other neceſſaries, which were carried by two ſlaves whom we had hired in the town for this purpoſe. At three o'clock in the morning we quitted our abode, and aſcended the foot of the mountain before the ſun could riſe, and by its ſcorching rays render the journey too fatiguing to us. At a little after eight we reached its ſummit, where it was moderately and agreeably cool. We were alſo recompenſed for our trouble by a great number of rare plants, eſpecially of the *Orchideæ*, as they are called, which I never afterwards could meet with either here at other ſeaſons, or indeed at all in any other mountain. Among theſe the *orchis grandiflora*, or *diſa uniflora* (Bergii *Plantæ Capenſes*), was conſpicuous by its beautiful flowers; of the *ſerapias tabularis* we found only one ſpecimen; the *ſerapias melaleuca* was diſtinguiſhed by its black and white flowers, the moſt uncommon in nature; and with great difficulty, and at the hazard of my life, I got for the firſt and laſt time the blue *diſa longicornis*, which is as beautiful as it is ſingular in its form. This laſt plant grew in one ſpot only, on a ſteep rock, and ſo high up, that in order to come at it after we had clambered up the ſide of the rock as high as we could, I was obliged to get upon the ſhoulders of M. Sonnerat, when, with a long ſtick, I beat down five of theſe plants, the only ſpecimens that were then in bloom. M. Sonnerat, who before had not had an opportunity of collecting as many plants at the foot of the mountain as I had, made in this one day only, a collection of three hundred different ſpecies; but was ſo ſingularly unfortunate, though he had brought with him three pair of ſhoes for this excurſion, as to return to town barefooted. The number of ſharp angular ſtones which are rolled down from the mountain, and lie both at its foot and in the clefts through which the road goes, not only tear the ſoles, but alſo the upper-leathers of ſhoes; ſo that your thin French pumps are by no means ſuited for excurſions upon the mountains, which require ſhoes made of waxed leather with thick ſoles.

Table Mountain has acquired its name from its appearing from the town and harbour as if it were cut ſmooth and level like a table. When one is arrived on the top of it, it appears pretty even in front, but on the other ſide it goes off in gradual inequalities, like very broad ſteps. In the clefts on the top there are ſeveral ſtreams, which run down to the town and its environs, and ſupply them with good, freſh, and cool water. I could not diſcover any viſible ſpring, nor any lake with fiſh in it, as ſome pretend there are; but all the water that was there, was collected partly from rain, and partly from the clouds, which diffuſe themſelves over the mountain, without falling down below in rain. On the ſummit were ſeveral mouldered and decayed ſtones, of a ſtrange appearance, ſeeming as if they had been erected by art.

The height of Table Mountain is 3350 feet, or, according to the calculation of De la Caille, 3353 feet at the weſtern angle, which is the loweſt. The Devil's Mountain borders upon this to the eaſt, and is thirty feet lower, though on account of its peak it appears to be ſomewhat higher. Table Mountain conſtitutes, with the Devil's and Lion's Mountains, one mountain, and is connected with them at the bottom, though it is ſeparated from them by conſiderable vales at the top.

One may aſcend and deſcend Table Mountain in ſeveral places, in front, behind, and at the ſides, all which paths I reconnoitred this and the following years, in the fifteen times that I went up to the ſummit in the courſe of my three years abode in the neighbourhood.

In front the mountain is acceſſible only by the large cleft, which is diſtinctly ſeen almoſt in the middle of the mountain. This aſcent is the moſt uſed, notwithſtanding that it is the ſteepeſt, and particularly near the ſummit, where it grows at the ſame time very narrow, having, as it were, perpendicular walls on both ſides. The foot of the mountain, below which the town itſelf is ſituated, is about a third part of the height of the whole mountain; which gradually ſwells, from gently-ſloping hills, overgrown with thickneſs, into ſteeper eminences, covered with ſtones that have rolled down from the ſummit; here the cleft begins, which at firſt is about fifty or ſixty paces broad, but by degrees is contracted to ſix or ſeven, and at the top is almoſt choaked up with ſtones of an enormous bulk. High up in this cleft I found pieces of a fine looſe ſand-ſtone of various ſizes, which, when rolled lower down, crumbled away into ſmall gravel and ſand.

Table Mountain, as well as the Devil's and Lion's, and other mountains, have their ſtrata or layers in common with thoſe of Europe. The uppermoſt ſtrata are quite horizontal, but the lower ones lie in an oblique poſition. At top, the rock appears to be a kind of ſand-ſtone, or lava; the middle ſtratum trapp, and the lowermoſt ſlate. On the top of Table Mountain there are found both diſſevered ſtones, and firm rocks projecting from the ſurface, which have mouldered away conſiderably, not only at the top and ſides, but likewiſe at bottom, ſo that large cavities are formed in them. Theſe ſubſtances are thus decayed not only by water that has been left in their cavities, but evidently by the very air alſo, the moiſture of which penetrates into the minute and ſubtle crevices of theſe ſtones, and diſſolves them.

The large ſtones which have rolled down, and lie on the hills at the foot of the mountain, and have a very ancient appearance, are a kind of trapp, which have excavations in them of different magnitudes, apparently formed in them by ſomething that has undergone a gradual decay. Theſe ſtones, as well the large as the ſmall, have frequently pieces of quartz both in the inſide of them and on the ſurface, which evidently ſhews that theſe latter have not been formed there, but were incloſed in them, as they are not concreted with the ſtony matrix, which is tolerably hard, but have a ſmooth and poliſhed ſurface.

The rock, in the loweſt ſtrata of which the mountains are formed, is of a looſe texture, of a dark colour, and may be ſcratched with a knife. It is ſometimes of a lighter, or of an aſh-colour. Both air and water are capable of corroding it, ſo that laminæ of a hand's breadth appear ſtanding erect on their edge like a cock's comb cryſtal. Theſe lowermoſt beds of ſlate, which are covered on the outſide with mould and graſs, ſometimes conſtitute half the height of the mountain. And theſe beds run from ſouth to north, not abſolutely in a horizontal direction, but ſunk to the weſtward, and riſing to the eaſtward, with mouldered and ſharp-edged laminæ, which are continued quite below the ſurface of the water, as is plainly ſeen by the rocks in the ſea, as well thoſe that are above, as thoſe that are under water.

The old hoſpital having been for a long time in a ruinous condition, as well as of an inconvenient ſtructure, the Company had reſolved to build a new one on a larger ſcale, and in a more convenient ſituation; for which purpoſe proper artiſts, with the neceſſary tools and materials, had been ſent from Holland. The ſpot for erecting this edifice on was choſen at the eaſtern end of the town, between Table Mountain and the citadel, where it would be expoſed to the ſun and wind. The ground-ſtone was laid by Governor Van Plettenberg, in the month of November of the preceding year; and the building now went on every day, though but very ſlowly; a circumſtance owing to the intereſted conduct of thoſe who were appointed to ſuperintend it, who not only gained

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by protracting the work, but alſo employed part of the workmen, as well as of the materials, on their own private buildings.

Two violent winds chiefly prevail on this ſouthernmoſt promontory of Africa. The one blows boiſterouſly almoſt every day in ſummer, which is called the Goede Seaſon (Goede Mouſſon); the other in winter, which is called the Bad Seaſon (Quaade Mouſſon). The ſouth-eaſt wind is violent, and attended with dry and very fine weather; the north-weſt is tempeſtuous, and, for the moſt part, accompanied with ſhowers of rain. The former brings ſhort and violent gales, following cloſe upon each other, which often increaſe to that degree of force, as to blow up not only duſt and ſand, but alſo gravel and ſmall pebbles into the face of ſuch as are expoſed to it, who, being neither able to ſee nor go forwards, muſt either ſtand ſtill, or elſe throw themſelves down upon the ground. On ſuch occaſions, ſtrangers frequently exhibit ridiculous ſcenes, their hats, wigs, or hair-bags, being carried away by the wind the whole length of the ſtreets. Not only boats, but ſmall craft, are likewiſe ſometimes overſet in the road, and the people in them loſt, as was three times the caſe this year; in conſequence of which, when the wind is high, no boat will venture to go to or from the ſhips.

The ſouth-eaſt wind ſprings up for the moſt part towards noon, after a fine, warm, and calm morning; about eleven, twelve, or one o'clock, it riſes higher, and keeps up till three, four, or five o'clock, or even later, frequently leaving the evening ſerene and agreeable. Thus the morning may be very warm, and require light clothing; but on the increaſe of the wind, the air begins to feel colder, and frequently one finds it neceſſary to put on a great-coat. Theſe ſudden changes are the cauſe that one is very liable to catch cold here, and that the inhabitants are in general ſubject to rheumatic pains. This violent wind, though in ſome reſpects it renders the ſummer leſs agreeable than it would be otherwiſe, yet ſtill it makes the heat more tolerable.

Before the ſouth-eaſt wind begins to blow, the clouds are commonly ſeen gathering upon the mountains; and Table Mountain in particular, covered at the top with a heap of light clouds, appears as if it wore a periwig. On the wind's increaſing, the clouds are ſeen precipitating down the fore-part of the mountain, without producing any rain. Sometimes, however, it will happen, though ſeldom, that the wind ſhall blow, and no clouds lie on the mountain; likewiſe, that all the clouds being diſſipated on the fore-part of the mountain, the wind ſhall continue with clear and fine weather. The ſouth-eaſt wind is a low wind, driving for the moſt part along the ground. The north-weſt wind alſo is ſometimes obſerved to drive the higher clouds in a direction contrary to that in which the ſouth-eaſt carries the lower ones, and the birds are ſeen flying in a calm atmoſphere between theſe two contrary currents of air.

In winter-time the north-weſt and ſouth-weſt winds prevail, which bring rain, and are dangerous for the ſhipping that lie in the road,

Theſe winds change in April, when, by degrees, the ſouth-eaſt ceaſes, and is ſucceeded by the north-weſt. So that April and May are months of intermiſſion, as well as Auguſt and September, and, on the days when it does not rain, the moſt pleaſant in the whole year.

In January, and the months following, the road is the moſt reſorted to by ſhips from Europe and the Eaſt Indies, for the purpoſe of taking in refreſhments at a place where the air is wholeſome, and the moſt plentiful ſupplies to be had of wine and all kinds of proviſions. When a ſhip has anchored in the road, nobody from the town is ſuffered to go on board of her for the firſt three days, under a penalty of forty rix-dollars.

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The Cape may, with propriety, be ſtyled an inn for travellers to and from the Eaſt Indies, who, after ſeveral months' ſail, may here get refreſhments of all kinds, and are then about half way to the place of their deſtination, whether homeward or outward bound.

Strangers that arrive here from Europe, are ſometimes attacked with a diarrhœa, occaſioned by the many vegetables and fruits with which this country abounds, but which is not of ſo dangerous a nature here as at Batavia.

Such ſtrangers as are deſirous of ſettling in this country, are at liberty here, as in Holland, to get their livelihood in what manner they pleaſe or are able, either by a handicraft buſineſs or commerce, or, as is moſt frequently the caſe, by both.

It is a general cuſtom in this country to ſleep an hour or two in the afternoon, at the time that the heat is the greateſt.

At table, the uppermoſt ſeat is never given to any of the gueſts; but the hoſt and hoſteſs are always ſeated at the upper end, one on each ſide of the table, and the company all around. The hoſt always advances towards the ſtranger who is his gueſt, and, taking him by the hand, enquires after his health. If the perſon comes on horſeback or in a carriage, he is invited to alight and walk in. The lady of the houſe does not riſe, but ſalutes him by a nod of the head.

The French were at this time in very little eſtimation, on the one hand, becauſe they generally came without ready money, and were obliged to trade on credit, or elſe with bills of exchange; and, on the other, becauſe the African coloniſts feared, that if a war broke out, theſe ſtrangers would aſſiſt in taking the place; in which reſpect, they thought themſelves more ſecure with reſpect to the Engliſh, with whom they were in alliance. A French officer, though dreſſed to the beſt advantage, and frequently wearing a ſtar on his breaſt, as a mark of his merit and his King's favour, had but little reſpect paid him; whereas an Engliſh mate of a ſhip, with his hair about his ears, was much eſteemed on account of his being flush of money, and of his nation's being in alliance with Holland. Yet it was the French who moſt enriched the Cape merchants, as, on account of the credit they took, they were obliged to pay more than others, and, at the ſame time, had occaſion for a greater quantity of merchandize, not only for their ſhips, but alſo for their garriſon in the Iſle of France.

The coins current here come either from Europe or the Eaſt Indies. The moſt common from Europe, which is here always termed the Mother-Country (Vaderland), are ducatoons, ſhillings, and doits (Duyten). Ducatoons, either old or new, are, like every other ſpecies of coin, of more value here than in Europe, in general 25l. per cent. more, that is to ſay, twelve ſhillings, or ſeventy-two ſtivers. The ſhillings are ſeldom any thing more than Seſtehalves, ſuch as in Holland are worth five ſtivers and a half. Two-pences (Dubbeltjes), and ſingle pence (or ſtivers), are ſcarce; as alſo are ducats, and the gold coin called Riders (Goude Reijers). Dutch guilders are hardly ever ſeen. The Cape guilders are imaginary, and reckoned to thoſe that receive ſalaries, at the rate of ſixteen ſtivers each. A rix-dollar is valued at eight ſhillings, and a ducat at eighteen. Spaniſh piaſtres (Spanſe Matten) are willingly taken at the rate of nine Dutch ſkellings. From various places of the Eaſt Indies, rupees of different kinds are imported, which are equivalent to half a rix-dollar, and paſs current with every body. No money is coined, or ſuffered to be coined in this country.

The kind of corn generally cultivated in this country is wheat, and it richly repays the labour of the huſbandman. Small quantities have been exported to the Indies for the uſe of the better ſort of people there; but the voyage has been looked upon as too long, and the freight too expenſive to ſend any to Europe, till the preceding and this

this preſent year, when ſome has been ſent to Holland, where it has been found to be much heavier than the European wheat. Poland, the granary of Holland, having for ſeveral years paſt been viſited by war, and partly laid waſte, and the crops having been in general bad all over Europe, the Dutch Eaſt India Company determined to ſend ſome ſmall veſſels to the Cape to import wheat; and laſt year they ſent one veſſel, and this year two frigates. For a freight of wheat, the farmer is paid eighteen rix-dollars. A freight contains ten Muddes, or about twenty buſhels.

Rye is ſcarcely ever ſown here, except in ſmall quantities for pleaſure, or elſe by ſome farmer, who chooſes to uſe the ſtraw for thatchings, inſtead of the *reſtio dichotomus*.

The olive-ſhrub (*olea Europæa*) was common on the hills near the town, as well as in other places. The leaves are narrower than in the European olive; and the fruit ſeldom comes to maturity. For this reaſon it is not uſed for preſſing oil out of it, but frequently as an aſtringent in diarrhœas. In other reſpects, this ſhrub ſo nearly reſembles the European, that it cannot poſſibly be of a different ſpecies.

At the farms and villas near the town, European trees are frequently planted for the ſake of ornament and ſhade, ſuch as the oak, cheſnut, pine, myrtle, lemon, and orange-trees, which, when in bloſſom, diffuſed the moſt fragrant odour.

The ſummer in Europe has a much more agreeable appearance, with its leaf-bedecked woods and flowery meads, which, after a forlorn and dreary winter, ſo infinitely cheer our eyes, than it does here, where no meadows are ſeen; and the woods are full of prickles, and of a melancholy aſpect. In the meadows in Europe the ground is covered ſo thick with graſs, as to appear like a carpet; but here the ſtalks of the graſs are at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, and exhibit in the intervals between them, the bare and ſandy ground.

As there are no foreſts in the vicinity of the town, except the few ſmall ones that ſtand high up in the clefts of the mountains, wood, which is uſed in the kitchen only, is both dear and ſcarce. Almoſt all the fuel uſed here, is brought in by the ſlaves, who obtain it by digging up the roots of *proteæ*, and lopping off the branches of the underwood. Of this bruſhwood, together with the roots, the ſlave makes two ſeparate faggots, and tying one to one end, and the other to the other end of a ſtick, carries them home on his ſhoulders. Two of theſe faggots, to make which it is a day's work, ſell for two ſkellings.

Every ſlave is obliged to earn for his maſter two ſkellings daily, which makes about eighty rixdollars in a year; ſo that in a few years the maſter gets his purchaſe-money back again, though the ſlave, by ſuch a heavy rental, cannot obtain the remiſſion of any part of his ſlavery, which increaſes with his years, and is cemented with his blood.

Tamarinds, on account of the acid they contain, were ſometimes uſed inſtead of vinegar, in this manner: the pulp of them were rubbed on beef, cut into thin ſlices, which, after being dried a little in the ſun, were fryed in a frying-pan, and were very tender, and well-taſted.

Cauliflowers, which in the gardens of the Cape, and eſpecially in Robben Iſland, that lies juſt before the harbour, are brought to ſuch perfection, as not to be equalled in any other part of the world, are frequently pickled in vinegar, with Cayenne pepper (or *capſicum*), and afterwards eaten with meat by way of ſallad.

Some of the farms near the Cape had fences made of pieces of iron-ore (Yzer Klippen), which were found in the environs.

The *arctopus echinatus* (Ziekte Trooſt) a low umbelliferous plant without ſtalk, and even with the ſurface of the ground, grew in common near the town, on the clay

hills below the mountains. On account of the hard prickles it bore, as well on its leaves as on its ripe ſeeds, it was a terrible plague, eſpecially to the ſlaves, who go barefoot, and are frequently wounded by it.

One of the ſhips belonging to the fleet that arrived at this time from Holland, brought the corpſe of the governor Rheede van Oudſhorn, who died on his paſſage thither. The admiral's ſhip came into port with her colours lowered half-way, to ſignify its loſs. The corpſe was brought on ſhore, with all the pomp uſual at the interment of a governor; the bells tolled, and the ſhips in the road fired a gun every minute, which did not a little contribute to the pomp and awfulneſs of the ceremony. Before the corpſe, two led horſes went in proceſſion, followed by the ſceptre, and the armorial bearings of the deceaſed; and after it came trumpets, kettle-drums, ſoldiers, and burghers, on horſe-back, commanded by the major. By the death of this gentleman, whoſe favour I had previouſly acquired at Amſterdam, I ſuſtained a great loſs, with regard to the powerful ſupport and aſſiſtance which he had given me reaſon to expect from him, in his capacity of governor, in my excurſions into the country.

During my ſtay in town, I viſited ſeveral times the Leeuwve Kop (Lion's Head), a mountain that ſtands to the weſt-ward of Table Mountain, and riſes almoſt to an almoſt inacceſſible peak; from this peak it runs out in a long ſloping ridge, and terminates in a curved eminence, called the Leeuwe Staart (Lion's Tail). Below its peak, the Leeuwe Kop is ſo ſteep in one place, that if one wiſhes to aſcend to it, a cord muſt be faſtened to the rock, by the help of which, one muſt clamber up by a ſide that is almoſt perpendicular. The uppermoſt layer I found to conſiſt of a looſe red ſand, which crumbles away, and falling down, leaves great cavities behind it. On the very top of the peak, where a perpetual guard is placed for the purpoſe of diſcovering the approach of ſhips, there is a ſmall hut, with a fire-place in it for dreſſing proviſions; three guns, one of which is fired for every ſhip that is ſeen; and a flag-ſtaff to hoiſt a flag on. By the number of guns fired, government is immediately informed whether it is a ſingle ſhip or a fleet that approaches. In the evening, the centinel goes down to his houſe, which is ſituated in the cleft between Table Mountain and the Lion's Head. When the ſhips that are deſcried, approach, a flag is hoiſted on the Lion's Back (Leeuwe Rug), and when they enter the harbour, the colours are hoiſted on the citadel, till they have ſaluted it. If any ſhip ſhould come within ſight of the Cape, and afterwards paſs by it, the flag on the Lion's Back is ſtruck, as ſoon as it diſappears. The flag that is hoiſted varies every month, and is like a watch-word on the field of battle; for the colour of the flag is appointed by the directors in Europe, and made known only to the reſpective regencies at Batavia and the Cape, and in ſealed letters to the captains of the outward and homeward bound ſhips. Thus the captains of the ſhips may diſcover, if on a ſudden eruption of war, the Cape is fallen into the hands of the enemy, and in ſuch caſe keep away from the harbour. In time of war, when any great fleet is deſcried making its approach, the whole colony through the interior parts may be ſummoned with the greateſt expedition, by the firing of guns, the hoiſting of flags, and the kindling of fires, which are diſpoſed at certain places, and diſtributed at ſuch diſtances, that theſe ſignals may always be ſeen or heard from one place to the next.

Robben Iſland is ſituated at the entrance of the harbour, about four miles from the town. The ſhips that run into the harbour muſt always paſs by this iſland, which then hoiſts the Dutch flag. Sometimes, when a ſtrong ſouth-eaſt wind prevents the ſhips from entering, they anchor beſide it. This iſland was formerly the reſort of a great number of ſeals, whence it alſo derives its name; but now theſe animals having

been driven away from it, it is become the retreat of chameleons, quails, and priſoners for life (called here Banditti), who are obliged to collect every day on the ſea-ſhore a certain quantity of ſhells, which are burned to make lime for the buildings erected by the company. Theſe priſoners for life are not only black ſlaves who have been guilty of miſdemeanors, but alſo Europeans, who have committed heinous crimes.

Though the Lutherans in this town were numerous, yet they had not a church of their own. The bigotted zeal of the Calviniſtic clergy had hitherto been able to prevent ſo beneficial an inſtitution from taking place, as that of an edifice to the glory of that God, whom they themſelves profeſſed to worſhip, and for the uſe and convenience of their fellow-citizens. The Lutherans were thus under the neceſſity of performing their public worſhip in a loft, which they had fitted up for that purpoſe. Still, however, they had not an opportunity of celebrating divine ſervice oftener than when any Swediſh ſhip arrived, the chaplain of which underſtood and ſpoke the German language. On ſuch occaſions, alſo, the holy communion was celebrated, and the money that was put into the plate became the property of the miniſter.

The ſhips now ſailed in different ſquadrons ſucceſſively for Europe, a few only at a time, as in time of peace may be done with ſafety. On the other hand, if peace is at all dubious, or a war breaks out, they go a great many together, in two or three fleets.

It will ſometimes happen, and that even by permiſſion, that a ſoldier and a ſailor ſhall change places, and ſucceed each other in their reſpective ſervices.

Before a ſhip ſails, the account is made out of every man on board, which accounts are ſent with the ſhip, or elſe may be taken out at the pay-office by ſuch as chuſe ſo to do; ſo that every one may know what is due to him of his pay. If any one ſettles in a place, and gets other employment in the ſervice, he may take up his pay every third or fourth month, but the guilder is then eſtimated at fifteen or ſixteen ſtivers only, ſo that the loſs is conſiderable. But if he chuſes to leave it untouched till the end of the year, his account is made out in the month of Auguſt, when the books are cloſed, which account he may negociate at eighteen, nineteen, and ſometimes twenty, ſtivers per guilder, and thus loſe little or nothing. A bill of this kind is like a bill of exchange, for which the Dutch Eaſt India Company gives the full value in Europe, and which, in the meantime, is readily accepted by merchants, and others who want to remit money to Europe. Otherwiſe, as twenty-five per cent. is gained on all money exported from Holland, in like manner twenty-five per cent. is loſt on all money that is carried back in ſpecie to Holland.

The effects of the ſailors and ſoldiers who have been taken into the hoſpital, and died there, are ſold by auction, and chiefly at that period, when the greateſt number of patients is brought in, and when the greateſt number dies. The money is laid out on their interment. In general the corpſe is ſewed up in a cloth, and carried out in a hearſe; but if the effects of the deceaſed, after the beſt part of them have been embezzled, ſtill amount to a ſmall ſum of money, a coffin is beſtowed upon him of ten rix-dollars value. If what the defunct has left behind him amounts to ſtill more money, it is expended in wine at the funeral; and great care is always taken that nothing ſhould be left for his relations and heirs. In general, at ſuch auctions the whole cheſt, opened, but not always thoroughly examined, is ſold at a venture.

The Cape lobſter (*cancer arctos*), which is caught here, is equal in ſize to that (*gammarus*) which is taken near the Swediſh coaſts, but has no large claws, and is craggy all over, and covered with erect prickles. It has a ſtrong and not very agreeable taſte.

The Meduſa's head (*aſterias caput Meduſæ*), one of the moſt ſingular and curious animals in nature, was ſometimes caught in the ocean off the Cape. It is but rarely that it is found thrown dead upon the ſhore. In order to preſerve it whole and undamaged for the cabinets in Europe, it muſt be caught far out in the ſea by fiſhermen, who muſt take great care that they do not break off any of its limbs, and that the animal do not too much contract and entangle its outermoſt and moſt ſlender branches. The animal, when alive, or juſt after it is dead, is of a reddiſh or deep carnation colour; and, on being dried, turns greyiſh. It ſhould be dried in the ſhade during fine weather, and in an open place, where the wind has free acceſs to it; for in the ſun the animal melts away, and, if placed too much in the ſhade, it might chance to putrify. For this wonderful animal the fiſhermen frequently get ſix, nay even ſometimes ten, rix-dollars. It may be ſent to Europe in a box filled with carded cotton.

On the ſhore juſt before the town were found various ſorts of bivalve ſhells, and eſpecially many large and beautiful ſpecies of *patellæ*.

Strand Dubbeltie was the name given to an *umbilicus veneris*, or the upper valve of a cockle-ſhell, which was covered all over with tubercles.

Below the mountains, and near the ſhore, are ſeveral hillocks of ſand of different ſizes, which are drift-ſand, and ſome change their place twice a year, according to the winds that prevail. Some of them have already begun to ſettle and acquire ſolidity, and are covered with ſome few plants.

Among theſe the ridge of ſand-hills below the Lion's Tail is remarkable, which ſeems plainly to indicate the manner in which mountains were formerly produced, and their different ſtrata formed. This ridge of ſand, which ſtands juſt before the battery, runs from ſouth to north, and keeps in the ſame line as the mountains near the Cape and in all the country do, inclining more or leſs to the eaſt or weſt, and conſequently in the ſame direction as the winds that prevail here. It increaſes every year to the northward, quite down to the ſea-ſhore. At the weſtern end it forms a curve, and goes off with a gradual ſlope, a circumſtance which is occaſioned either by the adjacent ſand-hill that runs in the ſame direction, and is ſolid and firm, and is uſed for a place of execution, or elſe by the Lion's Tail, which impedes the paſſage of the wind. The ſand of this ridge is looſe, and driven to and fro in ſummer; in winter it is ſomewhat firmer from the rain, but ſtill almoſt as looſe as a heap of drift-ſnow. Some parts of it may probably be a little more firm than the reſt. Juſt as the ſand is driven, the ſtrata are formed, and they lie here, as in the mountains, inclining obliquely towards the horizon. Some layers are looſer, others again harder, according as the drift-ſand was more or leſs pure, or mixed, before it was hardened by the rain. Theſe ſtrata run either in a ſtraight line, or in waves or ſtreaks of black and white ſand, which at a diſtance give the whole ridge the appearance of an agate. The black ſand is thrown up by the ſea, as well as the white. The former is in a ſmall quantity, and the latter is driven more by the wind, and forms hills. This ridge of ſand lies directly oppoſite to the tranverſe end of Table Mountain. The top of it is level, and of a middling height; towards the ſouth it goes off gradually with a long ſlope; to the northward it is ſteep, where the ſand is carried far over the ſpot below, which is ſheltered by the ridge from the wind. The wind can, in the ſpace of one day, lay ſand an inch deep upon its ſurface, which commonly does not fall equally, but here and there in ſpots. Stones, and other things that lie in the way, are bare on the ſouthern ſide, but on the northern are covered with a ridge of ſand running out in a point, juſt as the ſnow is diſpoſed in the northern regions, when it falls with a high wind. In the ſame manner the ſtrata of mountains appear to have been formed by the

the winds and waves, and to have derived their origin from the ſame cauſe, viz. from the two predominant winds.

The *teſtudo geometrica* was known here by the appellation of the Syren (Syrentie). This land-tortoiſe, which probably is the moſt beautiful of its kind, was found very common in the ſandy downs among the buſhes. The ſhells of ſuch as were very ſmall, and conſequently the moſt beautiful, were uſed for making ſnuff-boxes.

Round the hills near the Cape grew the *clifortia ruſcifolia*, and the *borbonia lanceolata*, much reſembling juniper trees, and like the *polygala heiſteria*, with their ſharp leaves pricking the foot-paſſengers; while the *aſparagus capenſis*, with its recurved thorns, tore their clothes and retarded their paſſage, for which reaſon it has received from the inhabitants the name of Wakt en Beetje, ſtop a bit.

The *tulbaghia aliacea* (Wilde Knooflook, or Wild Garlic), which grew both in the ſands near the Cape and in other places in the country, was uſed in hectic fevers, either boiled in water or in ſome kind of ſoup.

At ſeveral farms near the Cape I had an opportunity of ſeeing wine made, and of receiving information with reſpect to the various ſorts of wine, which are made here in great quantities. The preſſing, which is done in March, is performed in general, for want of proper tools and contrivances, in a more ſimple manner here than it is in Europe. The ſlaves gather the grapes, and put them into a large veſſel. For the preſſing they make uſe of a veſſel, the bottom and ſides of which are bored full of holes; this veſſel is ſet in the inſide of a larger veſſel upon a croſs piece of wood laid at the bottom of the latter; this outſide veſſel has a ſpigot and fawcet, through which the juice, as faſt it is preſſed out, may run into a tub placed beneath. The grapes being laid in the inner veſſel, heaped up to the brim, three or four ſlaves, after having previouſly waſhed their feet very clean in a tub of water ſtanding at the ſide, get into the veſſel that contains the fruit, and holding themſelves faſt by a rope fixed to the ceiling, trample upon the grapes, and ſqueeze out the juice as long as they are able. In the mean time, the muſt that runs out is put into large high veſſels to ferment. If the aperture is obſtructed by grapes or ſtalks, ſo that the juice cannot eaſily run out, they puſh them away with a ſtick to the end of which a few briſtles are fixed. The trodden grapes, before they are farther preſſed, are put, ſtalks and all, upon a coarſe ſtrainer (or the bottom of a bed) made of rattans, on which they rub the fruit with their hands, till the huſks go through it; the ſtalks in the mean-time remaining behind, which are now ſeparated and thrown away, as they are ſuppoſed to make the wine auſtere and bitter. The huſks are then put into the fermenting-veſſel, which the next morning is in full fermentation, during which proceſs the thick parts ſubſide, and the muſt grows clear, when it is barrelled off, by putting a wicker-baſket into the bung-hole of the barrel, and filtering the wine through it. The grounds, which remain in the fermenting-veſſel, are afterwards put into a ſquare veſſel or vat, pierced full of holes at the ſides and bottom, which vat is placed on a croſs piece of wood in a larger veſſel, with a ſpigot and fawcet at the ſide. At the top there is a ſcrew of wood or metal, by means of which the laſt drop of juice is preſſed out from the huſks. From the dregs and huſks, that remain over from the laſt preſſing, brandy is diſtilled. No yeaſt is uſed for accelerating the fermentation. The white and green grapes yield white wine, and the red, red wine. The muſcadine grape, both red and white, produces the Conſtantia wine, and the blood red grape, the wine called Pontac. Names are beſtowed accordingly as they reſemble more or leſs the products of the European grapes, though the reſemblance is not always perfect.

A great number of dogs are frequently kept in the farms; they follow the cattle into the fields along with the ſlave, keep wild beaſts away from the farm, ſometimes protect the maſter from the outrages of his ſlaves, and are ſerviceable in hunting and on journeys.

The horns of the rhinoceros were kept by ſome people both in town and country, not only as rarities, but alſo as uſeful in diſeaſes, and for the purpoſe of detecting poiſon. As to the former of theſe intentions, the fine ſhavings of the horns taken internally, were ſuppoſed to cure convulſions and ſpaſms in children. With reſpect to the latter it was generally believed, that goblets made of theſe horns in a turner's lathe, would diſcover a poiſonous draught that was put into them, by making the liquor ferment till it ran quite out of the goblet. Such horns as were taken from a young rhinoceros calf that had not yet copulated, were ſaid to be the beſt, and the moſt to be depended upon. Of theſe goblets are made, which are ſet in gold and ſilver, and made preſents of to kings, people of diſtinction, and particular friends, or elſe ſold at a high price, ſometimes at the rate of fifty rix-dollars a goblet. The horn is of a conical form, thick at the bottom, and truncated at the top, a foot long frequently in old rhinoceroſes, and is placed forward on their ſnout. Two or three inches from this, the African two-horned rhinoceros has another ſmaller and ſhorter horn. In colour, it moſt reſembles the horn of a bullock. When I tried theſe horns, both wrought into goblets, and unwrought, both old and young horns, with ſeveral ſorts of poiſons, weak as well as ſtrong, I obſerved not the leaſt motion or effervеſcence; but when a ſolution of corroſive ſublimate, *aqua phagædenica*, or other ſimilar ſubſtances, was poured into one of theſe horns, there aroſe only a few bubbles, produced by the air, which had been incloſed in the pores of the horn, and which was now diſengaged from it.

Though few countries can boaſt of ſo much veniſon and game as this colony, ſtill here, as in Europe, at a certain time of the year, hunting and ſhooting are prohibited. Thus from May to Auguſt, nobody is allowed to hunt or ſhoot, at leaſt near the town.

The hoſpital I very ſeldom viſited, as I could not poſſibly derive any improvement from any thing I ſaw there. I obſerved, however, in this place, what I never ſaw any where elſe, viz. that the attendants on the ſick were provided with ropes ends, with which they now and then corrected turbulent patients. *Mirum ſane morborum remedium!* Both in the hoſpital and on board of their ſhips, the Company had for the greater part ignorant and unſkilful ſurgeons; and, in general, when a ſkilful ſurgeon was found among them, he was a foreigner. When emetics or ſuch kind of remedies were preſcribed, they were ſometimes written down on the head-board of the bed; and of other medicines, a doſe was commonly adminiſtered immediately, which were carried ready made up in a box after the ſurgeon, when he viſited the patients. What moſt contributes in this place to the recovery of the ſick, is the excellent refreſhments of freſh meat and vegetables, that are to be had here. The principal ſurgeon makes his report to the governor every day of the number and ſtate of the patients.

At Zeeko valley the company has a farm, where ſtraw (*reſtio tectorum*) is cut and prepared for the purpoſe of thatching, as follows: a bundle or ſheaf, after it is cut, is held by the top, and all the ſhorter ſtalks that are looſe in it, are ſhaken off from it. The remaining long ones are then ſpread out in rows to dry, and afterwards tied up in bundles. With this the houſes are commonly thatched both in town and country; and

ſometimes

ſometimes whole huts are built with it. A roof made of it laſts twenty or thirty years, and would laſt much longer if the ſouth-eaſt wind did not blow a great deal of dirt between the thatch, in conſequence of which it rots the ſooner.

Near Muyſenberg (or Mouſe mountain) the wax-ſhrubs (*myrica quercifolia* and *cordifolia*) grew in abundance along the ſhore. The berries of them are quite round, full of knobs, ſoft, and of the ſize of a pea. The berries themſelves are quite black, but covered with a farina of a whitiſh-grey colour. They are gathered in their ripe ſtate in the month of March, and boiled in water till all the white powder is melted off, and floats on the ſurface of the water like fat; this, when ſkimmed off and cooled, grows hard, almoſt like wax, and is of a greeniſh-grey or aſh colour. The farmers uſe it for candles, when they get any quantity of it, and the Hottentots eat it like ſo much cheeſe.

In the ſandy plains near the Cape, and chiefly near the larger farms, the goldfinch (*loxia orix*) was ſeen now in the midſt of ſummer, very beautiful, of a crimſon colour, and in infinite numbers. Juſt when the corn grows ripe, he acquires his ſummer-dreſs; his browniſh grey feathers on the throat and back become gradually of a red colour, and leave only the wings and tail unchanged. The hen does not come in for her ſhare of this beautiful attire, but remains the whole year of a grey-brown hue.

The country-people ſeldom make any cheeſe; and when they did, which was chiefly out of curioſity, the cheeſes were ſmall, thin, and of an indifferent taſte; the cauſe of which probably is the milk, which, it muſt be confeſſed, is poor enough compared to the fine rich milk produced in Holland.

The cows, as well as the other cattle, go to the field the whole year throughout, being driven home in the evening, and lie within fences in the open air. The graſs which they feed on in thoſe extenſive plains, and which is the beſt and moſt copious in winter-time, in conſequence of the rain, and worſt in ſummer on account of the heat and drying winds, is in general harſh and coarſe. Hence the cows give little milk, and that but indifferent. For this reaſon, the cattle degenerate to a certain degree in the courſe of a few years. The horned cattle, of which the peaſants herds in this country conſiſt, are of Dutch extraction, it is true, but are at preſent greatly degenerated. A Dutch cow that is brought hither, and has coſt forty or fifty rix-dollars, gives more milk than three others, but its offspring degenerates, and the third or fourth is exactly like the reſt, which frequently give no more than a quart of milk a day.

Freſh butter, which in general is made from new milk, is ſold in the town for eight, twelve, or ſixteen ſtivers, and ſalt-butter at two, four, or ſix ſtivers, per pound. The price, however, varies with the conſumption.

Though the country is inhabited by coloniſts, ſtill the farms are not all held in the ſame manner. That tract of country which is neareſt to the town and harbour, or in the vicinity of them, has been ſold by the Hottentots for tobacco, brandy, and other commodities. The other extenſive tracts of land were afterwards taken poſſeſſion of gradually by the coloniſts. Thus the farms which are ſituated neareſt to the Cape, as far as Picquet-berg, and a little beyond it, are freeholds, or lands which are the unconditional property of the coloniſt, for which he pays no quit-rent, and which he is at liberty to diſpoſe of. The other farms farther up the country, on the other ſide of the mountains, are called Copyholds, which the coloniſts have occupied with the permiſſion of the governor, and for each of which twenty-four rix-dollars are paid yearly to the Company in fine, which cannot be ſold or transferred to any one elſe without the permiſſion of the governor. The buildings upon the premiſes may be ſold, it is true, but not the land.

Planks and boards, as well as beams for building, were extremely dear, as they were ſcarce, and brought a great way from the inland parts of the country, ſo that the greateſt part of them muſt be imported from Europe or the Eaſt Indies. They are generally ſold by meaſure, planks ſelling for two ſkellings a foot.

Sheep's-dung was frequently uſed for manuring the vineyards, and horſe-dung for the gardens. Sheep's-dung often lies in the ſheep-folds to the depth of a yard and more.

Wheat-fields, vineyards, and gardens, are very numerous about the farms in the vicinity of the town and harbour, and there they have but few cattle. The vineyards in the neighbourhood of the Cape, the grapes of which being larger and riper, yield the beſt and moſt delicious wine, and conſequently the more profitable, occaſion the cultivation of wheat to be neglected in proportion, which is relinquiſhed to the farmers that live farther up in the country. The wheat-fields are often left fallow for ſeveral years, as every huſbandman has a great quantity of land, which he can afford to keep unemployed. Whenever either a new field, or a field that has lain fallow for ſeveral years, is to be put in order, which is a difficult piece of work, ſuch ground is firſt ploughed in the month of Auguſt, and then again in May, after being previouſly ſowed. The African ploughs have two wheels, one of which is ſmaller than the other.

When a youth is arrived at the age of fifteen, he muſt be enrolled, and every year he muſt reſort to the place of rendezvous, in order to perform his exerciſe. On this occaſion he muſt take the oath of allegiance. When a father has two ſons in the militia, he himſelf is exempt from duty. Theſe reviews, both of horſe and foot, are held every year, in the town for the burghers, and at Stellenboſch and Zwellendam for the farmers belonging to the colony. If any one neglects to appear at theſe rendezvouſes, he is fined.

The farmers ſell their merchandizes at the Cape, either to the Company or the burghers, but are not permitted to diſpoſe of any thing to ſtrangers.

Beſides the regency which is reſident in the town, the country is governed by two courts of judicature, at which a landroſt preſides.

Stellenboſch is a village conſiſting of thirty houſes and upwards, with a church; here a landroſt reſides, under whoſe juriſdiction comes that part of the country which is ſituated to the north and north-weſt; the other part of the colony that lies to the eaſtward is under the ſway of the landroſt at Zwellendam. Stellenboſch is ſituated in a narrow valley between high mountains, which are open to the ſouth-weſt or towards False Bay. It has two ſtreets with oak trees planted in them, and a river running through them.

Franſchehock ſtands not far from Stellenboſch, below the mountains, and in the cleft of a mountain. It is remarkable for being the place which, immediately after the foundation of the town, was inhabited by the French refugees, who, between the years 1680 and 1690, removed hither from Holland, and firſt began to plant vineyards in this country.

Drakenſtein alſo is a colony in the neighbourhood of the former, and ſituate under the ſame ridge of mountains. The mountains here extend from north to ſouth, juſt as they do near the town; and this direction of them is the cauſe that the farms that are ſituated in valleys between two mountains have their day and night at different times. Thoſe who live under the mountains on the weſtern ſide have day-light firſt, as the ſun, having reached the tops of the mountains, which are frequently covered with hail, and thence appear white, in an inſtant illuminates the whole weſtern ſide; while, on the other hand, thoſe who live on the eaſtern ſide of the valley, ſee the ſun longer in the evenings, the other ſide at the ſame time appearing to them enveloped in darkneſs and

a light-blue miſt, while they themſelves continue to enjoy the moſt delightful ſunſhine.

Next to the Cape, towards the north, and directly oppoſite to the town, are the Tigers Mountains, which are in the ſame direction with the Olyfant's Kop, and the Blauwe Berg, or Blue Mountains, all of which are ſeparated from each other by valleys.

Neither burghers nor huſbandmen have a right to marry till they have obtained the governor's conſent. As ſoon as any perſon has obtained this, which is uſually aſked on Thurſdays, the bridegroom receives an order, which, in the preſence of the bride, he delivers to the juſticiary; who, after having carefully examined matters, and found that the parties are not too near related, gives alſo his conſent to the match, and allows the banns to be publiſhed three Sundays following, in the uſual manner, from the pulpit.

So that when the farmers take their annual journey up to town to ſell their commodities, buy the neceſſary articles for their families, and pay their taxes, they muſt always take that opportunity of being united in the bands of wedlock, or of having their children baptized at their pariſh church.

Should the governor refuſe any one his permiſſion to marry, ſtill he cannot prevent the parties contracted from living together, who, in ſuch caſes, are frequently obliged to put off their nuptials till the arrival of another governor, whoſe conſent they may obtain. Sometimes it happens that the bride has recourſe to the juſticiary, who may think proper to order the marriage to be conſummated. In this caſe, if the bridegroom be at that time engaged in the Company's ſervice, he may have the misfortune to be ſent away by the governor to ſome place in the Eaſt Indies. The fair ſex here, in general, marry very young, and, as the boundaries of the colony have been much extended of late, the increaſe of population has likewiſe been very great.

The country-people have proviſions in abundance, but are frequently in want of furniture. One frequently ſees chairs and tables made by the farmer himſelf, which he covers with calf-ſkin, or makes of platted leathern ſtraps. The floors in the houſes are formed of earth, beaten down hard and ſmooth. In order to make them hard and firm, they are overlaid either with a mixture of water and cow-dung, or with bullock's blood, which renders them at the ſame time rather ſlippery.

Various ſorts of fruits, beſides raiſins, were dried for the uſe of the ſhips.

In winter, ſalt meat is ſometimes eaten, though very rarely; but ſcarcely any is ſold to the ſhips.

When a farm is ſold in the country, the bargain is concluded, and the farm paid for in gilders, three of which are reckoned to a rix-dollar

The town as well as country-people look upon this country, or their mother-land, as they term it, to be far ſuperior to others, as it produces every neceſſary of life in abundance; though at the ſame time, they are conſcious that Europe, their father-land, muſt furniſh them with every thing elſe, even to the very plough-ſhare, with which they till this their fertile country.

In the various excurſions I made into the country, this as well as the preceding years, I have been more and more convinced, that the whole promontory, called the Cape, is nothing but a mountain; for all the ridges and chains of mountains, as well the greateſt as the ſmalleſt, run between ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt, and thus take the ſame direction as the violent winds that prevail in this country. They alſo run parallel to, but at unequal diſtances from each other, ſo that ſome of the vales that are interpoſed between them, are broad, and frequently inhabited, while others again are very narrow. To-

wards

wards the north-weſt, I have not had an opportunity of ſeeing their termination; they probably run that way as far as to the ſea, without leaving any path for walking on the ſhore. Towards the ſouth-eaſt, all of them, except Hottentot Holland's mountain, terminate in a gentle declivity, before they reach the ſea-ſhore. It is ſingular, that when one goes from the town into the country, from ſouth to north, and paſſes over a mountain, the country on the farther ſide is found to be more elevated; and if we traverſe the mountains that we meet with farther on, the height of the country ſtill increaſes, and ſo on for three or four days journey. So that the country between theſe ridges is nothing but a vale, which is ſo broad as to have obtained the name of a province, and is adorned with ſeveral farms. On aſcending the mountains ſurrounding ſuch valleys, we ſee ſimilar ridges and valleys in miniature, but much ſmaller, and rarely inabited. The diſtances between ſome of the ridges may be ſix miles and more, between others only two or three, and on the tops of the mountains no more than a ſtones throw. Such a tract of land, however, is not plain and level, like a meadow, but deeper in the middle, where the deepeſt rivers, formed by the conjunction of ſeveral branches in one, run parallel with the ridges of the mountains themſelves, and it gradually riſes higher on each ſide, in proportion as we approach the mountains.

Near the Cape, which forms the ſouthernmoſt angle of the triangle of Africa, the mountains have the leaſt extent. The farther one advances up into the country, and the broader it grows, the longer are the ridges formed by the mountains. And the farther one proceeds among the mountains, and the higher the country is, the colder one always finds the climate. In winter there falls ſnow, or what is more frequently the caſe, hail, the depth of ſix inches or more, which lies ſeveral days, and on the tops of mountains for weeks together, without melting. In the month of October I obſerved the hail ſtill lying on the ſnow-white tops of the mountains, while the country below was clad in its richeſt ſummer attire. Likewiſe in proportion as the cold increaſes in conſequence of the elevation of the country, all vegetables are later produced. The difference I found here and in ſome other places, to amount to as much as two months. Near the Cape, therefore, all plants and flowers make their appearance the ſooneſt, the country there being lower, and the air milder. In like manner, the whole ſouthern coaſt, where the mountains go off with a gradual declivity, is always the warmeſt, and is for this reaſon the moſt populous and beſt inhabited part of the whole colony.

This deſcription of the extent, appearance, and height of the mountains, together with the nature of the country, I hope may throw rather more light on the geography of this part of Africa, than we had before, at the ſame time that it diſcovers the reaſon why a country ſituated in ſo good and temperate a climate, is in ſome places extremely fertile and cultivated, and in others, abſolutely bare, and in fact, almoſt deſert and inacceſſible.

The Dutch officers, both of the outward and homeward-bound ſhips, eſpecially of the latter, diſpoſe here of a great quantity of merchandize of different kinds; the former bring for ſale, wines, beer, cured hams, cheeſe, tobacco pipes, and ſometimes haberdaſhery and hardware; the latter, cottons, chintzes, rice, tea, &c. And if they cannot diſpoſe of their merchandize to the dealers ſeparately, they put them up at a public auction. One likewiſe ſees many of the burghers, who have bought various articles by wholeſale, ſell them again by auction. Such ſales by auction are frequently held alſo in the ſpring and winter months, on the Company's account; and government generally takes the precaution not to allow of the auctions of individuals, till the Company has diſpoſed of its merchandizes firſt.

Of the foreign naval officers, the Engliſh and Daniſh carry on the greateſt trade. The former chiefly ſell large quantities of fine and coarſe hardware, eſpecially ſailor's knives, ſciſſars, and other ſimilar articles. The latter, in going out, ſell Daniſh ale and tar, and on their return, chintzes from Bengal. The Swediſh officers traded for little or nothing; on their return, they only diſpoſed of a few caniſters of tea, ſome Nankin and Chineſe ſilks, ſcarcely to a greater amount, than what they paid at their inn for the few days they were on ſhore. Otherwiſe, deſirable articles from Sweden are coarſe grey cloth, lumber, copper, iron, braſs, ſpades, herrings, and more eſpecially tar, charcoal and iron, all which ſell to great advantage. The Company charges eight rix-dollars for one hundred weight of iron, though it is cold-ſhire, and inferior to the Swediſh. For all wares and commodities ſold by individuals at auctions, five per cent. muſt be paid to the fiſcal. The money for goods and wares ſold by auction is not to be paid till ſix weeks afterwards.

Among all the different nations that frequented this place, none were ſuch bold ſailors as the Engliſh. They would often beat about in the roads with a ſtrong ſouth-eaſt wind, while the Dutch ſhips either kept the open ſea, or caſt anchor under Robben Iſland, till they got a more favourable wind. The former have for the moſt part no other rule than their own judgment and experience, and their ſhips are better ſailers; whereas the latter have heavier and more unwieldy ſhips, and are obliged to act according to the Company's orders.

Foreign ſhips were ſaid to pay for anchorage only five hundred guilders; but all the proviſions they want they muſt pay dear for, owing to the impoſts eſtabliſhed by the company on meat and wines. Strangers pay two ſtivers for a pound of meat, which the company has for three doits, or about a fifth part of the price.

In the baptiſm of children, the Cape clergy conſider it as a circumſtance of the firſt importance that the father ſhould be known, and be preſent. If the child is a baſtard, and its father does not diſcover himſelf, the infant remains unbaptized. If the mother is a Black or a Hottentot, but the father a Chriſtian, who requires it to be baptized, it is baptized. Every chriſtening muſt be performed in the church, for which reaſon ſuch coloniſts as live far up in the country, muſt take their infants with them when they go to the Cape, though, as is ſometimes the caſe, it be but ſix months old.

The gardens both within and without the town, ſuffer great devaſtation from three or four different ſpecies of rats which are generally termed moles. One of theſe, called the White Mole (Witte Moll, *marmota Africana*), is of the ſize of a ſmall cat, and white all over, with a ſhort tail. The ſecond, called the Blaze-fronted Mole (Bles Moll, *marmota capenſis*), is ſmaller, and white with brown ſpots. The third ſpecies is leſs common, and very beautiful, being of a greeniſh colour with a ſhining fur. The laſt of theſe (*talpa Aſiatica*) or the Gold-green Mole (Blinde Moll), burrows in the gardens under the ſurface of the ground, throwing up the mould, by which means it ruins both the figured trees and hedges that are made of myrtle and box. The former ſpecies of moles alſo are found in the ſand-downs near the town.

When the people of the town planted trees before their houſes, they were very ſolicitous to get a dead dog to put in the hole, by which means they thought the growth of the tree would be much accelerated.

The Bay-tree (*laurus nobilis*) was in many places obſerved to form ſo cloſe a hedge, that one could ſcarcely ſee through it. It bent likewiſe to the violence of the winds without breaking.

The Hottentots who had committed acts of violence againſt ſome coloniſts living a great way up the country, and had been brought hither ſome time before, were now

puniſhed. Some of them were only flogged, others were flogged and marked beſides on the back with a red-hot iron, and others had the tendon near the heel (*tendo Achillis*) cut out beſides. After this they were ſet free, and ſent home again for a warning to others. They had not been taken without difficulty, as they had fortified themſelves in the cavities and crevices of the mountains, where they were out of the reach of fire-arms. Beſides this, they defended themſelves by rolling ſtones down upon their enemies. The Company had ordered not only the farmers out againſt them, but alſo a corporal from the citadel with five men to bombard them with hand grenades. At laſt they were taken by ſtratagem, by the Hottentot Captain Kies.

Accounts were now again received from Roggeveld, that the Boſhies-men Hottentots had plundered and killed the farmers in that diſtrict.

In the month of March, when I paſſed a whole day on the top of Table Mountain, I was gratified in the evening with a ſingular and moſt beautiful proſpect from this conſiderable eminence. Table Mountain, like all other mountains in this country, lies in a direction from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, thus leaving one of its long ſides open to the north-eaſt, and the other to the ſouth-weſt. The ſun, riſing in the eaſt, does not here proceed towards the ſouth, as in Europe, but towards the north, and at laſt ſinks into the ocean to the weſtward of the mountain. This makes an earlier morning, and exhibits the ſun ſooner on the north-eaſt ſide, and a longer afternoon, and later ſun on the ſouth-weſt ſide. So that on the top of this mountain, about five o'clock in the afternoon, two different worlds, as it were, preſented themſelves to my view, of which the weſtern ſtill enjoyed the fineſt ſun-ſhine and a clear horiſon, while the eaſtern was already covered with darkneſs and a thick impending miſt. This miſt, which had exhaled from the heated plain, and was now condenſed in the ſuddenly cooled air, was ſo thick that no part of the whole country was to be ſeen, but the whole region reſembled a ſmooth unbroken cloud, and did not a little contribute to render the view on each ſide of the mountain remarkably different, though a moment before they were much the ſame.

In the month of May, between the 13th and 19th, in company with Major Gordon and an Engliſh gardener, lately arrived, of the name of Maſon, I made an excurſion on foot round the mountains ſituate between the Cape and Falſe Bay. Having aſcended the front of the valley, as high as the ſummit of Table Mountain, we ſaw a valley to the right, which runs down to the ſea-ſhore. To the left a fountain was ſeen bubbling up, and forming a narrow rivulet; but it was ſo much overgrown with buſhes, that its ſource under a large rock could not be perceived. In all the flat dales of the mountain, both the large and ſmall ones, there was mould, water, and moſs, which formed a kind of bog. Towards the ſouth-eaſt it gradually ſubſides into valleys, juſt in the front of Hout Baay.

Through the vale called Babian's Kloof (Baboon's valley), which, proceeding from Table Mountain, parts the ridge of mountains that runs from Conſtantia to the fartheſt point in the ſouth, we went to Hout Baay, where there was a farm; to the right we had the little Lion's Head, a peaked mountain, reſembling the great Lion's Head near the Cape, and the Karfunkel (or Carbuncle) Mountain, which is oblong, and covered at the foot with a fine white quickſand reaching as far as to the ſea-ſhore. This latter mountain forms a promontory, the uttermoſt point of which, riſing into a conical protuberance that hangs over the ſea, is called the Hang-lip. This is ſeparated, as well as the Lion's Head, from Table Mountain. Table Mountain has a conſiderable rivulet at its top, a branch of which empties itſelf into Hout Baay (or Wood Bay). The ſea at low water formed, in Hout Baay, rivers, the banks of which were ſteep from the

ſand that had fallen down. At the mouth a river was formed in a croſs direction, the banks of which were likewiſe extremely ſteep from the fallen ſand. The whole bay was full of round ſand-ſtones, like the ſhores of the lake Vetter. To the left was ſeen Steenberg, or Stone Mountain; at the foot of which, on the other ſide, are ſituated Great and Little Conſtantia, and which runs out into the ſea in a promontory called Steenbergenhoek, where there is a farm belonging to the company, and known by the name of Muyſenberg, or Mouſe Mountain.

From Hout Baay we went over the mountains to North Hoek, where three farms are laid out near a large pool of water. The projecting point itſelf of the mountain over which we had paſſed, is called North Hook, and the oppoſite projection the Slange Kop (or Serpent's Head). The downs here conſiſted all of quickſand, raiſed into hills of various heights; thoſe that had been lately formed being ſtill bare, and thoſe that were of a more ancient date, overgrown with buſhes, eſpecially the wax-ſhrub (*myrica coralifolia*), which frequently grew on them low and creeping. A ſalt-pan that lay to the ſouth-eaſt, had banks of two or three yards in height; it was now partly filled with water, the ſurface of which was covered with flamingoes (*phœnicopterus ruber*). Its bottom was ſandy, or a mixture of ſand and clay. In winter-time it is filled with water for the ſpace of ſeveral months. It has its water from rain, and not from the ſea, from which it is at a conſiderable diſtance; conſequently its water is not encreaſed or diminiſhed by the tide. Duyn-hout, or Zwart-hout, was the name given to a ſhrub that has fleſhy leaves, and was without bloſſoms, *foliis compoſitis, foliolis cuneiformibus carnoſis.* It appeared to be an umbelliferous plant. Here we met with the celebrated farmer Jan Bruyns, one of the beſt markſmen in the country, and who had made the unfortunate expedition with Heupnaer to the Rio de la Goa, through the country of the Caffres, when ſeven of the company were maſſacred by the Caffres, and himſelf with only five others eſcaped.

The Slange Boſch (*ſeriphium*) which grew here, was ſaid, when made into a decoction, to expel worms.

After purſuing our journey farther over the mountains to Wildſchut's brand, where we found only one Hottentot hut, ſituated in a fine graſs plot on the mountain; we went a little way back again over the ſame mountains, and arrived at Falſe Bay.

The barren mountains, which run from Falſe Bay out into the ſea, are called by the coloniſts, as well as by the ſailors, Norweegen or Norway.

Bay Falſo, Falſe or Simon's Bay, is a name given to the harbour on this ſide, where the ſhips only touch in winter, and where they are ſheltered from the north-weſt ſtorms, ſo dangerous in this ſeaſon to the ſhips that lie in Table Bay. This harbour is larger than that of the Cape. The ſhore is not broad, and in ſeveral places, by reaſon of the mountains jetting out into the ſea, there is none at all. The houſes ſtand on the tops of the hills, and are ſometimes very unfit for the accommodation of ſtrangers. A large round rock in the harbour went by the name of the Ark, another was called the Romance Rock; and an iſland, ſituated farther out to the eaſtward, Malagas Iſland. Beſides a houſe belonging to the company, in which lives a reſident, there are here an hoſpital, a warehouſe, a ſlaughterhouſe, and a few farmhouſes belonging to individuals. The company's garden lay at ſome diſtance.

From Falſe Bay we went over flat and low ſands, paſſed Muyſenberg and the company's fiſhing place, back to the Cape. In different parts of the ſandy plains there were ſmall lakes, as they might be called, of ſalt water, which had not yet been dried up by the ſummer's heat. Theſe plains, abounding as they did in water, ſtill harboured in different parts ſome Flamingoes, which, with their white and blood-red

feathers, adorned theſe ſpots, and devoured the inſects and worms in the water. We ſhot one of them, and broke the wing bone, which prevented the bird from flying; but we had ſtill the greateſt difficulty to catch it, as with its long legs it waded through the water, which was a foot deep, much faſter than we were able to follow it.

On the 1ſt of June, being Whit-Monday, there aroſe a very high north-weſt wind, with violent hurricanes and ſhowers of rain; at night, in this ſtorm, the Jonge Thomas, one of the four ſhips belonging to the company, that were ſtill in the road, having loſt all its anchors, one after the other, was driven on the ſands near the ſhore, at Zout Rivier, and, in conſequence of its heavy lading, ſplit into two pieces in the middle. The ſurge roſe to an amazing height on the ſhores towards this ſide, and Zout Rivier was ſo ſwollen, that it was almoſt impaſſable. It is true, from the middle of May to the middle of Auguſt, the Company's ſhips are prohibited from lying in the road; yet it ſometimes happens, that the governor permits it in order to avoid the inconveniences of victualling and lading the ſhips in Falſe Bay. Independently of the loſs ſuſtained by the company, as well in ſhips as merchandize, there periſhed alſo unfortunately on this occaſion, a number of the crew, who, for the want of aſſiſtance, were loſt, and met with a deplorable death, very near the land. Only ſixty-three men eſcaped, one hundred and forty-nine being unhappily drowned.

The ſhip had ſcarcely ſtruck, which happened juſt at day-break, when the moſt efficacious expedients were uſed to ſave as much as poſſible of the Company's property that might chance to be thrown on ſhore, though I could not perceive that the leaſt care was taken to deliver a ſingle ſoul of the crew from their forlorn and miſerable ſituation. Thirty men were inſtantly ordered out, with a ſtripling of a lieutenant, from the citadel, to the place where the ſhip lay, in order to keep a ſtrict look-out, and prevent any of the company's effects from being ſtolen; and a gibbet was erected, and at the ſame time an edict iſſued, importing that whoever ſhould come near that ſpot, ſhould be hanged up immediately, without trial or ſentence of judgment being paſſed upon him. This was the cauſe that the compaſſionate inhabitants, who had gone out on horſeback to afford the wretched ſufferers ſome aſſiſtance, were obliged to turn back without being able to do them the leaſt ſervice; but, on the contrary, were, together with me, ocular witneſſes of the brutality and want of feeling ſhewn by certain perſons on this occaſion, who did not beſtow a thought on affording their fellow-creatures, that ſat on the wreck periſhing with cold, hunger, and thirſt, and were almoſt in the arms of death, the leaſt aſſiſtance or relief.

Another circumſtance contributed to render this otherwiſe diſtreſſing ſcene ſtill more afflicting. Among the few, who were lucky enough to be able to ſave their lives by ſwimming from the wreck, was the gunner, a man with whom I was acquainted, and met with ſeveral times afterwards in the town: he had ſtript himſelf quite naked, in order that he might ſwim the eaſier, and had the good luck to come alive to ſhore, which was not the caſe with every one that could ſwim; for many were either daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks, or elſe by the violence of the ſurf carried back again to ſea. When he arrived on ſhore, he found his cheſt landed before him; but juſt as he was going to open it, and take out his great coat, the lieutenant, who commanded the party, drove him away from it; and though he earneſtly begged for leave to take out the clothes neceſſary for covering his naked and ſhivering body, and could alſo prove by the key, faſtened, according to the ſailor's cuſtom, to his girdle, as well as by his name cut out on the lid of the cheſt, that it was actually his property, he was, nevertheleſs, forced to retreat without effecting his purpoſe, by this unmerciful hero, who gave him ſeveral ſmart blows with a cane on his bare back. After he had paſſed the

whole

whole day naked and hungry, and expoſed to the cold winds, and was going to be taken in the evening to town along with the others who had been ſaved from the wreck, he again aſked leave to take a coat out of his cheſt to cover himſelf with; but this having been previouſly plundered, he found empty. On entering the town, where he arrived ſtark naked, he met with a burgher, who took compaſſion on him, and lent him his great coat. Afterwards he, as well as the other unfortunate wretches, was forced to run about the town for ſeveral days together, begging for victuals, clothes, and money, till at length they were ſupported at the company's expence, and taken back again into its ſervice.

Another action that does great honour to humanity, deſerves the more to be recorded here, as it ſhews that at all times, and in all places, there are both good and conſiderate people, as well as ſuch as have nothing human but the ſhape. An old man, of the name of Woltemad, by birth an European, who was at this time the keeper of the beaſts in the menagerie near the garden, had a ſon in the citadel, who was a corporal, and among the firſt who had been ordered out to Paarden Iſland (Horſe Iſland), where a guard was to be ſet for the preſervation of the wrecked goods. This worthy veteran borrowed a horſe, and rode out in the morning with a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread for his ſon's breakfaſt. This happened ſo early, that the gibbet had not yet been erected, nor the edict poſted up, to point out to the traveller the neareſt road to eternity. This hoary ſire had no ſooner delivered to his ſon the refreſhments he had brought him, and heard the lamentations of the diſtreſſed crew from the wreck, than he reſolved to ride his horſe, which was a good ſwimmer, to the wreck, with a view of ſaving ſome of them. He repeated this dangerous trip ſix times more, bringing each time two men alive on ſhore, and thus ſaved in all fourteen perſons. The horſe was by this time ſo much fatigued, that he did not think it prudent to venture out again; but the cries and intreaties of the poor wretches on the wreck increaſing, he ventured to take one trip more, which proved ſo unfortunate, that he loſt his own life, as on this occaſion too many from the wreck ruſhed upon him at once, ſome of them catching hold of the horſe's tail, and others of the bridle, by which means the horſe, both wearied out, and now too heavy laden, turned head over heels, and all were drowned together. This noble and heroic action of a ſuperannuated old man, ſufficiently ſhews that a great many lives might probably have been ſaved, if a ſtrong rope had been faſtened by one end to the wreck, and by the other to the ſhore. Along this rope either a baſket or a large copper veſſel might have been hawled to and from the ſhip, with a man in it each time. When the ſtorm and waves had ſubſided, the ſhip was found to lie at ſo ſmall a diſtance from the land, that one might have almoſt leaped from it on ſhore.

The vigorous meaſures taken to preſerve the Company's effects and merchandize, were not, however, ſo efficacious, as to prevent certain perſons in office from enriching themſelves conſiderably on this occaſion. For when whole horſe-loads of iron from the wrecks could be ſold to the ſmiths in town, it is eaſy to conceive that their conſciences would not ſtand greatly in their way, if they could lay their hands upon portable and valuable commodities. The ſoldiers alſo were ſo careful when on guard, that nothing ſhould be pillaged from the wreck, that they themſelves every night, when relieved, marched into town with their muſket-barrels ſtuffed full of ſolid gold lace, which, though ſomewhat damaged by the ſalt water, anſwered very well when thrown into the melting-pot.

Though the hardeſt hearts frequently are ſoftened by the uncommonly ſevere misfortunes and diſtreſſes of their fellow-creatures, and though great and noble actions have

have at all times been able to excite the gratitude and benevolence of the fellow-citizens of the perpetrator; yet (I am ſorry to ſay it) I have it not in my power to conclude this melancholy picture with ſome delightful trait of generous compaſſion on the part of the governor towards the poor ſufferers, and eſpecially towards the drowned hero, or of ſome noble remuneration of his ſon. For when, ſhortly after, this young man ſolicited for the employment of his deceaſed father, which was a poſt of ſuch ſmall importance, that it could neither be conſidered as a recompenſe, nor could it be envied him by any one, it was refuſed him, and given to another.

This unfeeling *bon vivant* of a governor, rich in money, but poor in ſpirit, permitted him, nevertheleſs, afterwards to do what others conſider as a puniſhment, viz. to go to Batavia, where he hoped to find kind patrons and a wider field for making his fortune in. And here he would doubtleſs have attained his deſires, had he lived longer; but in the very unwholeſome climate whither he was now gone to ſee his only brother, a merchant, he died, before an order arrived from the directors of the Company in Holland (which did as much credit to them, as it ought to have accumulated ſhame upon the officers of the Cape), viz. that the ſons of Woltemad for the ſake of their father, ſhould be rewarded and promoted in every way that could poſſibly be done. On this and ſimilar occaſions, I have obſerved, how much an enlightened mind and a generous heart are to be prized among the gifts of fortune, above riches and honours; and how infinitely theſe latter are exalted by the former, if they are united with them, in which caſe they command every one's eſteem.

I now alſo perceive the reaſon why the Europeans, both ſailors and ſoldiers, are in many reſpects treated worſe and with leſs compaſſion, than the very ſlaves themſelves. With reſpect to the latter, the owner not only takes care that they are clothed and fed, but likewiſe, when they are ſick, that they are well nurſed and have proper medical attendance. The former go as they can, viz. naked, or dreſſed in tattered clothes, which, perhaps, after all, do not fit them; and when one of them dies, it is a common ſaying, that the Company gets another for nine guilders.

The violent hurricanes from the north-weſt have more than once occaſioned ſhipwreck in theſe roads. In 1692, three veſſels, one Engliſh and two Dutch, were driven on ſhore and loſt. From the ſame cauſe, thirty years ago, in the month of May, ſeven of the Company's ſhips were ſaid to have been wrecked and loſt.

On the 31ſt of July a ſlave was executed, who had murdered his maſter. The delinquent being laid on a croſs and tied faſt to it, firſt his arms and legs were burned in eight different parts with jagged tongs, made red hot; afterwards his arms and legs were broken on the wheel, and laſtly, his head was cut off and fixed on a pole. The judge that tries and condemns the criminal, is always preſent, and walks in proceſſion to the place of execution, in order to give ſolemnity to the ceremony. The ſoldiers form a circle. The place of execution is between the town and the citadel, on a ſmall eminence.

On the 8th of Auguſt, a ſlave was hanged for ſome great crime.

After malefactors have ſuffered at the place of execution, within the town, they are always brought out in the evening to the gallows without the town, where they are either hanged, and that generally in irons, in which manner the ſkeleton may be preſerved for a long time, or elſe drawn and quartered. There are two gallows out of the town, one at the entrance to the harbour, under the Leeuwe Staart (Lion's Tail), on which Europeans are hanged, and the other beyond the citadel, near Zout Rivier, on which ſlaves and Hottentots are executed.

Zout

Zout Rivier (or Salt River) is a river of conſiderable ſize, which derives its ſource from Table Mountain, and diſembogues itſelf into the harbour. The water here is ſalt, from the admixture of ſea water, and riſes and falls with the tide.

The oak (*quercus robur*) and apricot (*prunus Armeniaca*) bloſſomed in Auguſt, the former, juſt after it had thrown out its leaves, and the latter, before it had any leaves. The alder alſo (*betula alnus*), as well as the almond and peach-tree, were now in bloſſom.

In the winter-months, when much rain fell, the water was in ſome places ſeen ruſhing like a torrent through the clefts of the mountains, down the higheſt, ſteep, and bare rocks.

Though the colony is inhabited to a great extent, and the Hottentots are almoſt extirpated, yet it ſometimes happens that ſlaves run away and hide themſelves, and that chiefly in the mountains. But it is very uncommon for a ſoldier or ſailor to run into the country, as he would eaſily be diſcovered there. When an unconverted ſlave runs away and is taken, he is beaten by his maſter or the officers of the police; but if a Chriſtian deſerts from the Company's ſervice, he is hanged. The money laid out in the purchaſe of the former, ſaves him from death, but the eſtabliſhed laws do not ſpare the latter.

For the uſe of the ſoldiers in the citadel, cooks are taken into it, who dreſs victuals, and ſell them out in portions to the ſoldiers. Every ſoldier receives from the Company three pounds of bread twice a week.

Every ſoldier pays out of his wages two ſtivers per month to the courier for boots, and is beſides obliged to keep guard for him.

Thoſe wretches that are guilty of beſtiality, are not put to their trial, or impriſoned, but are immediately drowned, as being unworthy to appear before the judge, or to be viſited by a clergyman. In this manner a ſlave was now executed.

The fiſcal is independent in his office, not being ſubordinate to the governor, and accountable only to the directors in Holland. When diſputes and contentions ariſe between burghers or others, he fines them. The fine here is not proportioned to the crime of the offenders, but, for the moſt part, ſuited to their circumſtances. The fiſcal therefore, to whom theſe fines furniſh a conſiderable revenue, treats turbulent and offending perſons as a phyſician does a plethoric patient, of whom he always draws blood in proportion as the ſtrength of his habit will permit.

Conſtantia, conſiſting of two farms, called Great and Little Conſtantia, which are ſituated below the eaſt ſide of Table Mountain, is celebrated for its highly delicious wine, known by the name of Conſtantia or Cape wine, which is ſold in Europe at ſo high a price. This wine is extremely ſweet, agreeable and luſcious, and only fit for the deſſert, as, on account of its ſweetneſs, if drank in abundance, it lies heavy on the ſtomach. Of the red wine, about ſixty pipes are made, and of the white about ninety; yet the vintage here, as in other places, is different in different years. Theſe two farms were for a long time the only ſpots which, by reaſon of their ſituation, could produce this delicate wine; but lately ſome other farms in this diſtrict, and in a few other places, have been able to bring their wines to the ſame degree of excellence. But as the Company has reſerved to itſelf the excluſive ſale of the Conſtantia wine, which conſequently is conſidered as contraband, and is not to be bought or tranſported to Holland under that name by individuals, they have hit upon the expedient of giving their wine, which in point of goodneſs does not yield to Conſtantia, the name of Mag wine (or Stomach), which in general is ſold to the naval offices of foreign nations cheaper than the Conſtantia wine itſelf.

It is remarkable, that the governor increaſes his revenue by every pipe of wine purchaſed on the account of the Company. The Company uſually pays forty rix-dollars for every pipe, and the ſeller gives a receipt for forty, but receives no more than twenty-ſeven rix-dollars, three being deducted for the clergyman's tythe. Ordinary wine is ſometimes ſold at the rate of ten rix-dollars a pipe, as was the caſe one year that I was at the Cape. As a pipe contains about one hundred and twelve gallons, the wine is conſequently very cheap. In like manner other perſons in office make conſiderable profit on every thing that paſſes through their hands, which they are indeed often obliged to do, as their ſalaries cannot ſupport them in a country where moſt of the neceſſaries of life are many times dearer than they are in Europe. Thus, while the governor makes ten rix-dollars of every pipe of wine that is ſold, other officers find their advantage in giving leave of abſence to people who receive pay from the Company without doing any ſervice for it. Some make their fortunes by falſe weights, others by damaged goods. A ſhipwreck fills the pockets of many. In conſequence of the rapacity of their captains and their mates, the ſailors ſeldom get their due. The ſoldiers muſt yield ſomething to their officers. The ſick muſt ſtarve for the ſupport of many that are in health, and the defunct muſt leave part of their effects to the firſt comer.

The governor this year cauſed a hot-houſe to be built in the Company's garden for pine-apples. This fruit, ſo delicate at Batavia, could not arrive here at the maturity and high flavour that it does in the Eaſt Indies; in like manner the Piſang (*muſa paradiſiaca*, or *bananas*) would ſeldom bloſſom in the few gardens where it was cultivated, and never yielded any fruit that was perfectly ripe and high flavoured.

The American Aloe (*agave Americana*) imported from the botanic gardens of Europe, was now common on the hills near the town, and bloſſomed finely every year, without attracting ſuch a great concourſe of ſpectators as it does at Amſterdam.

The Porcupine, or Yzer-varken (*hyſtrix*), whoſe uſual food is the root of that beautiful plant, the *calla Æthiopica*, will frequently deign to put up with cabbages and other vegetables, by which means he ſometimes commits great depredations in the gardens.

By the Swediſh ſhips that were newly arrived, and brought ſeveral of my friends, I not only had the pleaſure of receiving letters, but alſo the joyful tidings of the happy change of government made laſt year in my native country, by which a great and good king, without bloodſhed, and in a manner as noble as his conduct was wiſe, had been able to put an end to the diſcord which for many years had divided his ſubjects, to the great detriment of the kingdom.

In my various excurſions to Table Mountain, I obſerved in its crevices both Daſſes and Baboons. The former I perceived generally near the top of the mountain, juſt at ſun-riſing, when they uſed to come out to baſk in the ſun. Whoever wiſhes to ſhoot them, muſt cautiouſly approach them, and with a quick gun take his aim in ſuch a manner, as to lay them dead on the ſpot. If the gun was not quick, they would make off, as ſoon as ever the prime flaſhed in the pan; and, if the animal was not inſtantly killed, it would withdraw into a crevice, ſo that it could not poſſibly be got out. The fleſh is ſometimes eaten, and is tolerably well taſted.

The baboons were pretty numerous, and indeed dangerous to travellers; for ſitting undiſmayed on the tops of the rocks, where they were frequently out of the reach of ſhot, they would roll, and even throw down, ſtones of all ſorts and ſizes. The uſe of the gun, however, was on theſe occaſions indiſpenſably neceſſary, as by means of it they might at leaſt be driven to ſuch a diſtance, that the ſtones they threw could not do ſo much miſchief. It is curious to obſerve them in their flight. With their cubs on their

backs they will often make aſtoniſhing leaps up a perpendicular rock; and it is but ſeldom that they can be ſhot; and even if any one of them is ſhot, it is not eaſily killed.

In the town, tame baboons are ſometimes kept, made faſt to a pole. Their agility in climbing, leaping, and dodging any one that offers to ſtrike them, is almoſt incredible. Though one of theſe baboons was tied up, ſtill it was impoſſible at the diſtance of a few yards to hit him with a ſtone. He would either catch the ſtone, like a ball, in his hand, or elſe avoid it in the moſt ſurpriſing and nimble manner.

The baboons of Table Mountain, beſides paying frequent viſits to, and plundering the gardens of the Europeans, feed alſo upon the pulpous bulbs of ſeveral plants, which after digging up, they peel and eat. Heaps of theſe parings were frequently ſeen left after them, particularly near the ſtones, where they reſide. The *gladiolus plicatus* appears to be the moſt favorite plant with thoſe that live near the Cape, for which reaſon alſo this plant is known by the name of the Baboon. The root of this plant is ſometimes boiled and eaten by the coloniſts.

In the ſandy plains near the Cape, the great white African mole (*marmota Africana*) is more particularly to be found, and that in abundance. It makes large holes in the ground, over which it lays little heaps of mould; theſe holes are very inconvenient to people in walking, who ſtep down into them unawares, and are frequently in danger of falling. The ſize of it is nearly equal to that of a cat; it is of a fierce nature, and, when caught, defends itſelf with its teeth. It feeds on ſeveral ſorts of bulbous roots that grow in theſe ſandy plains in abundance, eſpecially Gladioluſes, Ixias, Antholyzas, and Iriſes. Pennant mentions it at p. 472. under the name of the African Rat.

Thoſe that are but in a ſmall degree acquainted with botany need not be told, that by the opening and cloſing of flowers, one may frequently know with certainty, as from a watch, what hour of the day it is, as well as if the weather will be fine or rainy. Plants of this kind are common on the African hills.

The *moræa undulata* never opens before nine o'clock in the morning, and before ſunſet, at four in the afternoon, it cloſes again.

The *ixia cinnamomea* (Avondbloem, Canelbloem) opens every evening at four, and exhales its agreeable odours through the whole night.

The approach of rain is announced by the flowers of various bulbous plants, ſuch as the Ixias, Moræas, Iriſes, and Galaxias, the tender flowers of which do not open in the morning if rain is to be expected ſoon; and if a ſhower is to fall in the afternoon, they cloſe ſome time before.

Several of theſe likewiſe diffuſe an agreeable fragrance, particularly at evening or night, ſomewhat like the odour of pinks, but fainter; ſuch are the *gladiolus triſtis* and *recurvus*, the *ixia piloſa*, *falcata*, and *cinnamomea*.

The Earth-roſe (Aard-roos) was the name by which the inhabitants, both of the town and country, diſtinguiſhed the *hyobanche ſanguinea*, a plant with a low deep-red flower, which is ſcarcely of a finger's length, and has neither branches nor leaves. It grows in winter and ſpring in the low ſandy plains, both near the town and elſewhere towards the ſea-ſhore, puſhing only its cluſter of blood-red flowers above the ground. The *antholyza ringens*, with its gaping flower, and the ever-varying *gladiolus plicatus*, which decorate theſe ſandy plains in abundance, have their pulpous bulbs deep down in the ſand, and do not raiſe their flowers much higher than the Hyobanche above the ſurface of the ground.

During the winter-months, three beautiful ſpecies of *gardenia* were blowing in the Company's garden. The *gardenia florida* was probably brought hither from the

Indies; at leaſt, in my travels in this ſouthermoſt angle of Africa, I never perceived it growing wild any where, but always planted in the gardens, and that even among the coloniſts far up the country. Here it always produced double flowers, and, conſequently, no fruit, which the Chineſe uſe for dyeing yellow. The *gardenia Rothmannia*, which has leſs conſpicuous flowers than the former, and of which both the flowers and fruit, on being dried, always turn black. The *gardenia Thunbergia*, with reſpect to its bloſſom, is one of the fineſt trees in the world. This little tree had been brought a few years before from the foreſts of the country, where it is ſcarce, and grows very ſlowly, the wood being at the ſame time ſo hard, that on this account it is uſed for clubs. This tree, after it has once begun to bloſſom, continues to blow for ſeveral months, producing freſh bloſſoms every day, as faſt as the old ones by degrees fade and droop, and at length fall off. The bloſſom is almoſt ſix inches long, white and thick, like the moſt beautiful waſh-leather, of an agreeable odour, and does not loſe its white colour.

If the cold in this country were ſevere, and it were abſolutely neceſſary for the inhabitants to keep fires in their ordinary apartments, it would be a wretched country indeed, on account of the great want of fuel it labours under. The wood that is uſed for dreſſing their victuals in the kitchen is nothing but bruſhwood, being got with no leſs pains than expence from the ſmaller trees and buſhes. On making ſome inquiry concerning this matter, I found that the following were the moſt commonly employed for this purpoſe; viz. the ſtems and roots of the *protea grandiflora*, *conocarpa*, *ſpecioſa*, *hirta*, *mellifera*, and *argentea*, a few ſpecies of *erica*, and ſome ſorts of *brunia*.

In a country like this, where it is for the moſt part impoſſible to have recourſe to an apothecary, and the medicines ſent from Europe extremely dear, the inhabitants had prudently thought of trying the indigenous plants of Africa; and, among theſe, they had diſcovered various uſeful remedies in different diſeaſes. As a botaniſt and phyſician, I was eager to be acquainted with them, and never loſt an opportunity of adding to the ſlender ſtock of my knowledge, which often proved ſerviceable, both to myſelf and the benevolent and obliging coloniſts. For when any of theſe could impart to me, in their plain and artleſs way, a ſlight notion only of ſome uſeful plant, I was able afterwards to give them a more accurate idea of its true uſe in curing diſeaſes.

Many *gerania*, with their red and pulpous roots, grew in the ſandy plains near the town; and as theſe roots are of an aſtringent nature, the country-people uſed them in the diarrhœa and dyſentery.

The root of the *bryonia Africana* was employed both as an emetic and a purge.

The roots of the *aſclepias undulata* (Bitter-wortel) and *criſpa*, as well as the whole of the herb *eriocephalus*, were uſed for the purpoſe of expelling urine in the dropſy.

For the ſame purpoſe alſo they frequently made uſe of the root of the *hæmanthus coccineus*, inſtead of ſquills, or the *ſcilla maritima*. This plant is very common on the hills below the mountains, and hence has obtained the name of the Mountain-ſquill. Its root is large, white, mucilaginous, fibrous, and ſomewhat acrid. After being cut into ſlices, it is ſteeped in vinegar, and from this is made a kind of weak *oxymel ſcilliticum*, which is uſed in dropſies and aſthmas.

The *polygonum barbatum*, which grows in ditches, and is of an acrid nature, is, like its kindred ſpecies, uſed for dropſical and ſwelled legs.

A decoction of the leaves of the *crotolaria perfoliata* was eſteemed a powerful diuretic, and, in conſequence of this property, to cure dropſies.

The *piper capenſe* was in ſome places uſed as a ſtomachic, inſtead of common pepper; and the *fagara capenſis* (Wilde Cardamom) was of great ſervice to many people in the flatulent cholic, and the palſy.

The

The juice of the *meſembryanthemum edule* was uſed both as an internal and external remedy: internally for the dyſentery and the thruſh (*aphthæ*) in children, and externally for burns.

They were very loud here in the praiſes of the *oſmites camphorina*, to which they were pleaſed to give the name of *bellis* (or daiſy). This plant has certainly great merit on account of its camphorated principle, and its ſtrong poignant ſmell and taſte, both of which evince it to be of a highly reſolving nature. The plant itſelf is ſometimes uſed externally, applied in bags to inflammations, and on the ſtomach in cholics. But the ſpirit diſtilled from it, called *ſpiritus bellidis*, was highly eſteemed in coughs and hoarſeneſs. In theſe caſes, however, it appeared to me to be too heating; but I uſed it more than once with advantage in the palſy and apoplexy. The genuine ſpecies, or the *oſmites camphorina*, which is the very beſt, I found growing on the top of Table Mountain only; and as it was obtainable only by a few, the *oſmites aſteriſcoides*, which has a fainter ſmell and weaker virtues, was uſed in its ſtead. As an aſtringent in the diarrhœa, the rough and auſtere bark of the *protea grandiflora* was frequently uſed. In the environs of the town grew likewiſe various plants, which the inhabitants had learned to convert to their own benefit when afflicted with diſorders; as, *e.g.*

The *adonis capenſis* and *atragene veſicatoria* (Brandblad) uſed inſtead of Cantharides: theſe plants grew on the ſides of the mountains and hills; and were exhibited in the ſciatica and rheumatiſm.

The *adianthum Æthiopicum* (Vrouwehaar), a ſpecies of maidenhair, grew chiefly on the ſides of the Devil's Mountain, and was drank at tea, in colds and other affections of the breaſt.

The *protea mellifera* (Tulp-boom and Zuyker-boom) contains in its calyx a ſweet juice, which, when inſpiſſated, was uſed in diſorders of the breaſt.

The *ſalicornia fruticoſa* (Zee-koral, or ſea-coral) grew on the ſea-ſhore, and, notwithſtanding its brackiſh taſte, was eaten by the ſoldiers and ſome few others as a ſallad, dreſſed with oil and vinegar.

Beſides the Company's diſpenſary which was at the hoſpital, another was founded this year in the town, by which means the country-people may now have a better opportunity of procuring medicines than they had before, when they are obliged to purchaſe them of the ſurgeons at a very high price.

From the *oxalis cernua* (Wilde Syring), which grew to the greateſt ſize and in the greateſt abundance of all the ſpecies appertaining to this genus, was prepared a good and ſerviceable *ſal acetoſellæ* (or ſalt of wood-ſorrel).

Hard Looper (or Faſt Runner) was a name given, on account of the ſwiftneſs with which it ran, to the *carabus* 10-*guttatus*; an inſect that frequented ſeveral places, and often the highways themſelves. This animal has the ſame property as our Swediſh gunner (*carabus crepitans*), viz. that when it is purſued or caught, it blows out with violence from behind a liquid, which has the appearance of a thin fine ſmoke, diffuſing itſelf all around, and if it gets into the eyes, making them ſmart juſt as if brandy were ſquirted into them. By theſe means it blinds its purſuers, and gets an opportunity of eſcaping while the pain laſts, which is about a minute or two.

Fiſcal and Canary-byter were the appellations given to a black and white bird (*lanius collaris*), which was common in the town, and was to be found in every garden there. As it was a bird of prey, though very ſmall, it ſought its food among the inſects, ſuch as beetles and graſshoppers, which it not only caught with great dexterity, but likewiſe, when it could not conſume them all, it would ſtick them up on the pales of farm-yards till it had occaſion for them, ſo that one would have ſuppoſed them to have been impaled

in this manner by human beings. It alſo caught ſparrows and canary-birds, but did not devour any more of them than the brains.

A beautiful green thruſh (*turdus ceilonicus*) frequented the gardens of the town, and delighted the ears of the attentive burgher with his ſweet ſong.

The winter rains having moiſtened the dry hills in the environs of the Cape, various beautiful and elegant flowers of bulbous plants began to ſpring in the month of Auguſt. The plants that were more particularly common were the *ixia bulbocodium*, which varied much in the ſize and colour of its flowers; the *moræa collina* and *ſpathacea*, the dependent leaves of which twined round the feet of the perambulator, and frequently threw him down: and the *moræa undalata*, the flower of which has the appearance of a large ſpider, and attracts the flies called blue bottles by its fetid ſmell. The elegant family of the *iriſes*, however, eſpecially the *papilionacea*, excelled all others in the ſuperb grandeur of their flowers, which was greater than can be expreſſed.

Caffre Corn (*holcus Caffrorum*) was cultivated by ſome few people in their gardens as a rarity, and grew to the height of a man, bearing large cluſters of flowers; conſequently it is a very profitable kind of corn, but requires a great deal of heat.

The *mirabilis dichotoma* (Vieruurs Bloem, or Four-o'clock Flower) was planted in a few gardens, both for the beauty of its flowers, and its ſingular quality of cloſing them every evening at four o'clock.

Among the various ſorts of fiſh that appeared on the tables at the Cape, were the *chimæra callorynchus* (Dodſkop or Joſeph), the fleſh of which is white and well-taſted; and the *raja miraletus* (or Rock). The *raja torpedo* too, (called here Trill Viſch,) was ſometimes caught in the harbour, but not brought to table.

Pelicans with their large claws, called here Kropgans (*pelecanus onocrotalus*), which are not ſcarce on the coaſt, were alſo kept in a tame ſtate, and lived on fiſh, and food of a ſimilar nature, by the water-ſide.

Of the *reſtio dichotomus* (Beeſem Riet) brooms were made to ſweep the floors with.

The ſingular name of King of Candia was given by the inhabitants to the *hæmanthus coccineus* and *puniceus*, one of the largeſt and moſt beautiful flowers that made their appearance towards winter on the hills of the Cape, exhibiting in ſtately pomp its blood-red cluſters of flowers that grew cloſe to the ground, and bare of leaves, which, previouſly to the blowing of the plant, had withered and diſappeared. After the flowers come the fruit; and this is ſucceeded by the leaves alone, which are but two in number, and lie down flat on the ground, like thoſe of the *amaryllis ciliaris*: which latter plant, with its leaves fringed with black hairs, grew all over this diſtrict, though it was never once ſeen to bloſſom.

Beſides the chameleon, which changes its colour, there were two lizards, very common on the hills near the town; the *lacerta ſtellio* and *orbicularis*, ſitting every where on the ſtones, and baſking in the ſun. Both of them made a hideous appearance with their protuberant points, and when any body approached them, ran quickly down under the ſtones to hide themſelves.

The Hottentots generally elect a chief, whom they call captain; and as they pretend to be in alliance with the Dutch Eaſt India Company, the captain whom they have elected, is to be confirmed by the governor at the Cape. One of theſe captains was now come to town, attended by a few Hottentots, to be confirmed in his new dignity, and, agreably to ancient cuſtom, receive ſome preſents. As a token of his authority, he is preſented with a large braſs head, on which are engraved the Company's arms. The captain heads the troops when they take the field, either againſt their enemies, or for the purpoſe of hunting wild beaſts, on which occaſion he alſo throws the firſt ſpear. In

other reſpects, very little more regard is ſhewn to him than to the reſt; and the chief difference between them ſeems to be, that he commonly wears either a calf's or a tiger's ſkin, while the reſt are clad in ſheep-ſkins.

In winter, when the north-weſt wind blows ſtormy into Table Bay, whales are ſometimes driven in. One of theſe fiſh had lately been caſt on ſhore dead. It was above two fathoms long. From its back, which lay above the water, they cut out large pieces, in order to extract train-oil from the blubber.

In like manner, during this ſeaſon, there arrived at the numerous iſlands that lie round about the Cape a great number of ſeals, which in this part of the world are commonly called ſea-dogs, becauſe, while they are bounding up and down in the water, they bear ſome reſemblance to a dog. There they breed at this time, and bring up their young ones, and are caught in abundance for the Company, for the purpoſe of making train-oil. It is ſingular that the ſea-dog, which is in fact a marine animal, cannot ſwim by nature, as ſoon as it comes into the world. It is the ſame caſe with this as with ſome kinds of birds, which cannot fly till they are taught by the mother. Thus it is that the ſea-dog learns of its mother to ſwim. When the young ſeal is arrived at a certain age, his mother catches him by the neck and throws him into the water, where he plaſhes about, till at length he begins to ſink: the mother then catches him up again, and thus makes him try ſeveral times, till at laſt he can ſwim and go out to ſea.

The farming out of wine and victuals produces to the Company a conſiderable revenue. The former was now, according to annual cuſtom, ſold by auction on the laſt day of Auguſt; and he who bids higheſt becomes the farmer-general of the wine-contract, having the excluſive right of ſelling wine, not only to ſtrangers and to the officers of the Dutch ſhips, but alſo to the inns and taverns. The owners of vineyards, it is true, may diſpoſe of their wine to the burghers at the Cape for their own conſumption; but neither they nor any one elſe are ſuffered, under a heavy penalty, to ſell a ſingle drop of it to any other perſon. By this means the wine comes very high to foreign nations, and at a tavern a bottle coſts ſeveral times as much as it does to private people at their own houſes. The farmer of the wines has alone the power of retailing out wine himſelf, or of permitting others who keep inns, for a certain conſideration, to do the ſame. The revenue from the wine-contract amounts yearly to between thirty and forty thouſand guilders.

The victualling contract is conducted in a different manner. He that bids the loweſt at the auction is appointed the farmer-general of this monopoly; viz. he that offers to furniſh the Company with freſh meat for its ſhips and its other exigencies at the loweſt price. From this contract, it is true, the Company receives no pecuniary advantage; but then it gets all its meat at a much lower price, than it otherwiſe could poſſibly be obtained. It is in conſequence of this contract alſo, that the burghers as well as ſtrangers, are obliged to pay an extravagant price for butchers-meat. Thus whilſt the Company get butchers-meat for two droits per pound, the burghers muſt pay at the rate of four or more, and ſtrangers two ſtivers; and while a bullock, fit for ſlaughter, is commonly ſold for five Dutch rix-dollars, ſtrangers muſt pay at the rate of ten or more. This contract is farmed out for one, two, three, five, or ſeven years; and certain ſpots near Groene Kloof are ceded to the contractor for paſture grounds without any ſeparate charge.

On this account, as well as on that of the language, which ſtrangers do not always underſtand, every nation whoſe ſhips anchor here, is obliged to have a commiſſary or broker, who manages their concerns, and alſo contributes, as far as in him lies, to raiſe the price of every article to them.

Wheat,

Wheat, when it is wanted by foreign nations for exportation, is only to be had of the Company. The French ſhips frequently exported it in the courſe of this and the laſt year to the Iſle of France.

Many people, and particularly the ſailors, inſtead of butter, uſed to purchaſe the fat that had been melted down from the large tails of the African ſheep. One of theſe tails, weighing twenty pounds, conſiſts of nothing but fat, which is the higheſt luxury of the Hottentots. This fat is laid down in tubs with ſome ſalt and pepper, and uſed at ſea with bread in lieu of butter.

Oſtriches eggs were moſtly purchaſed by the naval officers. They are in general the perquiſites of ſlaves, who, in tending their cattle, frequently find places in the ſands where the oſtriches have laid their eggs. During the time of incubation, a dozen, and ſometimes even a ſcore of theſe eggs (though for the moſt part fewer), are to be found in one place. The ſlaves always uſe the precaution not to take away the eggs with their hands (in which caſe the birds, who perceive it by the ſcent, are apt to quit the neſt); but by means of a long ſtick they rake them out of the neſt as faſt as the birds lay them. Theſe eggs ſold in general for a ſkelling a piece, or about ſixpence Engliſh. They are fitteſt, and moſt uſed for cakes and *œufs perdus;* and they are particularly good, when eaten with a large quantity of butter. One ſingle egg is ſufficient for ſeveral people. And whereas hens eggs will ſeldom keep for any length of time on board of ſhip, and require great pains to be taken with them in order to turn them every day, oſtriches eggs are eaſily preſerved at ſea, on account of their ſize, and of their thick and ſtrong ſhell.

The Camphor-tree (*laurus camphora*) brought from the Eaſt Indies, and planted here, throve very well, though no great pains were taken to increaſe the number of them, or collect any camphor from them.

In like manner Turmeric (*curcuma longa*) was cultivated on a ſmall bed in the Company's garden; the root was ſcarcely ever uſed here, though it is ſo much in requeſt in Europe for the purpoſe of dyeing, and in the Eaſt Indies enters into almoſt all their diſhes.

During the whole time that I ſtaid at the Cape (almoſt a year and a half), I never obſerved that any public fair was kept here. In fact, fairs are not uſual in this country. In their ſtead, public auctions are the more frequently made for all ſorts of foreign merchandize, eſpecially ſuch as is brought here from the various factories belonging to the Company in the different parts of the Eaſt Indies.

The burghers in the town generally make an agreement with ſome of the ſurgeons in the hoſpital to attend them and their families, and furniſh them with medicines. This is the more neceſſary, as they have always a number of ſlaves, and ſometimes dangerous epidemic diſtempers prevail among them. This circumſtance is the cauſe that the phyſicians and ſurgeons, who come as ſtrangers to this place, and ſtay ſome time at it, are ſcarcely ever called in, unleſs they can work miracles. My medical practice in the town conſequently was not very extenſive; neither, indeed, did I ſtrive to enlarge it, for fear of being impeded in my botanical purſuits. On the other hand, I had the greater opportunities of aſſiſting the country-people in my medical capacity, who were both in greater want of my aid, and more grateful to me for it. Almoſt always, and every where, I obſerved that my medicines acted with the greateſt efficacy as well as certainty upon the ſlaves, whoſe conſtitutions were not ſo much impaired by improper diet, and were, beſides, leſs accuſtomed to the uſe of remedies.

Though ſlaves are not uſually inſtructed in the doctrines of Chriſtianity, nor their children baptized, the Dutch Eaſt India Company takes care that the children born in the

the lodges of their own female ſlaves are baptized, and in ſome meaſure inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion. The reaſon for this, perhaps, may be, that moſt of theſe children have European fathers, to whom they frequently bear the moſt ſtriking reſemblance.

The children thus iſſued from Europeans, I had frequent opportunities of ſeeing married to black women. Their progeny, however, were not always like each other. I once ſaw iſſued from ſuch a couple, one ſon, who was black, with large eyes, and reſembled his mother; another, who was rather of a white complexion, but varied with black ſpots ſcattered up and down, and, upon the whole, bore a greater reſemblance to the father; and a girl, that was half black.

When the negroes are wounded in any part of their bodies, and theſe wounds heal again, the ſcars at firſt are white, but the ſkin afterwards grows black by degrees.

I ſaw an old Hottentot here, who was very much afflicted with an eryſipelas in his leg. The eryſipelas diſcovered itſelf by its uſual bluiſh-red colour; and on the black ground it had a very frightful appearance. Otherwiſe it was very rare to find any of theſe people with blemiſhes on any part of their bodies, and much more ſo, to ſee any among them crippled. As they not only live ſparingly, but alſo on unſeaſoned and unſalted food, they are in general ſubject to few diſeaſes. The changes of the climate are almoſt the only cauſes of the rheumatiſms and fevers which ſometimes prevail among them; ſtill, theſe diſtempers are much more ſcarce among the Hottentots that enjoy their liberty, than among thoſe who have entered into the ſervice of the Dutch coloniſts.

As far as I had an opportunity of travelling laſt ſummer, both to the northward and eaſtward, in this extenſive country, I met with but ſmall remains of the once more or leſs numerous Hottentot nations, which, as late as the beginning of this century, ſtill inhabited theſe vaſt plains. It is true, as faſt as the coloniſts ſpread over the country in gradual ſucceſſion, the Hottentots have been obliged to retire, and make room for the dwellings and cattle of the Europeans; but it is an undoubted fact alſo, that the ſmall-pox, a new and to them unknown diſtemper, has, like a peſtilence, exterminated the greater part of them. Now there are only a few ſcattered villages (Kraals) or ſocieties of them to be found, in which ſtate they either live by themſelves, or are taken into ſervice at the Company's poſts and grazing-farms, or elſe by the coloniſts themſelves. For the moſt part, theſe ſocieties, eſpecially in the vicinity of the Cape, are far from being numerous; but farther in the country they are both more populous and more wealthy. The few remains of them that ſtill exiſt, have, in ſome inſtances, retained the names of their tribes; but more frequently thoſe names are retained which formerly diſtinguiſhed each nation ſeparately, and are applied to the diſtrict itſelf, and to the larger rivers which run through the country, or form the limits of it. The better the country was provided with water, the more populous were the inhabitants, and the more cattle they poſſeſſed; ſtill, however, the whole nation did not amount to more than a few thouſand men, and each of their diſtricts formed a ſmaller or larger province.

The Gunjemans Hottentots were thoſe that lived neareſt the Cape, and on the very point itſelf; they extended as far as Falſe Bay, the Hottentots Holland Mountain, and from thence to the left as far as Stellenboſch. This country is extenſive, but conſiſts in a great meaſure of a ſandy unfruitful ſoil. Theſe were the firſt, who, in barter for certain merchandizes, ceded to the Dutch Eaſt India Company a tract of their country; and of theſe there are but a few, and I had almoſt ſaid none, now remaining.

The Kokoquas nation inhabited the country that bordered upon the Cape on the northern ſide, in the environs of Groene Kloof. In my firſt expedition, which was directed towards that ſide, I met with ſeveral of this nation ſtill in being, and even received from the Company's poſts two of them to attend me on the journey. Their country, like that of the preceding tribe, is low, level, and ſandy, is much in want of water, and was formerly not very populous, neither have the coloniſts been able to cultivate every part of it. It extends as far as the ſhore of the ocean; and has a few ſmall hillocks diſperſed over its ſurface.

In continuing my journey to the northward, and to Saldahna Bay, I viſited the Suſſaquas Hottentots, ſome of whom were ſtill remaining. As the country is every where low, ſandy, and in want of freſh water, this nation was always very conſiderable, and ſubſiſted by grazing.

The Hottentots that live ſtill farther to the northward, and are deſcended from tribes that were once numerous, I had not the opportunity of viſiting in this excurſion, but proceeded more towards the mountains in the eaſt, and the tracts of land that lay beyond them. However, from the inhabitants in theſe parts I got particular information concerning the neighbouring nations, which I was in hopes of viſiting at ſome future period. From theſe I learned that, all along the ſea-coaſt, and round about St. Helena's Bay, in a low, ſteril, and ſandy tract, the Odiquas Nation borders on the Suſſaquas. The next neighbours to theſe are the Chirigriquas, a more populous and wealthy nation, which inhabits a fine grazing country, watered by the great Elephant's River: and theſe again have for their neighbours two great and famous nations, the Little Namaquas, who live on the ſea-coaſt, and the Great Namaquas who reſide farther from it.

In the excurſion I made the preceding ſummer, I viſited, in going, and returning, almoſt all the nations that once inhabited the eaſtern tract or the coaſt of Caffraria. After paſſing the mountain called the Hottentots Holland Mountain, I came to a hilly and mountainous tract of land, which was inhabited as far as the hot-back by the Koopman Nation; next to theſe, on the ſea-coaſt, were the Sonquas Hottentots, whom on my return homewards I had to my left. The country of theſe latter is rather barren, and not much ſubject to the encroachments of the Europeans.

Next to the Koopmans is the Heſſaquas Nation; of this but few remain. And more towards the eaſt, near the great and deep river Zonder End, is the country once inhabited by the Dunquas Hottentots.

Gauriquas land extends more to the north-eaſtward: this is a very fine country, and abounds in graſs; it is watered by a conſiderable large river, called Goud's Rivier, and was formerly very populous.

Travelling further on, and following the ſhores of the ocean, one comes to the Houtniquas Hottentots, who in their hilly and woody country have remained the longeſt ſheltered from the Europeans; and had hitherto ſuffered ſo little from their encroachments, that of all the Hottentots I had as yet ſeen, no nation was more conſiderable in point of numbers, till I came to Kamtous River.

Farther to the northward, and near the large valley, through which one muſt paſs in order to go to Lange Kloof and the adjacent country, occurs the diſtrict of the Ataquas Hottentots, which is mountainous and abounds in graſs.

Still farther to the eaſtward, following the coaſt, one finds firſt the Kamtours Nation, then the Heykoms, and laſtly the Caffres. All theſe nations are in poſſeſſion of hilly and extremely rich meadows, interſected by many, and thoſe frequently conſiderable rivers, abounding in fiſh. And as theſe people have not hitherto been ſubject to the encroach-

encroachments of the coloniſts, though a few grazing farms have already been laid out here, they are not only numerous, but alſo rich and abound greatly in cattle.

All theſe Hottentots, whom I viſited in their own country, agreed in this particular, that they were moſtly ſhort, thin, and ſlender, with prominent cheek bones, flat noſes, protuberant mouths, peaked chins, crooked backs, and pot-bellies. The colour of their ſkins was yellowiſh, but more or leſs dark from greaſe and dirt. Their hair is of a ſingular nature, curling like wool, and on moſt of them as ſhort as the knaps of frieze cloth, but ſometimes, though ſeldom, of a finger's length, when it looks like twiſted yarn; but few of them have any veſtiges of a beard; and when they have, it is curling like their hair. The other ſex always have their breaſts hanging down to a conſiderable length. All of them are mad after brandy and tobacco, and find a peculiar pleaſure in filth and ſtench. They beſmear themſelves with greaſe, and powder themſelves all over with the fetid ſubſtance called Bucku, or the powdered leaves of the Dioſma. A ſheep's-ſkin thrown over their ſhoulders, and another over their loins, with a ſmall bag for the male, and a ſquare bit of ſkin for the female ſex, conſtitute almoſt the whole of their apparel. Beſides this, they alſo wear on their heads a ſkin-cap, and, by way of ornament, rings of iron or copper round their arms, ſtrings of beads round their wriſts, and rings of leather round their legs. The huts, in which they live, are low and ſmall, and convex like a hay-ſtack. They always ſit ſquat on their arms; are nimble and active, but, in general, extremely lazy. Their furniture is ſcanty and mean. Their diſhes are tortoiſe-ſhell. The water they have occaſion for they keep in the guts of animals, and milk in baſkets and goat-ſkins. Their wants, it is true, are not great; nevertheleſs their poverty diſplays itſelf in every particular.

The *galenia Africana* was known under the appellation of Kraal Boſch, and in ſome places was uſed for fences about the encloſures for their cattle, when no other buſhes fit for the purpoſe were to be had.

Almonds were ſold here, not by the weight, but by the hundred and thouſand. They were bought up in great quantities by officers who went to Batavia, where they could ſell them to advantage.

Strawberries (*fragaria veſca*) had been brought from Holland, and planted out in beds in the gardens round the town. They were tranſplanted every third year. They ſold at a high price, and to great advantage, and were well taſted, though they had not ſo delicious a flavour as thoſe that grow in Europe.

Mulberry-trees (*morus nigra*) were found at ſeveral of the farms near the town, and produced ripe and fine fruit, which however was ſeldom ſeen in the markets.

In the beginning of September the ſlaves uſed to weed the corn-fields, both the barley, which is ripe and reaped in November, and the wheat, which is reaped in December.

An unfortunate accident happened about this time. A huntſman who had accompanied Major Baron Von Prehm, the commander of the garriſon here, in a ſhort excurſion into the country, loſt one of his hands in conſequence of the burſting of his gun, and was brought into the citadel. He had taken aim at a Koor-haen, and probably loaded his piece too high. Accidents of this nature are not uncommon in this country, where ſound and good guns are extremely ſcarce. Many other people had loſt a hand in the ſame manner; and the late Governor Tulbagh, who from the condition of a private ſoldier had riſen to the higheſt pitch of honour, had loſt one of his eyes by the burſting of a gun. The ſame misfortune had like to have befallen me alſo this winter, as I was ſhooting in the harbour at ſome of the pelicans, which fly over it every evening in large flocks. On the firing of the gun, the whole ſtock was broken into a

thouſand ſplinters, ſeveral of which wounded my face and hands. To prevent ſuch an accident from happening to me again, the celebrated Captain Ekeberg, who commanded a Swediſh ſhip that anchored this year in the road, preſented me with a handſome and ſound Swediſh gun, which ever after, during my reſidence and travels in Africa and the Iſland of Java, was a ſafe and conſtant defence to me.

The Loxia Aſtrild, on account of its red beak, was called Rood-beckje, or Red-beak, and was found in great numbers in the farmers' gardens. They uſually flew in large flocks; and lighted in the graſs, ſo cloſe to the ground that they could not be ſeen, though on account of their multitudes, one was ſure to kill a great many of them at one ſhot, notwithſtanding that it is a bird of the ſmalleſt ſize.

Turtle-doves (*columba riſoria*) were common in this country, particularly in places where there was much under-wood. They were ſeldom eaten by the country-people. It is remarkable, that this bird cannot remove from one place to another without laughing afterwards. This laughing noiſe, as well as its cooing, always betrays its place of abode. The fleſh of it taſted rather dry.

Green Mountain Swallows (*merops apiaſter*) were alſo to be ſeen near ſome of the farms, and that frequently in the greateſt numbers. Theſe birds are extremely beautiful in their yellow and ſea-green attire. In the day-time they ſeek their food, which conſiſts of inſects, in the fields; but in the evenings they return in flocks, chirping in ſuch a manner as perfectly to deafen one. They then aſſemble together by degrees in the gardens, and at length go to rooſt in the branches of orange and other trees before it grows quite dark.

The month of September was already begun, and the beautiful and flowery ſpring making its appearance, put me in mind of preparing for a long journey up the country. But here more obſtacles and diſagreeable circumſtances threw themſelves in my way than I could ever have imagined. The trifling viaticum I had brought with me from Europe, I had long ago conſumed, and in the ſeventeen months which I had paſſed here, I had received no ſupplies from Holland. At Amſterdam, indeed, I had great and powerful patrons in the burgomaſters Ryk Temmink and Van der Poll, together with the privy counſellors Van der Deutz and Ten Hoven, by the perſuaſions and at the expence of whom I had undertaken this long voyage; but to my great misfortune, both of the governers Tulbagh and Rheede van Oudſhoorn, to whom I was ſtrongly recommended, and from whom I had reaſon to expect every ſupport, had departed this life, the one dying previouſly to my arrival at the Cape, and the other in the voyage thither. I was therefore a ſtranger in an unknown place, and left to myſelf and to my fate till my friends at Amſterdam could be informed of my ſituation, and endeavour to better it. Misfortunes ſeldom come ſingle; and I had now my double portion of affliction. For when I intended to take up my ſalary from the company, it appeared, that the ſhip in which I had arrived, was come without its muſter-roll. This was therefore firſt to be brought from Europe, before any one could receive his pay. When the ſhip ſailed from the Texel, the viſitation-officers in their hurry had forgot to deliver in the muſter-roll, and the captain to demand it. The conſequence of this was, that none of all thoſe that were engaged on board the ſhip, could, during the ſpace of two or three years, either obtain their pay or leave to go home. The viſitation-officers (*kruyd leeſers*) are two of the Company's ſervants of the loweſt rank, who are ſtationed in each ſhip during the time that the ſhip lies at anchor in the Texel: theſe people have the inſpection over every thing that is brought on board, and the care of providing the ſhips with what they want every day, till they go out to ſea. Theſe, who, in order to keep account of the officers and crew, had the muſter-roll in their poſſeſſion, were

intereſted ſcoundrels, and more intent upon being treated and bribed, and ſelling and bartering their cheeſe and butter, than they were ſober and vigilant in the performance of their duty.

The preceding year I had been obliged to contract debts to a conſiderable amount, and had now no other reſource left than to encreaſe them, eſpecially if I were to be enabled to undertake another expenſive journey into the country, and not to remain an idle ſpectator at the Cape. I therefore again had recourſe to M. Bergh, the ſecretary of the police, who had not only hitherto kindly aſſiſted me with his purſe, but alſo generouſly opened it to me on this occaſion, and thereby enabled me to make another excurſion into the interior part of the ſouthernmoſt point of Africa.

My equipage was in moſt reſpects the ſame as that of the foregoing year, with this difference, that inſtead of the old broken cart, I had a new one which was tilted with ſail-cloth. I was alſo now the ſole poſſeſſor of it, and avoided being encumbered with the ſerjeant and gardener, who the year before greatly contributed to render a ſmall cart ſtill more inſufficient for my wants. Beſides boxes, paper, ammunition, and other neceſſaries, I alſo took with me this year ſeveral medicines to diſtribute among the coloniſts in the interior parts of the country, who might ſtand in need of them, and had before upon various occaſions ſhewn me the greateſt kindneſs.

For my fellow-traveller I had an Engliſh gardener, of the name of Maſon, who had been ſent hither by the King of England to collect all ſorts of African plants for the gardens at Kew. Mr. Maſon arrived the year before, in the ſame ſhip in which Captain Cook, with the profeſſors Forſter and Sparrman, were to make their celebrated voyage round the world, and towards the ſouthern pole. He had arrived at the Cape after I was ſet out on my journey to Caffraria; and ſhortly after this he made an excurſion into the country, accompanied by Mr. Oldenburg, who went with him, partly as his companion, and partly as his interpreter. Mr. Maſon was well equipped with a large and ſtrong waggon tilted with ſail-cloth, which was driven by an European ſervant, upon whom he could depend. We had each of us a ſaddle-horſe, and for our waggon we had ſeveral pair of oxen.

Thus we formed a ſociety, conſiſting of three Europeans and four Hottentots, who for the ſpace of ſeveral months were to penetrate into the country together, put up with whatever we ſhould find, whether good or bad, and frequently ſeclude ourſelves from almoſt all the reſt of the world, and of the human race.

Second Journey into Caffraria, 1773.

WITH ſo ſlender an equipage as the before-mentioned, and in ſuch a mountainous and deſert country as Africa, I had reſolved to make an expedition this ſummer into the country, to the north-eaſtward, as far as the Snow Mountains; and firſt directing my courſe to the northward, to paſs afterwards through Camdebo, and other moſt uncultivated tracts, without taking the neareſt and moſt beaten road.

This reſolve was indeed rather extravagant; yet I would not leave it unſatisfied, particularly as it was a matter of indifference to me what parts of the country I viſited, provided only they were ſuch as I had not ſeen before, and where I might collect animals and plants hitherto unknown.

My fellow-travellers and I having ſet out from the Cape, on the 11th of September 1773, we arrived firſt at one of the Company's poſts, called Jean Beſis Kraal, and then at Riet Valley, a farm where cows are kept, ſolely for the governor's uſe, and for the purpoſe of furniſhing his table once a week with freſh butter. For this reaſon, all that travel this road are forbidden to ſuffer their horſes or oxen to graze in the neighbouring paſtures; whereas otherwiſe all Africa reſembles a common, in which any one is at liberty to turn his cattle out wherever he pleaſes.

On the right, as we paſſed along, lay the Tiger Mountains, and, on our left, the Blue Mountains; over one extremity of which we paſſed on horſeback. Theſe, juſt before they riſe, have a few ſand-hills ſcattered in the front of them, and contain no ſtones at all that are viſible; ſo that they appear, for the greater part, to be merely huge ſand-hills, formed by the drift-ſand from the harbour.

The whole country was covered with ſand and downs, and abounded in ſwamps (Valley), which having been filled with water during the winter, now began to produce fine paſturage for the cattle. For this reaſon the farmers here graze only, and ſow but a ſmall quantity of wheat, but pay no attention to the vine. The water is for the moſt part brackiſh, and even this, for the greateſt part of the year, is very ſcanty.

Turtles were ſeen here and there in the ponds; and ſometimes they were kept in the houſes in glaſs veſſels full of water, for the purpoſe of being conveyed to other places. At the approach of rainy weather, we were informed that the turtles always roſe higher in the glaſſes.

Towards evening we arrived at Mrs. Muller's farm.

Among the buſhes in the ſands we frequently ſaw land-tortoiſes crawling, and the young ladies in the houſe had ordered the ſlaves to bring ſeveral of them home, of various ſizes, for our repaſt. The *teſtudo puſilla* was the moſt common ſpecies here, and it was this which was now laid upon the fire for our eating. I ſlipped into the kitchen on purpoſe to ſee the mode of dreſſing it, and found that the girls were cruel enough to lay the poor animal wide open on the live coals, where, ſprawling with its head and feet, it was broiled alive, till at length it burſt to pieces with the heat. The eggs, which were in a great number, and conſiſted of yolk only, were the moſt luſcious and deſirable part of it.

The roots of fennel were roaſted and eaten in the ſame manner as thoſe of aniſe.

The bulbs of the *iris edulis*, a plant which grew here in abundance, and decorated the fields with a variety of white, yellow, and blue flowers, were brought in great quantities by the ſlaves. They were eaten either roaſted, boiled, or ſtewed with milk, and appeared to me to be both palatable and nouriſhing.

On the 13th, we arrived at the Company's poſt in Groene Kloof, having paſſed by Daſſenberg, Burger's Poſt, and Groene Kloof Mountain. At Burger's Poſt, as well as on Koberg, there ſtands a cannon, near a high flag-ſtaff, for the purpoſe of ſummoning the coloniſts on this ſide of the country to the Cape on any ſudden approach of danger.

The country here was a deep ſand, and full of downs, which made the roads very heavy. The houſes, for want of wood, were built of unbaked clay, formed into bricks, and dried a little in the air.

The cattle were infeſted with the ſtranguary. This diſorder was remedied by thruſting a ſtraw into the urinary paſſage, by means of which the clod of gum, *euphorbia*, which had ſettled there, was removed. This operation, however, was not performed without loſs of blood. It was told us for certain, that unleſs this obſtruction was removed,

removed, the bladder would burſt, not from the acrimony of the gum, but from the great quantity and preſſure of the urine.

Having reſted a few days, we continued our journey on horſeback by Ganſekraal to the ſea-ſhore.

The inhabitants caught a *haliotis*, a kind of cockle, which, as well as muſcles, they ate boiled.

Both the variegated and the white Sand Mole (*marmota capenſis* and *Africana*) frequented the ſandy plains; and were alſo ſaid to do great damage to the gardens. They are caught either in traps, or by digging; in the latter caſe, they dig a hole firſt before, and afterwards behind that made by the animal, or elſe, after ſtopping up the animal's hole behind, they dig another directly oppoſite to her.

Charcoal, though it is but ſeldom made in this country, which is bare of trees, ſo that the ſmiths muſt be ſupplied from Europe, I ſaw prepared in the following manner: the wood was placed on one end, as uſual, but in ſuch a manner that the ſmaller and larger pieces were mingled together. Round this pile were laid reeds, and the whole was covered with turf. In the middle, and alſo at the ſides, was put ſome reſinous wood, by means of which the pile was ſet on fire. This being done, the aperture at the top was covered up cloſely with turf. All around the bottom ſeveral air-holes were left, which, as ſoon as the fire began to blaze forth, were ſucceſſively ſtopped up, and the ſides were gradually preſſed more and more cloſely together. In a few days, when the operation was finiſhed, the pile was opened, and what fire remained was thoroughly extinguiſhed with water. The whole pile was no larger than a hay-ſtack.

The Bucku (*dioſma*), which was collected here by the Hottentots, was firſt dried in the ſhade, and afterwards over the fire, before it was pulverized.

I alſo viſited the Salt Pan, which was ſituate at a ſhort diſtance from the ſea-ſhore. It was at this time full of water. The name of Salt Pans is given, in this country, to large collections of ſalt-water; which, when the winter rains have ceaſed, partly in conſequence of the heat of the ſun, and partly of the violence of the winds, gradually evaporate, and precipitate a ſalt, which the coloniſts collect for their own uſe. The cryſtallization is the moſt powerful in the months of November and December, and in the middle of the day, between the hours of ten and three. During that time, one may plainly ſee the ſalt, ſomewhat like the cream of milk, firſt cryſtallize on the ſurface, till, in conſequence of its own weight, it ſinks to the bottom. This ſaline incruſtation is very fine, and yields a fine ſalt, which muſt be collected as faſt as it cryſtallizes, and is driven by the ſouth-eaſt winds towards the north-weſtern ſide. Unleſs this be done, the incruſtation will fall to the bottom in ſeveral different ſtrata, forming a thick bed of a coarſe-grained ſalt, which is frequently of a grey colour, from the admixture of dirt, and is uſed for ſalting fiſh and meat. On the other hand, the fine ſalt, being cleaner and whiter, is uſed for the table only, and for ſalting freſh butter.

On the 19th of September we ſet off from Groene Kloof, leaving to the right the chain of mountains called Burger's Poſt, and, to the left, Groene Kloof Mountain. Before us, a little to the right, we had the Reebokſkop, and, in front of that, we deſcried the Konterberg, behind which we ſaw the Baboons Mountain.

Having paſſed theſe mountains, the level country preſented to our view Ribeck Kaſteel, Four-and-twenty Rivers Mountain, and Piquet Mountain, together with a great number of roe-bucks (*capra*), hart beaſts (*capra dorcas*), Steen-bocks (*capra grimmia*), and diving bucks (*duykers capra*), beſides Korrhaens and oſtriches.

We

We paſſed by Papenkuyls Fountain, and Uylekraal, to a farm belonging to Jan Slabbert.

On the 22d we arrived at Saldahna Bay, which has many iſlands and dangerous ſhoals, ſome of which have only three fathom water. On Foundling Iſland train-oil is prepared from ſeals in earthen pans, in which it is firſt expoſed to the heat of the ſun to evaporate. After this, it is boiled in a kettle, at firſt with wood, and then with ſuch remains of the blubber as will yield no more oil. There are ſeveral iſlands lying near this harbour, ſuch as Fundling Eyland, Taxen Eyland, Jutland, remarkable for its large hills of ſtone, Meuven Eyland, Daſſin Eyland, and Schaapen Eyland, all of which are very ſtony, and, on account of their rocks, difficult of acceſs to the ſhips.

In Taxen Iſland, rabbits have greatly increaſed ſince they were carried thither, and are now to be found in great abundance.

Daſſin Iſland, in particular, is an aſylum for the penguins (*diomedeæ*), a kind of ſea-fowl, which cannot fly at all, but dive the better on that account, and paſs moſt of their time out at ſea.

The ſhips but ſeldom enter this harbour, and then no other than ſuch as come too cloſe under the coaſt, ſo that they cannot make the road of the Cape. The harbour makes ſeveral windings, and various winds are requiſite for ſhips to ſail out of it.

On the 28th, we purſued our journey to Witteklipp, an eſtate belonging to Tobias Moſtert, which received its name from a little mountain, or large inſulated rock, ſituated near it, and of a ſingular appearance, on account of its bare and white ſurface, formed, not by lime, as the inhabitants of the place imagined, but by a white moſs (*byſſus lactea*). In front, on the ſide next to the houſe, this rock had a large excavation, in the form of a creſcent, with a vaulted roof. It was no eaſy matter to come at this ſingular cavity, as the part of the rock that ſtood before it was not only very ſteep, but alſo convex, and at the ſame time very ſlippery, except a few channels that ran longitudinally downwards, and were formed by the rain-water. I had, nevertheleſs, a ſtrong inclination to reconnoitre it, as I ſaw a few ſwallows that had their neſts there flying into it, and, as I imagined, that ſome curious plants might be found there. I therefore took off my ſhoes and ſtockings, and made a ſhift to clamber up thither bare-foot, but found more difficulty in getting down again; and, as no other deſcent was practicable, I ſlid down the rock upon my breech by the ſame way. This cavity, which probably ſeldom receives ſuch viſitors, had nothing remarkable in it, beſides a dead ſwallow (*hirundo apus*), the ſingularity of its form, and the difficulty of its acceſs. It was about four fathoms from the foot of the rock, nearly in the middle of it, and a couple of fathoms wide and high.

Oſtriches were very common in this tract. It was ſaid that a male oſtrich makes a neſt with three or four females, which, together, lay twenty or thirty eggs, on which they ſit by turns in a hole they have made with their feet by trampling in the ſand.

A kind of wild dogs, which were here called jackalls, and are the ſame as Samſon's foxes mentioned in Scripture, frequented theſe plains in large troops. They caught a great number of the wild goats (or antelopes), that abound here, as well as of oſtriches, in the hunting of which they ſet up a regular cry, ſurrounding the game firſt at a diſtance, and approaching nearer to it by degrees. They likewiſe committed great havock among the farmers' ſheep, unleſs theſe were carefully guarded by ſhepherds furniſhed with fire-arms.

It is only in the ſpring and in the beginning of ſummer that theſe low ſandy plains are adorned with flowers. After the ſouth-eaſt winds and the drought have ſet in, the ſeeds of theſe flowers are quickly ſcattered over the fields, often before they are quite ripe.

For

For this reaſon I was obliged, when making collections for the botanical gardens of Europe, eſpecially of the annual plants, to gather the ſeeds in an unripe ſtate, and lay them up in paper to dry and ripen gradually.

On the 30th we arrived at Honingklipp, a farm belonging to Nicholas Klein.

The crows (*corvus Hottentottus*) here were ſeen ſitting on the backs of the cows, and picking inſects (*acari*) out of them, by which at times they were much infeſted. Theſe creatures alſo were accuſtomed to picking the wheat out of the fields immediately after it had been ſown.

Here I ſaw a tame Grieſbok or Greybuck (*capra*), of the ſize of a middling lamb, that had been caught in the ſandy fields. Both this ſpecies, and that called Steinboks, were reported to hide their heads, in the idea that nobody can ſee them, for which reaſon alſo they ſeldom run out from among the buſhes, till one is come quite cloſe to them.

The thickets in the ſandy plains conſiſted ſolely of tall and ſlender ſhrubs from four to ſix feet high. Their trunks and branches were frequently ſo ſmall and ſlender as to be unfit for fuel, though they afforded ſufficient retreats for various ſpecies of game. To me they were often very troubleſome, in hiding from me a number of ſmall birds, which I had ſhot down from their ſupple twigs.

We continued our journey, paſſing Patryſkerg, and came to a farm of Peter Loſper's, called Roſendal.

On the firſt of October we viſited another eſtate of Loſper's. This country, ſituated between the bays of Saldahna and St. Helena, near the ſea-ſhore, was low, abounding in ſand-hills and pools of water, now ſwelled by the winter rains and by Mountain River.

We intended to have arrived at Mountain River on the ſecond of this month, but could not attempt it by reaſon of the depth of water in the above-mentioned pools, and thus we could not get to the eſtate of one Melk, for which purpoſe we otherwiſe might have croſſed the river in a boat; we were therefore obliged to go on to Brandt's houſe on the Salt River, and from thence to an eſtate of his ſon's near Matje's Fountain.

This Salt River (Zout Rivier) is different from that near the Cape, and which, from the ſame quality, derives the ſame name. It happens frequently that iſlands and mountains, as alſo eſtates, in different places paſs by the ſame names, a circumſtance which cauſes a great confuſion in the geography of this country. As to the eſtates, the names of which are propoſed by the farmers, and confirmed by government, this might eaſily be remedied, if the governor paid a little more attention to ſuch a vaſt colony, the extent of which many times exceeds that of the Seven United Provinces in Europe. But conſidering that the whole colony, as well as the town, though founded near one hundred and fifty years ago, as yet paſs by no other name than that of the Cape, which ſufficiently ſhews great careleſſneſs and a bad police; it is not ſurpriſing that the farms often obtain the moſt abſurd names.

The Hottentots had ſuch a quantity of leather thongs about their legs, as even to reach above their calves, inſomuch that by them they were freed from the danger of being bitten by venomous ſerpents, for which purpoſe I ſuppoſe it probable they wore them.

The gold-finches (*loxia orix*) were ſaid firſt to devour the bloſſoms of the wheat (*antheræ triciti*), and afterwards the corn itſelf. They are ſeen here in innumerable flocks, eſpecially near ſuch rivers as are overgrown with tall reeds, on which they build their neſts, from whence their chirping, eſpecially towards evening when they come to rooſt, is heard at a great diſtance. The hen is always of a grey colour; but, from the month of July till January, the blood-red feathers of the cock gradually make their appearance.

pearance. This bird is ſomewhat ſmaller than the *loxia capenſis*, and has ſmaller eggs, which are perfectly green; whereas the *loxia capenſis* lay grey eggs with black ſpots, and ſomewhat larger. This bird is, like the whole genus of *loxia*, very ſtupid, and conſequently the more difficult to frighten from the wheat-fields, where the miſchief it does to the huſbandmen is often great. Though conſiderable numbers of them are ſhot, yet they immediately return, heedleſs of danger.

The Korrhaens were obſerved to devour the buds of the *cotula turbinata*, which was common in all the low and ſandy plains.

On the 3d, we arrived at the eſtate of Floris Fiſher. This tract, from the Groene Kloof (Green Valley) and ſtill farther, was called Zwartland, and had a church of its own. Ever ſince the death of the vicar, which at that time was three years, this had been vacant, no one being arrived from Holland to ſucceed him. Nevertheleſs, ſervice was performed here once a month by a clergyman from the town: the farmers had a long way to church, ſome of them two days journey.

We penetrated, on the 5th, farther up into the country, along and beyond the Black Mountain to Stoffel Smidt's. The ſand-hills vaniſhed by degrees, and the country became both more lofty and of a firmer nature.

The *cyanella capenſis* (Raapuyntjes), a kind of onion, was roaſted for the table of the farmers.

The *viſcum Æthiopicum* was uſed in diarrhœas, and alſo for tea.

On the 6th, we arrived at young Stabbert's, and had Picketberg behind us to the left.

When one is at the Cape, this part of the country riſes to the view, like a ridge of contiguous mountains; but, on approaching them, I diſcovered, that the hills are divided, and form ſeveral diſtinct ridges. Ribeck Kaſteel is a ridge of mountains, extending from eaſt to weſt, till the Zwarte Berge (or Black Mountains) cloſe the ridge. Theſe therefore do not run parallel with the long tract of mountains that lie higher up the country.

We proceeded farther to Cornelis Goſen's farm, who is a ſaddler, and where I was obliged to leave one of my oxen that proved lame in the loins, and was rendered unfit for the journey. The great mountain river (Berg Rivier), to which we were now arrived, had, through the great quantity of rain that had fallen, become impaſſable at the uſual fording place near Vleermuys, ſo that we croſſed it on the 7th, in the ferry near Pit Juber's farm.

This man keeps the ferry in order and going, and thereby gets a ſnug ſum of money yearly; for, each farm ſituated on the oppoſite ſide contributes eight gilders per annum, and beſides this, he has the advantage of caſual paſſengers. It is to be obſerved, that every farmer is obliged to pay his quota towards the keeping of this ferry, let him be rich or poor, and whether he uſes it or not; for many of them do not, but repair to town with their goods in ſummer, when the water is low and fordable, eaſily by their waggons.

From hence we directed our courſe to Johannes Liebenberg's, where we began to ſee vineyards and gardens with lemon and orange trees. The road was now perfectly hard, conſiſting of reddiſh rocks, and the fields were tolerably well covered with graſs.

On the 8th, we proceeded to Chriſtian Liebenberg's farm, and, on the 9th, to Gert Kemp's, near Daſſi Klipp, and afterwards paſſed by Frederik Leibenberg's, croſſed the difficult paſſage of Kartous Kloof to Wilhelm Burger's, where we arrived in the evening wet and terrified, the rain having continued during the whole time of

our paſſing the mountains, which were beſides ſo ſteep as none but thoſe who have travelled over them can well conceive. Kartous Kloof, which croſſes the ſame ridge as Roode Zand Kloof, but lower down towards the northern end, is alſo conſidered by the huſbandmen as one of the moſt difficult roads that go acroſs the African mountains. It is not very high at the weſtern part, but becomes the more terrifying on that account to the eaſtern ſide, being there very ſteep and the road very ſtony and narrow, with an abyſs to the left. The driving a hand's-breadth only out of the track may demoliſh waggon, oxen, and driver, and the paſſing was now made more difficult from the frequent ſtumbling of the cattle, owing to the ſlipperineſs of the road, which was occaſioned by inceſſant rains. The farm was ſituated juſt at the foot of the mountain where we arrived, to the great aſtoniſhment of the farmer and his wife.

This ſpot is like Roode Zand, a broad valley ſurrounded by mountains, watered by a rivulet, called Olyfant's (or Elephant's) Rivier, and abounding in graſs. It is entirely ſeparated from Roode Zand by Winterhoek and other ridges of mountains. However it differs thus far from Roode Zand, that it lies much lower, and is likewiſe conſiderably narrower, being only a few muſket-ſhot broad.

On the 10th, happy to find our vehicle in a tolerable condition, after ſo dangerous a journey, we ſet out to Skalk Burger's, and croſſed the Elephant's River, which we afterwards had to the left.

After taking a hearty breakfaſt, we ſet out for the warm-bath, ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from the farm. The road thither was very low, ſwampy, and troubleſome, till we approached the foot of the mountain. This Olyfant's warm-bath is alſo called Engel Bath, after the attorney-general Engelman, who cauſed it to be cleaned and dug, and erected a handſome ſtone building at the Company's expence, for the accommodation of the bathers. The veins of this ſpring ariſe from the eaſtern ſide of this long tract of mountains ſomewhat above the foot of them, in a cleft which inclines to the ſouthward, and there forms a croſs cleft. Of theſe veins there are many, but three of them in particular, carry the water into ſeveral ſmall huts, for the coloniſts, ſlaves, and Hottentots, for each of theſe ſeparate huts. All of them have three or four ſteps going into the water for the bathers to ſit on, and are alſo floored on one ſide for them to lie on, whilſt they are ſweating. This water is not boiling-hot, but lukewarm, has no taſte, leaves no ſediment, but had only ſome green vegetable matter (*conferva*) growing in its runnels. It lies on the ſame ſide of the ſame range of mountains, and is of the ſame nature with the warm-bath already deſcribed at Brand Valley. With this water as well as with the former, linen may be waſhed without being ſtained, and victuals dreſſed without any diſagreeable taſte being imparted to them by it; the blue-colour of ſugar-paper is not changed. The farms here have vineyards and orchards, and excellent fodder for cattle.

The mountains to the right divide Bocke-veld from this valley, and ſeem to form five conſiderable ridges ſeparated by deep valleys, which, when we fired, gave reiterated echoes, like thoſe that are heard after thunder. A high and flat mountain here, with two heads at each end, was called the Little Table Mountain.

On the 11th, we rode paſt Andrew Lubbe's, to a farm belonging to Peter Gaus.

Lions and other beaſts of prey are, at preſent, ſo effectually ſcared and routed out of theſe mountainous tracts, that the farms are ſeldom viſited by them: nevertheleſs the farmer continues paying to the Company the old tax, called Lion and Tyger Money. This tax is paid by each burgher, at the rate of four rix-dollars for lion, and two guilders for tyger-money; out of which fund, at the time when the colony began to extend itſelf, and when the coloniſts were much infeſted by wild

beaſts, a certain premium was paid to every one who killed or caught any of theſe animals. At firſt, government paid ſixteen rix-dollars for a lion, and ten guilders for a tyger, after which the ſum was diminiſhed to ten rix-dollars for a lion's, and ſix guilders for a tyger's ſkin; but, at preſent, theſe animals being ſo far extirpated that there are ſeldom any of them to be ſeen, the premium is diſcontinued, excepting in caſe they are brought alive to the Cape, which is hardly practicable. This tax, nevertheleſs, is not aboliſhed, although its inſtitution has had the deſired effect, and the cauſe has ceaſed; but, in the ſame manner as in many other countries, has aſſumed the nature of taxes and funds.

Beſides the annual tax which the farmer pays for his farm, he pays alſo for wax-candles four rix-dollars a year, for every horſe, one ſtiver, and for every hundred ſheep, one guilder. Each farmer, whether he be rich or poor, whether poſſeſſed of a large or ſmall farm, pays for mending the roads and ſtreets. The bridge and ferry-money all pay alike, let their road lead them that way or not; but then they are exempt from all billettings, crown duties, tithes, clearing the roads, furniſhing horſes for travelling, day-labour, &c.

I ſaw here a girl that had had the meaſles three years before, which had left behind them black and blue marks on her forehead, and under her eyes (*ſugillationes*), which were of a greeniſh caſt. They generally remained two or three weeks, then went away, and afterwards returned. The parts above-mentioned were particularly affected by theſe ſpots, though they appeared alſo in other places, as for inſtance, in her hands and arms.

A farmer advanced in years, likewiſe, had fallen into a decline after the meaſles; however, he was perfectly reſtored by what I ordered him.

On the following days we proceeded along the valley to Barent Lubbe's farm, paſt Pickenier's Kloof, and Matton's farm, which lay to the left of us.

On the 14th, the country began to grow hilly, and we arrived at young Barent Lubbe's, at the end of the cleft.

The root of the ſpecies of Stoebe, which grew here, ſmelt quite like valerian (*valeriana phu*), and might poſſibly have the ſame effect as this plant has in the epilepſy.

On the 15th, we proceeded on our journey, furniſhed with a few days' proviſion, and meant to get over the mountains to Kis Koopman's farm, from thence to Spannenberg's, over the river Dorn, and, finally, as far as Clas Loſper's farm, which is ſituated in the lowermoſt Bocke-veld; but we had not got far up the mountain before a misfortune befel us, through the careleſſneſs of the driver. Our cart overturned, and one of the ſhafts were broken; ſo that it was impoſſible for us to proceed any farther acroſs theſe uninhabited mountains. We were, therefore, under the neceſſity of remedying the evil as well as we could, by tying the ſhaft up with cords, and returning to the farmer, to alter the plan of our journey.

After having ſtill more completely repaired our ſhattered vehicle, we reſolved to let both the waggon and cart go ſlowly back, through Pickenier's Kloof, and afterwards, up the country, through Roode Zand's Kloof to Roode Zand, there to reſt and wait for our arrival. In the meantime I and my Engliſh travelling companion made a tour on horſeback farther back into the valley to Gaus's farm, and paſſed through the long vale, called Eland's Kloof, acroſs the mountains to Bernard Forſter's, in the Koude Bocke-veld, as it is called, or Cold Goat's-field. Eland's Kloof was very broad, and had a large river in it. This country, which is ſituated between the lowermoſt, or warm Bocke-veld, and between Olyfant's Kloof and Carro-veld, lies very high, and is, in the winter, very cold, although not ſo cold as at Rogge-veld, which lies farther to

the other ſide of the Carrow, and whoſe inhabitants, for ſeveral months in the year, that is, from April to September, are obliged, on account of the ſnow and cold, to remove down to the lower and warmer Carrow, which, at that time, is plentifully ſupplied with water by ſhowers of rain, attended with thunder. Thoſe that inhabited this Bocke-veld ſometimes remove acroſs the mountains with their cattle to Carrow, though this is ſtrictly prohibited.

A ſerpent, called Boomſlang, was ſaid to get into the trees, and ſwallow the birds it found there; and the Roodbeckjes (Loxia Aſtrild) made great havock in the gardens, where they devoured both bloſſoms and ſeeds.

The wild-goats (Steenbocks), and particularly the diving-goats (Duykers), damaged the gardens greatly, where they ate off the buds of the trees. The leaping-goats (Springboks) alſo do a great deal of miſchief in the wheat-fields, eſpecially as they come in troops, and cannot be caught eaſily, either by ſnares or ſpring-guns, but muſt be ſhot with rifle-barrelled guns in the corn-fields when they come there. This is done in the following manner; a man digs a hole in the field, where he can ſit unſeen, till the animal approaches near enough to be fired at with a rifle-barrelled gun.

The cold Bocke-veld is nearly as broad as Olyfant's Kloof, ſurrounded by high mountains on all ſides, which cloſe together to the north-weſtward, leaving only a narrow paſſage to a ſmall plain, ſituate on the other ſide of it. Snow ſometimes falls here, and lies for a while undiſſolved.

As cold as this country is, ſtill it was formerly much more inhabited by the Hottentots than it is at preſent by the Europeans, who only occupy a few farms in it. All over the country the Hottentots live together, many in a community, ſometimes to the amount of ſeveral hundreds in a village, feed on roots, and the fleſh of wild beaſts, and of their own herds (which have the whole country open to them for their paſturage), and at the ſame time are ſatisfied with a little. On the other hand, every coloniſt has a farm to himſelf, part of which muſt be laid out in wheat-fields and vineyards, beſides which, his herds of cattle muſt be large and numerous. Wild beaſts are deſtroyed without mercy, conſideration, or economy, inſomuch that ſome are killed for amuſement, and others are deſtroyed on account of the damage they do, and for their ſkins or hides.

As for the reſt, the Bocke-veld is tolerably ſmooth, without trees or buſhes: except a few low rhinoceros buſhes, which are ſeldom to be met with; it bears only graſs, and, in ſome places, a kind of tall ruſhes. Near the mountains are ſometimes ſeen a few low and ſcattered trees of the *protea gradiflora* ſpecies (Waageboom).

The whole of this country has received its name from the Spring-bocks (*capra pygargus*), which reſide here in ſcattered herds, and, in certain years, migrate hither from the more remote tracts of the continent in aſtoniſhing numbers.

The mountains which lie on each ſide are quite barren, like an old wall, and riſe up boldly without any foot projecting from them, or any hillocks lying directly before them, as is uſual with other mountains. They ſeem to be greatly worn and conſumed by the operation of the air upon them, and will probably, in time, undergo conſiderable alterations in their external appearance. The air deſtroys the coheſion of ſome parts, and cauſes them to crumble away into ſmall particles, which are afterwards carried off by the rain, not to mention larger fragments, which ſometimes fall off from the main body, and the cavities formed by the ſtagnation of the rain-water on their ſurface.

The rocks, which had many ſharp projecting points, were ſometimes compoſed of quartzoſe-ſtones, quartz-rubble, and ſand-ſtone cemented together. From moiſture theſe crack, and, getting looſe, fall out, and roll down in large pieces. Hence the

mountains look, as though they were torn aſunder, and themſelves proclaim their own vaſt antiquity and decay. Theſe mountains differ greatly in the hardneſs of their rocky parts; and, conſequently, they muſt differ in their diſſolution. In many parts of them pebble-ſtones were found inlaid in large cluſters, ſometimes to the amount of a hundred and more. Here were likewiſe to be ſeen large hills conſiſting of ſand-ſtone, which at the bottom was as white as chalk, and friable, and at the top yellow, with a mixture of yellow and red tints. In the valleys and near the rivulets, was found the fineſt ſand, which muſt doubtleſs have been brought down from the mountains and their adjacent hills by the rain-water. In the Bocke-veld mountains to the eaſtward, the ſtrata lie obliquely, as if one ſide of the mountain had ſunk down; the broader ſtrata alſo were lower to the north-weſt than to the ſouth-eaſt end.

Theſe large and high chains of mountains, therefore, which lie in ſeveral rows, divided by broader and ſmaller clefts and openings, are the Alps of the ſouthern parts of Africa.

The Spring-buck (*capra pygargus*) does not reſide in the mountains like the roe-buck, nor in the thickets like the Steen-bock, or Duykers-bock, (where the hounds would eaſily catch him, as he could not run very faſt there) but in the open fields, where he makes the fineſt and moſt ſurpriſing leaps that can be imagined, frequently above ſix feet high.

Among the few ſhrubs that grew in the mountains, I found here that curious ſhrub the fly-buſh (*roridula dentata*), the leaves of which are covered with fine hairs, and a tough glutinous ſubſtance, to which ſmaller inſects adhere. It is placed in the houſes for the purpoſe of catching flies.

On the 18th, we rode to Iſaac Viſage's; the ſheep here are counted morning and evening, viz. when they are turned out and brought home, and are marked in one or both years, that they may be known again when they come to be mingled with others. This counting of the ſheep was always the miſtreſs's buſineſs, who had alſo given to each ſheep a particular name. An excellent memory and daily practice had ſo ſharpened her attention in this reſpect, that, if one amongſt ſeveral hundred ſheep were abſent, ſhe miſſed it immediately.

On the 19th, we paſſed Nicholas Janſen's farm, in our way to Carl van der Merwell.

A Table Mountain which ſtands ſingle and alone in the middle of the country, is, to the north-weſt, flat at top, and ſteep on the ſide, but, to the ſouth-eaſt, it is convex, ſlopes off gradually, and is very high. The wheat here had not yet got into the ear, which however we ſaw it had already done on the other ſide of the mountain, and the peaſe were now ſowing. Here they both ſow and reap a couple of months later than they do nearer the Cape, and in the country which lies lower on the other ſide of it.

Although the huſbandman, that inhabits theſe mountains, lives ſo high, yet he always (though very improperly) calls it travelling up to the Cape, where the country lies much lower.

The great wheel of the African plough has eight ſpokes, and is ſo made (at the ſame time that it is provided with an iron plate) that it cannot be taken off. The ſmall wheel to the left has only four ſpokes, and runs always on the graſs ridge, and thus keeps the plough even.

On the 20th, we travelled on to William Pretoris's, whoſe farm ſtands in a very good ſituation; but the weather, in the months of June, July and Auguſt, is ſo ſevere, that much ſnow falls, ſometimes for days together, and icicles are formed and adhere to the eaves of the roof. All the calves, lambs, and goats that are brought forth during

the froſt, die of cold and hunger in the ſtables in which they are kept ſhut up, without a poſſibility of their being turned out to graſs.

We travelled afterwards paſt two farms belonging to Jan Raſmus and Van Heere, to that of Jacob Pinard's, where was a ſmall wood. The maſter and his wife were not at home, but only two ſlaves and ſome Hottentot children; we were therefore obliged to content ourſelves with having a dry covering over our heads for the night, without any thing to eat or drink, although we had travelled without food all the day long, and had ſeveral miles to go to the next farm.

As no entertainment was to be had here, we ſet out early the next morning, being the 21ſt, to Skalk van Heere's, where we were kindly received, and entertained both with breakfaſt and a tolerable good glaſs of wine of the growth of the country.

Here commenced the warm Bocke-veld, which was ſcreened from the cold by high mountains and hills, ſome of which were very ſteep, and which we had this day deſcended.

The warm Bocke-veld lies therefore much lower, and, in proportion to its ſituation, is much leſs cold. In the cold Bocke-veld, the vine can only be cultivated in two places, and then does not arrive at perfect maturity, but, in the warm, it thrives better and yields better wine. The warm Bocke-veld is a ſmall tract of land, neither very broad nor very long, but rather of a round form, and encircled by mountains. The out-let from it is by a narrow opening near Moſtertſhoek and Hex Rivier. The land is level, all over covered with graſs, and has but a very few Spring-bucks left, which have been for the moſt part hunted out of the country.

As two young farmers were this day to travel on horſeback, the neareſt way acroſs the high mountains to Roode Zand, that lies on the other ſide of them, we determined to embrace the opportunity, and accompany them thither; but my travelling companion, after we had got to a little diſtance up the mountain, finding he had forgot his ſaddle-bag, was obliged to return for it, and our weary horſes not being able to go very faſt in that mountainous country, we were left in the lurch by our guides, and, loſing the track, were obliged to return to the farm by the ſame way as we came. From thence we rode through a great part of the warm Bocke-veld, and before evening arrived to a handſome farm abounding in cattle, milk, and butter, which belonged to Peter Funere.

From hence we had no other road to Roode Zand than by Moſtertſhoek, through a valley which was very narrow and low, between very high mountains projecting on each ſide. But this journey was hazardous at ſuch time of the year when the large and wide rivulets which we had to ford in the dale were brim-full.

In order to paſs with ſafety over this dangerous ſpot, we hired a ſervant, who, being acquainted with the country, was to precede us on horſeback, and point out to us the moſt ſhallow places.

On the 22d of October we ſet out on our journey.

On our entering of Moſtertſhoek, the road was very ſtony, mountainous, and ſteep, and we had afterwards ſeveral ſtreams to ford and branches of rivers, ſuch as Brug-drift, Stroom-drift, Elſe Rivier, and Diep-drift, beſides ſeveral ſmaller branches of brooks, which, uniting, form the great Breede Rivier. Theſe places were the more dangerous to croſs, as the water not only ſtood up to the horſes' ſides, but the bottom was full of large round ſtones, that had rolled down from the mountains, ſo that the horſes could ſcarcely get on; and frequently the rapidity of the ſtream was ſuch that they could with great difficulty keep the tract.

Near

Near theſe ſtreams grew ſeveral ſhrubs, eſpecially ſome of the Geranium kind, that ſent forth a pleaſant, ſtrong, and refreſhing odour.

At length we arrived ſafely at De Wett's at Roode Zand, where our oxen had already reſted themſelves, and gathered ſtrength and fleſh for our intended journey.

On Winterhoek, a mountain which terminates Roode Zand to the northward, and divides it from Olyfant's Kloof, there ſtill lay a great deal of hail.

Gli is, in the Hottentot language, the name of an umbelliferous plant, the root of which, dried and reduced to powder, they mix with cold water and honey in a trough, and after letting it ferment for the ſpace of one night, obtain a ſpecies of mead, which they drink in order to throw themſelves into a ſtate of intoxication. A couple of glaſſes are ſaid to be ſufficient for the purpoſe, and no head-ache enſues. Of the pulverized root, two handfuls only are taken.

This year I examined the mountains at Winterhoek much more narrowly than I had done laſt year, and as high as to their very ſummits. The fly-buſh grew here in abundance, and the ſcarce plant, called *protea nana*, the flower of which reſembles the dog-roſe, was found only in this place. On one ſide of the mountain was a fine caſcade, that fell down a perpendicular precipice, under which there was a hollow in the mountain filled with ſeveral buſhes. My inclination called me thither, and I muſt have gone a very round-about way to it, had I not ventured to take a leap of about twenty or twenty four yards in height, which I did without being hurt in the leaſt, the buſhes preventing me from making a hard fall. Among other rare plants alſo which I found here, was the *diſa cærulea*.

In theſe mountains were found an elegant red ſlate, conſiſting of thin laminæ, and diſpoſed in broad ſtrata. The ſame ſubſtance was alſo to be ſeen in large pieces that had fallen down from the higher parts of the mountain, and diſpoſed in ſtrata with other ſtony matter, like a marble. It appeared ſtrange to me, that I did not, either here, or in any other mountains, meet with any lime-ſtone, or calcareous hill, nor with any marble nor flint, excepting a radiated Gypſum, which I found in the mountain near Hex Rivier. Here I ſaw a farmer's wife, who, through good living and indolence, was grown to ſuch a ſize, and was ſo fat withal, that, excepting one more in another part of this country, I never ſaw her equal. On her way to the Cape, ſhe had ſuffered herſelf to be weighed; and ſhe then weighed three hundred and thirty four pounds or twenty-ſix ſtone, horſeman's weight.

That Roode Zand is nothing but a valley between high mountains, running nearly parallel to the each other, I could clearly perceive from this circumſtance, that in the hollows, where the torrents of water had ſwept away the earth, and dug out channels of one or two fathoms depth, the ground appeared to conſiſt of the naked rock, with its ſtrata, that ſtood up on their edge almoſt perpendicular, and only a little inclining to the ſouth-eaſt. Theſe ſtrata were much ſoftened by the water, of a looſe texture, and whitiſh, reſembling an indurated clay; in their inſterſtices, they harboured ſand, which the water had carried down and diſcharged there.

The farms hereabouts are not very far aſunder, and the coloniſts are in general in good circumſtances. The vineyards were numerous, of wheat there was a great quantity ſown, and orchards were planted every where, ſo that the country produced the moſt profitable articles, ſuch as wine, wheat, oranges and lemons. The cold might nevertheleſs be very ſevere here at times; and it was reported, that its intenſeneſs the laſt year had done great damage to the vines, and, in ſome places, abſolutely deſtroyed them.

As

As to cattle and ſheep, more are kept here by the farmers than are wanted for their own conſumption and uſe; and draught-oxen they ſometimes buy from other places.

A ſmall dove (perhaps the ſmalleſt of the dove kind) called Maquas Duyv (*columbæ capenſis*) frequented the gardens, and there ſought its food, which conſiſted moſtly of ſeeds.

The *ixia bulbifera*, a bulbous plant with a red flower, grew here in the greateſt abundance. When one approached the place where it grew, it ſeemed to be but thinly ſcattered over the field, but at a diſtance the ground appeared as if it were covered with ſcarlet cloth.

In like manner, here and here only, was found beſide the brooks, a green variety of the *ixia maculata*, another tall bulbous plant, which is as elegant as ſingular, with its long cluſter of green flowers growing out like an ear of corn, and is ſo extremely ſcarce all over the world.

On the 28th, proceeding on our journey, we croſſed Breede Rivier; the branches of which went meandering on ſo far before us on our route, that we were obliged to ford them ſeveral times before we could reach Jan Slabbert's farm, where we took up our night's lodging.

On the 29th, we came to Philip Plaiſir's near Saffraan's Kloof, a place where there is a foot-path acroſs the mountains, along which one may go on horſe-back.

Travelling ſtill farther, we arrived at Jan de Toi's. The country now began to grow broader and flatter. Toi's Kloof again is the name of the foot-path here, leading over the mountains; which alſo may be travelled over on horſe-back, and brings one to Drakenſtein, directly oppoſite Paarl.

We now left Breede Rivier to the right; and the level flat country which here lies about the ſtream, and is at times inundated by it, is called Goudena.

Farther on lies Brand Valley; oppoſite to which, on the other ſide of the mountain, ſtands Stellenboſch.

On the 30th, we rode paſt De Ploi's farm, and over Hex Rivier, to Keyſer's eſtate.

The field was here of the Carrow kind, and the ſheep were ſaid to feed on thoſe ſucculent plants, the *meſembryanthemams* (Vygeboſches), which were ſuppoſed to render the dung of theſe animals unfit for manure. Now likewiſe, the farther we advanced, the more hilly the country grew.

On the 31ſt, we arrived at Alowen Smidt's farm, which lies oppoſite to Hottentot's Holland. The country here had many hills and ridges of mountains, which lay acroſs our road.

November 2d, we rode over one of the ridges that lay before us to Mrs. Bruel's farm, when we ſeemed to be in quite another valley.

The mountains to the left now took a ſomewhat different direction, and ran more to the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt.

Proceeding farther, we came to Philip Bota's, whoſe farm lay oppoſite to Tyger Hoek, which is ſituated behind the mountains that project out from Hottentot's Holland mountains.

The chain of mountains which had continued from Witſenberg ſeemed here to turn off to the eaſtward, and, as it were, entirely to dwindle away; but upon a cloſer examination, it was found to extend ſtill farther on, and to be continued by the ridges of mountains which only lay ſomewhat farther inwards, in connexion with the ſame chain.

After this we paſſed Clas Vogt's Rivier, ſo named from Clas Vogt, a coloniſt, who had been trampled to death by an elephant, and that in ſo ſhocking a manner that ſcarcely the veſtige of a bone was to be ſeen in his remains.

On

On the ſame day continuing our journey, we arrived at Gert Nel's farm near Kochman's Kloof and Rivier.

Mat-ware (Matjeſgoed) is the name given here to a kind of ruſh that grew in the river, and of which mats were made, that were uſed by the huſbandmen for the tilts of waggons, and alſo to lie on. Theſe mats were ſoft and pliable, and the ruſhes from which they were made, were a ſpecies of graſs, which I called *cyperus textillis*, of about four feet and more in height, almoſt as thick as a tobacco pipe, and hollow within.

On the 3d we ſet out for Droſki's farm. In this tract, as well as in the whole of the interior part of the country, it was ſaid to rain with the wind at ſouth-eaſt, quite the contrary to which is the caſe at the Cape.

The farmers cultivate their farms here with their own ſlaves, and theſe ſlaves were not only chaſtiſed by their maſters for miſdemeanors and petty faults that merely affected the family, but alſo, in caſe of treſpaſſes of a more ſerious nature, by the officers of police belonging to the landroſt.

It ſometimes happens, that on the huſbandman finding himſelf under the neceſſity of complaining to the magiſtrate of his ſlave, either on account of flagrant crimes commited by him, or of incurable idleneſs, or exceſſive careleſſneſs; in which caſe this latter takes a liking to the ſlave, however ſtrange it may appear, the owner, *nolens volens*, is obliged to ſell him.

November 4th, we arrived at the celebrated Jacobus Bota's, a man who was now eighty-one years of age, and, from twelve ſons, had a progeny of one hundred and ninety perſons, all alive. It is not this circumſtance however, as ſingular as it otherwiſe may be, that has given him ſo much renown, in a country where they marry early, and where the population is very great, but a misfortune that befel him in one of his hunting expeditions. When he was forty years of age, he ſhot, in a narrow paſs in a wood, a lion, which immediately fell, without his obſerving that there were two of them together. The other lion ruſhed immediately upon him, before he had time to load his piece, and not only wounded him with his ſharp claws to ſuch a degree that he fainted away, but alſo gnawed his left arm and ſide, and lacerated him in ſuch a terrible manner, that he lay for dead on the ground. The lion, that in general is poſſeſſed of too noble a ſpirit to revenge itſelf on a dead man, if not impelled by hunger, left him in this ſituation, ſo that he was at length carried home by his ſervants. His wife, a ſtirring and active woman, immediately fetched ſeveral herbs, which ſhe boiled in water, and with the decoction daily waſhed, fomented, and bound up his wounds, ſo that he was at laſt reſtored to perfect health. He was ſo much diſabled however in this arm, that he could never afterwards handle a muſquet. He had been the firſt ſportſman in the colony, and by killing elephants and ſelling their teeth, had acquired a tolerable fortune. This man informed me that, in its infancy, the colony had ſo ſmall an extent, and the Hottentots in it were ſo numerous, that the chriſtian ſettlers could not without danger venture as far as Zwellendam. At that time too the elephants abounded ſo much, even near the Cape, that in travelling to and from the Cape, one might kill a great many of them. Thus he had often ſhot four or five in a day, and ſometimes twelve or thirteen. Twice in his life, when he was out in purſuit of theſe animals, he had deſtroyed with his gun twenty-two elephants each day. A good ſportſman always kills the elephant at one ſhot, but, ſhould he hit any of the fore-legs, ſo as to break it, two ſhot muſt be fired; the hunter always takes his aim in ſuch a manner as that the ball ſhall paſs through the lungs. The ball is always mixed with one third of tin, and weighs a quarter of a pound; the piece is in proportion to this, and rather heavy. Each elephant's tooth weighs from thirty to one hundred and thirty pounds.

pounds. They are bought up by the Dutch Company, at the rate of one guilder per pound.

The country here began to be very hilly, and abound with grafs, and at the fame time had a fufficient number of rivulets, and fome wood in the clefts of the mountain.

Thefe mountains, which extended from Hottentot's Holland, now began to be (higher up the country) more and more low, and afterwards appeared like broken ridges, and at laft totally vanifhed.

On the 5th, we went to Jurgen Bota's, who is a fon of the old man already mentioned, and paffed Blankenberg's farm in our way to Rock's, near Keureboom's Rivier.

Here we faw a monkey from Houtniquas wood, fomething like the *fimia Sabæa*. The legs were all black, and the tip of the tail brown; the teflicles of the colour of blue ftone, or vitriol of copper.

From hence we went to Zwellendam, and afterwards to the Company's poft, near Buffel Jagt Rivier, where we refted a few days.

The colony of Zwellendam, which is fubject to its own peculiar landroft, had been founded about thirty years before. It took its name from Mr. Zwellingrebel, who was at that time vice-governor, or Secundu's (Tweede), at the Cape. The firft landroft here was Renius, the fecond Orack, who was ftill alive but had refigned, and the third was the prefent landroft, whofe name is Mentz.

The Company's poft had at firft been eftablifhed, for the fake of protecting thofe colonifts who had fettled on this fpot, and farther up in the country, in order to cultivate the land and rear cattle. It was therefore at firft laid out as a fort, and provided with feven men and a corporal; but, after the country came to be more inhabited, and the Hottentots quitted it, all thefe fortifications were found to be quite unneceffary and fuperfluous. Inftead of this, a grazing farm is now eftablifhed here, and the foldiers are employed in the wood, called Groot Vaders Bofch, or (Grand-father's Wood), in felling, for the ufe of the Company, different forts of timber for joiners-work, &c. of which timber a waggon load is fent to the Cape every three months, befides what the people of the colony, in order to affift in maintaining them, are allowed to carry up and fell themfelves.

For the fervice of this farm, thofe Hottentots are ufed that ftill remain here, the reliques of former numerous hordes. This year I contrived to procure fome information concerning their mode of living, their manners, and their cuftoms.

On the firft night of the new moon one may fee the Hottentots run about, pull off their hats, and courtefy.

The ceremony is not quite laid afide of making youth, at a certain age, men; from which time they are feparated from the women, and affociate only with men. After the youth has been befprinkled, according to cuftom, with urine, fome animal is killed, and its omentum, or cawl, is tied about his neck. The men never drink milk that has been drawn by the women. The women here have frequently a real hufband, and a *locum tenens*, or fubftitute. The men likewife often take two wives. The marriage-ceremony is frequently performed, by the bride and bridegroom, after obtaining the permiffion of the parents, fleeping together till late in the morning. The dead are interred in graves, over which are fet a tortoife-fhell, filled with fome odoriferous powder, and three twigs of fome fhrub or other: and, after this, the company that forms the proceffion makes merry. Of game that has been hunted and killed, no one

is ſuffered to eat before he is inveſted with the dignity of man; nor muſt man and wife eat any part of this animal's heart, or pericardium.

The Hottentots, at preſent, eat their meat either roaſted, or elſe boiled in a pot in the ordinary way; but not long ago, before they had got veſſels of this kind from the Europeans, they uſed to put their meat into leathern bags, filled with water, and afterwards threw in red-hot ſtones, which, by their heat, cauſed the water to boil.

The Hottentots uſe bows and arrows, not only for their defence againſt their enemies, but likewiſe for the purpoſe of killing wild beaſts; but at preſent they have rarely need to employ them on either of theſe occaſions. The bow is a round ſtick of about an inch thick, and ſomething more than two feet long, and is bent by a ſinew. The arrow is made by a kind of reed or cane, as thick as a gooſe-quill, and ſcarcely a foot long, to the end of which is faſtened, with a fine ſtring or ſinew, an iron point, ſhaped like a lancet, which is beſmeared with the poiſon of ſerpents. Several of theſe arrows are kept in a quiver, which is of the thickneſs of a man's arm, and about two feet in length, with a lid at the top, that turns upon hinges of leather.

Rabekin is a muſical inſtrument, ſomething like a guitar, made of a calabaſh and a narrow board, with three or four ſtrings, which may be ſtretched or relaxed at pleaſure, by means of ſcrews. On this inſtrument the Hottentots play with their fingers.

Kora was a wind inſtrument, which, however, was ſeldom uſed.

A mountain called Potteberg, was ſeen directly oppoſite the farm, near the ſea-ſhore, which was ſaid to be about twenty-four miles diſtant.

A curious graſshopper, of a reddiſh colour, of the claſs of *hemipteræ*, was ſeen in great numbers, ſeeking its food on the buſhes. When taken, it preſſed out from beneath a ſheath that lay under its breaſt, a ſlimy, frothy fluid, like ſoap lather, which covered both the inſect and the fingers of the captor. This was repeated as often as the liquid was wiped off with a linen rag. From the manner in which this animal endeavours to liberate itſelf, I called it *gryllus ſpumans*. The Larvas, or half-grown graſshopper, or the ſpecies called *pneumora*, were ſeen in the greateſt abundance, both here and elſewhere, on the buſhes; but in the day-time, neither I nor any of my companions could find one of them in a perfect ſtate and winged, which aſtoniſhed me much.

Reeboks, Rietboks (*capra*), and Bonteboks (*capra ſcripta*), frequented much theſe hilly and verdant fields. In theſe antelopes both ſexes are furniſhed with horns; and the young Bonteboks are at firſt of a reddiſh-brown colour, but, in time, become ſpotted with white, though, on account of the openneſs of the country and the ſhyneſs of the animal, it is difficult to get within gun-ſhot of the Bontebok, yet we were lucky enough to ſhoot one. It is always dangerous to come near one of theſe creatures when ſhot, becauſe, if he is not quite dead, he makes uſe of his horns, and may put the huntſman in danger of his life.

Here, too, I had an opportunity of obſerving a curious fact. It happens ſometimes, that when a duck is ſhot in any of the rivulets, it either immediately diſappears, and is ſeen no more, or it is found again with its feet eaten off. This is done by the water-turtle that inhabit theſe waters, which prey, not only on the larger ducks, but alſo on their young, which they ſeize by the leg.

On the 10th, paſſing by Peter Bota's farm, called Rietkuyl, we croſſed Kerremelk's and Slange rivers to the Widow Fore, near Duyvenhoek's Rivier.

In the whole tract of country through which we had paſſed all the way from Hex Rivier, I obſerved that the banks of all the rivers were planted with the very prickly tree called *mimoſa nilotica*.

The mountains, which extended from a projecting point at Zwellendam, ran now in the direction of due eaſt and weſt.

On the 11th of November, having taken an early leave of our worthy hoſteſs, we went down to Duyvenhoek's River, which was at a ſhort diſtance from the farm. The late rains had filled this rivulet, ſo as to make it dangerous to croſs. The rivulets of this country, however, have uſually ſome ſhallow places, where, even in the greateſt flood, one may croſs them with waggon and oxen. To ſhew us one of theſe drifts, as they are called, our hoſteſs had been ſo kind as to ſend a ſlave with us; but, as he neither underſtood nor ſpoke Dutch, he was obliged to communicate his inſtructions to us by ſigns, which, either from ignorance or malice, he entirely perverted, as he pointed out to us a circular track over the river to the right, which we ought to have taken to the left. I, who was the moſt courageous of any of the company, and in the whole courſe of the journey was conſtantly obliged to go on before and head them, now alſo, without a moment's conſideration, rode plump into the river, till, in a moment, I ſank with my horſe into a large and deep ſea-cow hole, up to my ears. This would undoubtedly have proved my grave, if my horſe had not by good luck been able to ſwim; and I, who have always had the good fortune to poſſeſs myſelf in the greateſt dangers, had not, with the greateſt calmneſs and compoſure, guided the animal, (which floundered about violently in the water,) and kept myſelf faſt in the ſaddle, though continually lifted up by the ſtream. After having paſſed over this hole, I was likewiſe ſucceſsful in my attempts to get ſafe out of it, though the edges of theſe holes are in general very ſteep, inſomuch that they ſeldom afford one a ſure footing. Holes of this kind, which the Hippopotamus treads out for its reſting-place, occur in a great many rivers, though the animal itſelf perhaps is no longer to be found there, but has either been ſhot, or made to fly to ſome other more ſecure retreat. All this time my fellow-travellers ſtood frightened on the oppoſite bank and aſtoniſhed, without daring to truſt themſelves to an element that appeared to them ſo full of danger. However, as ſoon as I had got off my horſe, and let the water drain off from me a little, I ordered my Hottentots to drive acroſs the river, according to a better direction that I gave them, after which the others followed.

I had the greateſt reaſon to be thankful to the Divine goodneſs, which had preſerved me in this imminent danger, and the more ſo, as it happened on the anniverſary of the day on which I came into the world thirty years before.

After our waggons were brought over the water, I did not allow myſelf time to change my clothes, as I muſt have been at the pains of unpacking my trunks; but we continued our journey the whole day without the farther interruption, and paſſing by Chriſtopher Lombart's farm, went to another farm belonging to Daniel Plaiſir, where we arrived before evening, and were kindly received.

Here my firſt care was to examine my pocket-book, watch, and other things ſubject to be damaged by the water,

A kind of *corvus* (or crow), called Spreuw, was found both here and in ſeveral other places in great plenty. It was leſs than a black-bird, and black, with a white rump: this bird always accompanied the larger cattle and the ſheep, eſpecially in the mornings and evenings, before they are driven out to field, and after their return. Its occupation was to pick away the inſects (*acari*), which, dropping from the buſhes upon the animals, and biting deep into their ſkins, ſtick very faſt to them, and occaſion them great pain.

This bird is very wild and ſhy, ſo that when it obſerves anybody approach it, it immediately flies away, and with many cries warns the others, which inſtantly take wing, and endeavour to ſave themſelves by flight. This bird is ſaid to make its neſt in the ſides of the rivers and brooks, for which purpoſe it digs holes in their banks.

Theſe *acari* which teazed the cattle were not leſs troubleſome to our horſes. Frequently, while I was riding through the thickets, for the purpoſe of gathering flowers and ſeeds in theſe places, my horſe, and particularly his head, was ſo thickly covered by theſe blood-ſuckers, that neither his ears nor any other part of him could be ſeen, and I was ſometimes obliged to make my Hottentots free him from theſe troubleſome gueſts, before they had time to enter too deeply into the ſkin.

On the 12th we went to Clas Bruyn's farm, and on the 13th, to Peter de Wett's.

The whole of this tract produced aloe-trees in abundance, which in ſome places entirely covered the hills and the ſides of the mountains, where they appeared at a diſtance like a numerous army. The trees are of the height of a man, with their ſtems quite bare below, and a crown at the top of broad, thick, and fleſhy leaves.

I obſerved every where the ſlaves buſy in tapping and preparing gum-aloe, the virtues of which in medicine are well known. De Wett, the owner of the farm, was the firſt that prepared the gum in this country, for which reaſon he was ſaid to have the excluſive privilege of delivering and ſelling it at a certain price to the Company.

Several farmers have ſince learned the art of preparing it, and at preſent frequently ſell it at the Cape to ſtrangers at leſs than half this price.

The mode of preparing it is quite plain and ſimple. It conſiſts, in the uſual phraſe of the peaſants, in the tapping or the drawing off the juice, and boiling it. The tapping may be performed at all times in the year; but during, and immediately after, the rainy ſeaſon, the leaves yield a more copious but thinner juice. Thoſe days that are calm and clear are chiefly ſelected for the operation of tapping, as windy weather ſhrinks the leaf, ſo that leſs juice is produced, and it hardens too ſoon. On this work, for the moſt part, either ſlaves or Hottentots are employed. A leaf is firſt cut off, and laid on the bare ground to ſerve for a channel, upon which ſeveral other cut leaves are afterwards placed on each ſide, with the large end inwards, and over theſe again others, to the amount of a dozen or more, ſo that the juice drips from them into the hollow of the firſt leaf. The leaves which were cut off not too cloſe to the trunk were not cut into ſmaller pieces; as, according to what the farmers aſſerted, they would not yield the more juice on that account. In this manner ſeveral heaps of leaves are laid one after the other, as faſt as they can be cut off. When the juice ceaſes running the leaves are taken away, and the juice is poured into calabaſhes, which here, as well as in many other places, are uſed by the poor as bottles. The greateſt quantity of juice that can be thus collected by a man in one day is a large calabaſh or ſmall pail-full. The juice is afterwards boiled down at home in Engliſh iron pots, to ſuch a conſiſtence, that it will run off a ſtick that is put into it. All impurities that ſwim on the top of the liquor are ſkimmed off in the boiling. The juice thus boiled down to one half, is then poured out into wooden boxes, in which it afterwards grows hard. The juice yields generally one-third of ſolid gum, and each box weighs from three to five hundred-weight, each pound of which is ſold to foreign nations for three, or four, and ſometimes two, ſtivers.

On the 15th we proceeded on our journey to Daniel Pinard's, acroſs Goud's Rivier. This river is one of the largeſt in this country. Its banks on the weſtern ſide were extremely ſteep. The farm was ſituated on the other ſide on a tolerably high hill. This ſtream runs far up into the country, and conſequently is ſupplied with water from the mountains, which are at the diſtance of ſeveral days' journey from hence, and which border upon particular tracts that, at certain times of the year, are deluged by heavy ſhowers of rain, accompanied with thunder. From ſuch a cauſe this river may be very ſuddenly filled, and riſe to a great height, at the ſame time that at this place there ſhall be

be the fineſt weather imaginable. And for the ſame reaſon this river is extremely dangerous, ſo that the traveller ought not to take up his quarters too near its banks, nor in the low-lands adjacent to it. The water now came up to our horſes' ſaddles.

This day we proceeded as far as to Didelof's farm.

On the 16th, we rode paſt ſeveral eſtates, ſuch as thoſe of Dirk Marcus, Bernard the ſon, and the younger Plant, and haſtened on to Muſclebay, to a delightfully ſituated farm belonging to old Bernard.

The harbour here is very large, but no ſhips ever make it, except they are obliged ſo to do by ſtreſs of weather.

A Daniſh ſhip, called the Kron Prinſeſs, commanded by Captain Swenfinger, was ſtranded here and loſt, and the remains of it were even at this time to be ſeen.

On the 18th, after having, in the courſe of the day that we reſted there, viſited the ſea-coaſt and its ſandy hills, which in all probability was formerly occupied in great numbers by Damaquas Hottentots, we rode paſt Claſs Meyer's and Jacobus Tunniſſon Bota's eſtates, and returned to Dirk Marcus near Hagelkraal, an old man and great elephant-hunter.

Thongs made of the hides of animals were every where uſed by the farmers inſtead of cords and ropes, both for the tackling of waggons and other purpoſes. Here we ſaw theſe thongs made pliable and fit for uſe, by greaſing them, and rubbing them briſkly againſt a tree.

On the 19th, we travelled up towards the mountains, and into Hartequas Kloof, to a reſting place called Groote Paarde Kraal, where we, for the firſt time in the courſe of this journey, took our night's lodging in the open air.

On the 20th, we examined diligently the mountains that furrounded us on all ſides, and in the afternoon, continued our route through Hartequas Kloof to Zaffraam Kraal, when we got into a more plain and level country, called Canna Land, by ſome Canaan's Land, and at the ſame time paſſed the heights of Canna (Cannas Hoogte).

Here what I had heard before, was confirmed to me, viz. that ſeveral female oſtriches lay their eggs in one neſt; and that, if any one touches their eggs, the birds, that diſcover this by the ſmell, never lay any more eggs in the ſame place; but, if the eggs ſhould chance to be left behind, trample them to pieces under their feet.

On the 21ſt, we paſſed Aker Hein's farm, and took up our quarters in the evening near Klipp Rivier. The land between the mountains was many times broader than Roode Zand, very dry like the Carrow, and much higher than Houtniquas Land, that lay on the other ſide of it.

That piece of land, which lay on the other ſide of the mountains to the left, was called Kankou.

On the 22d, croſſing Brack Rivier and Matjes Drift, and going through Matjes Kloof, where Lange Kloof begins, we rode paſt Helbeck's farm to Van Stade's.

Here we obſerved on the plain, high and long, diſtinct and ſeparate, mountains, which had the ſame direction as the large chain of mountains before-mentioned.

On the 23d, we paſſed Buy's eſtate in our way to Gert van Roijen's, near Diep Rivier.

The mountains which here formed Lange Kloof, were, to the right, the long range of mountains ſpoken of above, and, to the left, a connected ridge which began near Matjes Kloof, and was lower than the long chain of mountains that lay by the ſide of it, and whoſe tops could plainly be diſcovered. The land which lay on the other ſide of the laſt-mentioned low ridge, and the higher ridge, is called Carmenaſſie, a tract of and, which is likewiſe already peopled by the induſtrious coloniſts. The country be-

hind that higher range of mountains is a poor, flat, and dry Carrow-field, which borders on the Eaſtern Olyfant's Rivier.

The mountains in general ſtretched eaſt-north-eaſt.

On the 24th, we arrived at Tunis Bota's farm. Here the ridge of mountains, over which we paſſed to the left, divided and formed a vale, where nothing but ridges of mountains lay before us, and which was not more than about two muſquet-ſhot in breadth. The vale which we left to the right, goes to Houtniquas mountains, over which one may get on horſeback to Houtniquas woods.

Proceeding on our journey we paſſed on to Hans Olofson's farm: here was a carriage road that led to Camenaſſie Land, and Olyfant's warm bath.

On the 25th, we rode farther on in Lange Kloof to Mat Zondag's.

The land in Lange Kloof is bare, and without any ſhrubs or buſhes, but abounds much in graſs.

The cold in winter is very ſevere in this vale, and ſnow ſometimes falls here which lies on the ground three or four days.

As the year before I had pretty narrowly examined this ſpot, and had gathered the few plants that grew upon it, I was now determined to climb up to the higheſt ſummits of the mountains, in order to obſerve the direction in which they ran; but I could not poſſibly have had a better reward for my pains, than the glorious proſpect that now lay before me, in which a tract of mountains of a great many leagues (as it appeared to me) in breadth, divided into ſeveral ridges, with their intervening vales, was extended, like a map, before my eyes, and ſhewed me plainly that the greateſt part of the road I had travelled lay over various ridges of mountains, and along various dales, on a conſiderable breadth of hilly country, where many thouſands of men, and millions of other animals, find both food and ſhelter; while, on the other hand, the more plain and level land, in this ſouthernmoſt part of Africa, for want of water, can ſeldom exhibit a ſingle quadruped, or afford water to one ſolitary bird.

I alſo obſerved, that the ranges of mountains to the eaſtward, diverged more and more from each other, ſo that thoſe that lay to the left, the farther they went into the country, the more eaſterly was their direction.

Want of houſe furniture, and a turn for œconomy, had induced the huſbandmen here to make lanterns out of calabaſhes, which was done by cutting ſeveral holes in them.

On the 26th, we ſet out for Peter Frere's, a bold and daring ſportſman, and one of the beſt elephant-hunters in the country; a man who ſpoke the Hottentot language fluently.

Oppoſite to this ſpot ended the Camenaſſie country, and a waggon road went from thence acroſs the mountains.

In all this tract of country, no other buſineſs was carried on than that of grazing; and a great quantity of butter was ſent from hence to town, where the farmer received no more than from three to ſix ſtivers per pound, although it ſtands the Company in as much as two ſhillings.

The huſbandman, on his journey to and from the Cape, reſts in the day, and travels in the cool of the night; but we were obliged to do juſt the reverſe of this, if we wiſhed to collect any plants and other things which conſtituted the whole object of our expedition. We took care therefore to turn our oxen out to graſs at night, at every place where it could be done with ſafety. Thus, one evening here, we had turned our oxen out to graze in the plain, but not far from the farm. The evening was darker than uſual: the dogs made a terrible noiſe, and the whole herd of oxen thronged towards

towards the houſe, without our being able, as the night was ſo dark, to go to their aſſiſtance with fire-arms. In the morning, we found that the cattle had been purſued by a tyger-wolf (*hyæna maculata*), and that one of our oxen had been bit in the groin, and a portion of the ſkin, ſix inches broad, had been torn away; but that the inteſtines did not hang out, nor were they otherwiſe hurt. The hyæna is a bold and ravenous animal, which frequently eats the ſaddle from under the traveller's head, and the ſhoes from off his feet, while he lies ſleeping in the open air. When one of theſe creatures gets into a ſheep-fold, it not only commits great havock amongſt the ſheep, but terrifies them to ſuch a degree, that they run all together in a heap, and ſqueeze each other to death.

On the 27th, having paſſed Stephanus Frere's, we came to Matthew Streidung's; and, on the 28th, to Peter Nyckert's, and afterwards to Andrew de Pre's.

Elandboks (*capra orcas*) were ſometimes to be met with and ſhot in the mountains. This goat is as large as a middle-ſized horſe, and its fleſh has an agreeable taſte. The tongue, however, which, when ſalted and dried, is frequently carried up to the Cape for ſale, is reckoned ſtill more delicious, and is not inferior to a rein deer's tongue. This goat was ſaid not to butt with his horns, when wounded, as the Bonteboks and Geſmeboks (*capra oryx*) do.

I ſaw the kid caught of a very ſmall and extremely ſcarce goat, called Orebi (*capra monticola*). It was of a brown colour, ſcarcely larger than a cat, and very handſome. This animal was ſaid to inhabit the plains in Lange Kloof; and, it was aſſerted, that neither ſex have horns, though, it is highly probable, that the male has.

Kouka lay directly oppoſite on the left hand, and was a narrow piece of land between the mountains, which was already invaded by the coloniſts, although it was ſo ſmall as to have only two farms on it.

I was every where told, that this extenſive country came more and more under the dominion of the Dutch coloniſts, to whom the Hottentots were conſtantly obliged to give way, and retire farther into the country. The Dutch always took poſſeſſion at firſt of the beſt and moſt fertile parts of the land, in the wider valleys, leaving to the Hottentots, for a little while longer, the inferior tracts, between mountains, in the narrower vales, till, at length, the poor ſavages were driven even out of theſe, and obliged entirely to quit their native plains.

On the 29th we arrived, towards evening, at Thomas Frere's, after a very troubleſome day's journey. The roads were very ſlippery and heavy, in conſequence of the great rains that had fallen; and the rivulets that ran in the middle of the valley, and which we were ſeveral times obliged to croſs, were of an unuſual depth, ſo that the proper place for fording them could not always be found. This occaſioned my driver, unfortunately for me, to miſs the right path, and he drove ſo deep into the river, that the water roſe up to the middle of the cart, and wetted my plants, both dried and freſh, my inſects, clothes, &c. quite through; ſo that, when we arrived at the farm at night, I was obliged to look over, with incredible pains, and dry before the fire, a great multiplicity of articles, many of which, however, were quite ſpoiled. I alſo now travelled in the cart myſelf, as my horſe had loſt much fleſh, and was ſo much wearied by the journey, that I had been obliged to leave him behind at the laſt farm. The water not only came up to my middle in the cart, but the bottom of the river likewiſe was full of mud, which was ſtirred up by the wheels, and which was ſo thick and heavy, that it was with the greateſt difficulty that the oxen could drag the cart through.

On the day following, being the 30th, we proceeded to Eſſeboſch, a pretty little neat wood which has acquired its name from the large trees Eeſſenboom, (or aſh-trees,

Ekebergia

Ekebergia capenſis), that grew here; the leaf of which greatly reſembles that of the European aſh (*fraxinus*). Large fig-trees, too, (*ficus capenſis*) the fruit of which is eaten by the baboons, grew here in abundance. As there was no farm as yet laid out hereabouts, we took up our night's lodging in the open air, at the ſide of a few buſhes, and our ſaddles ſerved us for pillows.

On the 1ſt of December, we went down Krommie Rivier country, which takes its name from Krommie Rivier (the Crooked River), that runs meandring through it. This valley is nothing but a continuation of Lange Kloof; but ſinks lower by degrees, and is likewiſe narrower, being ſometimes no more than a gun-ſhot in breadth. It has ſcarcely any level ground; but ſlopes off entirely from the mountains on each ſide to the middle, where the ſmaller ſtreams that run down from theſe mountains are collected, and form a large river.

Lange Kloof and Kromme Rivier, in which there are at preſent but few of the ancient inhabitants remaining, were formerly, in all probability, inhabited by the Heykom Hottentots, in great numbers.

At the end of this valley, to the right, the heads of the mountains began to approach cloſer to each other, and to be lower, till, at length, they quite diſappeared, without reaching to the ſea-ſhore. The mountains, too, were bent out of their courſe in ſuch a manner on each ſide, that they now chiefly ſtretched towards the ſouth-eaſt.

We rode paſt Vermak's eſtate, where Lange Kloofs and Kromme Rivier mountains came to an abſolute termination on the left; and the country now appeared very broad between the ſea-ſhore and that chain of mountains which extended ſtill farther to the left, paſt Olyfant's warm bath: in this manner, that both the mountains to the right, and thoſe to the left, which had hitherto extended from Bokke-veld, now came to a termination; and, to the left, were only ſeen the Olyfant mountains, ſtretching about eaſt-north-eaſt, within which there were a few ranges of mountains that ran moſtly eaſt or north-eaſt, but were of no great extent.

So that the Olyfant mountains were ſeen to continue their courſe; but of theſe, ſeveral ridges were plainly diſcerned, which at laſt terminated gradually in ſingle points. The neareſt viſible range to the left is called Zeeko Riviers-berg, and comes to a termination near Iſaac Meyer's farm, where we afterwards arrived. Behind it, was ſeen another ridge, called Meulen Riviers Mountain, which terminated near Kok's farm, where we ſtaid and reſted ourſelves ſeveral days, as this farm was almoſt the farthermoſt of the colony on this ſide. Behind the laſt-mentioned ridge, another was ſeen to peep out farther on, which was called Kabeljaw Riviers-berg, and was terminated by the river of the ſame name.

Zeeko (or Sea-cow) River, which at a ſmall diſtance from the farm runs into the ſea, is, in the part near the ſea, tolerably well ſupplied with fiſh. The fiſhes found in this and other rivers all come up from the ſea; higher up, fiſh are ſeldom to be met with in the rivers of this part of Africa; ſo that there is no fiſhing carried on at the mouths of the rivers, and then it is done with nets, and by thoſe only whoſe farms lie near the ſhore. One day, when my landlord's ſons went down to the ſea-ſhore a fiſhing with a few Hottentots, I accompanied them thither for the purpoſe of botanizing. The river was very broad here, it is true, but ſo choaked up with ſand-banks that had been caſt up from the ſea, that when one went into it, the water did not come up higher than one's middle. I walked about for ſeveral hours quite naked, as well for the ſake of bathing, as of collecting inſects and ſhrubs that grew there on the banks, with nothing but a handkerchief about my waiſt, not ſuſpecting that the ſun-beams would have had any bad effect upon me. But, in a ſhort time, I found that all that part of my body

which

which was above the water, was red and inflamed. This diſorder increaſed to ſuch a degree, that I was obliged to keep my bed for ſeveral days, and could not even bear a fine calico ſhirt on my body (eſpecially over my ſhoulders, which were the parts moſt expoſed to the ſun's rays), till I had anointed myſelf with cream, in order to lubricate my parched ſkin.

The fields here abounded in graſs, and, conſequently, were proper for the rearing of horned cattle, which, with butter, were the only articles they could diſpoſe of at the Cape.

They churned here almoſt every day, and the butter-milk, which was very ſeldom conſumed by the cattle, formed rivulets, as it were, in the places where it had been thrown out.

The Hottentots in this farmer's ſervice were numerous; among theſe, the girls that were employed in churning were obliged to waſh themſelves, and keep themſelves clean, at leaſt their hands and arms.

A curious and handſome ſpecies of Bulfinch (Langſtaart Loxia Macroura, the long-tailed groſs-beak of Latham) was found all over theſe fields, eſpecially in ſuch places as were boggy, or overgrown with ruſhes. It reſembles the goldfinch in its red velvet ſummer-dreſs, in which the cock at this time of the year was ſplendidly attired; but differed much from that bird by its long tail, which was much longer than its body. In winter the cock is grey, as the hen, who has not a long tail, is all the year round. It was curious to ſee this bird fly, with its long dependent tail that ſeemed to weigh it down, inſomuch that it could never fly ſtraight forward, but always zigzag up and down. In windy weather its flight was much impeded by the length of its tail, ſo that it could not direct its courſe at will, but was frequently thrown out of its direction. Its ſlow flight (the heavieſt I ever ſaw in the bird kind) made it eaſy to ſhoot; and when it rained, as well as in windy weather, one might almoſt catch it with one's hands.

The Hottentots that live hereabouts, and even thoſe that are in the ſervice of the Europeans, intermarry without any ceremony or regularity. A woman too, here, has ſometimes a huſband and a ſubſtitute. If a married Hottentot at any time goes on a journey, his wife may in his abſence marry another, a circumſtance that happened to my driver, who, on his return home, with all that he had earned in his expedition, found himſelf a widower.

Laſt year I had ſeen at different places, that the Hottentots who have no horſes, made uſe of draught oxen for riding and carrying burdens; and I now had an opportunity to learn how theſe oxen were broke in. An ox that is deſigned for riding muſt be accuſtomed to bear its rider a few weeks after it is calved, for which purpoſe firſt a ſkin is tied over its back, with which it is turned into the field along with the cow. Afterwards little Hottentot boys are ſet upon its back, and when the animal is thus broke in a little, another calf, quite a novice, is tied faſt to its ſide, in order to tame it the better. This calf-riding, which was always done galloping, was entertaining enough, and the ſport generally ended in the calf throwing its rider.

A ſmall grey ſpecies of graſshopper (*mantis fauſta*) was found both here and at other places, which has obtained the name of the Hottentots god, and is ſuppoſed to be worſhipped by them. I could not perceive any reaſon for this ſuppoſition, but it certainly was held in ſome degree of eſteem; ſo that they did not willingly hurt it, and deemed that perſon or creature fortunate on which it ſettled, though without paying it any ſort of adoration.

As water-turtle are found here, I caught one for the ſake of the blood, with a view of trying its virtues againſt the poiſon of ſerpents, as likewiſe to keep by me for occaſional uſe. A very ſmall quantity of blood was procured from a turtle that was not larger than the palm of one's hand. After the head was cut off, and the blood had run out, the ſerum was ſeparated, and the red part that ſwam at top, was dried upon paper, when it ſcaled off and turned black.

As the ſpecies of palm called the bread-tree (*zamia Caffra*) was found in theſe parts, we looked for the fruit, which is very ſcarce, and gathered the ſeeds. Certain trees produce only male flowers, in a large cone without ſeeds, and other trees again yield a ſimilar cone, as large as a man's head, with genuine ſeeds. To the under part of the ſcales of the male cone are fixed an infinite number of antheræ, which burſt, and contain a white toughiſh pollen. On the female cone, ſeeds, as large as jordan almonds with the ſhells on, are contained between the ſcales, ſurrounded with a reddiſh pulp, which is good to eat. The fruit ſprang out of the very top of the palm, frequently before there was time for the ſtem to be formed above the ſurface of the earth. The ſeed was ſuppoſed to come up beſt after being planted out, if it was covered with ſtraw, which was to be ſet on fire, and burnt down cloſe to the ground; or if the ſeed was previouſly ſteeped in warm water.

In the whole of the extenſive tract of country which we had traverſed, from Roode Zand to Camtous Rivier, populous as it now is, not a church is to be found. The farmers indeed had requeſted to have one, and, although all the reſt of the clergy, as well in the town as in the country, are paid by the Company, had offered to pay the clergyman themſelves, provided the church were erected in the middle of the colony, a place moſt convenient for them all; propoſals likewiſe had been given in for this purpoſe, and even permiſſion aſked for them to build one at their own expence near Kafferkuyls Rivier, by which place moſt of them muſt paſs in their journey to the Cape: but this well-meant and pious undertaking had been now for ſeveral years without ſucceſs, owing to the oppoſition of the landroſt and a few of his neighbours, who wiſhed to have the new chuch built near his reſidence of Zweilendam, although it lies at one end of an extenſive colony.

Our landlord was an elderly man, and born in Europe: he was one of the keeneſt ſportsmen in the country, and had made long journeys at various times into the interior part of the coaſt of Caffraria, in order to ſhoot elephants, by the ſale of whoſe teeth he had acquired a tolerable fortune, and had finally fixed his abode here in a pleaſant and advantageous ſpot. He related to me upon his honour ſeveral circumſtances to which he had been an eye-witneſs, and which a traveller is ſo very ſeldom fortunate enough to have an opportunity of ſeeing himſelf. Once, for inſtance, when he was out a hunting, having obſerved a ſea-cow (*hippopotamus amphibius*) that had gone a little way up from a neighbouring river, in order to calve; he, with his ſuite, lay ſtill and concealed in the buſhes, till the calf made its appearance, when one of them fired, and ſhot the mother dead on the ſpot; the Hottentots, who imagined that after this they could catch the calf alive, immediately ran out of their hiding-place to lay hold of it, but, though there were ſeveral of them, the new-born calf, which was ſtill wet and ſlippery, got away from them, and made the beſt of its way to the river, without having previouſly received any inſtructions from its mother, either relative to the way it ſhould take, or to this moſt natural means of ſaving itſelf. He alſo told me that the female elephant always kneels in the act of copulation, and that therefore the male can never line her, excepting when ſhe is hot. Concerning lions, the mode of hunting them, their nature and manners, he knew much from his experience; and I took the more

pains to procure information relative to theſe matters, as I now had deſigned to wander for a long time through a country where the ſky would be my only canopy, and an open plain, inhabited by wild beaſts, my lodging; and as at the ſame time I was very ſenſible that it was of no little ſervice to a traveller to be acquainted with the nature and diſpoſition of the wild beaſts, which he is carefully to avoid.

A lion may lie in a buſh without moving when a man is paſſing by, ſo that the man ſeems only to take no notice of it. It may likewiſe perhaps ſtart up, without doing any harm, if the man do but ſtand ſtill, and not take to his legs. A hungry lion, however, is much more dangerous, and leſs merciful; yet it is not fond of attacking a man, at leaſt it is very nice in the choice of its prey, ſo that it prefers a dog to an ox, and had much rather eat a Hottentot than a chriſtian, perhaps becauſe the Hottentot, being beſmeared, always ſtinks, and becauſe, as he never uſes ſalt or ſpices, the juices of his body are not ſo acrid. It likewiſe rather attacks a Hottentot or ſlave than buffalo-beef that is hanging up; thus it happened to our landlord one night, that the lion paſſed through the buſhes where beef of this kind was hung up in order to ſeize a ſleeping Hottentot. In a wood, to climb up into a tree is a ſure way of avoiding the lion, but not the tiger, which frequently, when warmly purſued by the hounds, runs up into a tree, and finds a ſafe aſylum there. On meeting a lion, one ought never to run away, but ſtand ſtill, pluck up courage, and look it ſtern in the face. If a lion lies ſtill without wagging its tail, there is no danger, but if it makes any motion with its tail, then it is hungry, and you are in great danger. If you are ſo ſituated that there is a pit between the lion and yourſelf, you may then fire on it, as it will not venture acroſs the pit, neither will it purſue any one up an height.

In proportion as the farmers have cleared the land, and laid out farms in the interior parts of the country, the lion and other fierce animals have neceſſarily been put to flight and deſtroyed. This our hoſt knew not long ſince by woeful experience, but now lived in ſome degree of ſecurity with reſpect to his flocks and herds. The lion is poſſeſſed of ſuch immenſe ſtrength, that he will not only attack an ox of the largeſt ſize, but will very nimbly throw it over its ſhoulders, and leap over a fence four feet high with it, although at the ſame time the ox's legs hang dangling on the ground. No animal is eaſier to extirpate than the lion, notwithſtanding its great ſtrength, agility, and ſagacity. After having diſcovered by the track, how many lions there are in the troop, the ſame number of muſquets are placed on the ſpot whither it is ſuppoſed that the lion will come; after this a piece of carrion is tied to a ſtrong cord, which is faſtened to the trigger of one of theſe guns; the inſtant that the lion touches the carrion, the gun goes off, which is ſo placed as to ſhoot the beaſt through the head. The other lions that are preſent are ſo far from being ſcared away by the report, that it may happen that one of them ſhall go towards the ſmoke, and fix its claws into the diſcharged gun, and all the reſt, one after the other, fall before the other guns, inſomuch that ſometimes the whole troop is deſtroyed in one night. But ſhould a lion chance to be only wounded, and not killed on one of theſe occaſions, he will never more approach a ſpring-gun, and the lion thus wounded will attack a man without being impelled to it by hunger.

The hoof-diſtemper began now, as the heat of the ſummer increaſed, to appear amongſt the horned cattle, and ſome of my Engliſh fellow-travellers' team were affected with it, inſomuch that he was obliged to exchange them for others that appeared to be healthier.

My oxen had no other complaint than hunger, and they were ſo emaciated and worn out, that it would ſeem as if no diſtemper could lay hold on their lean ribs and ſmall ſhanks. In the mean-time, after our cattle were reſted, we ſet out to continue

our route as far as the mountains called the Snow Mountains. And as the country through which we were to paſs afterwards was either inhabited by Hottentots only, or quite uninhabited, we reſolved to take with us ſome Hottentots as interpreters, guides, and guards, and at the ſame time to lay in a ſmall ſtock of proviſion.

Our worthy hoſteſs, therefore, put up for us a parcel of wheat-biſcuits, a few loaves of wheaten bread, and a ſmall tub of butter, and likewiſe killed a large ſheep, which was ſalted, and ſewed up in its own ſkin.

The Hottentot language is not every where the ſame, but has very different dialects; all of them, however, are commonly pronounced with a kind of ſmack, or clacking of the organs of ſpeech. This clacking I obſerved to be made in three different ways, which renders it almoſt impoſſible for the Europeans to ſpeak it properly, although their children, who have been brought up among thoſe of the Hottentots, learn to ſpeak it fluently. The firſt of theſe modes of clacking is the *dental*, in which the tip of the tongue is ſtruck againſt the teeth. The ſecond is the *palatial*, when the noiſe is made by the tongue ſtriking againſt the palate. The third, or *guttural*, is the moſt difficult of all, and performed quite low down in the throat, with the very root of the tongue. Theſe clackings are the more difficult to perform, as they muſt be made at the very inſtant of uttering the word, and not before nor after. They occur not only in the beginning, but likewiſe in the middle of a word; and ſometimes two clackings occur in a word of two or three ſyllables. When ſeveral Hottentots ſit converſing together, the ſound is very like the clacking of ſo many geeſe. That the pronunciation of the language is troubleſome to them, was very evident to me, from the geſticulations they made, and from the circumſtance that they wearied their lips. They could talk, however, with a tobacco-pipe in their mouths, but in very ſhort ſentences only. The language of the Caffres I obſerved was much eaſier, and was ſpoken with much leſs clacking, which was heard in ſome few words only.

So that the inhabitants of this ſouthernmoſt promontory of Africa have a regular language; but, in other reſpects, are ſo rude and uncultivated as to have no letters, nor any method of writing or delineating them, either on paper, in wood, or on ſtone. It is in vain, therefore, to ſeek for any kind of learning, or any antique records, among them; and few nations in the world, perhaps, are leſs enlightened than they. Thus too the Hottentots could not name in their language ſeveral things in uſe among the coloniſts, ſuch as baſon, the bow of a yoke for draught oxen, a kettle, tobacco, &c.

As I was ſometimes, for ſeveral weeks together, among the Hottentots, out of the bounds of the colony, I was obliged to learn ſomething of their language; and, the better to recollect what I had learned, I formed a ſmall vocabulary, and, with three different marks, diſtinguiſhed the three uſual clackings; of which the dental is marked with the letter a, the palatial with A, and the guttural with á.

Kolbe has a long liſt of words in the Hottentot language; and Profeſſor Sparrman has even given us ſeveral dialects of it: and, as ſome part of what I have taken down differs from theirs, I have here annexed it, for the uſe of thoſe that are curious on the ſubject of languages.

1	—	—	Ko ISE	6	—	—	KRUBI
2	—	—	Ka MSE	7	—	—	GNA TIGNA
3	—	—	ARUSE	8	—	—	GNINKA
4	—	—	GNa To I	9	—	—	TUMINKMA
5	—	—	METUKa	10	—	—	GOMATSE

Dog

Dog	ARiKÆ, Tutu, Tup
Bitch	Tus
Flea	a TTI
Milk	Bi,Bip
Bread	Brè
Give bread	Brè Marè
Butter	BINGòI
Good day	Dabè, Dabetè
Hemp	Dákhan
Fire	eI,eIP,NeIP
Make fire	el Koa Kòl
Which is the way to the next village?	Danna haa se aKroi aDu
Where is?	Demma
Cow	GóS,GóOSA
Cow's milk	GóSBIP
Good evening	GoI MOTSKI
Dwelling-place	Geihep
Bad weather	HoMA
Come hither	Hæva ha, KóNG
Come hither, my friend	Hagatschi
Ox	HóGó, KUMAP
Bring hither	Hanka
Horse	Hakva, Haap
Where is the horse?	Hakva Demma ha?
Bring the horse hither	Hakva Seo
Table	Heid
Wife	HoNNES, KUS
Water	Kamma
Lyon	Káma
Mouth	KaM
Nice, delicious	K a nji
Good morning	KoA Mostschi
Tobacco-pipe	Kop
Man	KuPP
Drink	Ka
Foot-path	Kudu
House, farm	Komma
It is good	Kal hem
Buffalo	K a w
Sea-cow	KoU
Hole	KóU, Tw a p
To beat	KOA
Gun	Kabú
Penis	Hop
Glans Penis	KoUTERE
Father	Ambup, Tikkop
Mother	Andes, Tissos
Sister	Kans, Tikandi
Brother	Karup, TicaKwa
Fine weather	T a m
Pot, drum	Su
Caffre corn	Semi
Warm	Sang
To eat	SINNo
Knife	NóRAP
Chair	NeNaMHoP
To sleep	om
To sow with a needle, to darn	Om
House	Omma
Eye	Mu
Give	Maré
Money	Mari
Eyes	Mum
Hat, cap	Kaba, Taba
Wolf	KoKA
Egg	Kabika
Cock	KóUKEKURR
Cold	Korosa
Waggon	Kroi, Krojim, Kule
Red glass beads	Krakwa (by the Caffres Kiti Kiti)
Elk antelope	Ken
Female elk	Kens
Elks, a troop of	Kanna
Meat, flesh	Kop
People	Keuna
Tooth	KoM
Nose	KoYP
Iron, copper	KoRUP
Breast of a woman	Samma
Where is the waggon?	Hava krojim?
Here is the waggon	Hæva Krojim
Mare	Hass
Fox	GIep
Run away	Su se KóN
Tiger	Gvassup
Ichneumon	eP
Sheep	Gona
Chest	GeIP
Hart beast	Kammap
A rock	Oip
Have you seen?	Musko
Drove of oxen	Manqua
If you please	KuMSEA, HuNKOP

Turn about, drive back	KARRA	A Hottentot dreſs	NAMKVA
		Euphorbía viminalis	KUIJOP

The children, which among the Hottentots are numerous, at firſt wear rings about their legs made of ruſhes, inſtead of thoſe that are formed of hides, till they become accuſtomed to them. In like manner I obſerved, that the Caffre boys at firſt exerciſed themſelves in throwing a pointed ſtick, till in proceſs of time they were able to manage the javelin.

The Hottentots are much inclined to believe in witchcraft, and when any one falls ſick, or dies, they conſider him as bewitched.

The Hottentots univerſally wore a bag juſt before the parts of ſhame, which was made of the grey part of the back of the Cape fox, and was faſtened round the body with a thong. The Caffres wore a bag ſimilar indeed to this, but made of another kind of ſkin, and at the ſame time ſo ſmall that it ſometimes did not cover more than the foreſkin.

At the entertainments which the Hottentots made, and particularly thoſe made to divert us, I had an opportunity of ſeeing their card-playing, and a kind of an inſtrument called Korà. It reſembles at firſt ſight a fiddle-ſtick, and was made of a wooden ſtick, over which was extended a ſtring. At the end of this was faſtened the tip of a quill, and upon this they played with their lips, blowing as if it were a wind inſtrument, ſo as to make it produce a jarring ſound. What they call card-playing, was a particular ſport, in playing at which they talked, ſnapped their fingers, and laughed.

Having laid in a ſtock of proviſions for our journey, and put our fire-arms in good order, on the 9th of December, we took the road to Cabeljaus Rivier, where the laſt farm now laid out was looked after by a ſervant, and belonged to Van Rhenen, a rich burgher at the Cape.

On the 10th we croſſed Camtous Rivier, which at this time formed the boundaries of the colony, and which was not ſuffered to extend farther. This was ſtrictly prohibited in order that the coloniſts might not be induced to wage war with the courageous and intrepid Caffres, or the Company ſuffer any damage by that means. The country hereabouts was fine, and abounded in graſs.

Proceeding farther we came to Looris Rivier, where the country began to be hilly and mountainous, like that of Houtniquas, with fine woods both in the clefts of th emountains, and near the rivulets; here and there we ſaw large pits that had been dug, for the purpoſe of capturing elephants and buffaloes. In the middle of the pit ſtood a pole, which was very ſharp at the top, and on which the animal is impaled alive, if it ſhould chance to fall into the pit.

The Hottentot captain that reſided in this neighbourhood, immediately on our arrival, paid us a viſit in the evening, and encamped with part of his people not far from us. He was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a cloak, made of a tiger's ſkin, and a ſtaff that he carried in his hand.

On the 11th we paſſed Galgeboſch in our way to Van Stade's Rivier, where we lighted our fires, and took up our night's lodging. The Gonaquas Hottentots that lived here, and were intermixed with Caffres, viſited us in large bodies, and met with a hearty reception, and what pleaſed them moſt, ſome good Dutch tobacco. Several of them wore the ſkins of tigers, which they had themſelves killed, and by this gallant action were entitled to wear them as trophies. Many carried in their hands a fox's tail, tied to a ſtick, with which they wiped off the ſweat from their brows. As theſe people had a tolerable ſtock of cattle, we got milk from them in plenty, milked into baſkets

which

which were perfectly water-tight, but for the moſt part ſo dirty that we were obliged to ſtrain the milk through a linen cloth.

On the 12th in the morning, we paſſed Van Stade's Rivier, and arrived at two large villages conſiſting of a great many round huts, diſpoſed in a circular form. The people crowded forward in ſhoals to our waggon, and our tobacco ſeemed to have the ſame effect on them as the magnet has on iron. The number of grown perſons appeared to me to amount to at leaſt two or three hundred. When the greateſt part of them had received a little tobacco, they retired well pleaſed, to a diſtance in the plain, or elſe returned home. The major part of them were dreſſed in calf-ſkins, and not in ſheep-ſkins, like the Hottentots.

We had brought with us ſeveral things from town, with which we endeavoured either to gain their friendſhip, or reward their ſervices, ſuch as ſmall knives, tinder-boxes, and ſmall looking-glaſſes. To the chief of them we preſented ſome looking-glaſſes, and were highly diverted at ſeeing the many pranks theſe ſimple people played with them: one or more looking at themſelves in the glaſs at the ſame time, and then ſtaring at each other, and laughing ready to burſt their ſides; but the moſt ridiculous part of the farce was, that they even looked at the back of the glaſs, to ſee whether the ſame figure preſented itſelf as they ſaw in the glaſs.

Theſe people, who were well made, and of a ſprightly and undaunted appearance, adorned themſelves with bruſhes made of the tails of animals, which they wore in their hair, on their legs, and round their waiſt. Some had thongs cut out of hides, and others ſtrings of glaſs-beads, bound ſeveral times round their bodies. But upon no part of their dreſs did they ſet a greater value than upon ſmall and bright metal plates of copper or braſs, either round, oblong or ſquare. Theſe they ſcowered with great care, and hung them with a ſtring, either in their hair, on their foreheads, on their breaſts, at the back of their neck, or before their poſteriors; and ſometimes, if they had many of them, all round their heads. My Engliſh fellow-traveller had brought with him one of thoſe medallions ſtruck in copper, and gilt, that had been ſent by the two Engliſh ſhips, which were at this time ſailing towards the ſouth pole, to be diſtributed amongſt the different nations in that quarter of the globe. This medal was given to one of the Caffres who was very familiar with us, and who was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he accompanied us on the whole of our journey and back again, with his medal hanging down glittering juſt before the middle of his forehead.

Some of theſe people had hanging before their breaſts a conic purſe made of the undreſſed ſkin of an animal, which was faſtened about the neck by four leathern thongs, and ſerved them for a tobacco pouch. Some of them wore about their necks a necklace made of ſmall ſhells, called ſerpent's ſkulls (*cypræa moneta*), ſtrung upon a ſtring, and to this hung a tortoiſe-ſhell, for keeping the Bukku ointment in. Moſt of them were armed with as many javelins as they could well hold in one hand.

The huts were covered over with mats made of ruſhes, which, with their milk-baſkets, were ſo cloſe that no water could penetrate them.

The range of mountains which during our whole journey we had hitherto had to the left, now came to a termination; and, to the right of us, was ſeen the ſea. A larger range of mountains, however, proceeded farther into the country to the left.

The country hereabouts was full of wild beaſts of every kind, and therefore very dangerous to travel through. We were more particularly anxious concerning our cattle, which might eaſily be ſcared away by the lions, and loſt to us for ever.

We were likewiſe too few in number, and not ſufficiently armed, to protect ourſelves againſt the inhabitants, whoſe language our Hottentots now no longer perfectly underſtood.

ſtood. We therefore came to a reſolution to entice from this village another troop of Hottentots to go along with us, which we accordingly did, by promiſing them a reward of tobacco and other trifles that they were fond of, as alſo to kill for them a quantity of buffaloes ſufficient for their ſupport. This promiſe procured us a great many more than we wanted, and our troop conſiſted now of above an hundred men.

The 13th. The country in which we now were, was called Krakakamma, and abounded with graſs and wood, as well as wild beaſts of every kind, which were here ſtill ſecure in ſome meaſure from the attacks of the coloniſts; theſe were chiefly buffaloes, elephants, two-horned rhinoceroſes, ſtriped horſes and aſſes, (Zebra, Quagga) and ſeveral kinds of goats, particularly large herds of Hartebeeſts (*capra dorcas*).

We travelled firſt to Krakakamma Valley, and afterwards from hence farther downwards to the ſea-ſhore, where there was a great quantity of underwood, as well as wood of a larger growth, filled with numerous herds of buffaloes, that grazed in the adjacent plains.

In the afternoon, when the heat of the day abated, we went out with a few of our Hottentots a hunting, in hopes of killing ſomething wherewith to ſatisfy the craving ſtomachs of our numerous retinue. After we had got a little way into the wood, we ſpied an extremely large herd of wild buffaloes (*bos caffer*), which being in the act of grazing, held down their heads, and did not obſerve us till we came within three hundred paces of them. At this inſtant the whole herd, which appeared to conſiſt of about five or ſix hundred large beaſts, lifted up their heads, and viewed us with attention. So large an aſſemblage of animals, each of which taken ſingly is an extremely terrible object, would have made any one ſhudder at the ſight, even one who had not, like me, the year before, had occaſion to ſee their aſtoniſhing ſtrength, and experience the rough manner in which they treat their opponents. Nevertheleſs as we were now apprized of the nature of the animals, and their not readily attacking any one in the open plains, we did not dread either their ſtrength or number, but, not to frighten them, ſtood ſtill a little while, till they again ſtooped down to feed; when with quick ſteps, we approached within forty paces of them. We were three Europeans, and as many Hottentots trained to ſhooting, who carried muſquets, and the reſt of the Hottentots were armed with their javelins. The whole herd now began to look up again, and faced us with a briſk and undaunted air; we then judged it was time to fire, and all at once let fly among them. No ſooner had we fired, than the whole troop, intrepid as it otherwiſe was, ſurpriſed by the flaſh and report, turned about and made for the woods, and left us a ſpectacle not to be equalled in its kind. The wounded buffaloes ſeparated from the reſt of the herd, and either could not keep up with it, or elſe took another road.

Among theſe was an old bull buffalo, which came cloſe to the ſide where we ſtood, and obliged us to take to our heels, and fly before him. It is true, it is impoſſible for a man, how faſt ſoever he may run, to outrun theſe animals; nevertheleſs we were ſo far inſtructed for our preſervation, as to know that a man may eſcape tolerably well from them, as long as he is in an open and level plain; as the buffalo, which has very ſmall eyes in proportion to the ſize of its head, does not ſee much ſideways, but only ſtraight forward. When therefore it is come pretty near, a man has nothing more to do than to throw himſelf down on one ſide. The buffalo, which always gallops ſtraight forward, does not obſerve the man that lies on the ground, neither does it miſs its enemy, till he has had time enough to run out of the way. Our wounded bull came pretty near us, but paſſed on one ſide, making the beſt of his way to a copſe, which, however, he did not quite reach before he fell. In the mean time, the reſt of our

Hottentots had followed a cow that was mortally wounded, and with their javelins killed a calf. We, for our parts, immediately went up to the fallen bull, and found that the ball had entered his cheſt, and penetrated through the greateſt part of his body, notwithſtanding which he had run at full ſpeed ſeveral hundred paces before he fell. He was far from being young, of a dark grey colour, and almoſt without any hairs, which, on the younger ſort, are black. The body of this animal was extremely thick, but his legs, on the other hand, ſhort. When he lay on the ground, his body was ſo thick, that I could not get on him without taking a running jump. When our drivers had flayed him, at leaſt in part, we choſe out the moſt fleſhy pieces, and pickled ſome, and at the ſame time made an excellent repaſt on the ſpot. Although I had taken it into my head that the fleſh of an old bull like this would have been both coarſe and tough, yet, to my great aſtoniſhment, I found that it was tender, and taſted like all other game. The remainder of the bull, together with the cow and the calf, was given to the Hottentots for their ſhare, who were not at all behind hand, but immediately made a large fire on the ſpot, and boiled the pieces they had cut off without delay. What they preferred, and firſt of all laid on the fire, were the marrow-bones, of which, when broiled, they eat the marrow with great eagerneſs. The guts, meat, and offals, they hung up on the branches of trees; ſo that, in a ſhort time, the place looked like a ſlaughter-houſe, about which the Hottentots encamped, in order to broil their victuals, eat, and ſleep.

On the approach of night, my fellow-travellers and I thought it beſt to repair to our waggons, and give orders for making our cattle faſt, before it grew quite dark. In our way we paſſed within a few hundred paces of five lions, which, on ſeeing us, walked off into the woods.

Having tied our beaſts to the wheels of our waggons, fired our pieces off two or three times in the air, and kindled ſeveral fires round about our encampment, all very neceſſary precautions for our ſecurity, as well with reſpect to the elephants as more particularly to the lions, we lay down to reſt, each of us with a loaded muſquet by his ſide, committing ourſelves to the care of God's gracious providence. The like precautions we always obſerved in future, when obliged to encamp in ſuch places where man indeed ſeemed to rule by day, but wild beaſts bore the ſway at night. Theſe free denizens of the earth, for the moſt part, lie quiet and ſtill, in the ſhade of woods and copſes, during the day, their time for feeding being in the cool of the evening and at night, at which time lions and other beaſts of prey come out to ſeek their food, and devour the more innocent and defenceleſs animals. A lion cannot by dint of ſtrength, indeed, ſeize a buffalo, but always has recourſe to art, and lies in wait under ſome buſh, and principally near rivulets, where the buffalo comes to drink. He then ſprings upon his back with the greateſt agility, with his tremendous teeth biting the buffalo in the nape of his neck, and wounding him in the ſides with his claws, till, quite wearied out, he ſinks to the ground and dies.

On the 15th, in the morning, I went out to ſee whether the trees of the woods, of which this part of the country conſiſted, had yet any bloſſoms upon them; but found that the ſummer was not far enough advanced, and that the trees were ſo cloſe to each other, and ſo full of prickles, that without cutting my way through them, I could not advance far into the wood, which, beſides, was extremely dangerous, on account of the wild beaſts. Here, and in other places, where it was woody, we obſerved near the watering-places, the freſh tracts of buffaloes, as alſo the tracts and dung of elephants, two-horned rhinoceroſes, and other animals.

In the plains there were ſtriped horſes and aſſes (*equus zebra* and *quagga*),H artebeeſts (*capra dorcas*), Koedoes (*capra ſtrepſiceros*), &c.

We therefore got ready and ſet out for Zwartkop's Rivier, and the Salt Pan, not far diſtant from it, where we baited during the heat of the day. Near this Salt Pan, as it is called, we had the fineſt view in the world, which delighted us the more as it was very uncommon. This Salt Pan was now, to uſe the expreſſion, in its beſt attire, and made a moſt beautiful appearance. It formed a valley of about three-quarters of a mile in diameter, and ſloping off by degrees, ſo that the water in the middle was ſcarcely four feet deep. A few yards from the water's edge this valley was encircled by a mound, ſeveral fathoms high, which was overgrown with bruſh-wood. It was rather of an oval form, and took me up a good half hour to walk round it. The ſoil neareſt the valley was ſandy; but, higher up, it appeared to conſiſt, in many places, of a pale ſlate. The whole Salt Pan, the water of which was not deep, at the ſame time that the bottom was covered with a ſmooth and level bed of ſalt, at this juncture, being the middle of ſummer and in a hot climate, exactly reſembled a frozen lake covered with ice, as clear and tranſparent as cryſtal. The water had a pure ſaline taſte without any thing bitter in it. In the heat of the day, as faſt as the water evaporated, a fine ſalt cryſtallizing on the ſurface firſt appeared there in the form of glittering ſcales, and afterwards ſettled at the bottom. It was frequently driven on one ſide by the wind; and, if collected at that time, proved to be a very fine and pure ſalt. The Salt Pan had begun to grow dry towards the north-eaſt end, but to the ſouth-weſtward, to which it inclined, it was fuller; to the weſtward, it ran out into a long neck.

It appeared to us ſomewhat ſtrange, to find, ſo far from the ſea, and at a conſiderable height above it, ſuch a large and ſaturated pool of ſalt-water. But the water which depoſits this ſalt, does not come at all from the ſea, but ſolely from the rains which fall in ſpring, and totally evaporate in ſummer. The whole of the ſoil of this country is entirely ſalt. The rain-water which diſſolves this, runs down from the adjacent heights, and is collected in this baſon, where it remains and gradually evaporates; and the longer it is evaporating the ſalter it is.

The coloniſts who live in Lange Kloof, and in the whole country extending from thence towards this ſide, as alſo in Kamdebo, Kankou, and other places, are obliged to fetch their ſalt from this ſpot.

It was ſaid, that not far from this were two more ſalt-pans, which however yielded no ſalt till they were quite dry.

Several inſects we found drowned in the ſalt water, ſome of which were ſuch as I could not meet with on the buſhes alive, during the few hours that I ſtaid here and walked about the copſes, which my curioſity induced me to do, although it was a very dangerous ſpot, on account of the lions.

Our Hottentots, of whom we had now but a few in our ſuite, and whom we had left to take care of our oxen that were turned out to graſs, we found faſt aſleep, overcome by the heat of the day. Towards evening, we drove a little farther on, and arrived at Kuka, where the brook was already a mere ſtagnant puddle, and had only a brackiſh water in it; nevertheleſs we took up our night's lodging here.

We were ſurpriſed to find here a poor farmer, who had encamped in this place, with his wife and children, by ſtealth, in order to feed and augment his ſmall herd. And indeed theſe poor people were no leſs aſtoniſhed, not to ſay terrified, at our arrival, in the idea that we either had or might inform the government againſt them for reſiding out of the appointed boundaries. The farmer had only a ſmall hut made of branches of trees for his family, and another adjacent to it, by way of kitchen. We viſited them

in their little manſion, and, at our requeſt, were entertained by them with milk. But we had not been long ſeated before the whole baſon of milk was covered with a ſwarm of flies, ſo as to be quite black with them; and the hut was ſo infeſted with flies, that we could not open our mouths to ſpeak. Within ſo ſmall a ſpace I never beheld, before nor ſince, ſuch an amazing number of theſe inſects.

We therefore haſtened to our carts; and having kindled our fires, and pitched our camp at a little diſtance from the hut, liſtened the whole night to the howling of wolves, and the dreadful roaring of lions.

On the morning following, being the 16th of December, we proceeded to Great Sunday River, the banks of which were very ſteep, and the adjacent fields arid and meagre.

The major part of our ample retinue of Hottentots had now left us, after having got, in the courſe of the journey, veniſon enough to feaſt on, and as we were approaching nearer and nearer to a country which would ſoon be changed to a perfect deſart, where no game nor veniſon was to be hoped for; and where it was expected that want of water would be in the higheſt degree experienced. And, indeed, we now not only found ourſelves almoſt alone, but the oxen belonging to my Engliſh fellow-traveller were ſo afflicted with the hoof-diſtemper, that ſeveral of them were lame, and ſome of them were hardly fit to be put any longer to the waggon.

In conſequence of this we held a council with the drivers; and, after mature deliberation, reſolved, though ſore againſt our wills, to turn back, not finding it practicable to proceed, with emaciated and ſick cattle like ours, through a barren and deſert country, to the Dutch ſettlements near the Snow Mountains and in Camdebo.

We did not, however, neglect previouſly to enquire of the Gonoquas Hottentots concerning the nature of the country, the watering-places for cattle, the wild beaſts there, &c. and found that the plain was already very much dried up, and that long and forced marches (to uſe the expreſſion) muſt have been made between the few brackiſh watering-places that were to be met with in the way.

It is however not always eaſy to get the truth out of the Hottentots. One muſt never attack them with queſtions to the point, when one wiſhes to know the truth of any thing; but it muſt be fiſhed out of them by degrees, and, as it were, diſcourſing upon other ſubjects. The Hottentots are alſo extremely reſerved, and wiſh before-hand to know whether their viſitors are good or bad people. Beſides, as the Hottentots had now left us, we were deprived of the interpreters we ſhould want, ſhould we chance in our road to fall in with the Caffres or other nations. The Caffres, it is true, are not bad in themſelves; but, as they are in great want of iron, they are ſometimes ſo greedy after it, as to make no conſcience of murdering a Chriſtian for the ſake of getting the iron from off the wheels of his waggon, which they forge and grind to make heads for their javelins. Theſe Caffres a few years before had murdered Heupnaer and ſome of his company, who, in order to barter for elephants' teeth, had travelled into the country of the Caffres and Tambukki.

The Snow Mountains (Sneeuwberg), whither we had intended to direct our courſe, is a tract of land which lies very high, and, as it were, on a mountain, with other elevated tracts lying near it. It has acquired its name from the cold which prevails there, and the ſnow that falls upon it. Sometimes the ſnow lies there from one year to the other; and then the coloniſts are obliged to remove from thence to the Lower-lands, as it is called. To the eaſtward of the Snow Mountains, and farther to the northward, above the country of the Caffres, lies that of the Tambukki; and to this joins a people that are whiter than the Hottentots, with curling hair, and are called Little Chineſe.

The Caffres, whoſe country properly begins near the Great Fiſh River (Groote Viſch Rivier), raiſe a kind of peaſe and beans, and a ſpecies of *holcus*, and at the ſame time, are in poſſeſſion of large herds of cattle.

As ſoon as the afternoon began to feel cool, and we had in ſome degree inveſtigated the plants which were to be found here, near Kukakamma, we ſet out on our journey homeward, not by the ſame way by which we had come, but by the upper road to Van Stade's Rivier, and from thence to Zeeko Rivier, where we arrived ſafe on the 20th of December.

In the environs of Van Stade's River were the fineſt woods I had ſeen in the whole country. Few of the trees, however, were as yet in bloom. The Aſſagay-tree (*curtiſia ſaginea*), of which the Hottentots and Caffres make the ſhafts of their javelins, grew here in abundance, and began now to develope its diminutive bloſſoms. A great number of butterflies (*papiliones*), that are otherwiſe ſo very ſcarce in this part of Africa, flew round about the tops of the trees, without our being able to reach them.

On one ſide of our road I obſerved a heap of boughs of trees, on which moſt of the Hottentots threw a few twigs as they paſſed, and, on enquiring the reaſon, was told that it was the grave of a dead Hottentot.

On our return, we paſſed a few days before Chriſtmas with our old friend Jacob Kok, where we found ſufficient employment in drying and getting in order the thick-leaved and ſucculent plants which we had gathered in our laſt expedition up the country, and where our oxen in ſome meaſure recruited their ſtrength and fleſh. The Calviniſts do not keep Chriſtmas, but every one goes about his buſineſs as uſual: but New-year's day is thus far kept as a holiday, that on this day neighbours viſit each other.

A ſmall vineyard was planted here, as likewiſe at a few more farms near Kromme Rivier; but the grapes did not ripen very well, on which account the wine was rather ſour, and ſometimes ſo ſour that it could not be drank, but was only uſed for diſtilling brandy, from a proceſs which, by ſome farmers, was carried on with profit.

In the Chriſtmas holidays, we proceeded on our journey up towards Kromme Rivier, and Lange Kloof, where, oppoſite to Thomas Frere's farm, is a waggon-road acroſs the mountains to Sitſikamma.

Inſtead of wheel-barrows, for which timber was wanting, the huſbandman uſed calf and ſheep-ſkins made into bags, in which they carried their manure to their gardens.

On the 28th, we arrived at Hannes Olofſon's farm, and from thence, turning to the right, rode over the mountains to Anders Olofſon's, near Riet-valley, in Camenaſſie Land, a tract of country that lay before the mountains, was narrow, and exhibited ſeveral ſcattered mountains and eminences. It ſeemed to be as high as Lange Kloof, and the ſoil was dry and poor.

The Hottentots called by the name of Nenta, a plant (*zygophyllum herbaceum repens*), which was ſaid to be poiſonous to ſheep, as alſo another, a ſhrub of the ſame genus (*zygophyllum ſeſſilifolium*).

On the 29th, we rode from this ſpot to Peter Jordan's eſtate, ſituated near Olyfant's warm bath, and the river called (the Eaſtern) Elephant's River.

The broad tract over which we travelled, was Carrow-field all over, exhibiting a few buſhes, no graſs, and very little water.

Kon was a name given by the Hottentots to a ſhrub that grew here (*meſembryanthemum emarcidum*), and was famous all over the country. The Hottentots come far and near to fetch this ſhrub with the root, leaves, and all, which they beat together, and afterwards twiſt them up like pig-tail tobacco; after which they let the maſs ferment, and keep it by them for chewing, eſpecially when they are thirſty. If it be chewed immediately

immediately after the fermentation, it intoxicates. The word Kon is ſaid to ſignify a quid; the coloniſts call it Canna-root. It is found in the drieſt fields only, and is gathered chiefly by the Hottentots, who live near this ſpot. Theſe afterwards hawk it about, frequently to a great diſtance, and exchange it for cattle and other commodities. No Hottentot or Caffre in the whole country has either money or any thing of a ſimilar nature to trade with; but all their commerce conſiſts in bartering either with cattle or other commodities.

On the 30th, we viſited the warm bath, which riſes at the foot of the large ridge of mountains, and at a few fathoms diſtance from it. The ſtones at the foot of the mountain formed a very black iron ore, ſomewhat like the ſlag of iron, and the earth near it was browniſh. The top of the mountain contains a great deal of white quartz. The water is very warm, but not boiling hot; ſo that one may ſit in it at its ſource. It has indeed three ſources; the largeſt bubbles up to the eaſtward out of a great number of ſprings of different ſizes, the cavity of it being above two yards acroſs, and it is this that is moſt uſed. The ſecond lies a few fathoms to the left, and boils up out of one ſingle cavity. The third, and leaſt, lies a few fathoms from the ſecond. On the ſurface of the water, was ſeen a thin and fine blue pellicle, and on the twigs of trees and ſtones that were near it, was precipitated a ſaffron-coloured ochre. It had an inky taſte, but hardly any ſmell; from an infuſion of tea, the water became bluiſh, and the powder of bark made it blackiſh, which ſhewed that it contained iron. It was not fit for dreſſing victuals; but, as it was ſaid, might be uſed for waſhing, without ſtaining the linen. The earth that lay near, and round about the veins of the ſpring, was of a very looſe texture, and a browniſh colour, and at the ſame time contained a portion of ſalt, and minute ſhining particles of iron. The cryſtals of the ſalt were extremely minute and fine, and were found not only in the looſe earth, but alſo on pieces of wood that lay in the earth. On ſeveral pieces of wood that lay in the water were found, beſides the ochre above mentioned, thin and brittle ſcales, which glittered a little, and, by the farmers, were thought to be ſilver, but ſeemed to be nothing more than ſcales of iron. When one ſits in the bath, the circulation of the blood is greatly increaſed, and one is in danger of ſwooning. The water, it is true, is chiefly uſed for bathing in; ſome people however drink it likewiſe. The water never receives any increaſe either from rain or drought, though, as the farmers teſtified, it does from thunder. The time for uſing the water, is a little before or at ſun-riſe, and late in the cool of the evening, as the water is too hot during the heat of the day. The invalids ſit directly over the veins of the ſpring, and more or leſs deep in them.

In order to have a view of the country on the other ſide of the mountains, I climbed up to their higheſt ſummits, and ſaw, at no great diſtance, a ridge of mountains, which was lower than this that I ſtood on, and, between theſe, the country was as broad as Lange Kloof, and conſiſted of hills and valleys. The tract of country that lay behind the lower ridge was flat and poor Carrow-land, and ſo long and broad, without any mountains, that the eye could not reach its boundaries. There were no farms nor houſes on this extenſive plain, over which the farmers travel from Camdebo acroſs Hex Rivier, to the Cape. It was ſaid, however, that farther on, there were mountains, which probably extend from Rogge-veld to the Sneeuwberg.

Here, therefore, were the laſt ridges of that tremendous maſs of mountains, which extend from Houtniquas Land and Hartequas Kloof, and again to the northward from Roode Zands and Kartous Clefts, directly acroſs the Carrow that lies on the other ſide of the Bokke-veld. And, indeed, it is not only along the foot of this range of mountains that the coloniſts have laid out their beſt and principal farms, but they have alſo got

got between the ridges of the mountains, and ſet themſelves down in all the intermediate valleys.

That immenſely dry Carrow-plain, which commences behind the laſt-mentioned maſs of mountains, and extends in length from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt end of the ſouthernmoſt point of Africa, and in breadth to Rogge-veld and the Snow Mountains, for want of water, cannot be inhabited; and ſcarcely any animals reſide there, except for a ſhort time, in or immediately after the rainy ſeaſon, when a little ſalt-water is found here and there in ſome of the hollow places. Thoſe coloniſts, therefore, that have farms on the other ſide of this tract, either in Rogge-veld or the Snow Mountains, are obliged to wait for that time for croſſing ſo deſart a country, when they are under the neceſſity of pitching their camp near ſuch a places where little water is to be had, between which ſpots, ſometimes a journey of ten or twelve hours long, muſt be performed with all poſſible ſpeed in the night. It is therefore neceſſary to know theſe watering-places well; becauſe, if one ſhould meet with any Hottentots, they would not readily inform one, even if they knew of any watering-place, but keep it ſecret to themſelves, in order to be able to hide themſelves, in caſe they ſhould at any time wiſh to run away. Graſs is hardly to be met with in this tract, ſo that it is with difficulty that a horſe can find fodder there, but the oxen put up both with brackiſh water and the ſalt leaves of the ſhrubs and buſhes. In the day-time, when the ſun ſhines out hot, if one caſts one's eye over a ſmooth and arid plain like this, the eye is affected by a tremulous motion in the air, juſt as though one were looking at a flame.

The Hottentots who traverſe theſe dry Carrow-fields, uſe ſeveral means, not only to aſſuage their hunger, but more particularly to quench their thirſt. Beſides the above-mentioned plant, called Kón or Gunna, they uſe two others, viz. one called Kamekà or Barup, which is ſaid to be a large and watery root; and another called Ku, which is likewiſe, according to report, a large and ſucculent root.

The plants, as well herbs as buſhes, ſtand very thin in the Carrow-veld; and, in ſuch a burning hot climate, where not a drop of rain falls for the ſpace of eight months at leaſt, it is almoſt inconceivable how they can thrive at all. Their ſtems and branches, likewiſe, have the appearance of being brittle and quite dried up; but the leaves, on the other hand, are very thick, and filled with a briny fluid, and remain green all the year through. Theſe freſh and ever-verdant tops and leaves, however, may perhaps receive from the air, which at night is cool, ſome moiſture for their preſervation and nouriſhment. The ground appears quite burned up, is of a yellowiſh red colour, and conſiſts of clay with ochres of iron and common ſalt.

1774.—On the 1ſt of January, directing our courſe homewards, we arrived at Jan van Stade's farm, and afterwards paſſing an eſtate belonging to one Gert van Royen, and another belonging to a Van Fors, came to the villa which Gert van Royen occupied himſelf.

We let our drivers and Hottentots go on with the carts through Hartequas Kloof, with orders to wait for us at the Company's poſt at Riet Valley; and I, with my Engliſh fellow-traveller, determined to go on horſeback over the dry Carrow, which lay to the right, and afterwards proceed through Platte Kloof. But this expedition did not end very fortunately; for, as in this level plain, which is ſeldom viſited by travellers, there were no tracks to follow, we miſſed our road, and the longer we travelled, the farther we went aſtray, ſo that at laſt we could not even find our way back again. We rode on however, as faſt as our horſes could go, and the ſun began to go down without our having perceived the leaſt trace of a houſe or farm. At length the ſun being ſet, and no hopes left, we retired a little way back to a valley, where there

was

was a ſmall brook, with a few trees on its borders; and, in this brook, there was ſtill ſome water.

Here we thought it adviſeable to take up our lodging for the night. Accordingly we unſaddled our horſes, and tied them up, with the halter round one of their legs, that they ſhould not run away; and then, by means of our guns, we made a large fire of Canna-buſhes (*ſalſola aphylla*). After this we lay down near the fire, with the ſaddles under our heads; but could not get a wink of ſleep, on account of an intolerable ſenſation of cold, which, though not ſo very intenſe in itſelf, yet, by reaſon of the burning heat we had endured in the day-time, was ſeverely felt by us, and forced us to riſe ſeveral times in the courſe of an hour, in order to mend the fire, and warm ourſelves all over. We had derived this advantage from our guns, that we could always make a fire; but we had no hopes of finding any thing in this plain to ſhoot, by which we might ſatisfy the cravings of our ſtomachs. I had therefore taken the precaution to put into my ſhooting-bag a few biſcuits and pieces of ſugar-candy, which were extremely welcome to us at this juncture.

As ſoon as it was morning, we looked about us for our horſes, but found that they were vaniſhed, which did not a little add to our concern, ſituated as we were in a deſart, where our fate was uncertain. After having ſearched the valley all around, we went up upon the heights, and behind theſe we at laſt found our horſes, which without doubt were upon the point of going farther, to look out for better fodder. Having ſaddled them, we directed our courſe obliquely towards the mountains, where we arrived towards evening, at the houſe of a farmer, who was ſo poor as ſcarcely to be maſter of any thing more than the roof over his head.

Here we took up our night's lodging, and afterwards made our way to Hartequas Kloof, where we met with our people and our carts.

Near Hartequas Kloof, a new range or ridge of mountains commences, which joins the former, the cleft ſerving as a band of connexion between them. So that the Carrow-veld can be ſeen behind the firſt ridge, when one rides into the cleft through the next range of mountains near Groote Paarde Kraal.

It is not long ſince that this whole tract of land, from Hartequas Kloof down to Camtous Rivier, which is now filled with ſettlements, was firſt peopled; and twenty-three years ago there was not a ſingle farm, when, in the year 1750, Governor Tulbagh ſent a caravan out to this coaſt, with a view to gain certain intelligence with reſpect to the country and its inhabitants. Tulbagh, who ſtill lives in the grateful hearts of the inhabitants of the Cape, was a governor, who conſidered that he was raiſed to the elevated ſtation he enjoyed under government, and appointed to be ruler over an extenſive country, not merely to live in luxury, pamper his pride, and accumulate riches, but to unite with the Company's lawful intereſts the happineſs of the coloniſts, and the advancement and welfare of the colony. This gentleman was alſo anxious to have the country by degrees farther explored; for which purpoſe, in the year 1750, he fitted out a caravan, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty ſoldiers from the caſtle, and two burghers, of which an officer of the name of Beutelaar was appointed the commander. With theſe were ſent, at the Company's expence, eleven waggons, a great number of draught-oxen, and of others for killing, and a conſiderable quantity of ammunition and proviſion. The expedition was to be made into the country of the Caffres, and afterwards up towards that of the Tambukkis, and then back again, through the Snow Mountains and Camdebo; but, on account of the haughtineſs and ſtupidity of the commander, little was done in the buſineſs, for which reaſon, on his return home, he was ſent away out of the country; a puniſhment he richly deſerved.

deſerved. He was a ſtrict and rigorous commander, and puniſhed with ſeverity. He likewiſe beat the drum all the way, inſomuch that all the game that was to have been ſhot ſcared away, particularly by the two farmers who went in ſuite; and his people at length grew extremely mutinous. When he encamped any were at night, the waggons were all placed in a ring, within which the cattle and other animals were put, and the tents alſo pitched. At laſt, when he arrived at the country of the Caffres, he gave the Caffre captain, Paloo, a grenadier's cap, and another to his brother, which is ſaid to have excited a war amongſt the Caffres. The only thing he did for the benefit of the Company was, that in the harbour near Zwartkops river he ſet up the Company's arms, cut in ſtone. This journey laſted eight months. At that time there was not a ſingle farm on the other ſide of Hartequas Kloof; but the roads were ſo unknown and unbeaten, that the waggons were often obliged to be dragged, by the people to whom they belonged, acroſs the moſt difficult places.

Being come from Hartequas Kloof to Gouds Rivier, we ſtaid a day there in order to reſt our cattle, which beſides were ſo grievouſly afflicted with the hoof diſtemper, that my companion was obliged to leave one of his oxen behind here, which could get no farther. Here too the weather was amazingly warm, warmer indeed than I have ever felt, either before or ſince, inſomuch that the farmers ſhut both the doors and window-ſhutters, in order to keep the ſun out, and their houſes cool. The birds could ſcarcely fly, and the air was almoſt too hot to be breathed. The heat was without doubt ſeveral degrees above 100 by Fahrenheit's thermometer.

The following days, continuing our route, we arrived at Riet Valley, one of the Company's poſts, where we remained a few days to reſt ourſelves, and particularly for the ſake of paying another viſit to Groote Vader's Boſch (or Grandfather's Wood), and ſeeing if the different kinds of trees there were come into bloſſom, as we had already got pretty far into January, and conſequently the ſummer was farther advanced than it had been at any time before, when we had viſited this wood.

On the 14th of January accordingly, we went thither, but were not more ſucceſsful now than we had been before with reſpect to finding the trees in bloſſom, much leſs with fruit on them; ſome of them, however, were on the point of budding.

Here were, at this time, for the Company's account, two wood-men, who, after felling the trees, dragged them to ſuch ſpots from whence they might be taken up and put into waggons. The trees were chiefly got out of the wood by oxen, by means of a cord faſtened round the body of the tree; as no vehicle of any kind could poſſibly be uſed there.

As I had no hopes of ever viſiting this place again, I made a point now of collecting and laying up to dry, branches with leaves of every ſpecies of tree, and at the ſame time of becoming perfectly acquainted with the uſe they made in this country of each ſpecies.

The uſes of the different ſorts of trees that grew in and round about the wood, were as follows:

Black iron-wood (Zwarte Yzerhout, *gardenia Rothmannia*), is hard and ſtrong: it is uſed for axle-trees and the poles of waggons.

Yellow-wood (Geelhout, *ilex crocea*), is of a yellow colour, almoſt like box, of a cloſe texture, and handſome. It is uſed for planks and beams in the conſtruction of houſes, for tables, doors, cupboards, window-frames, and butter-churns.

Camaſſie-wood (Camaſſie-hout) is merely a ſhrub, and conſequently produces ſmall pieces only, which ſerve for veneering, and to form borders on furniture, as likewiſe for

for making planes and other fine and delicate tools. This is one of the fineſt and heavieſt kinds of wood.

The wood of the Red pear-tree (Roode Peer) is uſed for making the bodies, under and upper axle-trees, and the lower parts of waggons.

The Bucku-tree (Bucku-hout, *olea capenſis*) is the beſt wood for making wheels and waggons.

The Red alder (Roode Elſe, *cunonia capenſis*) is likewiſe very proper for making waggon-wheels, the naves of wheels and chairs.

The Aſh (Eſſenhovt, Eſſenboom, Houtniquas Eſſen, *Ekebergia capenſis*) is a large tree, hard, and of a cloſe texture, and is uſed for making tools and implements of various kinds.

Of the Stink-hout there are two ſorts, the white and the brown. The brown is very beautiful, being of a dark colour with bright ſtreaks and daſhes, much like walnut-tree. Of this are made clothes-preſſes, deſks, chairs, tables, and other coſtly kinds of furniture. When it is firſt cut down it ſtinks, a circumſtance from which it has obtained its preſent name; but, in proceſs of time, when it has been expoſed to the open air, the diſagreeable odour vaniſhes.

The wood of the Olive tree (Olyve-hout, *olea Europæa*) is very heavy, and of a brown colour. I have often ſeen, at the farmers' houſes, chairs made of this wood, which felt very heavy in the hand. This ſtrong wood is alſo uſed in the conſtruction of mills.

Wild Catjepiring (*gardenia Thunbergia*) is a hard and ſtrong kind of wood, and on this account uſed for clubs.

Witte Eſſen (or white aſh) is uſed for planks, for waggon-racks, and for the boards in waggons, for boards for ſhoe-makers to cut leather on, and ſometimes for cupboards.

Zwart-baſt (*royena villoſa*) is uſed for the bodies of waggons, and to make yokes for draught-oxen.

Keur-hout (*ſophora capenſis*) is uſed for wheels and the bodies of waggons.

The Almond tree (Amandel-hout) is uſed for heels of ſhoes, and for ſhoe-maker's laſts.

The Aſſagay tree (Aſſagayboom, *curtiſia faginea*) is uſed for the poles of waggons, and as ſhafts for the Hottentots' javelins.

Dorn-hout (*mimoſa nilotica*) is uſed for lock-ſhoes, to put under waggon-wheels, as likewiſe for the bows of yoke for draught-oxen, and for making charcoal.

The Waageboom (*protea grandiflora*) for fuel and making charcoal.

The Kreupelboom (*protea ſpecioſa*). The bark is uſed by tanners, for dreſſing and tanning leather.

The Leepelboom is made into ſpoons and wooden bowls.

The largeſt trees in the African woods, as well in this as in others, were the following: the Geelhout (*ilex crocea*), the Bucku (*olea capenſis*), the *tarchonarithus camphoratus*, and *arboreus*, the Roode-elſe (*cunonia capenſis*), and the Wite-elſe, the Stink-hout, the Aſſagay-hout (*curtiſia*), the wild Cheſnut (Wilde Caſtanien, *brabejum ſtellatum*), the wild Fig-tree (Wilde Vygeboom, *ficus capenſis*), the Keureboom (*ſophora capenſis*), the *mimoſa nilotica*, and the Effeboom (*Ekebergia capenſis*).

On the hills grew the *ornithogalum altiſſimum*, which was now in full bloſſom, and decorated the plain with its long and crouded ſpikes of flowers. It was ſaid to be very common every fourth year, and, in the intervening years, hardly to be ſeen.

On the 18th, we paſſed through Zwellendam to Steins farm.

On the 19th, we croſſed over at the ferry, where Breede Rivier and Zonder End unite, and then went over Heſſaquas Kloof, and paſt Gyllenhuyſen's eſtate to Vollenhovens. At Breede Rivier, where the river Zonder End unites with it, ends that mountain which ſtretches out from Roode Zand, and directly oppoſite this place the Zwellendam Mountains form an angle.

On the 20th, proceeding on our route, we went paſt Melk's farm to the Company's poſt at Tigerhoek, where not only a great number of cows are kept for making butter on the Company's account, but likewiſe in the adjacent woods a quantity of timber is felled for making all kinds of implements for the Company's own uſe.

The workmen are at liberty to cut down and fell ſome wood and timber, by way of aſſiſting to ſupport them, but no huſbandman is ſuffered to fell any here. In Houtniquas and other woods indeed, the huſbandman is at liberty to cut timber, but in ſome places, not without the ſpecial permiſſion of government, and paying a contribution of five rix-dollars.

In this tract reſided the Blue Goat, as it is called, (*blauwe bok*, *tſeiran*, *capra leucophœa*,) which is one of the ſcarceſt in the whole country; it is white, intermixed with black hairs. The blue goat is ſaid to be very neglectful of her young, inſomuch that they are often devoured by wild beaſts; and this is the reaſon that is given for its being ſo ſcarce. Its fleſh had a better taſte than that of the other ſpecies of goats.

Here were alſo a great many zebras or ſtriped horſes (*equus zebra*). There is a penalty of fifty rix-dollars on ſhooting one of theſe animals; and if any one can be caught alive, it is to be ſent to the governor. The old ones are hardly ever to be caught, and are never tamed. The young ones ſeldom live, and although ſeemingly tame, are by no means to be truſted.

After this, paſſing by Jurjin Linde's farm, we arrived at a poſt of the Company's, near Zoete-melks Valley, where twenty-four men and a ſerjeant are kept for the ſole purpoſe of felling timber in the adjacent woods. From this place the Company receives the greateſt part of its ſhip and common timber, of which three large waggon-loads are ſent every month up to the Cape. The labourers here alſo are permitted to cut a reaſonable quantity, and ſell it on their own account. The large pieces of timber, ſuch as beams, &c. are dragged out of the wood by oxen, and it muſt be confeſſed, not without the greateſt difficulty.

To the ſmaller pieces, ſuch as wedges, handles for axes, gun-ſtocks, wheel-timber, axle-trees, &c. the form is given before they are carried out of the wood. When a very large tree is felled, it is left for ſome time to ſplit of itſelf; then it is cloven and cut up.

Here I had an opportunity of ſeeing how they prepared the wheat-ſtraw uſed for thatching. The ſheaves with the ears on were ſtruck againſt a block, till the grain ran out and the ears dropped off. The buſineſs goes on much ſlower in this method of thraſhing than when the corn is trodden out by horſes; but the ſtraw is preſerved whole by it and even.

On the 24th, we paſſed by the Ziekenhuys (or hoſpital), a ſmall poſt of the Company's, which is ſubject to the former poſt near Zoete-melks Valley, and in which there are only two men, and went forward to Groenewal's farm, and afterwards to Gyllenhuyſen's, near Zwart Rivier (the Black River). The Black Mountains, which commenced near Groenewal's farm, came to a termination here. They were not very high.

On the 25th, we travelled on to Badenhorſt's and Beyer's eſtates, near Booter Rivier.

Here

Here I ſhot a cat, ſpotted with black (*viverra*); the ſkin ſmelled ſo ſtrong of muſk, that when it was hung up in the cart to dry, I could not endure the ſtench of it. It is in conſequence of this ſtrong ſmell that the animal is not eaſily caught by the dogs.

The ridge of mountains which we had ſeen terminate near Heſſaquas Kloof, began at the ſide of Kleine Hout-hoek, behind Franſche-hoek. Within the mountains of Groote Hout-hoek, a ridge was alſo ſeen to ſhoot out along the ſea-ſhore, which went almoſt as far as Muſcle Bay. Within this laſt, another ridge projects, which comes to a termination between Gyllenhuyſen's and Groenewal's farms, and, directly oppoſite to Badenhorſt's farm, has a high peak, called the Tower of Babel. Theſe two ridges are not united with the other mountains, but leave an open ſpace near Booter Rivier.

On the 26th, paſſing over Grootehout-hoek, Palmit's and Steenbraſemey Rivers, we arrived at the Hottentot's Holland Mountain, on which there are ſeveral farms.

Baboons, a ſort of large and ill-conditioned monkeys, with tails no longer than their thighs, are found in theſe mountains. This animal is long a growing, and, when full grown, is almoſt as large as a blood-hound; at this period, it ſhould not be kept tied up with a ſtring only; for, without an iron chain, it bites every thing aſunder. Several dogs together, indeed, may catch a baboon, but one or two ſeldom can; becauſe if the baboon, which is ſurpriſingly quick and nimble, gets hold of the dog by the hind feet, he ſwings it round, till the dog is quite giddy, and as it were drunk. With his large teeth he bites violently, and defends himſelf obſtinately.

Finally, we went down the mountain, over its ſteep hills, and then over the level plain to the Cape.

The Cape, 1774.

BEING arrived in town ſo late in the year, after a journey of five months, I was obliged to uſe diſpatch, in order that I might be able to embrace the opportunity of ſending, in the beginning of this year 1774, to the Botanic Gardens of Amſterdam, Leyden, and Leeuwarden, by the homeward-bound ſhips ſailing for Europe, a conſiderable quantity of bulbous roots, herbs, ſeeds, and growing plants; and alſo to my other patrons a great number of bulbous roots, ſeeds, inſects, ſtuffed birds, and other ſcarce animals.

The firſt four months in the year are the moſt buſy at the Cape, when the Dutch ſhips, as well as thoſe that belong to foreign nations, return from the Eaſt Indies, and others arrive from Europe; ſo that there are at this time about twenty or thirty ſhips in the road. The firſt Dutch homeward-bound fleet too now lay ready, and I had an opportunity of ſending part of my collections by it, and the remainder afterwards, as faſt as they were ready, by the ſhips that ſailed later.

A ſhip from Holland, the Bekvliet, arrived here, after a long and unfortunate voyage. Through the captain's neglect and ignorance, the ſhip had got ſo much under the African coaſt as to loſe its proper winds, and to be obliged to make Angola, after firſt making Waalviſch Bay, with only nine men in health on board. During this long voyage the ſcurvy had raged among the crew, which was ſaid to have been very generally as well as plentifully bled, ſo that the greateſt part of it had died. Complaint was made both againſt the ſurgeon and the captain for not having underſtood their buſineſs. The

former died on the paſſage, and the latter received the puniſhment he richly deſerved. The ſick had not only been ſupplied with improper medicines, but alſo, in other reſpects, had been treated with great negligence. One morning four men were reported as dead; one of whom, juſt as they were going to ſew him up in his hammock, was found alive by the ſail-maker, although he ſoon after breathed his laſt. Another morning five men had been reported dead; all of them had been ſewed up in their hammocks, and two had already been thrown over-board; when the third, the inſtant he was put on the plank, called out, "Maſter Boatſwain, I am alive ſtill!" to which the boatſwain, with unſeaſonable jocularity, replied, "You alive, indeed! what, do you pretend to know better than the ſurgeon?"

For every ſick man ſent to the hoſpital the captain pays two ſkellings, and he keeps back in return the man's allowance on board.

The building of the new hoſpital was not very far advanced this ſummer, neither, indeed, could the work go on very faſt. Of ninety men who were allotted for this purpoſe, few were at work, and a great part of them were on furlough, or were ſet upon other work on the hoſpital's account.

Beſides a handſome houſe, built in the Company's garden in town, the governor has alſo one at Rondeboſch, and another at Nieuwland, both out of town, to which he may retire at pleaſure, and unbend his mind when oppreſſed with the cares of ſtate. Another ſuch houſe was now to be built likewiſe for his accommodation at Baay-fals.

The Company has very fine gardens both at Rondeboſch and Nieuwland, from whence the ſhips and the hoſpital are ſupplied with vegetables.

Since the governor, Van der Stell, in the beginning of this century, had appropriated to himſelf a conſiderable portion, and that the beſt, of the land, (and the ſame had been done by ſeveral of the Company's ſervants, to the great prejudice of the burghers and coloniſts,) they lie under a ſtrict prohibition againſt holding any farms. In lieu thereof, after being obliged to diſpoſe of their farms, ſeveral perquiſites have been allowed them; ſuch as the diſpencier, or purveyor, five per cent. upon imported, and the ſame on exported, wares; as likewiſe upon grain, butter, &c. The collector has two and a half per cent. on the monies, the ſtore-keeper four, the commiſſary of the hoſpital five, the inſpector of the auctions five per cent. on all goods and merchandize ſold by auction; and all this, beſides their uſual monthly ſalary. So that it is only ſome few of the higher people in office that have a ſmall villa for their pleaſure near the Cape, but from whence no commodities muſt be carried out and diſpoſed of.

The ſhips that arrived here brought the news that Baron Van Plettenberg had been nominated governor of the Cape and the colony, and had been ſhortly after inſtalled in his office.

The governor, together with ſeven counſellors of police, has the ſupreme direction and command, as well with reſpect to the Company's traffic here, as alſo to the whole economy of the colony, without being ſubject to the government of Batavia, which have otherwiſe the ſupreme command over all the factories in India.

All criminal cauſes come under the cognizance and juriſdiction of the grand court of juſtice. In this the commandant of the garriſon preſides, and the governor has nothing to do with it, excepting merely to ſign his name to death-warrants.

Finally, there are two other courts of judicature in the colony. One of theſe is at Stellenboſch, to which four pariſhes are ſubject, with their churches, viz. Stellenboſch, Drakenſtein, Zwartland, and Roode Zand; the other is at Zwellendam, and comprehends one very large and extenſive pariſh, which, however, has not yet been provided either with a church or miniſter.

The Cape of Good Hope, although it was firſt diſcovered by the Portugueſe above three hundred years ago, was frequented by them for the ſpace of one hundred years and upwards, and afterwards by the Dutch Eaſt India Company's ſhips for more than half a century, before poſſeſſion was taken of any part of the country, or any cultivation was beſtowed upon it, ſo that the colony is not above a hundred and twenty years old; for, in the year 1650, when the Dutch ſhips, on their return from the Indies, touched here and took in refreſhments, for which they bartered with the Hottentots, the country was, for the firſt time, ſurveyed with any degree of attention, by a ſurgeon of the name of Jan van Riebeek, who belonged to the fleet, and had ſome knowledge of botany; and as he found both the climate and the ſoil adapted to the cultivation of culinary vegetables and fruit-trees, on his return home he propoſed to the directors to eſtabliſh a colony here.

On mature deliberation the propoſal was agreed to, and Jan van Riebeek was ſent out as admiral and commander-in-chief, with four ſhips, which were ſtored with materials for building, carpenters, and ſeeds of all kinds. On his arrival at the Cape, he treated with the Hottentots for the purchaſe of a piece of ground, on which was erected a fortreſs, ſtorehouſe, and hoſpital; and, at the ſame time, the firſt foundations were laid of this great and flouriſhing colony, which does more honour to mankind than all the victories of Alexander the Great, and much more than all the important conqueſts the Dutch arms have been able to make in every other part of the world.

The ſum for which the firſt piece of land was purchaſed, is very differently reported, as well as the quantity of the land itſelf. The firſt purchaſe ſum is ſaid to have amounted to fifty thouſand guilders in wares, and by another purchaſe to have been augmented with thirty thouſand guilders more; which, although it may actually be ſo great in the Company's books, yet it ſeems to be abſolutely incredible, that the Hottentots ſhould ever have received the major part of it. The laſt purchaſe is ſaid to have extended as far as Moſſelbaay, but this is the leſs true, or even probable, as during the time that Van Riebeek was governor of the Cape, as he afterwards was, his fartheſt diſcoveries reached only to that mountain, which is called after him, Riebeek's Caſteel, and ſtands at a good diſtance within the long range of mountains. In my opinion, the land purchaſed at firſt was no more than that tract of country which lies between Table Mountain and Zout Rivier, from whence the colony has ſince been continually more and more extended in the ſame manner as it is now daily enlarged and augmented. The citadel was at firſt built of wood and earth; and it was not till the year 1664, that, together with its fortifications, it was built of ſtone. Near Zout Rivier (Salt Rivier) a ſmall fort, called (Keer de Koe) Turn the Cow, was alſo erected for the purpoſe of protecting the Company's cattle that grazed in the field, which it commanded, and to hinder them either from going acroſs the river to the Hottentot's lands, or from being ſtolen by the natives of the place. With this view, therefore, near the fort a ſtable was built for fifty horſes, with which the Hottentots, who were very ſwift of foot, and diſappeared in an inſtant, might be purſued with all poſſible ſpeed. This, together with a farm near Conſtantia, laid out by Van Riebeek, was without doubt the firſt and inconſiderable commencement of this ſettlement. This infant eſtabliſhment was probably not meant to extend ſo far as it has done ſince, but was intended only for the cultivation of ſuch articles as were neceſſary for ſupplying the ſhipping that arrived there with refreſhments. But, on a cloſer examination of the climate, the fertility of the ſoil, and the weakneſs of the natives, it was reſolved to extend the ſettlement, and ſeveral Europeans were perſuaded to emigrate and ſettle here,

here, and to cultivate a conſiderable tract of land, which was granted to them and their heirs for ever. Shortly after this, marriageable girls were ſent out from the orphan-houſes, for the purpoſe of ſtill more increaſing the colony; the inhabitants of which got at firſt, on truſt, implements that were neceſſary for the cultivation of the land, and ſpread themſelves out to Stellenboſch and Drakenſtein (where the French Proteſtant refugees in particular ſtrengthened the ſettlement), and afterwards on the other ſide of the mountains to Roode Zand. The whole of Zwartland was afterwards peopled, though a ſandy and more meagre ſoil. In fine, within theſe laſt thirty years the colony has increaſed to ſuch a degree, and with ſuch rapidity, that not only the country from Roode Zand and Hottentot's Holland Mountains has been occupied and inhabited as far as Zwellendam, but alſo as far as Moſſelbaay, Houtniquas, Lange Kloof, Kromme Rivier, and all the way to Camtous Rivier, the Bokke and Roggeveld, Camdebo, and the Snow Mountains.

The colony of the Cape takes in the town with its pariſh and church, Paarl with its pariſh and church, the Tyger Mountains, &c. and extends as far as Moſſelbanks Rivier and Baay-falls.

The colony of Stellenboſch was founded by the governor Simon vander Steel, in 1670, like a cottage, and provided with a court-houſe and church, at the diſtance of eight miles from the Cape. It extends from the Tyger Mountains to Hottentot's Holland, and nearly to Baay-falls, and, at the northern end, to Paarl and Moſſelbank.

Drakenſtein was founded in 1670, with a very ſmall church, and ſtands ſo cloſe to Stellenboſch, that it might with great propriety be ſubject to it. And indeed this was conſidered as a ſeparate colony, more out of compliment than neceſſity.

The Company paid only four ſkellings for a live ſheep, and the burghers in the town paid one ſkelling (rather more than ſix-pence Engliſh) for twelve pounds of mutton.

A great many officers belonging to the ſhips lodged in the ſame houſe with me. A mate paid leſs per diem than a captain, as his pay was leſs, although he was equally well-lodged, and equally free from reſtraint, and had the ſame table and attendance; and this regulation appeared to me in many reſpects as equitable as it was handſome and delicate.

Charcoal is a very dear article at the Cape, and is generally carried thither from Europe. For a chaldron of charcoal, which ought to contain thirty-ſix ſchepels (or buſhels), of which, however, only thirty-two are delivered out to the purchaſer, the blackſmiths pay eighteen rix-dollars, and eight rix-dollars for one hundred weight of iron.

Bulbous plants, in all probability, repoſe at times, or they are not ſeen every year in equal quantities. In ſome places one ſees them in one year in great abundance, and another year ſcarcely any.

When a ſlave plays any knaviſh trick, or does miſchief to any of the neighbours, the farmer who owns him is generally obliged to make good the damage, and frequently to pay one half of the value of the ſlave, though at the ſame time the ſlave likewiſe may chance to undergo corporal puniſhment for it.

When an inferior ſervant of the Company treſpaſſes, he uſually undergoes corporal puniſhment; but a burgher is fined. The former contributes to the reformation of manners, and the latter to lining the fiſcal's pockets.

The laws reſpecting marriage at the Cape differ in many reſpects from thoſe that are in force at other places; and divorces frequently happen here, attended with ſingular circum-

circumſtances. The wife of one Sardyn, who had been a ſoldier ſeventeen years, and at this time kept a public-houſe and a dancing-houſe for the reception of the common people, was proved in court, by the evidence of two witneſſes, to have had a criminal connexion with a drummer. The proſecutor was allowed, it is true, to part with his wife, but then ſhe was exempted from all farther puniſhment; while he, on the contrary, was flogged and ſent to Batavia, without being ſuffered to receive the leaſt benefit from his property.

A certain hatter in the town, who was a bachelor, had got two of his ſlaves with child. For the child he had by one of them, he, in quality of its father, demanded baptiſm, and accordingly this was baptized, and conſequently free; while the other girl's child remained unbaptized and a ſlave.

The winter of this year, in the months of June, July, and Auguſt, was very cold, with a great deal of rain; and on the 6th of July particularly, both the Devil's Mountain and Table Mountain were covered with ſnow and hail. In ſeveral places, the vines, as well as many vegetables in the kitchen-gardens, had been killed or greatly damaged by the froſt.

In the Company's garden there was a very beautiful covered walk, formed of cheſnut-trees, which were now very thick and large. It was this year cut down root and branch by order of the governor, for the purpoſe of making different kinds of furniture of its elegant wood; and in its ſtead were planted oaks, which, however, are as little likely to reſtore the beauty of the garden, as thoſe curious animals are to return thither, which the highly reſpectable Governor Tulbagh had taken pains to collect together there, from the interior parts of Africa; but which, after his death, were turned out by his ſucceſſor to become a prey to ravenous beaſts.

The fruit of a ſpecies of *meſembryanthemum* was ſometimes brought to the town as a rarity, and was called Roſa de Jericho. When it is put into water, it gradually opens all its ſeed-veſſels, and exactly reſembles a ſun; and when it becomes dry again, it contracts itſelf and cloſes by degrees. This is no leſs a neceſſary than ſingular property, which points out the admirable inſtitution of an all-wiſe Creator; inaſmuch as this plant, which is found in the moſt arid plains, keeps its ſeeds faſt locked up in time of drought; but when the rainy ſeaſon comes, and the ſeeds can grow, it opens its receptacles, and lets fall the ſeed, in order that they may be diſperſed abroad. The water in which this fruit has lain is ſometimes given to women that are near their time, and is thought to procure them an eaſy delivery.

Ordinary public-houſes are much more rarely to be met with here than they are in Europe, and taverns ſtill more ſo, as every body has a quantity of wine in his own houſe, ſufficient for himſelf and his friends. Some there are however for the lower claſs of people, though very different from thoſe which abound ſo much in our more refined quarter of the globe; being deſigned not ſo much for drinking and tippling, of which drunkenneſs, noiſe, and riotous diſorder are the frequent concomitants, as for mere diverſion and recreation. The inferior kinds of public-houſes therefore are at the ſame time dancing houſes, where every evening muſicians are to be found, and the gueſts, by paying for their wine only (but at a very dear rate), have an opportunity of dancing. No card-playing is ſuffered, and the dancing is over at a certain hour in the night, when every one goes quietly home, without making a noiſe or affrighting others, which would not be eaſily tolerated by the night-watch, nor go unpuniſhed by the government.

At my leiſure hours I never neglected to viſit the hills, mountains, and fields, near the town. For the purpoſe of carrying a book and other things neceſſary for putting

up my ſeeds and plants, I uſually took with me a hired ſlave. This year, through the kindneſs of the ſurgeon, I got a man out of the hoſpital to carry my apparatus, who had been brought by a ſingular deſtiny to this ſouthernmoſt point of Africa. He was born in Germany, and, for the ſake of trafficking, had travelled much, and had lived for ſome time in Holland, France, and England, where he reſided laſt, and carried on a ſmall trade in certain drugs, and ſome chemical preparations. In the courſe of this buſineſs, having embarked for France, the ſhip was driven by a ſtorm towards the coaſt of Holland, where it was wrecked, and he loſt all his little property. On getting aſhore, he ſold his knee-buckles, and, with the trifling viaticum produced by them, ſet out for Amſterdam, where he met with an old acquaintance, who offered him his aſſiſtance; and under the pretext of procuring him a lodging, took him to a kidnapper's. Here his friend called for brandy, victuals, and wine, of which they both partook. At length, when he and his friend parted, he obſerved that the landlord gave the latter two ducats. Immediately upon this he himſelf was prevented from going out; he then found, to his coſt, that he was kidnapped; and, being no ſtranger to the Dutch language, threatened the kidnapper to lodge a complaint againſt him, if he did not inſtantly ſet him at liberty. The kidnapper then began to make ſome inquiries about his reſidence, means of ſupport, &c. and, as he could not pay his reckoning, abſolutely refuſed to let him go. When muſtered on board of ſhip, whither he had been carried, without having been previouſly taken to the Eaſt-India houſe, and received there, he complained to the director; but, as the poor fellow could not poſſibly pay for what the kidnapper had received of the Company to fit him out, he was obliged, *nolens volens*, to ſail for the Cape, where he arrived ſick, and was taken to the hoſpital. This poor man accompanied me twice in my excurſions; but ſoon regained his liberty by running away, and getting on board one of the Engliſh ſhips that lay in the road.

Pomegranates grew in ſeveral of the gardens, but were not expoſed to ſale, nor much eaten in the town. But cheſnuts (*æſculus pavia*) were ſold here in plenty, and eaten by way of deſert, roaſted, with a little butter.

By the ſhips that arrived from Europe, I had not only the pleaſure to receive letters from my patrons in Amſterdam, intimating their ſatisfaction at what I had ſent them, but alſo received a conſiderable ſum in ducats, for the purpoſe of paying off part of the debt I had contracted during the two laſt years.

There had arrived from England, in order to proceed to Bengal, Lady Ann Monſon, who had undertaken this long and tedious voyage, not only for the purpoſe of accompanying her huſband, who went out as colonel of the regiment in the Eaſt Indies; but alſo with a view to indulge her paſſion for natural hiſtory. This learned lady, during the time ſhe ſtaid here, made ſeveral very fine collections, and particularly in the animal kingdom. And, as I had frequently had the pleaſure, together with Mr. Maſon, of accompanying her to the adjacent farms, and, at the ſame time, of contributing greatly to the enlargement of her collections, ſhe had the goodneſs, before her departure, to make me a preſent of a valuable ring, in remembrance of her, and of the friendſhip with which ſhe had honoured me. She was a lady about ſixty years of age, who, amongſt other languages, had alſo ſome knowledge of the Latin, and had, at her own expence, brought with her a draughtſman, in order to aſſiſt her in collecting and delineating ſcarce ſpecimens of natural hiſtory.

The government at the Cape had reſolved to ſend this year a veſſel called a Hoeker, to Madagaſcar, to barter for ſlaves; and the Governor Baron Van Plettenberg had the kindneſs to offer to ſend me out as ſurgeon to the ſhip. But although I had much wiſhed to viſit ſo large and remarkable an iſland, ſtill my inclination to ſee the northern

part

part of Africa was much more prevalent. I therefore begged to be excuſed from making this voyage; and recommended a friend and countryman of mine, Mr. Oldenburg, who had been practiſing botany for the ſpace of two years that he had accompanied me in my excurſions, to go as ſurgeon's mate. My recommendation was taken; and Mr. Oldenburg even made ſeveral collection of plants; but did not live to return from ſo unwholeſome and ſcorching a climate.

This winter Alderman Berg ſhewed me a very curious Fungus (*hydnora*) which had been ſent to him, as a great rarity, by a farmer, from the interior part of the country. This fungus, which was called Jackhal's Koſt (or Jackall's food) being, on examination, found to be, with reſpect to the parts of fructification, the moſt extraordinary plant of any hitherto known, confirmed my reſolution of viſiting the northern parts of the Cape, and excited in me a wiſh to examine this fungus, with ſeveral other plants, in their native ſoil, however arid and barren.

I fitted myſelf out as in the preceding year, in the month of September, and again had Mr. Maſon, the Engliſh gardener, for my fellow-traveller, although he was not much inclined to make any long excurſion this year.

Journey to Roggeveld.

ON the 29th of September, 1774, I ſet out with my fellow-traveller, on my third journey to the interior part of Africa. After croſſing Zout Rivier and Moſſelbank's Rivier, we arrived at Viſcherſhoek, a corn-farm of the Company's, occupied by the governor. This year eighty barrels of ſeed had been ſown.

The ſtranguary raged amongſt the cattle here, and was occaſioned by the *euphorbia geniſtiodes*. As a ſovereign remedy for this diſtemper, the farmers gave the cattle a tea-cup full of powdered oſtrich egg-ſhells mixed with vinegar. The reſinous clot of Euphorbia, which ſtuck faſt in the urethra, was ſometimes extracted, when it appeared quite white, and about half a finger in length.

On the 30th, we rode paſt Engelaar's farm to Matth. Greef's, near Moſſelbank's River. In theſe low ſandy plains, and in the dwarf-buſhes upon them, there were hares in abundance, inſomuch that one might ſhoot as many as one choſe; but nobody ſet any value upon this kind of game, the fleſh of which had ſo dry a taſte.

Here I heard much talk of a Hottentot water-melon, which is ſaid to be a large and ſucculent root, called Kou by the Hottentots, who grind it down to meal, and bake it like bread.

On the 2d of October, we croſſed Moſſelbank's River to Jurgen Kutſe's, and from thence proceeded to Abraham Boſman's, near Paarls-berg.

Paarl Mountain is neither very high nor of great extent in length; but it abounds in water, ſo as amply to ſupply the farms that lie on each ſide, and a large mill ſituated at the foot of it.

The church ſtands on the eaſt ſide of the mountain.

The farmers here chiefly cultivated vines, the ſtocks of which are often of fifty years' growth, and produce a delicious and full-bodied wine. Wheat was not much cultivated here, and the quantity of culinary vegetables was but ſmall, as was alſo the number of the cattle.

Here we ſtaid a couple of days in order to inveſtigate the mountains with due care and accuracy. Having arrived at the top from the eaſtern ſide, we obſerved a place called the Company's Cellar (Kelder). This conſiſted of a ſomewhat concave and large rock, which had fallen over another rock inclining towards it. Theſe two rocks togegether formed an arched cellar, as it were, open at both ends, and poſſeſſing an agreeable coolneſs.

The Paarl Diamonds were two very large, bare, ſteep, and almoſt conic mountains, the foot of which was ſo wide at bottom, that it required an hour to walk round it.

On the 5th, we proceeded to Hannes van Aarde's, near Paardeberg, which is a little higher than Paarl Mountain; this ſtands ſeparate, and has taken its name from the wild Cape horſes (or Zebras), which formerly were to be ſeen here in great numbers. At this time there was only a dozen of theſe beautiful animals, and theſe were protected by government, and were far from being ſhy.

On the 7th, we paſſed on to Loſper's eſtate; and,

On the 8th, paſſing by Peter Loſper's and Johannes Walther's farm, we came to Dreyer's eſtate, near Riebeek Caſtle, a large mountain, ſo named after Van Riebeek, the founder and firſt governor of this colony. The mountain was very high, and its ſides were ſteep.

My fellow-traveller and I, one day, climbed up to the high tops of this mountain, whilſt our oxen, which we had ordered to be taken off from the waggons, kept grazing at the ſide of it. We were obliged to make almoſt the whole circle of the mountain before we could get to the peak we wiſhed to aſcend. When arrived upon this ſummit, we perceived our waggons ſtanding at the foot of the mountain; but ſaw, at the ſame time, that we were ſeparated from them by ſuch ſteep precipices on this ſide, that it appeared to us impoſſible to reach them, without returning by the ſame way that we had come, which was nearly three miles about. However, whilſt we were ſearching here after ſome curious plants, and laying them up in our books, I ſtumbled upon a very near, but, at the ſame time, dangerous way, to get to the other ſide of the mountain's perpendicular flanks. This was a chink of a few fathoms' length, and ſo narrow, as to be capable of admitting a middle-ſized man only. Through this I ventured to crawl on my hands and feet, and was fortunate enough to get ſafe over to the other ſide, from whence it was only the diſtance of a muſket-ſhot to our waggons. My fellow-traveller, together with his dog, ſtood aſtoniſhed at my adventurous exploit, the one howling, and the other almoſt crying; and, at the ſame time, vexed to think that he ſhould be obliged to go alone a long way round about, without once daring to take the direct path. My courage was rewarded with a ſmall plant which I got in the chink, and which I afterwards ſought in vain in other places.

On the 11th, we came to Vliermuys Drift and Farry, after having paſſed Lombart's and Owerholſen's eſtates, and Honingberg, which is a low mountain, and of a ſmall extent.

On the 12th, we arrived at Wilhelm Burger's grazing farm, near Matje's Drift and Rivier, where our waggon and cart were conveyed over by boats, and the oxen ſwam acroſs.

On the 13th, I obſerved a rainbow, which was extremely pale, with the dulleſt colours imaginable, being formed merely out of a riſing fog.

On the 14th, we arrived at Hanekamp's farm, near Picquet-berg, which here ſtretched north and ſouth, but on the eaſtern ſide, to the northward, had ſeveral bendings, the ridges of which ran ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt. Towards the northern end, the

mountain

mountain goes up almoſt to the long chain of mountains, from whence a point projects, forming a new range of mountains, the ridges of which run on to the ſea-ſhore. From this it ſhould ſeem, as if Picquet Mountain had a different direction from all other mountains; but it is only on the eaſtern ſide that ſuch a ridge runs, and, at the northern end, the mountain is continued farther, and runs a great way out to the ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt. This mountain is higher than Riebeek Caſtle, and, in the eaſt and north, has a great many ſteep and inacceſſible rocks, with flat and level ſurfaces at top.

Here grew a ſhrub called Zand-olvye (*dodonæa anguſtifolia*), the wood of which was of a hard nature. This was dried, and a decoction of it was drank in fevers, by way of a purgative.

Tigers infeſted the buſhes in theſe ſandy plains; and I ſaw ſeveral perſons that had been bitten by them, though nobody had been killed. I was aſſured by many people, that a tiger preferred a wild-goat to a ſheep. The tiger is ſuppoſed to be more treacherous, and leſs magnanimous, than the lion. He ſeldom fails to ruſh upon a man who paſſes the thicket where he lies concealed; and it is impoſſible for him to hear the cry of "ſa, ſa," without attacking the perſon that utters the ſound. I was told of a ſlave in Madagaſcar, who having ſtepped behind a thicket to eaſe nature, was attacked by a tiger, and wounded ſo ſeverely, that he fainted away through loſs of blood; but, ſeizing the tiger at the ſame time by the throat, quite ſtifled him, ſo that the tiger was found dead, and the ſlave near him in a ſwoon. The Cape tiger is ſmall, and about the ſize of a dog.

Elephants were formerly very numerous in theſe parts; but, at preſent, they are quite extirpated. The beſt method to eſcape from theſe large beaſts, whoſe height ſometimes reaches to eighteen feet, is either to fly to the water, or to get into ſome fiſſure of a rock.

Near Picquet Mountain we, for the firſt time, diſcovered and ſhot a dove (Roode Turtelduyv, *columba Senegalenſis*). This bird is generally found farther up the country, and is ſaid not to have been ſo high up towards the Cape till within the laſt ſeven years.

The *ſtapelia incarnata*, a very branchy plant without leaves, was found in the vicinity of the mountains, though it was rather ſcarce; the Hottentots ate it, after peeling off the edges and prickles.

Vogel Valley was a kind of ſwamp, which lay at the foot of the mountain oppoſite Paarl, and was frequented by ſea-fowls and ſnipes.

All the roads here were ſandy and heavy, like thoſe about Saldahna-bay.

Near Picquet-berg to the northward, ſtood Captain Kloofs Mountain, and within this, farther to the northward, Drie Fontein's-berg, and then Babian's-berg, or the Baboons Mountain, which, with its ſeveral different heads, ſtretched on to the ſea-ſhore.

Travelling farther on we came to Carrelſpeck's farm, ſituated under Picquet Mountain; from thence to Gert Smidt's, and afterwards to Dirk Kutſe's, where Verlooren Valley has its origin, and ſprings from a mountain belonging to the long chain of mountains; and, finally, to And. Greef's.

The eſtates in this tract are embelliſhed with vineyards, corn-fields, and beautiful gardens.

Here I met with a lemon, which contained another within it, furniſhed with a red rind. Neither of theſe two lemons had any ſeed, and the rind of the inner lemon was ſaid to have even a ſour taſte.

Here I alſo ſaw a gooſe's egg, which contained another egg encloſed within it. The external egg had a yolk, but the inner none.

Oſtriches abound in all theſe parts. They frequently do great damage to the farmers, by coming in flocks into their fields, and deſtroying the ears of wheat, ſo that nothing but the bare ſtraw itſelf is left behind. The body of this bird is not higher than the corn, and when it devours the ears, it bends down its long neck, ſo that it cannot be ſeen at a diſtance; but on the leaſt noiſe it rears up its head and long neck, and can thus foreſee its danger in time, and make its eſcape, before the farmer gets within gun-ſhot of it.

When this bird runs it has a proud and haughty look, and ſeems not to make much haſte, although it be in great diſtreſs, eſpecially if the wind is with it; and when the wind blows a little, it flaps its wings, which greatly aſſiſts it in its flight. It is then impoſſible to overtake it with the ſwifteſt horſe, except when the weather is exceedingly warm and at the ſame time calm, or when its wings have been ſhot off.

One morning, as I rode paſt a place where a hen-oſtrich ſat on her neſt, the bird ſprang up and purſued me, with a view to prevent my noticing her young ones, or her eggs. Every time I turned my horſe towards her, ſhe retreated ten or twelve paces; but as ſoon as I rode on ſhe purſued me again.

The farmers here likewiſe informed me, that a ſtone or two is ſometimes found in the oſtrich's eggs, which is hard, white, rather flat and ſmooth, and about the ſize of a bean. Theſe ſtones are cut and made into buttons, but I never had the good fortune to ſee any of them.

Partridges (Tetrao) abound here and in many other parts of the country. They did not immediately take wing when we rode full trot after them, but they ran ſo ſwift along the road that we could hardly keep pace with them; at length they took flight ſide-ways with loud and violent ſcreams.

Verlooren Valley is the name given to a rivulet that derives its ſource from the above-mentioned range of mountains, and empties itſelf into the ſea. Its banks are in many places overgrown with reeds and ruſhes (*carex*, *arundo*), which ſometimes ſhoot up to the height of ſeveral yards, inſomuch that the rivulet, in ſuch places, cannot be ſeen. In theſe impenetrable receſſes an innumerable multitude of birds have their haunts and places of refuge, ſuch as different ſorts of herons (*ardea major* and *cærulea*), ducks (*anates*), and coots (*fulicæ*). In ſome places it was narrow, and in others broad; but in particular it grew wider and wider the nearer it approached to the ſea. In ſome places there were large holes and deep reſervoirs. It runs into the ocean to the northward, and, when it is low, the mouth appears dry, and the current there entirely choaked up with the ſand, and ſtagnating. The nearer it approaches the ſea, the deeper it grows in the middle, and the freer it is from reeds. It has many windings, and in its courſe, runs between two tolerably high mountains. The water is ſweet and good; but near the ſea, from the intermixture of the ſalt-water, and eſpecially in the dry ſeaſon, it grows ſaltiſh. We encamped ſeveral days along its banks in the open air, till we came to its mouth, in a ſandy and barren field, where no coloniſts dwelt, and where there were only a few places for grazing cattle, which were moſtly committed to the care of the Hottentots.

At the beginning of Verlooren Valley, oppoſite the end of Picquet Mountain, projects a ridge of mountains, which runs all the way down to the ſtrand, where Verlooren Valley ends, and forms the heights on one ſide of this rivulet.

From Picquet-berg ſome ridges of mountains alſo project, which terminate on the other ſide of Verlooren Valley.

The

The large and long range of mountains which extends from Cape Falſo, near Hottentot's Holland, acroſs the whole country, terminates here in ſcattered and broken hills and eminences, ſo that it was not neceſſary to croſs the above-mentioned range at the northern end, as at Roode Zand and Pickenier's Kloofs.

Near a farm where Hottentots only tended the cattle, we experienced the inconveniency of being infeſted with vermin. We encamped, it is true, at a conſiderable diſtance from their habitations; but before our arrival, they had ſpread their ſkin-coverings, which ſwarmed with vermin, upon the adjacent fields, and our pillows, on which we uſed to ſit in the ſhade of our waggons, were preſently filled with them, ſo that after ſeveral days painful labour we could hardly get rid of our hungry and troubleſome gueſts.

Serpents abounded greatly in theſe ſandy and buſhy plains. Not a day paſſed that we did not catch ſeveral, and put them into the brandy-kegs. Whilſt we were ſitting on the ground to eat our homely meals, they ran acroſs my legs and thighs as well as thoſe of my fellow-travellers, without once biting any of us. A ſerpent once twiſted round my left leg, and without biting me ſuffered itſelf to be gently ſhaken off. Another came creeping out from under my body, whilſt I lay on the ground, and afterwards crawled, as cold as ice, over the bare leg of one of the comqany that ſat near me, without doing the leaſt hurt to any one of us. From this it may plainly be inferred, that ſerpents do not attempt to bite, unleſs in ſelf defence, when trampled upon, or otherwiſe hurt. Many times did ſerpents run acroſs the road, and not unfrequently between the horſes' feet, without doing the horſes any injury.

The ſand-moles, of which here were vaſt numbers, had made ſo many holes in the ground that it was with great difficulty and danger the traveller could get on, as his horſe ſometimes fell deep into them, and very frequently ſtumbled.

From Verlooren Valley we travelled on to Lange Valley, which is a river ſimilar to the former, but much leſs; and from hence we had a very long and dry Carrow-field to traverſe before we got near the mountains again, and to a place called the Gentlemen's Hotel (Heeren Logement).

The heights were very ſandy, the country dry, and the grazing farms ſcarce, at which the farmers themſelves likewiſe did not live, but only kept ſome hired Hottentots to tend their cattle, which is here the only thing attended to; as the drought and the barrenneſs of the ſoil prevent them from growing corn, or planting orchards.

On the 25th, before we reached the Gentlemen's Hotel, we paſſed ſeveral ſmall vales in our way of a very trifling depth, which, from the heat of the weather, were already quite dried up. Theſe had a ſtrange and ſingular appearance, as the clay which during the rainy ſeaſon had been diſſolved and agitated in water, was now depoſited in various ſtrata, or laminæ of different degrees of thickneſs, which had ſplit in conſequence of the heat, and were ſeen very diſtinctly. The lowermoſt layer was the coarſeſt, and contained a great quantity of extraneous particles, which, in conſequence of their weight, had ſettled there firſt. The uppermoſt layer was both purer and finer, and ſo dry as to ſtick to the lips and tongue like a new tobacco-pipe. This, as well as other African minerals, I collected, and have preſented them to the royal academy at Upſal for their collection of minerals.

In my way to the Gentlemen's Hotel, I found a ſcarce and long-ſought-for plant, viz. the Codon Royeni, but did not ſee more than one ſhrub of it, which however I think I never ſhall forget. It was one of the hotteſt days in ſummer, and the heat was ſo intolerable, that we were afraid that our beaſts would grow faint and drop down quite exhauſted. By this inſufferable and tormenting heat our bodies were ſwelled up, as it were, and the pores opened in the higheſt degree. The buſhes we met with, were

covered all over with white, brittle, and tranſparent prickles, which, when my fellow-traveller and I ſuddenly fell upon them, and ſtrove which ſhould pluck the moſt flowers with our naked hands, ſcratched them in ſuch a terrible manner, that for ſeveral days we experienced great pain and inconvenience.

At length we arrived quite exhauſted to the Gentlemen's Hotel, which was a vale between the mountains, with a pretty high hill. Up this hill we had to drive before we could get into another tract of country, which however was not very fertile.

This place, which is pleaſant, being ornamented with a ſmall wood and a rivulet of freſh-water, is called the Gentlemen's Hotel, becauſe on one ſide of the mountain there is a large cavern to the weſtward, like a hall, formed by two rocks, which were hollowed out by the hand of time. I climbed up to it, and found the names of ſeveral travellers written on the ſides. Near this was another hollow vault, but ſomewhat leſs.

In the former of theſe caves there was a ſmall fiſſure, in which a tree, probably the Sideroxylon, had taken root, and ſtood in a very flouriſhing condition, being above eight feet in height; although it had no more water for its nouriſhment and ſupport than the trifling quantity that was retained by the fiſſure in the rainy ſeaſon.

Upon the whole, the mountains thereabouts were dry, barren, and of a brittle texture, appearing as if they had been burned, and containing a great number of large, bare, and looſe ſtones.

Whilſt we refreſhed ourſelves here and our wearied cattle, a farmer arrived on horſeback from Olyfant's Rivier, who informed us that a lion inhabited the ſpot by which we were to paſs, and that it had lately been ſeen upon the road, and had purſued a Hottentot there.

However, as we had no other way than this dangerous one to chooſe, we ſet out on the following day, viz. the 26th, and, the better to be on our guard, we rode the whole day with our guns, laid acroſs our arms, cocked and loaded with ball; and late in the evening, when it was quite dark, arrived at Peter van Seele's, near Olyfant's Rivier, where we ſtaid a few days, as the ſituation was comfortable and the people obliging and hoſpitable.

The road was almoſt every-where ſandy, and the heights we rode over preſented nothing but bare rocks, with a red ſand-ſtone, interſperſed with pebbles, that appeared to have been encloſed in the ſand-ſtone before it had hardened into a rock, in like manner as their ſurface ſeemed to have been poliſhed, before their encloſure, to the degree of ſmoothneſs they now exhibited, by the violent motion of the waves.

Here were ſeveral mountains flat at top, like the Table Mountain, which terminated behind Olyfant's Rivier, before they reached the ſea-ſhore, between which and the mountains it is ſaid to be a day's journey over a broad and level plain.

The Bokke-veld Mountains alſo ended near the ſea-ſhore, on the other ſide of Olyfant's Rivier; they are of a conſiderable height, and do not go off with a gradual ſlope.

Kamerup was the name given here to the Hottentot's water-melon, a large ſucculent root.

Karup again ſignified the root of a ſpecies of Lobelia, which was eaten by the Hottentots.

Moor-wortel is an umbelliferous plant, from the root of which and honey the Hottentots make, by fermentation, an intoxicating liquor.

A wild gooſe (*anas Ægyptiaca*) took up its reſidence in great Olyfant's Rivier immediately below the farm, and did great damage to the farmer's wheat-fields. It had been fired on before, and wounded with ſmall ſhot, but eſcaped alive. This made it ſo

ſhy

ſhy and cautious, that on the ſlighteſt view of the people of the houſe it would fly to the other ſide of the river, ſo that nobody could come within gunſhot of it. I being a ſtranger, it ſeemed to be leſs fearful of me, a circumſtance which, one day, as it came on the ſide of the river next the houſe, gave me an opportunity of ſhooting it, to the great ſatisfaction of my hoſt.

As we now had to travel through a dry and barren deſart, we took care to lay in proper proviſion here for the journey, viz. biſcuits, bread, butter, and freſh meat, with which our worthy hoſteſs very obligingly furniſhed us. We ſent all our baggage over Olyfant's Rivier, which was pretty broad, in a ſmall boat, and afterwards made the oxen ſwim acroſs with the waggons. The river was deep in ſeveral places, and a beautiful wood, conſiſting of trees of various kinds, eſpecially the *mimoſa nilotica*, adorned its banks.

After this, on the 30th, we rode down by the foot of the mountains, the firſt and largeſt projecting point of which was called Windhoek, and the other Maſkamma. We arrived at a grazing farm, which belonged to one Ras, and was called Trutru. Here, on ſome of the leſſer hills, I found the Hottentots water-melon, which I had been long in ſearch of, and deſirous of knowing. The root was almoſt as round as a ball, above ſix inches in diameter, of a yellowiſh colour, and about as hard as an ordinary turnip. The taſte of it was agreeable and refreſhing. It is much eaten by the Hottentots. Its bloſſom was not quite full blown; but it ſeemed to me to belong to the order of the *contortæ*, and I thought it might be referred more eſpecially to the *ceropegia*, or the *periploca* genus.

The field was always dry; in the clefts indeed, and ſometimes at the foot of the mountains, there was water; but the land was ſo poor, that no farms could be laid out there.

We ſaw the Bokke-veld Mountains lying before us, which extended far towards the ſea-ſide, and that with ſeveral projecting points, juſt like ſo many ranges of mountains.

On the 31ſt, we proceeded through the deſart; in which the farther we advanced, the drier it grew. Our journey through the deſart laſted three days at leaſt: and in the whole of this tract we found only three places which at this time afforded a little ſalt-water. But theſe were the more difficult to find, as they did not lie near the road, but at a great diſtance from it. A ſtranger eaſily paſſes by them, and thus endangers his own life and that of his cattle. Very happily for us, we fell in with a farmer from the Cape that was travelling the ſame road; but with our weak cattle we could not keep pace with him. We therefore requeſted, that he would ſet up a ſtick with a linen rag on it at the places where we ought to bait, and in the neighbourhood of which we might look for ſo extraordinary a phenomenon as ſalt-water is in theſe thirſty plains. The firſt night we luckily hit upon the watering-place called Single Dornboom's Rivier, but not the ſecond, ſo that our cattle were nearly exhauſted by heat and thirſt, before we reached, which we did not do till the third evening, the Bokkeland Mountains, where we baited all night near a ſmall rivulet of freſh-water, called Dorn River, after having paſſed a place called (Leeuwedans, or Leeuwejagt) Lion's Dance.

In the winter, when it is ſet in for rain, the farmers remove for ſome time with their cattle to this part, which is at this time the moſt proper for breeding of ſheep, but not always for other cattle. And indeed the ſheep in theſe barren fields grow ſometimes ſo fat, that their fleſh cannot be eaten. The leaneſt are therefore always ſelected for ſlaughter. When a butcher has purchaſed a flock of ſheep, and driven

them one hundred and thirty or one hundred and fifty miles to the Cape, they are generally reckoned fat enough to be killed.

All the mountains here ſtretched north-north-eaſt towards the ſea, and ſouth-ſouth-weſt into the country, where they grew very flat; towards the ſummits they were quite level, as if their heads had been lopped off.

To the left, a ridge of mountains was ſeen to commence, which ran along the ſea-ſhore, and was not very high.

In this Carrow-land grew the moſt ſingular Meſembryanthemums, and thoſe in the greateſt quantity; on the other hand, but very few Craſſulas, Euphorbias, and Cotyledons.

On the 2d of November, we rode up the Bokke-land Mountains with two pair of oxen, with which the farmer, who had paſſed us, kindly aſſiſted us, ours being quite fatigued and diſabled, and the mountains ſo ſteep that ſeveral Hottentots were obliged to hold the waggons faſt with cords, to prevent them overſetting. This mountain was not only very ſteep, but likewiſe very hilly, and abounded with ſlate; above there was a ſteep ridge, and the ſides of the crown itſelf were almoſt perpendicular. At the top of all the mountain was level, the air colder, and the plain abounded in graſs.

Bokke-veld lies between the thirtieth and thirty-firſt degree ſouth of the equator.

In aſcending this mountain, we diſcovered a ſpecies of Aloe (*aloe dichotoma*), the ſtem of which, when of a proper thickneſs, is hollowed out, and uſed by the Hottentots as a quiver for their arrows.

Weary, but not a little pleaſed, we afterwards arrived at Clas Loſper's farm, whither we intended indeed to have gone the preceding year, but were prevented by an accident. In this honeſt farmer, during the few days ſtay we made with him, we found as generous a hoſt as we had before found in him a faithful guide and kind aſſiſtant. He was the richeſt grazier in the whole country; and was at this time in poſſeſſion of at leaſt twelve thouſand ſheep, and above ſix hundred full-grown horned cattle, beſides about two hundred calves.

We now left a tract of land to the left, nearer to the ſea, which is occupied and inhabited by two rich and powerful nations, the Little and Great Namaquas. Theſe are occupied in grazing; and their cattle appeared to me to be of quite a different kind from thoſe of the Caffres and coloniſts, being for the moſt part long-legged, large, and without a bunch on the back.

Bokke-land or Goat-land, which we had now reached, is nothing elſe than a tolerably high mountain, which is level at the top, and towards the edges of its ſummit forms a variety of projecting angles, pointing to the ſea-ſide. It conſiſts of different ſtrata; the uppermoſt of which is ſand-ſtone, in many places interlarded with poliſhed round pebbles. The ſand-ſtone is for the moſt part laminate like ſlate, and moulders away into pieces by rain.

This country being all over exceedingly barren, and conſequently not much frequented by the coloniſts, there were ſeveral ſmall ſocieties of Hottentots, ſcattered up and down in it, who were in poſſeſſion of ſome very inconſiderable herds of cattle; and a great many of them were employed as ſervants by the few farmers that lived here, who repaid their ſervices with cattle and other trifling gratuities.

With theſe as well as other Hottentots who live farther up the country, near Roggeveld, and who were once more numerous and rich than they are at preſent, the Dutch Company formerly carried on a bartering trade; but, on account of the injuſtice and violence which the factors that were ſent to them were guilty of, and which the governors frequently connived at, not deeming it their duty to contend for the rights

rights of nature and humanity, when neither the Company's nor their own private intereſt was concerned, it has now almoſt entirely ceaſed. When a corporal was ſent out by the governor, with a few men to barter with the Hottentots for their oxen, againſt arrack, glaſs beads, iron, and tobacco, he not only got their oxen for ſlaughter, but their calves, cows, and ſheep. And this exchange was not always with the Hottentots' good will and conſent, but by compulſion, and frequently by force. Beſides this, they were baſe enough to dilute the arrack with water, and thus to adulterate it. This mode of bartering occaſioned by degrees ſuch a diſguſt, that ſome of the Hottentots neglected to augment their ſtock, and others entirely left the places of their reſidence, and ran away; after which they ſometimes ſtole cattle from the farmers, who by degrees ſeized upon their land. Not long ago, Corporal Feldman procured by barter five hundred oxen, with the greateſt part of which he enriched himſelf, returning only fifty into the Company's ſlaughter-houſe. This bartering traffic, which was not very advantageous to the Company, but unjuſt and cruel towards the Hottentots, has now quite ceaſed as well in this north-weſtern, as in the ſouth-eaſtern part of Africa, eſpecially ſince the land is well peopled, and the farmers, who abound in cattle, are now capable of delivering as many ſoever as may be wanted. Should ſuch traffic ever take place again, it ought to be with the Caffres and Namaquas, who are poſſeſſed of a great quantity of cattle, and whoſe lands have not hitherto ſuffered in the leaſt by the encroachments from the coloniſts.

From Bokke-land we ſaw the Roggeveld Mountains to the eaſtward, and, nearer hand, the Hantums Mountains to the northward, and ſtill farther to the northward, a range of mountains, behind which lay, according to report, an immenſe long plain without mountains, but furniſhed with ſeveral ſalt-pans, and inhabited by Boſhieſman Hottentots. All the above-mentioned mountains lay high, and at the top as it were of the Bokke-land Mountains.

The Boſhieſman Hottentots inhabit the moſt indifferent, poor, bare, and cold part of this ſouthernmoſt point of Africa, towards the north and eaſt from Namaquas-land, acroſs Roggeveld, and as far as the Snow Mountains. And indeed this nation is the pooreſt and moſt deſtitute of all. They have ſeldom or ever any cattle, and frequently no fixed abode, but wander about the country, and ſupport themſelves by plunder and theft. They often live without either clothes or huts; and I was informed by ſome farmers worthy of credit, that theſe people ſometimes creep down at night into caverns and holes in the earth, many together till the cave is full, when the uppermoſt covers himſelf with the ſkin of a Daſſi (*cavia capenſis*), to keep out the cold and bad weather. They are of a yellowiſh brown colour, and ſomething leſs than the Hottentots, with very ſmall and delicate limbs. The belly, which projects extremely, conſtitutes almoſt the whole of the man.

Theſe Boſhieſmen had, for the ſpace of ſeveral years, moleſted the coloniſts here, as likewiſe in Roggeveld and near the Snow Mountains, ſtolen their cattle, murdered many of the coloniſts themſelves, and ſet fire to their farms. At different times parties had been ſent out to diſperſe them, and laſt year in particular, three large parties had been ſent into three different quarters.

A party, conſiſting of a hundred men, of which thirty-two were Chriſtians, and the reſt Hottentots in their ſervice, had been ſent out againſt ſome Namaquas Boſhieſmen, and now met us on their return. In this expedition they had killed about a hundred, and made priſoners of twenty, chiefly ſmall children, ſome of whom they at this preſent juncture had with them. It was ſaid, that in a ſimilar expedition in

1765, one hundred and eighty-ſix had been killed. None of the Chriſtians that were on this expedition were either killed or wounded.

The Hottentots are conſidered as allies, and not ſuffered to be made ſlaves of; but ſuch Hottentots as are taken priſoners in war, eſpecially if young, are for ſome time the property of the captor, and obliged to ſerve without wages, but are not to be diſpoſed of to others. If any of the coloniſts take an Hottentot orphan to bring up, it muſt ſerve him, it is true, without wages, till it is twenty-five years old; but, on arriving at that age, it is at liberty to go where it pleaſes, or to continue in ſervice at a ſtated ſalary.

Although this Bokke-land, which alſo has the name of the Lower Bokkeveld, lies very high, yet it is ſaid that ſnow very ſeldom falls here.

For the protection of the property of the coloniſts againſt the ravages of the Hottentots, the Company had, to the eaſtward, eſtabliſhed ſeveral poſts one after another; but to the weſtward, on the other ſide of the mountain, not one was eſtabliſhed, although it is there that ſuch poſts are moſt neceſſary and important. The farmers towards this coaſt muſt therefore themſelves be armed in order to defend themſelves againſt theſe plundering Boſhieſmen; and on this occaſion the more wealthy farmers generally ſupply the other with powder, ball, and men. One of the farmers is commonly choſen for their leader, who is then exempted from all other borough ſervice. When a large party is ſent out, the government ſupplies them, on the Company's account, with brandy, hand-cuffs, powder and ſhot.

The Boſhieſmen exerciſe their violence and depredations not only on the Chriſtian coloniſts, but have, previous to this, by their thefts, ruined the major part of the Hottentot natives, many of whom have ſince gone into the ſervice of the coloniſts.

When any ſtrangers arrive at a farm, the Hottentots belonging to it always give each of them a name ſuited to his appearance, profeſſion, or other external circumſtances; this happened in ſeveral different places to me and my companions.

When we were encamped in the open air, which was frequently the caſe, and had forgot to procure fire by means of our guns, the Hottentots made uſe of another method, which was no leſs curious than infallible. They took two pieces of hard wood, one of which was cylindrical, and the other flat, with a hole in it; the flat piece was laid down on the ground, and the foot placed on one end of it to keep it faſt; after which ſome dry graſs was laid round the hole, and the cylindrical ſtick being put into the hole, it was twirled round between the hands with ſuch velocity, that the friction ariſing from it ſet the graſs on fire.

When we ſtewed our meat in the open field, the Hottentots would ſometimes come, after it was taken out of the pot, and firſt beſmear themſelves all over with the greaſe, and afterwards rub the ſoot of the pot all over their bodies.

The Boſhieſmen ſometimes make uſe of javelins, but the ſhafts are ſhorter and thicker than thoſe of the Caffres' Aſſagays; which they uſe not only to throw, but likewiſe, and indeed chiefly, for the purpoſe of killing the cattle they have ſtolen; but their principal arms, which they uſe in war and for their own defence in general, are bows and poiſoned arrows, and theſe they are taught to handle with great dexterity. The arrow is armed with a thin triangular piece of iron, faſtened with a ſtring to a bone of a finger's length, to the end of which again is faſtened a reed. This iron as well as the bone is afterwards rubbed with poiſon extracted from ſerpents. The Boſhieſmen are the moſt expert markſmen of all the Hottentots, and are ſaid to be able to ſhoot their arrows to the diſtance of two hundred and eighty paces. They alſo know how to avoid the arrows of others with the greateſt nimbleneſs and dexterity, juſt as baboons

do when ſtones are thrown at them; and if they could but ſee the muſquet-balls of the Europeans, they would think themſelves able to eſcape them likewiſe. To running the Boſhieſmen Hottentots are ſo inured, as not to be excelled in it by any others; but can almoſt hold out longer than a horſe. On the level plains they are eaſily overtaken by a man on horſeback; but very ſeldom if the road be ſtony, and never in mountainous places.

They can endure hunger a longer time; but when they have a plentiful ſupply, will eat ſo immoderately as to diſtend their bellies to an amazing ſize. When oppreſſed by hunger, they tie a belt round their bodies, which they gradually draw tighter, till the navel is brought cloſe to the back-bone.

When a Boſhieſman has caught a ſerpent, and killed it, he does not, according to report, cut off its head, but bites it off, and then cutting out the veſicle containing the poiſon, dries it in the ſun till it becomes viſcid and tough, and then mixes it with the juice of a poiſonous tree (frequently the *ceſtrum venenatum*), which makes the poiſon adhere the faſter to the arrow.

The Hottentots and Boſhieſmen are ſaid to fortify themſelves againſt poiſoned darts and the bite of venomous animals, by ſuffering themſelves to be gradually bitten by ſerpents, ſcorpions, and other venomous creatures, till they become accuſtomed to it; but theſe trials ſometimes coſt them their lives. The urine of an Hottentot thus prepared is eſteemed an excellent antidote or counterpoiſon, and is therefore drunk by ſuch as have been bitten by ſerpents.

When it thunders, the Boſhieſmen are very angry and curſe bitterly, thinking that the ſtorm is occaſioned by ſome evil being.

Poiſonous bulbous plants (Giftbolles, *Amaryllis diſticha*), grow in ſeveral places common, with their beautiful cluſters of flowers. The root, which is poiſonous, is almoſt as big as one's fiſt. The Hottentots uſe it chiefly for poiſoning the arrows with which they ſhoot the ſmaller kind of game, ſuch as Spring-bucks (*capra pygargus*) and the like. Thoſe bulbs that grow in the ſhade are thought to poſſeſs a ſtronger poiſon than thoſe which are expoſed to the ſun.

On the following days we rode along Bokke-land to Hantum. The country inclined gently and gradually towards it. The Hantum country began with ſcattered ridges of mountains; farther up the country ſtood a high mountain, which was more particularly called Hantum Mountain, and had a cut, or open cleft, through which we rode. The mountain was ſmooth and level at the top, and in height appeared equal to Rogge-veld.

After we had got to the end of Bokke-land, the country grew, the farther we travelled, a drier Carrow, with conſiderable rivers, which had ſtill brackiſh water in them, but in ſummer are quite dried up.

In Hantum we paſſed Van Rhen's grazing farm, near Riet-fontein, and afterwards rode by Hendrik Lau's grazing farm, to Abraham van Wyk's farm. This Van Wyk was a luſty, fat man; as ſoon as the dogs, by their barking, announced the arrival of ſtrangers, he ſtood at the door to bid us welcome. My fellow-traveller and I were not a little ſurpriſed, in a country ſo extremely barren, and through which we had travelled ſeveral days without ſeeing a ſingle living creature, now to find ſo luſty and corpulent a man, and one that did ſo much credit to his keeper.

In this tract we found the fungus we had ſo long ſought and wiſhed to ſee (*hydnora Africana*), which without doubt is one of the moſt extraordinary plants that have been diſcovered of late years. It always grows under the branches of the ſhrub *euphorbia*

tirucalli, and upon its roots. The lower part of it, which is the fruit, is eaten by the Hottentots, Viverræ, foxes and other animals.

On the 13th we proceeded to Chriſtian Bock's; and,

On the 14th, to Rhonnoſter Rivier, where we were obliged to unyoke our cattle and ſtay all night; although a lion had two days before killed a zebra near this ſpot, which it had not yet had time to devour.

The lions have their haunts in every part of theſe mountains; and are, on account of the farmers' herds of cattle, as diſagreeable neighbours as the Boſhieſmen. And indeed there were ſeveral people here who had been in danger from theſe dreadful beaſts of prey. Amongſt others was mentioned a farmer of the name of Korf, who lived not far off.

A lion had ſtationed itſelf amongſt the ruſhes of a rivulet that ran near the farm, ſo as to deter the ſervants from going to fetch water, or tend the cattle. The farmer himſelf therefore, accompanied by a few terrified Hottentots, reſolved to attack it, and endeavour to drive it away. But as it lay concealed in the thick ruſhes, he could not ſee to take aim, but was obliged to fire ſeveral ſhot at random into the ruſhes. The lion, enraged at this, ruſhed out upon the farmer, who, having fired his piece, was now quite defenceleſs, and at the ſame time deſerted by his fugitive Hottentots. As ſoon as the lion had laid hold of him, he plucked up courage, and thruſt one of his hands down the lion's throat, which ſaved him from being torn to pieces, till at length he fainted away from loſs of blood. After this the lion left him, and retreated into the ruſhes again for a few days. When the farmer at laſt recovered, he found that he was not only terribly wounded in his ſides by the lion's talons, but one of his hands was ſo much torn and lacerated by the animal's teeth, that there were no hopes of its being healed. On entering the houſe and being a little revived, he took an axe in his hand, laid the wounded hand on a block, put the axe on it, and ordered one of his ſervants to ſtrike the axe with a club. Having thus cut off his own hand, he dreſſed it with cow-dung, and tied a bladder over it, and at length healed the wounds with the uſual ſalve, made of a decoction of odoriferous herbs, lard, and a little wax.

I heard another anecdote of an old farmer, who, together with his ſon, had gone out in order to drive away a lion from his farm. The lion had ſuddenly leaped upon the old man's back, and in that ſituation, before it had had time to kill him, was ſhot dead by the ſon.

Another inſtance was related to me of the widow of one Wagenaar, near the Snow Mountains, who had gone out to ſcare a lion away from her cattle; when the beaſt ſeizing on her, firſt ate off one of her arms, and at length, when ſhe fainted, devoured her head. After this it had likewiſe devoured a Hottentot maid-ſervant, who had ran to her miſtreſs's aſſiſtance. The children who had ſeen this ſhocking ſight through the crevices of the door, dug themſelves out through the earth under the back wall of the houſe, and from thence ran away to the neareſt farm.

From this dangerous place we went to Daunis, where the ſettlement had been deſtroyed by the Boſhieſmen by fire, and the owner with his people forced to run away.

The country here was level, with ſeveral mountains running north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt. Directly before us lay the Rogge-veld mountains.

Moorwotel (an umbelliferous plant) was alſo ſpoken of here as a root, from which, with water and honey, the Hottentots prepare an intoxicating liquor. This root is ſaid to be taken up principally in the months of November and December.

On

On the 15th we rode along Drooge Rivier, where we were informed by two farmers who overtook us, that a lion had followed our track the day before, but, on ſeeing ſome ſheep, had turned about in purſuit of them.

On the 16th we travelled along the foot of the Rogge-veld mountains, and then, through a valley formed by them, called Port, and at laſt went up the mountain to Wilhelm Stenkamp's farm.

Here the country was called the Lowermoſt Rogge-veld, not becauſe it lies lower than the other Rogge-velds (Rye-fields), but becauſe it lies fartheſt from the Cape. Theſe as well as the others have been ſo named from a kind of rye which grows wild here in abundance near the buſhes.

The winter is very cold, with froſt and ſnow, for which reaſon no cattle can be kept here, inſtead of which they are driven down to Carrow. The ſettlers in the lowermoſt Roggeveld, who are in poſſeſſion of good houſes, ſometimes paſs the winter there; but thoſe who live in the middle Rogge-veld always remove from thence.

The whole country is deſtitute of wood, and has only a few ſmall ſhrubs and buſhes of the Meſembryanthemum, Pteronia, Stoebe kinds, and a few others, ſuch as Othonnas, &c. The country produces good fodder for ſheep and horſes only, of which there are great numbers, but very little horned-cattle, on moſt of the farms.

The uppermoſt ſtratum of this mountain is ſand-ſtone, which is hard, and breaks in large pieces, and very fit for building of houſes. The middle ſtratum is ſlate, which may be diſcerned in the clefts, and this bed is wider than the former. The lowermoſt ſtratum is red ſand and clay, interſperſed with round ſtones of different ſizes.

Rogge-veld is a mountain which has been inhabited by the coloniſts for theſe thirty years paſt. It conſiſts of eminences and valleys, and has no ridges of any remarkable height, ſo that it cannot be called level, but hilly.

The farms are not ſituated far up the country, but near the edges of the ſummit of the mountain and all along it, ſo that the part inhabited is yet very ſmall.

The ſoil in the lowermoſt Rogge-veld is a dark brown mould, intermixed with a ſmall quantity of looſe and brittle clay. It does not rain either at Rogge-veld or at Camdebo in winter, but only in ſpring and ſummer; and the rain is then always accompanied with thunder-ſtorms.

On the 18th we proceeded to Jacob Laue's; and,

On the 20th, to Adrian Laue's farm. From the edge of the ſummit of the mountain here we ſaw the Carrow lying underneath us, as alſo Windhoek, Maſkamma, the Table Mountains near Olyfant's Rivier, the cold Bokkevelds, and Roode Zands Winterhoek, all in a row.

The Roode Zand and Bokkeveld Mountains were lower than Roggeveld. Carrow lay between theſe, higher than that Carrow-field which we had paſſed through between Olyfant's Rivier and Bokke-land, and almoſt as high as Maſkamma and the Bokkeland mountains.

On the 21ſt we came to Gert van Wyk's.

The above-mentioned farms were always ſituated in valleys between the heights.

Although the ſummer drew near, it was very cold, and froze at nights. The afternoon's breeze alſo was always cold.

On the 23d we arrived at Thomas Nel's farm; and afterwards to Adrian van Wyk's, near the edge of the top of the mountain, where a tremenduouſly deep valley extends down to Carrow; from hence a road leads to Carrow and Moſtert's Hoek.

Here I ſaw a Hottentot female ſervant that was born with the left arm imperfect, and ending near the elbow. The mother was for murdering this child at the birth, accord-

to the cuſtom of the Hottentots (it being a cripple), but was prevented by a humane coloniſt.

I was ſurpriſed to find that the Hottentots, who were in the ſervice of the farmers, and were moſtly naked, could endure the cold here ſo well. They had no other covering than a ſheep-ſkin about their backs; the woolly ſide being worn next to the ſkin in the winter, and the ſmooth ſide in the ſummer. It was but ſeldom that they had ſhoes to their feet. It ſometimes happens, however, that they are frozen to death.

It is a cuſtom with the Hottentots in theſe parts, to bury their dead in the clefts of the mountains; and ſuch as fell into a ſwoon, had the hard fate to be buried immediately. Wild cucumbers is the name given to the Coloquintida (*cucumis colocynthis*). They were ſaid to be eaten by the Hottentots, and even by the coloniſts, after being pickled with vinegar, although they taſte very bitter. The ſheep feed eagerly on them. The *ſtapelia articulata repens*, a thick plant without leaves, is eaten by the Hottentots, as alſo by the coloniſts, after being pickled in the ſame manner as cucumbers.

Karré-hout (*rhus*) is a kind of wood which the Hottentots in this part of the country uſed for making bows.

The road all over Roggeveld was rough, and full of round and ſharp looſe ſtones.

The Spring-bok comes hither ſometimes from the interior parts, and goes as far as the Bokkevelds, or ſomewhat farther. At the expiration of a certain number of years they emigrate in the ſame manner as the Lemmings in Swediſh Lapland, arriving in troops of millions, and going in a long field one after the other, eating away all the herbage wherever they paſs, and ſuffering nothing to obſtruct them on their march. If any of them bring forth on the road, they leave their young behind. If any of the farmers fire amongſt them, they continue their route nevertheleſs without interruption, and are not even intimidated by lions and other beaſts of prey, who follow the herd, and make great havock amongſt them. After they have paſſed through any farmer's grounds, hardly any thing is left for his cattle to eat, nor any water to drink. The corn-fields muſt be watched night and day, otherwiſe they would entirely deſtroy the corn, and the farmers would be reduced to want.

On the 24th, we came to a ſpring in the open field, where we encamped all night; and,

On the 25th, we croſſed the mountain to Paul Kerſte's, near Kreutsfontein. In the afternoon, when we were ready to ſet out from hence, and our horſes were ſaddled, my horſe had the misfortune to be bitten in the breaſt by a ſerpent, as they were watering him at the brook juſt below the farm. In conſequence of this his whole foot grew ſtiff and ſwelled as I rode on, and the ſwelling increaſed to ſuch a degree, that, before I had got a ſtone's-throw from the farm, he could proceed no farther, and I was obliged to leave him on the ſpot. A ſmall ſerpent, not quite ſix inches long, which was ſaid to be very venomous, and was found here in abundance, was ſuppoſed to be the perpetrator of this miſchief.

Here began the middle Roggeveld, which was only divided from the former by means of a few mountainous ridges.

On the 26th, we arrived at Cornelius Kutſe's.

His ſon had a ſhort time before been bitten in the hand by a venomous ſerpent. His hand had been ſcarified immediately, and a cupping-glaſs applied, in order to extract the poiſon from it. After this it was ſteeped in a ſolution of vitriol, which was ſaid to have been rendered quite black by it. An onion was next applied, and afterwards turtle-blood. This latter, when laid on the wound in a dry ſtate, was ſaid to diſſolve

and

and turn to a fluid blood, that exhibited ſigns of effervescence, as the poiſon of ſerpents has a ſtronger attraction for turtle-blood than for human blood, ſo as to attract the poiſon to itſelf.

Every farmer travelling from Roggeveld to the Cape through Moſtert's Hoek, pays annually a certain ſum towards repairing the roads. The farmers who live far up the country, have generally the misfortune to be poorer, and to be ſubject to greater expence than others.

We fell in here with another party, that had been in purſuit of the Boſhieſmen quite up into Roggeveld. This party conſiſted of about ninety odd perſons, of whom forty-ſeven were Chriſtians. They had killed and taken priſoners nearly two hundred and thirty Boſhieſmen. One of the coloniſts had been ſhot in the knee with an arrow, which had coſt him his life. The third detachment, which had been ſent to the Snow Mountains, had killed four hundred Boſhieſmen; of this party ſeven had been wounded by arrows, but none died.

It ſometimes happens, that the Boſhieſmen take away at once the farmer's whole herd whilſt grazing, and frequently even kill the herdſmen. They afterwards drive their booty higher up into the country, night and day, as faſt as they can, till they arrive at a place where they think themſelves perfectly ſecure. What they cannot take with them they kill with their javelins; and, in their flight, place ſpies on the heights of the mountains, to look out carefully, and ſee whether they are purſued by the coloniſts. Theſe ſpies are relieved by others, and give intelligence if the party is purſued; in which caſe, they all hide themſelves. if poſſible, in the mountains. In their flight they kill, roaſt, and eat by turns. When they have ſtolen a conſiderable number of cattle, and are arrived at ſome place where they think themſelves tolerably ſecure, they encamp there with their cattle, and make huts (Kraals) of *meſembryanthemum* buſhes or of mats, in which they live together as long as their food laſts. The detachment had ſeen one of theſe Kraals or encampments formed of huts in two rows, like a village, in which they had counted on one ſide upwards of fifty huts, from which all the Boſhieſmen have removed.

In Roggeveld alone the Boſhieſmen had, in the laſt two years, ſtolen more than ten thouſand ſheep, beſides oxen, and murdered many of the coloniſts, their ſlaves, and Hottentots.

When the Boſhieſmen are purſued by the coloniſts on horſeback, they retreat to the mountains, where, like baboons, they poſt themſelves on the edges of the ſummits and in the inacceſſible places, and are always afraid of the plains. They ſometimes creep into the clefts, and from theſe bulwarks let fly their arrows.

The weapons with which they defend themſelves againſt their enemies, are bows and poiſoned arrows. By way of defence againſt theſe, the coloniſts cauſe a ſkin to be held before them, in which the arrows ſtick faſt, that frequently come like a ſhower of rain. The Boſhieſmen, when they perceive that their arrows do not penetrate, do not fire a ſecond volley. A Boſhieſman who is mortally wounded by a ball, is never found either crying or lamenting in any ſhape whatever.

Theſe people firſt chew Canna (*meſembryanthemum*), and afterwards ſmoke it. They beſmear themſelves with greaſy ſubſtances, and over that with red chalk; in times of ſcarcity they feed on ſerpents, lizards, the fleſh of zebras, lions, and baboons, upon bulbous roots, ants' eggs, &c.

On the 29th we rode along Viſch Rivier paſt Olivier's farm, to Jacobus Theron's. A misfortune, which I leaſt expected on a ſmooth and plain road, attended me however this day. Through the careleſſneſs of my Hottentots, who drove againſt a ſtone that

that lay in the road, my cart overturned, the tilt over it was torn aſunder, and many of my boxes and packets of herbs were loſt.

I here ſaw necklaces and ornaments for the waiſt, which the Hottentots had made of the ſhells of oſtriches' eggs, ground in the form of ſmall round rings, and which made a very fine appearance.

The cold in this Roggeveld is very intenſe in winter, and ſnow falls with froſt. The farmers, therefore, live here only a few months in the year, viz. from October to May; build here their houſes and ſow their wheat, which they are obliged to leave to the mercy of the Boſhieſ-men, during the time that they remove down to the Carrow-field below, where it rains certain months in the year, ſo that they can remain there with their cattle till the approaching dry ſeaſon obliges them to remove up the mountain to Roggeveld again.

On the 1ſt of December, we travelled farther on to Eſterhuyſen's farm, where we were obliged to ſtay a couple of days, on account of the ſtormy inclement weather, which continued with froſt, rain, hail, and ſnow, for the ſpace of twenty-four hours, and not only confined us to our room, but obliged us to put on our great-coats, as a defence againſt ſuch an unexpected and unuſual degree of cold, which was partly occaſioned by the height of the mountains, and partly by the violence of the north and north-weſt winds.

The mountain, compared to the Carrow-field below, was at leaſt as high as Table Mountain is at the Cape, and a high road for carriages runs from hence to Carrow.

On the 3d, in the morning, we ſet out from this cold place to go down the mountain, and could not, as we had wiſhed, continue our journey farther up Roggeveld, as our beaſts were too poor and too tender-footed to continue longer on this ſharp and rugged mountain.

In the morning when we ſet out, the ice ſtill lay on the ſummit of the mountain, as far as to its very edges, of the thickneſs of a rix-dollar.

The road down the mountain lay over ſeveral ſteep heights and abrupt declivities, like very high and broad ſteps, for which reaſon not only the two hind-wheels were obliged to be locked, but the waggon itſelf to be held faſt by the Hottentots, by means of ropes, in order to prevent it from overſetting and falling down upon the oxen. The uppermoſt declivity was the ſteepeſt, and called (Uytkyk) Look-out, on account of the extenſive view it commanded; the other was called Maurice's Heights.

While we were on the heights of the mountain, it was intenſely cold; but the lower we deſcended the calmer and warmer the air became, till in about three hours time we got down to Carrow, when the heat began to grow intolerable.

We had now before us a very large and extenſive field in the dry and barren Carrow to traverſe, before we could reach an inhabited place. We had therefore ſupplied ourſelves at the laſt farm with as much proviſion as was neceſſary for a few days, and with this ſet out on our journey through a ſcorching deſart, ſo deſtitute of water that even a ſparrow could not ſubſiſt in it, and ſo devoid of every living creature, that only a few rats were to be ſeen here and there in holes in the earth, which probably find, in the ſucculent leaves of the ſhrubs in theſe parts, ſomewhat that ſerves both to appeaſe their hunger and quench their thirſt.

Sun-riſe called forth every morning theſe earth-rats, whoſe neſts always ran ſlanting downwards, with their entrance facing the eaſt. We tried to ſhoot ſome of them as they popped their heads out, but found them, to our great ſurpriſe as well as diſappointment, inexpreſſibly quick in withdrawing into their holes as ſoon as they ſaw the flaſh of the pan. I tried ſeveral times with an excellent gun to hit one of them, but found

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it impracticable, till I fell upon the method of putting a piece of paper before the pan, which prevented them from ſeeing the flaſh of the prime.

On the 4th, ſetting out from Meyburg's farm, which lay at the foot of the mountain, we came to Goudbloom's Kloof, and, on the 5th, through ſmaller valleys to the River of Misfortune (Ongeluck's Rivier), ſo called on account of a farmer having been quite eaten up here by a lion. Here we reſted two days, waiting for the arrival of a farmer who was going to the Cape, and who had promiſed to aſſiſt us with his oxen acroſs the dryeſt of all the Carrows which lay before us. But as he did not arrive according to his promiſe, and this baiting-place was ſuch that both man and beaſt ran the riſk not only of ſtarving for want of food, but likewiſe of dying of thirſt, we were obliged to uſe all our efforts, and on the 7th, from eleven o'clock at night to the next morning, make a long journey to a little rivulet that ran before a mountain called Paardeberg, which was ſmall and ſolitary.

The tract of country which we had left behind us was full of ſmall mountains and ridges of mountains, ſome detached, others connected together, and running weſt-north-weſt towards Roggeveld and the Bokkeveld Mountains. The ſmall quantity of water which was here to be found in a very few places and in ſmall cavities was not only ſalt, but likewiſe ſo thick and turbid with clay and other impurities, that we were obliged to lay a handkerchief over it, in order to ſuck a little of it into our mouths.

There is another road indeed farther down, which is leſs mountainous and ſmoother, but at the ſame time alſo affords leſs water.

On the 8th we paſſed the above-mentioned Paardeberg, in our way to Dorn Rivier. Hitherto the Carrow had, with a few exceptions, led down with a gradual deſcent all over its ſurface, inclining from the Roggeveld to the Bokkeveld mountains, and was almoſt every-where free from buſhes.

On the 9th we left the Dorn Rivier, and taking the road through the valley formed by the mountains between Carrow and Bokkeveld, arrived at laſt at a ſettlement and farm belonging to Vander Mervel's widow.

This good houſewife uſed a curious method of ſeparating lentils from the wheat with which they were mixed. She threw it all to her fowls, who carefully picked up every grain of wheat, and left the lentils behind untouched.

The leaves of the *indigo feraarborea* were boiled, and the decoction was ſaid to be a good remedy againſt the gravel and ſtone.

The ſtrata in the mountains, as they were ſeen in the valleys, inclined very much here, and were even ſingularly crooked. The ridge of mountains alſo inclined here conſiderably to the eaſtward.

On the 11th we departed from hence, having firſt bought a large ram, which we ſalted in its own ſkin. Our route continued till we arrived at a place called Verkeerde Valley, which is one of the pleaſanteſt ſpots I have ſeen in the whole country. It is ſituated between two rows of mountains, with great plenty of graſs, and a fen abounding in water, almoſt like a ſmall lake. As we wanted leiſure to inſpect and look after our collections, and our cattle ſtood in greater need of reſt and refreſhment, we agreed to remain in this pleaſant though uninhabited ſpot for a few days, and eat our ſalted mutton in ſolitude.

On the 14th we paſſed through a valley in the mountains, called (Straat) Street, to De Vos's eſtate, near Hex Rivier.

We were now returned, as I may ſay, to Chriſtendom, or to thoſe tracts in which the ſettlements lay cloſer to each other; after having, for the ſpace of ſeveral weeks, for

the moſt part wandered in deſarts, often encamped in the open air, and in the moſt dangerous places, and ſeveral times been in want of the neceſſaries of life.

Near this farm a branch of Hex Rivier takes its riſe in the mountains, which branch unites within the vale with the larger branch that runs here, and likewiſe ſprings out of the mountains.

On the 16th we rode paſt Jordan's farm to Van de Mervel's eſtate, and

On the 17th, through Hex Rivier's Kloof to Roode Zand.

Hex Rivier's Kloof has no heights, is quite level and ſmooth, and we were obliged to croſs the ſtream ſeveral times. On the tops of the mountains which ſtood on each ſide, there ſtill lay a great deal of ſnow or hail.

Roode Katt is the name here given to a kind of red lynx, with long locks of hair at the extremities of its ears, and the tip of its tail black. Pennant calls it a Perſian Cat, and Buffon Caracal. Hiſt. Nat. de Quadr. tom. ix. tab. 24. The ſkin of it was ſaid by the farmers to be very efficacious as a diſcutient, when applied to parts affected with cold or rheumatiſm.

In the mountains, between the clefts of the naked rock, reſides a kind of jumping rat (*jerboa capenſis*), which the farmers conſidered as a ſpecies of hare, and called it Berghaas or Springhaas. This animal is of a curious make; its fore-feet being extremely ſhort, but the hind-feet nearly as long as the whole body, which enables the creature to leap to a ſurpriſing diſtance.

The ſtrata of the mountains were ſometimes wreathed, and ſometimes very much inclined.

The ridge of mountains therefore which we had to paſs through, was, all the way from Carrow-field hither to the outlet of Hex Rivier near Roode Zand, very broad, interſected with narrower valleys both length-ways and acroſs.

From Roode Zand we took the uſual way through its Kloof, which has a conſiderable eminence that muſt be croſſed; but the reſt of the road runs along the ſide of the mountain.

Roode Zand is, as it were, the key to the whole country behind the chain of mountains which run acroſs the whole point. Moſt of the farmers therefore, who travel annually to the Cape, paſs this way, except thoſe who take the road acroſs Hottentot's Holland. On this occaſion a ſurgeon had eſtabliſhed himſelf at Roode Zand, and ſet up a ſmall apothecary's ſhop, which brought him in a handſome income. The medicines were all well paid for, inſomuch that a purging powder did not coſt leſs than half a rix dollar. Sometimes they brought the ſick hither, as well coloniſts as ſlaves, and left them under the ſurgeon's care till their return. Several in the abundance of their friendſhip endeavoured to perſuade me to eſtabliſh myſelf here. But the love I bore to botany and my native country, prevented me from accepting the offer.

Riebeck Caſteel was now obſerved to extend with a long tail much lower than the mountain itſelf, towards the ſouth-eaſt.

We took our route afterwards paſt Paardeberg through Koopman's Rivier, a rivulet, which is a branch of Berg Rivier, and farther through Burger's drift acroſs Berg Rivier, and paſt Elſis Kraal to the Cape, where I arrived ſafe and ſound on the 29th of December, with a heart filled with the deepeſt adoration of that Divine Being, which, during my three years travels in this country, had not only preſerved my life and health, but alſo permitted me to make ſeveral uſeful diſcoveries in it, to his glory, and the future benefit of mankind.

The Cape. 1775.

HOTTENTOTS is the common denomination of all thoſe nations which inhabit the ſouthern angle of Africa, and are extended on each ſide of the Cape of Good Hope. How far the country of theſe people extends is not yet accurately known: but though they are divided into a multitude of tribes, which differ from one another in many reſpects, yet it is clearly to be perceived that they all originate from one and the ſame ſtock; and that they differ widely from the negroes and Moors who inhabit the other coaſts of Africa.

The Hottentots in general are ſhort, eſpecially the women, although ſome among them are found that are five or ſix foot high. Their colour is neither black nor white, but yellowiſh; and their exterior black appearance is owing to the filth which adheres to their bodies in conſequence of their beſmearing themſelves.

The form and lineaments of the face characterize this as well as other nations. Their cheek-bones are very prominent, which makes them always appear meagre and lean; the noſe is flattened towards the root, and thick and blunt at the tip, but not very ſhort; their lips are rather thick, their hair jet-black like ſpun wool, and ſeldom thick, more frequently thin, reſembling the nap upon cloth. They have very little hair upon their chin and privy parts. The ſpine in particular is very much bent, ſo that I never ſaw any one ſo hollow-backed as the Hottentots. I have ſeen ſome of them whoſe backs were bent in, and their buttocks project to ſuch a degree, that two people might ſit on them. And although the Hottentots are very lean, yet the conſtant practice of beſmearing themſelves diſtends their ſkin, and eſpecially the women's breaſts, to an inconceivable degree, ſo that in this particular, they can challenge all other nations. The Boſhieſmen have more prominent bellies than the reſt.

The patriarchal form of government has from time immemorial exiſted amongſt them, and ſtill obtains with many; and this has been the origin of the many larger and ſmaller tribes and families, into which they formerly were, and their ſurvivors ſtill are, divided. Such tribes formerly were the Gunjemans, Kokoquas, Suſſaquas, Odiquas, Chirigriquas, Koopmans, Heſſaquas, Sonquas, Dunquas, Damaquas, Gauris, Attaquas, Heykoms, Houteniquas, and Camtours Hottentots, of which few exiſt at preſent; and ſuch at this time are the little and great Namaquas, Gonaquas, Caffres, Boſhiesmen, &c. Of theſe probably ſome may in former times have been ſubdivided into ſtill ſmaller tribes.

The Hottentots love filth in the higheſt degree; they beſmear their bodies with fat and greaſy ſubſtances, over which they rub cow-dung, fat, and ſimilar ſubſtances. By this means the pores are ſtopped up and the ſkin covered with a ſurface, which defends them in ſummer againſt the ſcorching heat of the ſun, and from the cold in winter. Amongſt their ointments they mix the powder of a ſtrong ſmelling herb, which they call Bucku, (a ſpecies of *dioſma*, frequently the *pulchella*), and which gives them ſo diſagreeable, ſo fetid, and at the ſame time ſo rank an odour, that I ſometimes could not bear the ſmell of the Hottentots that drove my waggon.

Their dreſs is very ſimple, moſt of them wear a ſheep's ſkin thrown acroſs the ſhoulders, and another over their loins, the hairy ſide being worn next the body in winter, and the other ſide in ſummer. Theſe ſheep-ſkins prepared, cover the body behind, but leave it almoſt entirely naked before. The women, by way of covering, uſe a ſhort, ſquare, and ſometimes a double piece of ſkin, that reaches half way down their thighs, and the men a caſe of fox's ſkin, like a purſe, tied with a thong about their bodies.

The Gonaquas Hottentots and Caffres uſe ſuch a dreſs of calf-ſkin, and their chiefs of tiger-ſkin.

Their legs are bare, and their feet for the moſt part without ſhoes; but round rings made of the hides of animals adorn their legs, eſpecially thoſe of the women, from the inſtep to the calf of the leg, and prevent them from being bitten by ſerpents. In time of need they likewiſe ſerve them for food, when they broil theſe rings and eat them.

Their heads are frequently without any covering at all; but ſometimes they wear a conical ſkin-cap, and the women in ſome places make uſe of a broad wreath of buffalo's ſkin, ornamented with ſmall ſhells.

Their necks and waiſts are ornamented with different coloured glaſs beads, which they procure by barter from the Europeans. To the necklace they ſometimes faſten a turtle-ſhell, in which they keep Bucku. The Caffres put porcupine's quills into their ears (*hyſtrix*), and ſome of the women that live fartheſt to the eaſtward, uſe ear-rings of copper, to ſet off their brown beauty.

The Caffres wear ivory rings, and frequently ſeveral of them on the left arm; and ſome, in default of theſe, wear rings of braſs or iron. All the Hottentots, but more eſpecially the Caffres, ſet a great value upon ſhining plates of copper, braſs, or iron, which they hang in their hair, or on other parts of the body.

They are all graziers, except the Boſhieſmen, and are ſometimes in poſſeſſion of numerous herds of cattle, eſpecially the Caffres and Namaquas people, upon whoſe domains the Europeans have not yet been able to make any encroachments. Theſe ſubſiſt on their flocks and herds, and hunt different wild beaſts, eſpecially buffalos and wild goats of various ſorts (ſometimes very large ones), with ſea-cows and elephants. They live beſides on the roots of ſeveral plants, ſuch as Iriſas, Ixias, Moreas, Gladioluſes, and others, the beans of the *guajacum afrum*, &c. The men uſe likewiſe cow's milk, which they milk themſelves, and the women ſheep's milk. To quench their thirſt, they moſtly drink water, milk and water, and when urged by neceſſity, chew Meſembryanthemums, Albucas, and other ſucculent herbs. The men's buſineſs is to go to war, hunt, milk, kill the cattle, and fabricate arms; the women's, to look after the children, fetch wood, dig up bulbous roots, and dreſs the victuals. The meat is eaten both roaſted and boiled, but for the moſt part half raw, without ſalt, ſpices, or bread. They make a fire by rubbing two pieces of hard wood quickly againſt each other.

The Caffres are the only people in this part of Africa that apply themſelves in the leaſt to agriculture. They cultivate Caffre-corn (Holcus), beans, hemp, &c. The reſt do not till the earth at all, except ſome few who now and then ſow a handful of hemp.

Their huts are built with ſprays of trees, which are fixed in the ground, and bent in arches, ſo as to make the hut round at top, and about four feet high. Theſe are afterwards covered with mats made of ruſhes, and on one ſide an opening about two feet high is left at bottom, which ſerves the double purpoſe of a door and chimney, the fireplace being near the opening. Such huts as theſe, built in a circle of a greater or ſmaller extent according to circumſtances, form a village, within which the cattle, at leaſt the ſheep, are kept in the night, and ſecured from beaſts of prey. As long as the graſs laſts on the ſpot, they live there without removing; but as ſoon as it fails or any one dies, the whole village removes to another place; ſo that the Hottentots, like the Laplanders and Arabians, are Nomades, or wandering ſhepherds. A few of them live together in one of theſe huts, and lie coiled up with their knees drawn up to their heads, diſperſed around the internal walls of it.

The language, which frequently is almoſt the only thing that diſtinguiſhes the indolent Hottentots from the brute creation, is poor, unlike any other in the world, is pronounced with a clack of the tongue, and is never written.

With reſpect to houſehold furniture, they have little or none. The ſame dreſs that covers a part of their body by day, ſerves them alſo for bedding at night. Their victuals are boiled in leathern ſacks and water, with ſtones made red-hot, but ſometimes in earthen pots. Milk is kept in leathern ſacks, bladders of animals, and baſkets made of platted ruſhes, perfectly water-tight. Theſe, a tobacco-pouch of ſkin, a tobacco-pipe of ſtone or wood, and their weapons, conſtitute the whole catalogue of their effects. Their defenſive weapons againſt their enemies and wild beaſts conſiſt of darting-ſticks (Kirris), javelins (Aſſagay), and bows with poiſoned arrows.

To the uſe of intoxicating ſubſtances they are much addicted. From a decoction of certain indigenous roots and honey, they prepare an inebriating kind of mead. They are very fond of arrack and brandy, and take delight in ſmoaking tobacco, either pure, or mixed with hemp, and, when they cannot procure theſe, wild Dakka (Phlolmis), or the dung of the two-horned rhinoceros, or of elephants. The inhabitants of the ſouthern part of Africa contract marriage early, and with little ceremony. When the ſuitor has made his intentions known, and obtained the girl's and her parents' conſent, a day is fixed for the wedding, which is ſolemnized by the prieſt belonging to the village, who beſprinkles the bride and bridegroom with his urine. After that an ox or ſheep is killed, according to the circumſtances of the parties, and the company entertained; the men and women ſitting in ſeparate circles, according to their cuſtom, and always ſquat on their heels, as they have neither chairs nor ſofas. One circumſtance, however, attending their weddings is highly laudable, which is, that though at other times they are much given to drunkenneſs, they never drink on this occaſion; neither do they dance and play upon muſical inſtruments.

To their new-born children they give a name, which is generally that of ſome wild or domeſtic animal.

A youth is not ſuffered to marry till he is made a man, which is at the age of eighteen; when the village-maſter of the ceremonies beſprinkles him with urine, and ſeparates him from that time forward from his mother and other women.

Formerly the Hottentots, according to Kolbe, uſed caſtration. This operation was generally performed, the left teſticle being cut out, that they might not beget twins, and that they might be enabled to run with greater eaſe.

A Hottentot ſometimes takes two wives, and it frequently happens that a woman marries two huſbands, although adultery under certain circumſtances is puniſhed with death. A widow, who marries a ſecond time, muſt have the top joint of a finger cut off, and looſes another joint for the third, and ſo on for each time that ſhe enters into wedlock.

Idleneſs is ſo predominant among the greateſt part of the Hottentots, that few of the brutes ſurpaſs them in that vice. Some ſleep out all their time, and are only awakened by the urgent calls of hunger, that forces them at length to riſe and ſeek for food. When they have killed any wild animal, they lay themſelves round a fire in common, to broil their meat, eat, and ſleep by turns, as long as there is any thing left to eat, and till hunger drives them from it again.

In conſequence of this extreme ſupineneſs they have little or no religion. It ſhould ſeem indeed that they were not entirely ignorant of the exiſtence of a powerful Supreme Being, and they appear alſo to acknowledge the immortality of the ſoul after its ſeparation from the body; but they have no temples, pay no kind of worſhip to any divinity,

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and give themſelves no thought about rewards or puniſhments after death. They have much clearer notions of an evil ſpirit, whom they fear, believing him to be the occaſion of ſickneſs, death, thunder, and every calamity that befalls them.

At the new and full moon they dance and make merry; but it does not appear very probable that their rejoicing thus is any kind of religious ceremony, or that they worſhip the moon.

A ſmall inſect, an inconſiderable graſshopper (*mantis fauſta*), is by many conſidered as an animal of a fortunate omen; but I never found that any worſhip was paid to it, nor could I learn it with a certainty from others.

Circumciſion is a ceremony uſed by many, and may probably be of high antiquity, although not commonly practiſed at preſent.

Several barbarous uſages and cuſtoms are ſtill to be found amongſt thoſe who live in their native ſtate of wildneſs, and without intercourſe with the Chriſtians. Old and ſuperannuated perſons are buried alive, or elſe carried away to ſome cleft in the mountains, with proviſion for a few days, where they are either ſtarved to death, or fall a prey to ſome wild beaſt.

In like manner, children are expoſed and left to their fate on various occaſions; as for inſtance, when a woman dies, either during her lying-in, or immediately after it, the child in ſuch caſes is buried along with the mother, as no one can bring up amongſt people who have no notion of nurſes. If a woman brings forth twins, and thinks herſelf not able to rear them both, one of them is expoſed. If they are both boys, the ſtrongeſt and moſt healthy is kept: if one of them is a girl, it is her lot to be expoſed; as is likewiſe the fate of any one that comes a cripple into the world.

Such as live near the European coloniſts, bury their dead in the ground, while others lay them in the clefts of mountains or in caves. The corpſe being taken out of the hut through a hole in the ſide, and not through the door, is wrapped up in the ſheep-ſkin dreſs the defunct wore while living, and is carried away in hand by three or four bearers. A proceſſion of men and women in two ſeparate bodies follows with loud cries; after which, if the deceaſed was a perſon of any property, ſome animal is killed and eaten.

They are very ſuperſtitious, and put great faith in witch-craft. If any one falls ſick, they think that he has been bewitched; and conſequently ſhriek and pommel him with their fiſts, in order to keep life in him, or make him well. If he dies, their cries increaſe, the corpſe is buried in a few hours, and the whole village removes to ſome other place.

The eldeſt ſon is ſole heir to his father's property.

In arts and ſciences they are as rude and uncultivated as they are in every other reſpect. The Caffres are the only tribe among them that till the ground at all. The major part of them have herds of cattle. Some have neither houſe nor home, nor indeed any fixed abode whatever. The Namaquas Hottentots, who, in their country, have mountains that produce copper and iron ore, know how to extract theſe metals in the moſt ſimple manner, which they afterwards forge for uſe. Their traffic is not extenſive: indeed it conſiſts only in bartering certain commodities againſt others. They have therefore no money nor coin of any ſort, neither do they ſtand in need of any.

To guard their herds, they employ very ugly, but bold and ſpirited dogs.

Greaſy ſubſtances conſtitute the greateſt dainties of the Hottentots. They drink the blubber of ſea-cows like water, and the tail of a ſheep, which conſiſts entirely of fat, they prefer to any other part.

They

They hunt both ſingle and in parties. Every one hunts and ſhoots what he can for his own uſe; but general hunts are undertaken by whole villages, either againſt large troops of wild animals, or when they are annoyed by beaſts of prey that commit ravages among their herds, on which occaſion every man quits his hut, and goes out armed, as againſt a common enemy.

Their grand feſtivals are generally accompanied with ſinging, and different ſorts of inſtrumental muſic, as alſo with dances, that are extremely ſingular, and indeed peculiar to themſelves. They have likewiſe a droll uncommon ceremony of driving whole herds of ſheep through the ſmoke, right acroſs the fire, to ſecure them from the attacks of wild dogs.

In a people ſo deeply plunged in ſloth, and ſo overwhelmed with filth, as the Hottentots actually are, one would not expect to find the leaſt trace of pride. It is however to be found even among theſe, the moſt wretched of the human race; for they not only adorn their bodies with all manner of finery, as they conceive it to be; but when they are viſited by ſtrangers, paint their faces with various figures of brown and black paint.

Of the new year, a period which moſt nations and even the heathens themſelves almoſt all over the face of the earth, obſerve and celebrate with more or leſs rejoicing and feſtivity, the Hottentots do not ſeem to have any knowledge, neither do they take the leaſt account of the courſe of nature. The only thing they remark is, that every year they ſee the bulbous plants puſh out of the ground, bloſſom and decay, and, according to this almanac, they reckon their own ages, which nevertheleſs they ſeldom or never know with any certainty. It is therefore in vain to try to aſcertain their age, or to ſearch for antique relicks and monuments, in order to diſcover the antiquity of the country, how long it has been peopled, whence its firſt inhabitants came, and what changes and revolutions it has undergone. The country has no ancient ruins, either of ſubverted palaces, demoliſhed caſtles, or devaſtated cities. The people neither know the origin nor reaſon of the ceremonies and cuſtoms in uſe amongſt them, and few of them can give an account of any thing that has happened before their father's time. Since the Europeans have begun to inhabit this angle of the ſouthern part of Africa, the country has undergone many changes. The natives have by degrees in part become extinct, in conſequence of the ravages made by various epidemic diſeaſes, and in part retreated farther up the country, and a colony of the children and progeny of Japhet has propagated and multiplied to a great extent in their place. In a country where, one hundred and fifty years ago, among a vaſt number of other wild animals, the moſt ſavage beaſts of prey reigned ſovereign and triumphant, one may now for the moſt part travel ſafely without fear or dread; and where formerly herds only grazed, one now ſees ſeveral Indian and moſt of our European ſeeds cultivated, vineyards and orchards laid out, and culinary vegetables planted. A multitude of tame animals has been imported hither from Europe, ſuch as horſes, cows, hogs, and ſeveral kinds of fowls; in like manner as many uſeful products of the vegetable kingdom have been naturalized under the induſtrious hand of the coloniſts and a kind climate. The peaſe and beans here are very good. Aſparagus, peaches, apricots, have a tolerable flavour, as have alſo apples (and eſpecially rennets) plums, pears, oranges, and ſtrawberries. The grapes as well as the raiſins, and the wine that is made of them, are of different degrees of goodneſs, and ſometimes excellent. Melons, water-melons, Gojavus, pomegranates, are alſo tolerably good; but gooſeberries, currants, cherries, and nuts do not thrive. Mulberries, almonds, figs, walnuts, cheſnuts, and lemons do not yield in point of goodneſs to the European. Eſculent roots and culinary vegetables thrive

in general well in this country, and often grow up ſuperior to the European, from whence the ſeed of the greateſt part of them is brought every year. Turnips, turnip-rooted cabbages, potatoes, alliaceous plants of every kind, ſallads, cabbages, and eſpecially cauliflowers, are cultivated therefore in great quantities, as alſo wheat, not only for the uſe of the inhabitants, but for the ſupply of the many ſhips that touch here in their way to and from India, ſince the Chriſtians firſt made a ſettlement at the Cape of Good Hope. Several ſhorter and longer journeys have been made, from time to time, into the interior parts, both by individuals and on the Company's account, with a view to gain authentic intelligence of the country and its inhabitants. Theſe journeys have been undertaken by different parties, ſome larger and ſome ſmaller, ſome to the northern and others to the ſouth-eaſt ſide of this angle of Africa. Thoſe that have come to my knowledge are the following: in 1699, a journey was made to Saldahna Bay, which was then for the firſt time taken poſſeſſion of by the Dutch Company. In 1670, two ſerjeants, Kruydhof and Cruſe, were ſent out to Moſſel Baay and Helena Baay, which were at the ſame time taken poſſeſſion of. In 1683, Enſign Olof Berg made a journey to the country of the Namaquas, and in 1685 the governor Simon van der Steel, with fifty-ſix Europeans, two Macaſſars, three ſlaves, and ſix burghers, equipped with two pieces of artillery, eight carts, ſeven waggons, (beſides thoſe belonging to the burghers,) one boat and a great quantity of draught-oxen, horſes, proviſion, powder, muſquets, and commodities for bartering, made a long voyage into the country of the Namaquas, as far as the tropics. This expedition had chiefly the copper-mountains for its object, to examine whether the ore there was worth working, and whether there was ſufficient wood and water for that purpoſe, or any harbour near at hand, from which the ore might have been brought in veſſels. This journey laſted fifteen weeks.

During the time that the bartering traffic with the Hottentots was allowed the ſettlers, long journeys were frequently made into the interior parts of the country: as for inſtance, in the year 1702, by forty-five burghers with four waggons, into the country of the Caffres; in 1704, into that of Namaquas, and in 1705, by thirty or forty farmers, each accompanied by his Hottentot, farther up into the ſame tract of country.

In 1705, the landroſt Starrenburg made a journey by order of government, into the country of the Namaquas, particularly for the purpoſe of bartering for a large quantity of cattle for the uſe of the Company. He was accompanied by a corporal, and Hartog a gardener, beſides ſlaves and a great many Hottentots.

In the year 1761, Governor Tulbagh ſent to the northern ſide of the country, which I was now exploring, a caravan, conſiſting of ſeventeen Chriſtians, ſixty-eight Hottentots, and fifteen waggons, which had been given in charge to a burgher of the name of Hop. On this ſame expedition were ſent out, at the expence of the Company, Brink a land ſurveyor, Auge a gardener, and Rykvoels a ſurgeon, with three waggons, a large boat, powder, ſhot, iron, tobacco, &c. This caravan was ſent out in conſequence of a farmer who had travelled far into the country on this ſide, having given intelligence to the governor, that he had been told by a Hottentot of a people who had lived farther up the country, and who wore linen clothes, were of a yellow colour, and went in and out of the mountains there, near a large river. Hence it was concluded, that ſome Portugueſe ſettlement was eſtabliſhed on the coaſt, which government ought to find out. Part of the Company ſet out from the Cape on the 16th of July, and the reſt joined them near Olyfant's Rivier in 31° 40′ latitude, and 38° 18′ longitude. They proceeded on their journey till the 6th of December, one hundred and twenty and a half miles due north from the Cape, to 26° 18′ latitude, and 37° 37′ longitude, from

from whence they returned and arrived at the Cape on the 27th of April, 1762, without having diſcovered the yellow nation they had been told of. This is the longeſt journey ever attempted by Europeans towards this ſide, where the country is very dry, deficient in water, and mountainous, and the roads ſometimes very ſtony. On this journey the governor had not ſent any of the military, who before, very little to his ſatisfaction, had made an expenſive journey to the eaſtward; but only burghers and farmers. This journey, however, did not terminate ſo well as might have been expected, the private intereſt of individuals having laid many obſtacles in the way. Want of water and ſtony roads, without doubt, made the voyage both difficult and troubleſome; as the feet of the draught-oxen were greatly hurt, and many of them died in conſequence of this circumſtance; but the permiſſion which the farmers had from government to barter with the Hottentots, during their journey, for freſh beaſts, without any expence to them, and of which they made a very imprudent uſe, may have contributed to render this journey abortive.

In fact, the farmers, through motives of covetouſneſs, and a wiſh to lighten the waggons of the heavy load of iron they had brought with them for the purpoſe of barter, began to traffic extenſively at their firſt ſetting out, inſtead of reſerving this advantageous trade for their return. In conſequence of this procedure the caravan was overſtocked with a drove of oxen, numbers of which were obliged to be left behind on account of the heavineſs of the roads, while the reſt ſerved greatly to diminiſh the ſcanty ſupply of water for the oxen that were neceſſary for drawing the waggons along. It is true, the vice-governor Kloppenborg had alſo a few years ago, in company with a land-ſurveyor, a merchant, and a ſurgeon, made a journey to the northward of the Cape; but, as this expedition did not extend beyond the bounds of the colony, it was of no conſequence, nor in any other way remarkable.

Beautiful as the country is to the eaſtward, fertile, abounding in graſs, and well peopled, it is equally dry, barren, uncultivated, and uninhabited to the northward of the Cape; and the farther you proceed, the more barren and deſert-like it grows.

After paſſing three or four ridges of mountains to the northward, you arrive at a country ſomething higher than the Cape-ſhore, but lower than the valleys which lie between the ridges of mountains you have juſt left behind. This land is called Carrow, or Carrow-field. It ſeems to go like a broad belt over the whole of this angle of Africa, from the ſea-ſide at the north-weſtern end, to the ocean on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide. I do not ſuppoſe the breadth to be alike all over; but in ſome places it requires ſix whole days (or rather long nights) journeys. The ſun is quite ſcorching here in the day-time, and the nights are rather cold. The great want of water here for the ſpace of eight months, during which time not a drop of rain falls, together with the aridity of the ſoil, is the cauſe that this deſart produces nothing but a few herbs and buſhes with thick fleſhy leaves, ſuch as Craſſulas, Meſembryanthemums, Cotelydons, Cacalias, Stapelias; and that neither man nor beaſt can live there in ſummer, as alſo that no graſs can grow, nor any uſeful grain be cultivated. The ſoil conſiſts of clay impregnated with iron ochre and a great quantity of ſea-ſalt.

During the time I ſpent in travelling through different parts of this deſart, I did not ſee a ſingle ſparrow, much leſs any quadruped there, excepting rats in holes in the earth, which probably can ſubſiſt a long time without water, and quench their thirſt with the ſucculent and ſaltiſh leaves produced by the buſhes.

After croſſing this extenſive and dry deſart, which to the eye appears very nearly level, or at moſt riſing a little and ſlowly to the northward, you encounter a very high

mountain, the top of which it would take almoſt a whole day's journey to reach. This Roggeveld mountain has very little of earth on it, exhibiting in moſt places the ſmooth and naked rock; neither does it ſlope off like other mountains, but it is for the moſt part level, and extends in this manner ſo far to the northward, that the end of it is not known to the coloniſts. The climate at this height, although ſeveral degrees nearer than the Cape to the ſun and the equator, is not only cold, but the cold is ſo intenſe, that the ground in winter is for a long time covered with ſnow, hail, and ice.

According to my uſual practice the preceding years, as ſoon as I arrived in town, I made it my firſt care to ſend to Europe, by the returning ſhips, the collections I had made during my laſt tour.

The veſſel, too, which had been ſent the preceding year to Madagaſcar, in order to purchaſe ſlaves for the Company's ſervice, was now arrived. Amongſt other articles which ſome of the crew brought with them, were in particular a large quantity of the *cypræa tigris*, a handſome ſhell, which is uſed for making ſnuff-boxes, another of the *buccidum rufum*, and of the creatures known by the name of Madagaſcar cats, *lemur catta*. With reſpect to the latter, I was curious to ſee whether the eyes were ſuch as the late Profeſſor Linnæus has deſcribed them, viz. with one pupil oblong and the other round. In this both the pupils were round and very ſmall in the day-time, like thoſe of other animals. This ſpecies of Lemur ſomewhat reſembles a cat, with its long tail, diverſified with black and white ringlets; it is very nimble, and when tied to an upright pole, up and down on which it runs on all fours with the greateſt celerity imaginable, affords a very amuſing ſpectacle.

M. Melk, a rich and wealthy farmer, had, ſome years before, built a houſe of ſtone, below the town near the beach, lower down than the Lion's-Tail, under pretext of uſing it for a ſtore-houſe; but when it was finiſhed, he made a preſent of it to the Lutheran congregation here for a church, after having furniſhed it with ſuitable windows. Happy would it be if the congregation, which is numerous, could likewiſe have a Lutheran clergyman of its own, and hear the word of God preached in its original purity, and at the ſame time enjoy the benefit of the ſacraments.

I never knew diſorders in the throat more common or refractory than they are at the Cape, and eſpecially in the town. They are occaſioned by the ſudden changes of weather from heat to cold. The glands of the throat ſwell with ſuch violence, that the patient is in danger of being ſuffocated, and they almoſt always come to ſuppuration. Some are infeſted with this malady ſeveral times in a year, and neither ſex is exempted from it.

The ſides of the ſtreets in the town were planted with great numbers of European oaks (*quercus robur*), which ſerved both to adorn and ſhade the houſes.

The ſmoking of tobacco in the ſtreets was now ſeverely prohibited, as in conſequence of it fires had broke out here, as has been the caſe in other places.

The ſky of the ſouthern hemiſphere wore an aſpect in a great meaſure ſtrange to me. Some of the known conſtellations had a different ſituation from what they have north of the equator, and ſome were abſolutely miſſing. Charles's-Wain, which in winter ſo truly and faithfully points out to the farmer how far the night is advanced, was here ſunk below the horizon, and the Cape clouds, as two dark ſpots in the firmament are called, ſeemed to be a ſimilar token to the inhabitants here. I was extremely ſorry, however, that I had not taken more pains to learn ſo noble a ſcience, and would with pleaſure have exchanged for one ſingle conſtellation all thoſe definitions with which I had formerly burthened my memory, together with a great number of words in the

dead languages, the learning of which had taken up the beſt part of my younger days, that might have been better employed in ſtudying this divine ſcience.

I now received from Amſterdam not only a ſum of money, but alſo letters of recommendation to the Governor-general Vander Parra at Batavia, in conſequence of which I had to prepare for a voyage to the Eaſt Indies, and asfar as the empire of Japan. In the three years I had paſſed in the ſouthern parts of Africa, I had travelled over as much both of the deſart and inhabited part of the country as the nature of my equipment, which was below mediocrity, would admit. I had alſo, during the ſame time, received many favours from the governor and other gentlemen in the adminiſtration, as likewiſe much friendſhip both from my own countrymen and the other inhabitants of the place, and could, therefore, not without the greateſt gratitude and heart-felt acknowledgment, recollect the many kindneſſes they had ſhewn me, which, as long as I live, I ſhall never forget.

But, previous to my departure, I had the good fortune to get acquainted with M. Holmberg, a worthy countryman of mine, and one of the council, who was on his voyage homeward from Surat, where for ſeveral years he had been in the ſervice of the Dutch Eaſt India Company, to the great ſatisfaction of his ſuperiors, and had acquired ſuch a knowledge of commerce as few poſſeſs, or know how to value. This gentleman honoured me with his particular friendſhip, and alſo furniſhed me with letters of recommendation to M. Radermacher, one of the council at Batavia, which proved of much greater utility to me than I had reaſon to expect.

A

CURIOUS AND EXACT ACCOUNT

OF

A VOYAGE TO CONGO,

IN THE YEARS 1666 AND 1667.

By the R. R. F. F. MICHAEL ANGELO *of Gattina, and* DENIS DE CARLI *of Piacenza, Capuchins, and Apoſtolic Miſſioners into the ſaid Kingdom of Congo.**

TO THE READER.

THE authors of this ſmall work being two perſons who travelled not out of any vain curioſity, or out of any deſign of gathering wealth, but only out of a pure zeal to propagate the Chriſtian religion, it would appear ſomewhat unchriſtian to call in queſtion the truth of their relation. No worldly intereſt could bias them, who propoſed to themſelves no gain, nor indeed were they capable of any, their profeſſion not permitting them to poſſeſs any thing. It is needleſs to ſay much in vindication of them; for, in truth, whoſoever reads, will ſcarce find any thing but what is credible enough, unleſs they be ſuch perſons as being altogether ſtrangers to the world, will credit nothing but what they ſee is frequent in their own country. I do not pretend to apologize for the book; every man will give his judgment whatever I can ſay for it. Therefore, all I ſhall add is, that to ſome the account of Congo will not appear ſo diverting as they perhaps might have conceited it, becauſe they always expect things very ſurpriſing from countries very remote. This is not a hiſtory of a country, or of its conqueſt, and therefore there are no warlike expeditions to pleaſe the reader. The people are rude and ignorant, and, therefore, there are no fine deſcriptions of cities and noble ſtructures. The authors were religious men, and therefore added no romantic invention of their own to make their writings taking. The account is very particular; it ſpeaks not only of Congo, but of Brazil and ſome parts of Europe, the firſt part being made out of the letters of F. Michael Angelo, who died in Congo, and the reſt compoſed by F. Denis who returned home, and ſets down particularly all that befel him there in his way back to Italy. The tranſlation is faithful, without adding or diminiſhing in the leaſt; and even the ſtyle of the authors, which is plain and eaſy, is followed: which is all that I think requiſite the reader ſhould know before he enters upon the voyage.

* Churchill's Coll. i. 483.

VOYAGE

VOYAGE TO CONGO, &c.

TO ſatisfy the curioſity of ſeveral perſons, who preſs me in ſuch an obliging manner as I cannot eaſily withſtand, to give them an exact account of what I have ſeen and learned during the long voyage, from which I am lately returned, I will write a relation of the kingdom of Congo and of Africk, where the duty of my miſſion made me acquainted with ſeveral ſtrange cuſtoms, and go through abundance of hardſhips, omitting at preſent to ſpeak of Brazil, and ſome other parts of America, whither we were firſt carried, and of which I ſhall ſay but very little.

In the year 1666, Alexander the Seventh being pope, fifteen Capuchin miſſioners, of which I was one, were diſpatched by the cardinals *de propaganda fide*, and received the commiſſions or patents at Bononia, where I then reſided, at the hands of F. Stephen de Ceſa, of the noble family of Clermont, whoſe virtue has been ſince rewarded with the poſt of general of the ſaid order. Our patents contained the following privileges: To diſpenſe with any irregularity except incurred by bigamy, or wilful murder: to diſpenſe and commute ſimple vows even to that of chaſtity, but not that of religion: to diſpenſe with marriages within the ſecond and third degrees, and for Pagans converted to keep one of their wives: to abſolve in caſes reſerved to the pope: to bleſs church-ſtuff, churches, chalices: to give leave to eat fleſh and white-meats, and to ſay two maſſes a day in caſe of neceſſity: to grant plenary indulgences: to deliver a ſoul out of purgatory, according to the intention of the prieſt, in a maſs for the dead ſaid on Monday and Tueſday: to wear ſecular clothes in caſe of neceſſity: to ſay the roſary for want of a breviary, or any other impediment: to read forbidden books, except Machiavel.

As ſoon as theſe letters patent were delivered to me, I ſet out for Piacenza my native country, arrived there at the beginning of Advent, and received orders to expect F. Michael Angelo of Rheggio, who was to be my companion in this voyage. He being come, we went together to Genoa, where all the miſſioners were to embark: thence we ſailed for Liſbon, and having reſided there ſome months, took the opportunity of a Portugueſe veſſel bound for Brazil to load there, and ſail over to Africk to the coaſt of Congo.

We ſpent three months in our paſſage from Liſbon to Brazil, the fair winds uſually on theſe ſeas befriending us. By the way we had often the ſatisfaction to ſee the flying fiſhes about our ſhip: this is a very white fiſh about a foot long, with two wings or fins proportionable to the body; it is not unlike a herring, ſave that its back is of an azure colour, and its fins larger, and fitter to ſerve inſtead of wings. This fiſh flying from another called the Dorado or Dory, which purſues to devour it, ſprings out of the water, and flies as long as any moiſture is in the fins, which once dried by the air it falls back into the ſea, and is devoured by its enemy, who never loſes ſight of it, or elſe is taken and eaten by the ſeamen, if it happens to fall into the ſhip, or is ſometimes catched in the air by ſome bird of prey. So that this wretched creature, as it were baniſhed by nature, can ſcarce find any place of ſafety in the air, in the ſea, or on the earth, the delicacy of its fleſh being the cauſe of its unhappineſs. There is another ſort of fiſh in thoſe ſeas called a ſhark, very greedy of man's fleſh: they catch it with a rope and a chain at the end of it, to which is faſtened a ſtrong hook baited with a piece of fleſh: the ſhark perceiving it ſwallows the fleſh, hook, and moſt of the chain; then the ſailors draw the head above water, and batter it with clubs; after which they bind the tail where its greateſt ſtrength lies, and bringing it aboard cut it in pieces.

Drawing near the coaſt of Guinea, we began to feel much heat from the ſun, which is there in the zenith; and as we went farther it grew ſo violent, that in a few days we were ſo weak that we could neither eat nor ſleep; and to add to our ſufferings, the proviſions and drink were full of maggots. This laſted for fifteen days we ſailed under the line, ſo that it is a ſort of miracle we ſhould live amidſt ſo many hardſhips, though it was then the month of Auguſt, the moſt temperate time of the year in thoſe parts.

The Portugueſe uſe generally to make ſome rejoicing, and keep holiday, to beg of God a good iſſue of that dangerous voyage. They alſo obſerve this ancient cuſtom: thoſe who have never been under the line are obliged to give the ſailors either a piece of money, or ſomething to eat or drink, or at leaſt money's worth, from which no man is excuſed, not even the Capuchins, of whom they take beads, Agnus-Dei's, or ſuch like things; which being expoſed to ſale, what they yield is given to ſay maſſes for the ſouls in purgatory. If any man happen to be ſuch a miſer as to deny paying this duty, the ſailors, clothed like officers, carry him bound to a tribunal, on which a ſeaman is ſeated in a long robe, who acting the part of a judge, examines him, hears what he has to ſay, and gives judgment againſt him to be thrice ducked in the ſea after this manner: the perſon condemned is tied faſt with a rope, and the other end of it run through a pulley at the yard-arm, by which he is hoiſted up, and then let run amain three times under water; and there ſeldom fails to be one or other that gives the reſt this diverſion. The ſame is practiſed in paſſing the Straits of Gibraltar, and Cape of Good Hope.

Having paſſed the line, the wind ſtill continued right aſtern, but ſo very violent, that if it had not pleaſed God we had met with ſo rapid a current of water as ſtemmed our furious courſe, I know not how we could have eſcaped. Some time after, when we had made conſiderable way, the wind calmed, and, conſequently, we loſt that refreſhment we had ſo much need of in the great heat, which had not yet ceaſed; this calm falling out no leſs unluckily for our proviſions, which we were afraid would ſoon fall ſhort. What increaſed our fear was, the impreſſion remaining in us of the diſaſter lately happened to the ſhip called Catarinetta, which the reader will not be diſpleaſed to be acquainted with.

That veſſel being laden with commodities of great value ſet ſail from Goa, and, meeting with a proſperous wind, arrived ſafe in Brazil; whence putting to ſea with as fair a wind as could be wiſhed, it took its courſe for Liſbon, but in paſſing the line the maſter died, overcome with the violent heat of the climate, and ſoon after him all the beſt ſailors; ſo that the ſhip being left, like a horſe that has ſhook off the bridle, to the mercy of the waves, drove about in a piteous manner upon the ſea for ſeven months, which forced ſuch as were left alive, after conſuming all their proviſions, to eat their cats, dogs, and rats that were in the ſhip, and to dreſs their ſhoes and any other leather, which they endeavoured the beſt they could to make eatable. At laſt nothing being left, only five remained of four hundred men they were at firſt. One of theſe five was the captain, who being diſtracted with the diſmal thoughts which a miſerable death near at hand is wont to inſpire, fancied that death would not be the greateſt of his misfortunes, but that together with his life he ſhould loſe his reputation; and that fame, which commonly ſpreads abroad falſe news, would report, that he was fled into ſome far country to make his advantage of the great treaſure he was intruſted with, and enjoy the fruits of his diſhoneſty out of danger. So that being ardently deſirous that at leaſt ſome one of them might ſurvive to carry home the news of their misfortune, he propoſed to his companions to caſt lots which of them ſhould be killed to ſerve for food to the other four. Not one of them contradicted that inhuman propoſal, but only they would exempt their captain from

from being ſubject to the rigour of it. They uſed their utmoſt endeavours to make him conſent; but after much contending, he ſolemnly ſwore he would not be exempt from falling a ſacrifice to the reſt, if it fell to his lot, ſince abſolute neceſſity made that courſe juſt and reaſonable. In ſhort, having caſt dice, the lot fell upon the unhappy captain, who was already offering up his ſoul to God; but the others bewailing their misfortune, began to conclude it was better they ſhould all die like good catholicks, than like barbarians to imbrue their hands in the blood of their companion. God inſpiring them in return for this good reſolution, one of them went up to the top-maſt head, from whence looking about on all ſides, he ſpied at a great diſtance ſomething dark, which he told the captain; who going up with a perſpective glaſs, diſcerned that it was the coaſt of the continent. They ſteered that way the beſt they could, and being come up with the ſhore, found it was a port then in peace with Portugal. Being landed, with God's aſſiſtance, they went immediately to the governor, whom they acquainted with their misfortune. The governor gave them good entertainment, and furniſhed them with all they ſtood in need of. During their ſtay there, they were adviſed by phyſicians to make uſe of ſome medicines, and proper reſtoratives to recover their health, and return to ſea; yet two of them, more ſpent than the reſt, gave up their ghoſts; the other three, with the help of the good medicines applied, were perfectly recovered. They gave thanks to God for his mercy, and to the governor for his civility, refitted their veſſel, and ſet ſail again for Liſbon. As ſoon as they came thither, one of the three who relapſed by the way died. To conclude, the captain and ſailor that remained, landed, and were immediately introduced to the King of Portugal, to whom they gave a diſmal account of their adventures, which turned to their advantage; for the King, moved at their ſufferings, comforted, and gave them gifts of value, making the captain admiral of the fleet, and the ſailor captain of the beſt ſhip.

Now I return to our voyage.

Being in ten degrees of ſouth latitude, we diſcovered about evening Cape St. Auguſtin at a great diſtance; and in the morning it pleaſed God we ſaw abundance of land-fowls flying near about us, and whales, which, ſpouting up great ſtreams of water, at that diſtance looked to us like fine fountains guſhing in the midſt of the ſea. There are ſuch numbers of them in that ſea, that I ſhall ſcarce be believed, if I ſay a merchant pays the King of Portugal fifty thouſand crowns in gold for the patent to make oil, though nothing more be true.

Paſſing by our Lady of Nazareth, we all ſaluted her with three Ave-marias, and a triple diſcharge of our cannon. This church is but five miles from the town of Fernambuco; near to which place Francis de Brito, a Portugueſe nobleman, travelling before the church was built, the good lord who had a ſpecial devotion for the Bleſſed Virgin, met a poor woman clad in white, with a child in her arms, who humbly begged an alms of him. He putting his hand into his pocket, gave her a ducat; and whilſt he was giving, and ſhe receiving, the woman's face ſeemed to be altogether changed. Brito following on his way at a ſmall diſtance from the place, as if he were quite ſurpriſed at what he had ſeen, turned about ſeveral times to ſee the perſon that had won his heart; but though it was a plain field, where there was no place to be concealed, nor any thing to obſtruct the ſight, he could never ſee the beautiful beggar again. This breeding a diſſatisfaction in his mind, he returned to the very place where he left his alms, and his thoughts, and only found the print of two feet upon the earth, which made him conclude that the poor woman was the Bleſſed Virgin, that had inflamed his heart with her heavenly eyes, and raviſhed his ſoul with her divine beauty;

and

and therefore in that very place he erected a ſtately church in honour of the Moſt Holy Virgin, endowing it with a revenue, and chaplains proportionable to the worth and generoſity of that noble gentleman.

When we were under the tower, which ſerves as a fort to the harbour of Fernambuco, we caſt anchor there, ſaluting the town after the uſual manner, the port being too little for ſhips to lie in.

The captain went away in the pinnace, to get leave for us to land. Whilſt he was gone, we obſerved that a wall runs from the tower, which the people there call Arrecife, which credible people ſay is natural, running three hundred miles, one part of it incloſing the harbour, and ſecuring it againſt any weather. This ſame wall in like manner parts the ſea from a river that runs through the middle of the city; and when the ſea grows boiſterous, it ſometimes raiſes its waves above the wall, mixing its ſalt with the freſh waters of the river, which is the cauſe that the people catch freſh and ſalt-water fiſh indifferently in the river, and in the ſea, as if by a ſort of metamorphoſis the ſea were become a river, and the river a ſea.

As ſoon as we landed in the port of Fernambuco, we ſaw a great crowd of people, as well Blacks as Whites, about us, and among them a black woman, who kneeled, beat her breaſt, and clapt her hands upon the ground. I enquired what the good woman meant by all thoſe motions with her hands; and a Portugueſe anſwered me: "Father, the meaning of it is, that ſhe is of the kingdom of Congo, and was baptized by a Capuchin; and being informed you are going thither to baptize, ſhe rejoices, and expreſſes her joy by thoſe outward tokens."

In going to the houſe appointed for our entertainment, we paſſed through the middle of the town, which we found to be indifferent for bigneſs, but very full of people, eſpecially of black ſlaves they bring from Angola, Congo, Dongo, and Mattamba, every year, to the number of ten thouſand, whom they employ about their tobacco, ſugar-works, and to gather cotton, abundance of which grows there upon ſhrubs, about the height of a man; as alſo to cut wood for dying of ſilk, and other ſtuffs of value, and to work in cocoa and ivory.

As for the original natives of Brazil, or South America, the Portugueſe have not been able to ſubdue them to this day, they being a people too fierce and barbarous. They call them Tapuges, or Caboclos, and the colour of their ſkin is a dark tawny. They go quite naked, and carry a bow an ell and a half long, with arrows made, part of cane, and part of a hard wood ſharpened towards the point like a ſaw, that where it hits it may make the wound bigger, more troubleſome, and be the harder to be drawn out; and it is moſt certain that when they ſhoot with a deſign, and their beſt, they ſtrike a board or plank through and through at a muſquet-ſhot diſtance. Theſe Tapuges, when they can, eat man's fleſh; and when they have none of their enemies about them, they feaſt upon ſuch ſtrangers as they can catch in their country.

They wear little bits of wood and ſtone of ſeveral colours ſet in their faces; I know not whether for ornament, or to appear more terrible. At their ears they have pendants not of lead as our lap-dogs have, but great pieces of the ſame ſort of wood. They live upon ſuch beaſts as they hunt, and upon men; for when any one among them takes his bed, they aſſign him a certain time to recover, which if he does not within the time limited, they kill him without mercy and eat him, to put an end charitably to his ſufferings. The ſame favour or inhumanity they uſe towards their parents, and old people, become unfit for hunting, whom the children kill and eat with their near relations, invited by them to that cruel feaſt; thus killing thoſe to whom they owe their life, and burying thoſe in their bowels, from whoſe bowels they

they came. In ſhort, they are miſerable pagans plunged in idolatry. The reſt of the inhabitants of that new world, whether good or bad, are Chriſtians, or at leaſt bear the name.

At the place of our reception we found two of our companions ſick of a fever, and we ourſelves felt ſome indiſpoſition, which obliged us to go into the doctor's hands, it being uſual and almoſt inevitable for all who come into that country to fall ſick, whether it proceed from the change of air or food.

One morning we heard an admirable conſort of trumpets all aboard the fleet, as well within as without the port, ſounding, to the number of eighty ſhips, including ours, which was loading with ſugar, of which ſhe carried no leſs than one thouſand cheſts. Nothing could be pleaſanter than that proſpect, which ſeemed to repreſent a town where the houſes were toſt at the pleaſure of the waves, or like a foreſt floating about as drove by the wind. There we received the news of the death of John Mary Mandelli, of Pavia, prefect to the two miſſions of Angola and Congo, who died among thoſe people with the reputation of ſanctity, after enduring a thouſand hardſhips for their ſpiritual advantage during twenty-five years he lived there.

We took a time to go ſee the town of Olinda but three miles diſtant from Fernambuco. It was formerly a great town, but at this time almoſt ruined, ſince the Dutch made a deſcent there. In a marſhy field we were ſhewn certain trees, which like others have their roots in the ground, but have others above, the leaves being all covered with them. There we ſaw abundance of great parrots, ſeveral ſorts of Macacos, that is, monkeys or apes, of which the leaſt, called Sagorini, are moſt valued. We went this way in a canoe, which is a large trunk of a tree hollowed; and our watermen were two Blacks, naked like the people of Brazil, having only a little rag before them for decency.

The temper of that climate, though very hot, is not bad, nor the great dampneſs of the moon dangerous, ſo that there is good travelling enough by night as well as by day. Silver and gold money in this town goes as it does in other parts of Brazil; they give two teſtons for a maſs, and thirty or forty for a ſermon. The country produces neither wheat nor wine, but there is enough carried out of Europe, and ſold dear enough. The ground being ſandy, the natives and travellers are troubled with a kind of inſects, which ſome call Pharoah's lice, alledging that was one of the ten plagues wherewith God formerly puniſhed Egypt. They are leſs than lice, and work themſelves inſenſibly in between the fleſh and the ſkin, and in a day's time grow as big as a kidney-bean, or other ſmall bean. Some experienced Black undertakes the cure, for were they left unregarded, they would corrupt all the foot in a very ſhort time. Obſerving two days after I came, that ſomething hindred my walking, I cauſed a Black to ſearch me, who took out four of thoſe inſects pretty big grown, and there was not a day but they came and took out ten or twelve a-piece from us. It is no ſmall misfortune, if any one eſcapes undiſcovered by the Blacks, for they gnaw and torment the feet.

During our ſtay at Fernambuco there was a great feaſt of the roſary kept in the great church called Corpo Santo, or the holy body. The order of it was very magnificent. The church was hung with ten thouſand ells of ſilk of a fire-colour, and other rich ſtuffs: the tabernacle which was lofty, covered with ſilk embroidered full of flames of gold, and a ſilver galoon over it, which dazzled the eyes: the muſic of harps, violins, and cornets, making a conſort to the holy hymns. The religious are not at this great expence, but chuſe the richeſt merchant in the city, who looks upon it as a point of honour to open his purſe freely upon ſuch an occaſion. He that bore the charge that year, proteſted to us the next day, that he had ſpent four thouſand

ducats in bonfires, the night before; but he meant thus: we being impatient to go over into Africk as ſoon as poſſible to perform the duty of our miſſion, went to ſee that merchant, who had a great kindneſs for us, to beg of him that when a ſhip of his bound for Africk, was laden and ready to ſail, he would be ſo charitable as to aſſign us the great cabin to go in, which he readily granted. The veſſel being found unfit for the voyage, was unloaded, all the iron-work and rigging taken out, and the timber burnt, which he ſaid coſt him four thouſand ducats, that being the coſt of the ſhip.

To divert us, we went one day to ſee ſugar-works, which is a great curioſity. The engine they uſe is a great wheel, turned violently about by a number of Blacks: it turns a preſs of maſſy iron, in which the ſugar-canes cut in pieces are bruiſed, the moiſture that runs from them falling into a great cauldron over the fire. It is wonderful to ſee the Blacks, who are naturally lazy, labour ſo hard, and clap the canes ſo dexterouſly under that maſs of iron, without leaving their hands or arms behind them.

The fruit in that country, which generally laſts all the year upon the trees, is very delicious, and among the reſt the Niceffes, which are like our lemons. They grow on a ſtalk like an Indian cane, and two of its leaves would clothe the biggeſt man. This ſtalk ſometimes produces but one bunch, in which there are about fifty Niceffes. To ripen them, they muſt be cut off green and hung in the air, where they grow yellow in a little time. When they are cut through the middle, there appears on both ſides the exact figure of a crucifix. When the bunch is cut off, the ſtalk withers, and another ſoon grows out of the ſame root. The banana is much of the ſame nature, only the Niceffe is three foot high, and the banana twice as much.

The Ananas are like a pine-apple, about a ſpan long, and the plant produces but one. The rind being taken off, they look yellow, and the juice of them is like that of a muſcadine grape, but it muſt be eaten with moderation, being hot in the third degree. There are other ſorts of fruit, as that called Fruta do Conde, or the Count's Fruit, which grows on a plant as high as an orange-tree, of a very pleaſant flavour. Manaques, like our ſmall melons, and growing on very large trees. Maracoupias, like a great round apple, and yellow without, of which I ſent the draughts, as I did of ſeveral other curious ſorts of fruits, to the Sieur Jacques Zanoni, apothecary of Bononia, who will make them public in his book of plants now in the preſs.

As for European fruits, ſuch as grapes, pomegranates, melons, figs, gourds, cucumbers, oranges, lemons, and citrons, they grow there to a wonder; and theſe laſt are like our gourds in Italy, by reaſon of the goodneſs of the radical moiſture of the earth. So the Portugueſe orange-trees do not only multiply there, but improve very much; and the young plants grow up to vaſt high trees. Little other meat is eaten there but beef and ſome pullets. Wine is dearer than ſaffron; for it is brought from the Madeiras, that is, above ſix hundred and fifty leagues, and pays above eight piſtoles a pipe cuſtom. All the Whites in that country are either Portugueſe, or deſcended from them, and drink little wine. The commonalty drink all water, which is none of the beſt. Inſtead of bread they eat cakes made of the meal of a root called Manioca. In that country there are properly but two ſeaſons; ſpring, which is temperate enough, but rainy, during which the trees do not loſe their leaves; and ſummer, which is very hot and dry, inſomuch, that did not the dew make ſome amends, the country would be quite dried and parched up. The town of St. Paul, and country about it, which lies furtheſt up in Brazil, may be called the true lubber-land, or country of pleaſure. Any ſtranger that comes thither, though never ſo poor, is welcome, and preſently meets with a wife to his liking, provided he ſubmit to the conditions, which are to think of nothing but eating, drinking, and walking, but particularly of being

kind to no woman but his own. If he give the leaſt cauſe to ſuſpect he will make his eſcape, ſhe certainly poiſons him; but if he agrees well with her, he is cheriſhed and made much of, every one ſtriving to out-do another in kindneſs.

Their wealth comes out of a river that waters the country, and which is ſo rich, that it can relieve the miſerableſt wretch who implores its aſſiſtance; for they need only take the ſand of the river, and ſeparate the gold from it, which abundantly requites their trouble, there being only the fifth part due to the King by way of acknowledgment. Much more curious and extraordinary is reported of that country; but not having been there myſelf, becauſe it lies in the furtheſt part of Brazil, and near to the river of Plate, I dare not avouch all for truth, though in reality nothing ought to appear incredible to thoſe who are well acquainted with the extravagant cuſtoms and abſurd manners of thoſe barbarous nations.

At length, on the 2d of November 1667, we ſet ſail for the kingdom of Congo, and were forced, to avoid contrary winds, to run into twenty-nine degrees of ſouth latitude, even with the Cape of Good Hope, which might better be called the Cape of Death, becauſe of the continual fear of death they are in who come near it. For the ſpace of eight days we were toſſed in a terrible manner; ſometimes lifted up to the clouds, and ſometimes caſt down to the deep, either way dreading to periſh. At laſt the wind fell, the waves ſettled, and we ſaw ſome bones of cuttle-fiſh, which the goldſmiths make uſe of for caſting, float upon the water, eſteemed a token of fair weather, and of being within ſixty leagues of the continent, that fiſh never going far from ſhore.

In ſhort, next day we ſaw land, and began to hope well of the ſucceſs of our voyage, becauſe there are never any ſtorms on that coaſt, and ſhips may run along within muſquet-ſhot of it, without any danger of ſands. Our boat being out for ſeveral days, ſounding to diſcover ſome rocks that lie under-water along the ſhore; we fiſhed as we went, and always brought aboard a great deal of fiſh. Among the reſt we caught one that weighed about fifteen or ſixteen pounds, which the captain ſaid he would treat us with. The colour of it was red, the head large and round, the eyes ſparkling like fire, the noſtrils flat upon the forehead, the fins beating, the ſcales ruſtling together, the whole body toſſing and puffing in a hideous manner. The captain knowing it to be one of the moſt delicious fiſhes in thoſe ſeas, would dreſs it for us himſelf, making a ſort of white ſauce with ſugar, ſpice, and juice of oranges and lemons; ſo that it being all like a diſh of curds, we eat it with ſpoons, and could not diſtinguiſh whether the ſauce made the fiſh good, or the fiſh mended the ſauce.

I had a great mind to go aſhore, but the maſter would not ſuffer it, aſſuring me there were Blacks along that coaſt that eat man's fleſh. We diſcovered two of them, who, as ſoon as they ſaw us, ran away far enough, which made the maſter put off from ſhore, for fear thoſe Blacks were gone to call ſome magician to ſink our boat and ſeize us. Some days after, the maſter went out of the boat aſhore to comply with ſome corporal neceſſity; but as ſoon as he got behind a little rock, he ran back to the water out of breath, calling out to us to come to his aſſiſtance, as we did with all poſſible ſpeed. The cauſe of his fright was, that behind the rock he ſaw a fire lighted, near to which there was a ſtring of fiſhes a drying, a certain token that ſome Blacks lived near, which ſo terrified him, that, forgetting the need he was in, he had no occaſion for three days after.

When we had paſſed that coaſt, which is hideous to look to by reaſon of a long ridge of barren mountains, about the latitude of fourteen degrees we diſcovered ſome green trees and a pleaſanter ſhore, in which there were good ports made by nature, capable of containing two or three thouſand ſhips. Upon Chriſtmas-eve we touched at Benguela,

capital of the kingdom of the ſame name, where there is a Portugueſe governor and garriſon; and we found about two hundred white inhabitants, and abundance of Blacks. The houſes are built with mud and ſtraw, the church and fort being made of no better materials.

Abundance of ſmall boats came aboard us, each carrying two black fiſhermen, who came to exchange fiſh with the ſeamen for Brazil roll-tobacco.

The father-ſuperior and I went aſhore, where I preached the firſt time in Portugueſe. The temper of that climate is ſo bad that it gives the food the country produces ſo pernicious a quality, that thoſe who eat of it at their firſt coming certainly die, or at leaſt contract ſome dangerous diſtemper; which is the reaſon that paſſengers take care not to go aſhore, nor to drink the water, which looks like lye. This made us unwilling to accept of the dinner the governor invited us to, though he aſſured us there ſhould be none of the country-proviſions, and we ſhould drink wine brought by ſea; which he performed, giving us a treat altogether after the faſhion of Europe. After which he further expreſſed his kindneſs, ſending very good European fruit aboard after us, with a whole beef flayed, but little, and without horns, very well taſted, as is all the meat of te country, whereof there is great plenty and very cheap.

Any body that ſees the Whites who live in that country may eaſily diſcern how little that air agrees with them; they look as if they were dug out of their graves; their voices are broken, and they hold their breath in a manner between their teeth, which made me, in the moſt obliging manner I could, refuſe the governor's requeſt, who, wanting prieſts, would have kept me there ſome time to adminiſter the holy myſteries. The courts at Liſbon, as a puniſhment for ſome heinous crime, often baniſh criminals to Angola and Benguela, looking upon thoſe countries as the moſt wretched and infectious of any the Portugueſe poſſeſs; therefore the Whites there are the moſt deceitful and wickedeſt of men.

Having taken leave of the governor, we went aboard again, and proceeded on our voyage, which we ended happily before the wind, arriving on Twelfth-day at the port of Loanda, which is the fineſt and largeſt I ever ſaw. My companion and I landed, and were received by an infinite number of Whites and Blacks, who ſtrove to outdo one another in expreſſing their joy for our arrival, kiſſing our habits, and embracing us. Attended by this croud, we proceeded to our *hoſpitium* or houſe for our reception, in the church whereof we found above three hundred perſons, with the chief men of the town, who came out to meet us. Having adored the bleſſed ſacrament, and returned thanks to God for our proſperous voyage, we went into the convent, where we found three Fathers, an old lay-man threeſcore and ten years of age, an under-guardian of Congo recovering after a fit of ſickneſs, and one of Angola in a fever. We were informed, to our great regret, that two religious men of our company, who came away a little before us from Genoa, died both of them as ſoon as they arrived, one at Loanda, and the other at Meſſangrana not far off. Thoſe Fathers who were of a vigorous conſtitution, now enjoy the reward of their pious intention, which they had not the power to put in execution, being prevented by death. Soon after the ſub-guardian of Congo intended to ſet out and conduct me and my companion to the county of Songo, and thence to the county of Bamba, there to be expoſed to all thoſe fatigues for which we had prepared ourſelves. The county of Bamba is no leſs in extent than the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily together.

Loanda is an iſland and town of the ſame name, being the capital of all thoſe countries the Portugueſe poſſeſs in thoſe vaſt regions of the Blacks. The Dutch once made themſelves maſters of it, but the Portugueſe with much bravery beat them out. There

is a good number of Jeſuits, who are allowed by the King of Portugal a penſion of two thouſand Cruſadoes a year, that is 266l. 13s. 4d. They keep ſchools, preach, and perform other functions for the ſalvation of ſouls. To requite their labours, the people of that country have given them the property of ſeveral houſes, and of twelve thouſand ſlaves of ſundry trades, as ſmiths, joiners, turners, and ſtone-cutters, who, when they have no employment at home, ſerve the public, and bring their maſters in a Cruſado a day. We alſo found Carmelites there, and ſome of the third order of St. Francis, all of them religious men, of a very exemplary life.

The city Loanda is large and beautiful enough. The houſes of the Whites are of lime and ſtone, and covered with tiles; thoſe of the Blacks are of mud and ſtraw. One part of the city ſtretches to the brink of the ſea, and the other riſes up to the top of the hill. There are about three thouſand Whites, and a prodigious multitude of Blacks, whoſe number is not known; they ſerve as ſlaves to the Whites, ſome of whom have fifty, ſome a hundred, two or three hundred, and even to three thouſand. He who has moſt is richeſt, for they being all of ſome calling, when their maſters have no uſe for them, they go work with any that wants them, and beſides, ſaving their maſters their diet, they bring home their earnings.

The Whites when they go about the town, are followed by two Blacks, with an hammock of net-work, which is the conveniency uſed for carrying of people even when they travel. Another Black walks by his maſter's ſide, holding a large umbrella over him to keep off the ſun, which is violently hot. When any two that have buſineſs, meet, they join their umbrellas, and walk ſide by ſide in the ſhade. When the white women go abroad, which is very ſeldom, they are carried in a covered net, as is uſed in Brazil, with attendance of ſlaves. The ſlaves, both men and women, kneel when they ſpeak to their maſter.

At Loanda they eat abundance of fiſh, cow-beef, which is the beſt ſort of fleſh, goat and mutton. Each of the laſt may be ſaid to have five quarters, the tail being the biggeſt of them; but it is not wholeſome becauſe of its great fatneſs, nor indeed is any fleſh in that country. Inſtead of bread they uſe the root of Manjoza, as they do at Brazil, and Indian wheat, of which they make little cakes, and other things of paſte, which yet are not ſo good as bread. The water they drink is very bad; it is brought from a neighbouring iſland, where they dig a trench even with the ſea, and the water freſhes as it ſtrains through the ſand, but not thoroughly. Elſe they go for it to a river twelve or fourteen miles from Loanda, and load their canoes, which are boats made of one piece of timber. The canoes have a hole at the bottom, which they open when they are in the river, and ſtop it up when the canoe is full enough. When they come home, they ſtrain it from the dirt, and let it ſtand ſome days to ſettle. Wine brought from Europe is ſold for ſixty Mil Reys the pipe, that is twenty pounds ſterling; when there is a ſcarcity it riſes to one hundred Mil Reys a pipe, and ſometimes there is none at all to be had.

There is but little money paſſes in that country; but inſtead of it they buy and ſell with Maccutes, Birames, and Indian pieces, or Muleches. The Maccutes are pieces of cloth made of ſtraw a yard long, ten of which are worth one hundred Reys. The Birames are pieces of coarſe cotton cloth made in the Indies, five ells long, and coſt two hundred Reys the piece. The Indian pieces, or Muleches, are young Blacks about twenty years of age, worth twenty Mil Reys each. If they are younger, they are valued by people who have judgment in them. Young women are of the ſame value as men. Beſides theſe there are ſhells they call Zimbi which come from Congo, for which all things are to be bought as if they were money; two thouſand of them

are

are worth a Maccute. The people of Congo value theſe ſhells, though they are of no uſe to them, but only to trade with other Africans who adore the ſea, and call theſe ſhells which their country does not afford, God's children; for which reaſon they look upon them as a treaſure, and take them in exchange for any ſort of goods they have. Among them he is the richeſt and happieſt who has moſt of them.

The inhabitants of Loanda courted us to ſtay with them for a year at leaſt, to uſe ourſelves to the air and proviſions, before we ventured further into thoſe deſarts and unhealthy countries of Bamba, where our lives would be in danger. We anſwered, it would be a happy exchange to meet with death that would purchaſe us true life, and to loſe our bodies to find ſo many ſouls, for whoſe ſalvation providence had brought us thither.

All that follows to the end is writ by F. Denis Carli:

WE ſet out both of us for our miſſion of Bamba, where a great duke ſubject to the King of Congo reſided; for in that kingdom there are five provinces. The firſt is that of St. Salvador, or St. Saviour, where the King of Congo, whoſe name is D. Alvaro, reſides. It takes name of the capital city called St. Salvador, which is beſt ſeated, and in the wholeſomeſt air in the kingdom, built upon a hill. In it there are ſcarce any flies or gnats, fleas or bugs, as there are in the reſt of the kingdom; but it is not free from ants, which are very troubleſome. The King's palace is almoſt a league in compaſs. Formerly it was the only houſe that was boarded, but the Portugueſe who have ſettled there have put the great men in the way of adorning and furniſhing their houſes. The cathedral is built with ſtone like thoſe of our Lady, St. Peter and St. Anthony of Padua, in which are the tombs of the Kings of Congo. That of the Jeſuits dedicated to St. Ignatius is not the meaneſt. Our Lady of Victory is made of mud, but whitened both within and without; it was given to the Capuchins by King Alphonſo the Third. The ſecond province is that of Bamba, where the great duke called D. Theodoſio rules. The third that of Sondi, where there is another duke. The fourth that of Pemba, where a marquis reſides; and the fifth that of Songo, in which there is a count who has not owned the King of Congo for ſome years; he reſides in the town of Songo, a league from the river Zaire.

Having provided all things neceſſary, F. Michael Angelo and I went on board, and coaſting along the continent, in two days came to Dante, on the frontiers of the kingdom of Angelo, where the Portugueſe have a fort. We went to wait upon the governor, and ſhewed him the letters we brought from the lords of the council of Loanda, who then governed the kingdom, the viceroy that was expected not being yet come; they were letters of recommendation for him to help us to Blacks to carry us and our goods. During two days we ſtayed there, the governor ſent out a fiſhing, and ſalted the fiſh for us; and among other ſorts there were ſoles and pilchards above a ſpan long. Our proviſion being ready, and thirty Blacks appointed to carry us and our equipage, hammocks were provided for us; the gentlemen of that city giving us to underſtand, that it was impoſſible for us to go afoot, being clad and equipped as we were; ſo that there being no other remedy, we complied with the cuſtom of the country.

We

We ſet out, and there being no great roads in thoſe wild countries, but only paths, were forced to go in file. Some Blacks went before us with their burdens, next F. Michael in his hammock followed by ſome Blacks; then came I carried in my net, which to me ſeemed an eaſy ſort of carriage; and after me followed the reſt of the Blacks, to relieve thoſe that carry when they are weary. It is wonderful to ſee how ſoft they go though loaded. They were armed with bows and arrows, and were to carry us to one of their towns, which in their language they call Libattes, as we ſhall always call them in this relation. There we were to provide other carriers.

The lord or governor of the Libatte, whom in their language they call the Macolonte, came immediately to viſit us, and aſſigned us two of the beſt cottages in the place; for throughout all the kingdom there is never a ſtone houſe, but only of ſtraw and ſtubble; and the fineſt are of mud walls, and thatched, moſt of them without windows, the door ſerving for a window. We muſt except the city of St. Salvador, as was ſaid before.

The Macolonte was clad after this manner: he only wore a clout of the bigneſs of a handkerchief made of palm-tree leaves, for decency-ſake, to cover that which modeſty requires ſhould be covered, and a cloak of European cloth reaching down to the ground; it was blue, a colour much eſteemed among them; the reſt of his body was naked. The Blacks that attended the Macolonte, and who were his officers, had only one of thoſe handkerchiefs, which they ſend to be dyed blue at Loanda: the reſt of the people had only leaves of trees, and monkeys' ſkins; and thoſe who live in the open country, and lie under the trees, whether men or women, wear nothing at all, but go quite naked without any ſenſe of ſhame.

This firſt Libatte was pretty large, conſiſting of about a hundred cottages, ſeparate from one another, and without any order: it may be ſaid they do not live in them in the day-time, for the men go abroad a walking, to take their diverſion, to converſe together, and to play upon certain inſtruments, which are wretched and ridiculous enough, till night, being altogether ſtrangers to melancholy. The women, on the other ſide, go out in the morning to till the ground, carry a baſket at their backs, into which they put a black earthen-pot, which they call Quiouſou, and one of their children, carrying the youngeſt in their arms, who takes the breaſt without the mother's help. They lead one by the hand, and very often carry another in their belly, for theſe people are fruitful and incontinent. The reſt of the children, if there be more, follow the mother; but when they are grown ſomewhat big, they let them go where they will, without taking any more care of them than if they were not their children.

We preſented the Macolonte with a ſtring of beads of Venice glaſs, which they call Miſſanga, and hang about their neck, having no pocket or other place to keep it. The Macolonte having received and returned his compliments, ſends a Black all about the Libatte, to order the inhabitants to bring their children to be baptized; the youth being almoſt all baptized before, we having had that miſſion thirty years. They acquaint them that a Capuchin is come, whom in their language they call Gramga, adding, by way of reſpect, the word Fomet, which is as much as father or maſter. As ſoon as they hear of our coming, they all flock in, bringing their children, and by way of alms two of their handkerchiefs of palm-tree leaves, or elſe three thouſand five hundred little ſhells, which, as has been ſaid, is the money of the country, called by them Zimbi; or elſe a Pullet, for a quantity of them was once carried thither, but the wars have almoſt deſtroyed them. They alſo bring a little ſalt upon a leaf to bleſs the water, and give one of the preſents above-mentioned for baptizing their children, and if they have nothing to give, they are chriſtened for God's ſake. In this place we baptized thirty, each of us fifteen, to our great ſatisfaction, they being the firſt we had made Chriſtians.

I ſpoke

I ſpoke to the Macolonte to prepare things to ſay maſs next day; and immediately he ſent our ſeveral Blacks to cut wood, and palm-tree leaves, wherewith they erected a little green chapel, as was the altar, I having given them the height and breadth; and then we furniſhed it, all the miſſioners carrying a cheſt along with them, containing all things neceſſary for the holy ſacrifice. Whilſt my companion ſaid maſs, the Macolonte ſent notice to other Blacks that were at a ſmall diſtance from thence, who came time enough to hear the ſecond maſs: after which we baptized ten children of that neighbouring Libatte. There was a great number of people preſent, the chapel having been erected on a riſing ground, to the end they might at leaſt ſee, if they could not hear the maſs. Next we catechiſed, dividing the people into two parts, and explaining what we ſaid to them by the help of an interpreter.

That done, they fell a playing upon ſeveral inſtruments, a dancing, and ſhouting ſo loud, that they might be heard half a league off. I will deſcribe but one of their inſtruments, which is the moſt ingenious and agreeable of them all, and the chief of thoſe in uſe among them. They take a piece of a ſtake, which they tie and bend like a bow, and bind to it fifteen long, dry, and empty gourds, or calabaſhes of ſeveral ſizes, to ſound ſeveral notes, with a hole at top, and a leſſer hole four fingers lower, and ſtop it up half-way, covering alſo that at the top with a little thin bit of board, ſomewhat lifted above the hole. Then they take a cord made of the bark of a tree, and faſtening it to both ends of the inſtrument, hang it about their neck. To play upon it they uſe two ſticks, the ends whereof are covered with a bit of rag, with which they ſtrike upon thoſe little boards, and ſo make the gourds gather wind, which in ſome manner reſembles the ſound of an organ, and makes a pretty agreeable harmony, eſpecially when three or four of them play together.

They beat their drums with open hand, and they are made after this manner: they cut the trunk of a tree three quarters of an ell long or more; for when they hang them about their necks, they reach down almoſt to the ground: they hollow it within, and cover it top and bottom with the ſkin of a tyger, or ſome other beaſt, which makes a hideous noiſe when they beat it after this manner.

The gentlemen, or gentlemen's ſons carry in their hands two iron bells, ſuch as the cattle among us wear, and ſtrike ſometimes the one, ſometimes the other, with a ſtick; which is ſeldom ſeen among them, this inſtrument being only carried by the ſons of great men, who are not very numerous among them.

We preparing to be gone, our Macolonte made a ſign for his Blacks to ſtand ſtill, and be ſilent, which was done in a moment, and they had need enough of it, being all in a ſweat. Having given them our bleſſing, we ſet out, and they began afreſh to play, dance, and hollow, ſo that we could hear them two miles off, not without ſurpriſe and ſatisfaction, it being a conſort of ſo many curious, and to us ſtrange inſtruments.

By the way we ſaw ſeveral ſorts of creatures, particularly little monkeys, and abundance of apes of divers colours, who all fled to the tops of the higheſt trees. We diſcovered two Pacaſſes, beaſts ſomewhat like buffaloes, that roar like lions: the male and female go always together; they are white, with black and red ſpots; have ears half an ell long, and their horns ſtraight: when they ſee any body, they neither run away, nor do any harm, but look upon ſuch as paſs by. We ſaw another beaſt with black and yellow hair upon a mountain; the interpreter told us it was a leopard, but it was far enough from us. There is alſo in thoſe parts a beaſt ſhaped like, and as ſtrong as a mule; but its hair is diſtinguiſhed by white, black, and yellow ſtreaks,

which

which go round the body from the backbone under the belly, which is very beautiful, and looks as if it were done by art, it is called Zebra.

Going on our journey we came, before we were aware of it, upon a beaſt that lay aſleep, and was waked by the ſhouting of the Blacks as they travel; it roſe, took a great leap, and fled; the body was like that of a wolf, whereof there are abundance, but its head was like a bullock, which is diſproportionable and frightful to behold: I aſked what beaſt it was, and they aſſured me it muſt be ſome monſter. There were abundance of beaſts like our goats, which run away, and then ſtaid for one another; and a multitude of wild hens, bigger than the tame, which taſte like a hare.

Nothing extraordinary happened to us at the ſecond Libatte, and we did there as we had done at the firſt. One night, when we were got into one of thoſe Libattes, they ſhut the door, which was made of dried thorns; all the encloſure, like the walls of our towns, being hedges of thorn as high as a pike. Cottages were aſſigned us to paſs the night; but the heat being exceſſive, I chooſe rather to lie in the open air in my hammock, faſtening one end of it to the top of the cottage, and the other to two poles ſet up acroſs one another; F. Michael Angelo did ſo too. About midnight came three lions, roaring that they made the earth ſhake, which waked me thoroughly; and had it not been for the thorny hedge, F. Denis had never ſeen Italy again. I lifted up my head to try whether by the moon-light I could diſcern one of them, but the hedge was ſo cloſe and full of leaves, that I could perceive nothing, though I was ſenſible they were not far from it. I was almoſt reſolved to go back into the cottage, but thinking it impoſſible they ſhould leap ſuch high hedges, I lay quiet till day, not without panting for fear now and then. Day being come, I went to aſk F. Michael Angelo, who was in a cottage hard by, whether he had heard the lions in the night; to which he anſwered, he never ſlept better, becauſe the night was freſh, and had heard nothing. "You are happy," ſaid I, "for if they had broken in, you had gone to heaven without knowing which way." He replied, "That God's providence always watches over his elect, and that it was not his will that they ſhould be expoſed to the cruelty of thoſe mercileſs beaſts."

After baptizing ſeveral children, we ſet out, and having travelled till noon, the Blacks told us we muſt ſtay and reſt, there being a river of good water hard by. Being ſet down, we got into the ſhade under ſome trees, there to make ready our dinner. Some of our men went to gather buck-wheat, others to bring wood to make fire. F. Michael Angelo would have made uſe of his ſteel to light; but a Black who was cook, ſaid, "Father, we have no need of that;" and taking a piece of wood about two fingers thick, with many holes in it which did not go quite through, then taking another little ſtick about the thickneſs of one's finger, and putting it into one of thoſe holes turned, rubbed the two ſticks haſtily one againſt another with both hands, and the little one took fire, which is their way of lighting it. The others who came loaded with buck-wheat, ſhook it out of the ear, and put it into four pots to make broth, and boiled Batataes, which are tolerably good roots.

Whilſt every one was buſy about the cookery, on a ſudden we diſcovered an elephant, not much leſs than a cart loaden with hay in Lombardy, his head hanging a little, one of his teeth being already dropt: all the Blacks got up haſtily, and laying hold of their bows, began to let fly arrows at him with their uſual cries; but one of them, more cunning than the reſt, took a firebrand, and ran to ſet fire to a neighbouring thatched cottage: the elephant ſeeing that great flame, preſently fled with three arrows in his body. The fire of the cottage being ſpread by the wind, laid hold of the next herbage, which being dried up with the exceſſive heat of the ſun, and very

high, burnt ſo that the conflagration ſpread for above a league, conſuming the graſs, trees, and all that it met with; ſo that all the beaſts thereabouts being frighted, we could continue our journey to the next Libatte in all manner of ſafety, though now and then my fancy repreſented to me that terrible beaſt which frighted us.

Another day being upon our journey, we ſaw a great ſerpent draw near to us; it was without any hyperbole twenty-five foot long, which I ſhould not be ſo ready to aſſert, had I not ſeen and meaſured the ſkin of ſuch another, nothing inferior to it, which was preſented to F. Michael Angelo, and which he ſent with ſome other curioſities to his father. This creature had a head as big as a calf, and what frightened us more was, that it came along the ſame path we were upon. The Blacks, according to cuſtom, gave a great ſhout, and ſtriking out of the way, made us go up a riſing ground to give it time, either to go back or move forwards. I obſerved, that in going on it made as much herbage ſhake, as if there had been twenty people. We waited above an hour for it to paſs, after which we came down and went on our way. F. Michael told me in Italian, that he might not be underſtood; "I thought being ſo many of us we were ſafe, but I perceive theſe Blacks are more fearful than we." To which I anſwered, "We were to expect no farther aſſiſtance from them but what their heels could afford us, carrying us the beſt they could, and rather flying from enemies than attacking them." And to ſay the truth, we often wiſhed we had brought a gun along with us, which would have been very uſeful, being often at ſuch a nonplus and in ſo great danger, that without God's ſpecial aſſiſtance we could never have come off, being forced throughout the journey, either to fly, or to fire the herbage to ſecure ourſelves from wild beaſts.

One day as we drew near a river, where we were told there was never a Libatte, but only two thatched houſes to entertain and lodge the Blacks that go from Loanda to St. Salvador, the capital of the kingdom, being come within ſight of the river, we diſcovered a number of cottages, and heard a great noiſe of people ſounding trumpets, and playing on drums, fifes, and other inſtruments. The Blacks halting a little, ſaid, "Perhaps that might be the great duke, lord of the province;" but coming up we perceived they were all new cottages, encompaſſed with a thick hedge of thorn, to ſecure them againſt the wild beaſts that come to drink at the rivers. We aſked a Black what there was in that place, and he told us, there was the brother of the captain-major of Dante, of whom mention has been made before. That gentleman hearing of our approach, ſent four Mulattoes, with muſquets, to meet us. Mulattoes are the children of a White and a Black: with them came many Blacks, with fifes and trumpets. We went to wait upon that gentleman, who received us with much courteſy, and told us, that every evening whereſoever night came upon him, he cauſed ſuch a village to be built, encloſed with thorns.

That worthy gentleman ſhewed us abundance of reſpect, and treated us with pullets and fruit of the country. We would have ſtaid there till he was gone, eſpecially becauſe there was no Libatte on the other ſide of the river; but he ſaid it was better we ſhould croſs whilſt he was preſent, becauſe there were ſeveral Blacks well acquainted with thoſe parts, who would take care we ſhould receive no harm. He bore us company to the river, with all the inſtruments, and there was ſuch a multitude of people with him, that a man would have thought it had been the King of Æthiopia, there being above eighteen hundred men, beſides women and children, which was the reaſon we had been forced to ſtay two days at Dante, where we found not men enough to bear us company. He had ſo much patience as to ſee us carried over and out of danger; and having ſaluted him, he returned to his cottage, where he cauſed his

people

people to make ready to march, which we had the pleaſure to ſee. Among the reſt we had twenty-four Mulattoes, who are bold, daring, and undaunted fellows in all dangers; they were armed with muſquets and ſcymitars; the Blacks had bows and arrows, and half-pikes: the inſtruments ſounded, and the cries were redoubled at their departure, which made us admire to ſee with what ſtate and attendance great men travel in thoſe parts.

We went from the river, and the ſun being very low, had ſcarce travelled half a mile when we ſtopped at the two cottages, but perceived we ſhould not be very ſafe there from wild beaſts, becauſe there were no thorny hedges, only four trees where watch might be kept, and where we might reſt that night, there being little huts on the tops of them. The Blacks told us we might go into one of the cottages, and that ſome of them would ſtand ſentinel all night upon the trees, and the reſt would go into the other hut. F. Michael Angelo ſaid we ſhould be ſafer if we got up the trees; but the Blacks aſſured us we could not ſleep there, telling us we need not take care, for they would watch all night in their turns. We went into the beſt cottage, and cauſed ſome ſtraw to be brought to lie on, as we did, after eating of what the black gentleman had charitably beſtowed on us, and giving thanks to God for having brought us ſafe ſo far. After making the ſign of the croſs, we gave ourſelves up to ſleep.

About midnight we were diſturbed by a lion and ſhe tiger, that came ſporting together towards our huts; and perceiving their roaring draw nearer and nearer, I aſked my companion, whether he had heard the lion; "Too much of it," ſaid he, "and it would not be amiſs, whatſoever may happen, that we ſhould hear one another's confeſſions." Having done ſo, we looked through the crevices of the cottage, whether we could perceive them by the light of the moon: it was eaſy to ſee them, they not being a ſtone's throw off; and any body may believe it was not without ſome heart-aching that we ſilently expected how God would be pleaſed to diſpoſe of us. We heard the Blacks on the trees, and thoſe in the other cottage talk together; and ſoon after they lighted fire, which made thoſe beaſts fly towards the river. Thus were we again delivered from that danger, through the mercy of God, to whom we had heartily recommended ourſelves.

The next day, having travelled half our journey to the next Libatte, we heard a great noiſe of people, and drawing near them, found they were Blacks carrying a Portugueſe to be canon of St. Saviour, where the cathedral of all the country is. Having viewed him, and remembering we had ſeen one another at Loanda, where he came every day to ſay maſs in our church, we expreſſed the great ſatisfaction we received in meeting ſo fortunately, and travelled together the remaining part of the day. We aſked him how he could leave ſo fine a city as Liſbon, his native country, to come into thoſe wretched and deſert countries. To which he anſwered, he had a good penſion allowed him of fifty Mil Reys a year, which is about ſeventeen pounds ſterling. "I would not undertake ſuch a taſk," ſaid I to him, "for a thouſand millions of gold." "What do you come to do here, then?" quoth he. "It is for the love of God and our neighbour," replied we, "that we left Italy; and we ſhall think all our care and fatigues ſufficiently rewarded, if but one ſoul purchaſes heaven through our means." Diſcourſing in this manner, we came to the Libatte, where we found but few people, which troubled us, becauſe there were not Blacks enough to convey us all; which made us deſire the canon to go before, and we would ſtay till his carriers came back, but we could never prevail with him, though it had proved better for him, for he died a few days after at Bombi, whence we were gone before he came, and where

we might have comforted and done the laſt duties towards him, if he were paſt the others.

Bombi is a very great Libatte, where there reſides a marquis, ſubject to the great duke of Bamba, as he is to the King of Congo. There we found a ſon of the marquis, who ſpoke Portugueſe, and offered to go along and be our interpreter, not only on our journey, but during our ſtay at Bamba, which we accepted of, with the conſent of his father, the marquis. When the ſun was up, we ſet out better pleaſed than before, becauſe we had that youth of twenty-five years of age with us, who expreſſed himſelf well in Portugueſe; yet we ſuffered nevertheleſs for that, for when we leaſt thought of it, we perceived at a diſtance a great fire the Blacks had lighted among the herbage, which running on before the wind, drove all the wild beaſts towards us: our men ſaid, "Fathers, we muſt ſhun the fury of theſe beaſts, for perhaps there are lions and tigers among them, the beſt way is to climb the trees." Hearing this, and being ſenſible there was no other remedy, we opened one of our trunks, and took out a ladder of ropes, made in Brazil; then we made a Black get up a tree to faſten it, after which, my companion and I, and the marquis's ſon went up, drawing up the ladder after us, all the reſt getting up other trees. And in truth we were in the right not to loſe time, for that troop of wild beaſts was with us immediately, and their number was ſo great, that as many as we were, we ſhould all of us have ſcarce made one good meal for them. There were tigers, lions, wolves, pocaſſes, and rhinoceroſes, which have a horn over their noſe, and ſeveral other ſorts of creatures, who, as they paſſed by, lifted up their heads and looked at us. Our Blacks, who had arrows for the moſt part poiſoned with juice of herbs, wounded ſome of them, but that did not make them run ſo much as the fire they felt drawing near. This danger being paſt, we came down, and went on our way, giving thanks to God for having delivered us from ſuch danger of death.

The next day we came to a Libatte, where we found but very few people; they told us they were gone to the war with the duke of Bamba againſt the count of Songo, who had been long revolted againſt the King of Congo; that after ſome were deſtroyed on both ſides, the reſt concluded a truce, and ſome time after took up arms again.

There being but few men in that place, we reſolved to part, that ſo one might expect the return of thoſe that carried him who went firſt. F. Michael Angelo offered to go before, our reſidence at Bamba not being far off, and ſend me twenty men from thence to carry me and our burden which was to remain behind. I ſtaid ſix days with the marquiſs's ſon, both of us living upon kidney-beans, which in their language they call Cazacaza, and the young man gathered them every day; but perceiving that food of kidney-beans did not nouriſh me, and that I could ſcarce ſtand upon my legs through weakneſs, I began to ſtring beads, ſitting upon a little ſtraw at the door of my cottage, which the Blacks obſerving, who were moſt of them good old men, they flocked about me, admiring thoſe beads with ſilk taſſels, to which the medal was faſtened, and earneſtly entreated me to give them a pair of beads for the Macolonte. I told them I would, provided they gave me a pullet, having ſeen a great many about the Libatte, which they did. Neceſſity obliged me to do ſo, there being never a child to baptiſe there, and they being little acquainted with giving alms for God's ſake. In ſhort, with the help of the beads, I lived the beſt I could.

At laſt the Blacks my companions ſent me came; and being on our way not far from the Libatte where we were to lie that night, we were ſurpriſed to meet a lion ſo wounded that he could ſcarce go, and left a tract of blood whereſoever he went. The Blacks in a fright ſet down their burdens and me ſo haſtily, that I had much ado to get looſe

out of my net; they laid hold of their bows, and one of them taking the two ſticks, as I deſcribed them before, lighted fire, and put it to the herbage, which immediately flamed, it being then almoſt dry, very tall and thick, becauſe it was the month of March, contrary to what is uſual in our European countries; the flames riſing, and the Blacks continuing their cries, the lion who was coming towards us in a fury, turned about and took another way. We came to the Libatte an hour before night, but it had no encloſure of thorns like the reſt, and went to the great place in it, where we found all the people gathered about a wounded man; I came down from my hammock, and aſked what the matter was; they told me it was the Macolonte who had fought a lion. They made way for me, and drawing near, I ſaluted him, telling him he was in the wrong in not making a thorn hedge about the Libatte as was about others. "Father," ſaid he, "as long as I live there will be no need of a hedge, when I am dead they may do as they think fit." His wound was but ſlight, and I deſired him to tell me how he had fenced with the lion. "Father," ſaid he, "as I was ſtanding here, talking with my people, a hungry lion led by the ſcent of man's fleſh, came upon us ſo unexpectedly, without roaring as is uſual, that my people, who were all diſarmed, had ſcarce time to make their eſcape; I, who am not uſed to run away, clapped one knee and one hand on the ground, and holding up my knife with the other, ſtruck him with all my force in the belly; he finding himſelf wounded, roared, and came upon me ſo furiouſly, that he wounded himſelf again in the throat, but at the ſame time with his talon he tore a piece of ſkin off my ſide; however, my people returning with their weapons, the lion, wounded in two places, ran away ſwiftly, loſing much blood." That was the lion which we met, certainly in a bad condition, being wounded with a knife made after the manner of a Genoeſe bayonet, guided by the hand of ſo brave a man as the Macolonte.

I was farther informed by him, that the great duke of Bamba, who had fought with the count of Songo, was made the King's generaliſſimo. At this time they brought me a handſome young black woman ſtark naked to be baptized. Being obliged to catechiſe her, I cauſed her to be covered with ſome leaves, and reproved her for deferring to be baptized ſo long, it being a long time ſince the kingdom had received the faith of Jeſus Chriſt. She anſwered, that ſhe lived in the open country, as many others do, who lie under trees; and that ſhe had but then heard of the coming of the Capuchins. Having inſtructed her in the principles of Chriſtianity, and it being St. Joachim's day, I called her Anne. The ceremonies of baptiſm being performed, all the Blacks of the Libatte, men, women, and young lads, whom they call Muleches, made a ring, and took her in the midſt of them, dancing, playing on their inſtruments, and crying, "Long live Anne, long live Anne," with ſuch a noiſe and hubbub, that I was quite ſtunned and beſide myſelf. F. Michael Angelo having gone before me, there were no children to baptize. I only baptized ſome of the country, who will not draw into the Libattes, that they may be more at liberty, though it be not without danger.

Next morning I continued my journey towards Bamba, and being forced to alight in a great valley, becauſe the way was bad, I got out of the net, and walked about half a league in a ſtony way, a very rare thing in that country, where till then I had not ſeen one ſtone. The Blacks who were bare-footed ſuffered much, and I was not without fatigue, the heat being exceſſive, and the path narrow; beſides, the graſs which was high and thick beat againſt my legs, which flayed them, and they were ſore for two months after. My companion had fared no better, for I found his legs ſwathed.

Through the midſt of the valley there ran a river, narrow, but very deep. The Blacks ſounded the ford to carry us over where there was leaſt water, which was four foot

foot deep. We lay in our hammocks, and two of the luſtieſt carriers held the ſtaff over their heads, not without danger of falling together into the water; but they only laughed at it, and ſtopped to bathe themſelves. We took notice of abundance of very beautiful birds of ſeveral colours, green, red, yellow, and ſome which I thought the fineſt with white feathers and black fillets, looking like the ſcales of fiſh; their tail, eyes, beak, and feet of the colour of fire. Theſe are Ethiopian parrots, which talk like thoſe of America, and are rarely brought into Europe, but ſcarce ever into Italy.

Being very near Bamba, I heard a bell, which they told me belonged to our convent, ſeated on a hill. F. Michael Angelo had made it ring to maſs, and having ſaid it, came to meet us with ſeveral Blacks playing on inſtruments after their manner. After performing my devotions in the church for my good journey, I went into the convent, where I found four little cells of mud-walls, covered with ſtraw, an entry and porch, and ſacriſty or veſtry, and church, all built with the ſame materials. Whilſt we were giving one another an account of what had happened to us, there came a Black from the great ducheſs to bid me welcome, and let me know ſhe was deſirous to ſee me. Finding myſelf very much weakened, and ſpent with continual ſweating, I deſired him to excuſe me to her, and aſſure her that as ſoon as I was a little recovered I would not fail of going to pay my reſpects to her. I had great need of reſt, but being in a ſtrange country where every thing was new to me, curioſity made me go out to ſee our garden, where I could not ſufficiently admire ſuch variety of fruits of the earth, not only of Africa, but of America and Europe, obſerving all thoſe ſorts there which I had before ſeen in Brazil. Thoſe of Europe were grapes, fennel, cardoons or thiſtles, all ſorts of ſalleting, gourds, cucumbers, and many other ſorts, but no pears, apples, nuts, or ſuch like fruits as require a cold climate. At night the ducheſs ſent me a bottle of wine made of the palm-tree, as white as milk. I taſted a little, but neither I nor F. Michael Angelo liked it, we gave it to our Blacks, who looked upon it as a great dainty, often repeating the word Malaf, which among them ſignifies wine.

It is to be obſerved that in the kingdom of Congo there are two harveſts every year; they begin to ſow in January, and reap in April. After that they have their winter when our ſummer is, but that winter is like a ſweet ſpring or autumn in Italy. The heat begins again in September, when they ſow again, and have a harveſt in December.

F. Michael Angelo had already taken ſeveral Blacks into our ſervice, and ſettled the affairs of the houſe. The houſe and church being old, and threatening ruin, he had thoughts of building new ones. He had appointed two of our Blacks to be gardeners, one to be cook, one ſacriſtan, two to go fetch water to drink and dreſs our meat, one to look after the little ſhells which ſerve inſtead of money in that country, and to buy honey, wax, fruit, meal, and buck-wheat; and our interpreter, who continued with us. We found a great many Blacks who underſtood Portugueſe, Bamba being in the road to go to St. Salvador; theſe Blacks having often occaſion to ſpeak that language with thoſe that carried ſuch merchandiſe as the Portugueſe merchants at Loanda tranſport to St. Salvador. Bamba is a great town, ſeventy leagues from the ſea, the capital of the province of that name, and well peopled, becauſe of the great duke's reſiding there.

I went to viſit the great ducheſs, and we agreed together to ſend a Black to the great duke, to adviſe him to make a truce with the enemy, and return to his own eſtate. But being informed that the King of Congo was come to Pemba, diſtant ten days' journey from Bamba, F. Michael Angelo told me we ought to lay hold of that opportunity to go both of us to pay our reſpects to him, and the more becauſe our labour would not be loſt; for whatſoever place we went through, we ſhould find children and youth to baptiſe and inſtruct, and might preach our holy faith. We ſet out the

next

next day with ſeveral Blacks allowed us by the great ducheſs, rather for our guard than any thing elſe, we carrying nothing with us but what was neceſſary for ſaying maſs, and for our ſubſiſtence, leaving the reſt in our houſe. We being to paſs over ſome very deſert mountains, were told that abundance of lions were abroad, and that it was requiſite to give them time to get further off and loſe themſelves in the wood; which moved us, that we might force them away the ſooner, and not loſe our time to no purpoſe, to ſet fire to the fields, as we had done in the way to Bamba, and it ſucceeded with us; for the wind ſpreading the flame every way, made the lions go off very ſoon.

We found abundance of children to baptize by the way as we had foreſeen; and being come to Pemba, went to our *hoſpitium*, or little houſe of reception, where F. Anthony de Saraverre, a Capuchin of the province of Tuſcany, reſided, who received us very courteouſly, and was aſtoniſhed to ſee us ſo young, for we could not make up ſixty years between us. Having told him our deſign, which was to pay our reſpects to His Majeſty, and return immediately to our miſſion of Bamba; we preſently heard a great noiſe of trumpets, fifes, drums and cornets, which drew near us; and F. Anthony told us, it was certainly His Majeſty, and we might go out and ſalute him. No ſooner were we out of the convent, but we met the King, who was a young Black about twenty years of age, all clad with a ſcarlet cloak and gold buttons. He commonly wears white buſkins upon carnation ſilk ſtockings, or of any other colour; but they ſay he has new clothes every day, which I could hardly believe in a country where fine ſtuffs and good tailors are ſcarce. Before him went twenty-four young Blacks, all ſons of dukes or marquiſſes, who wore about their middle a hankerchief of palm-tree died black, and a cloak of blue European cloth hanging down to the ground, but all of them bare-headed and footed. All his officers, being about an hundred, were much in the ſame dreſs. After them came a croud of other Blacks, with only thoſe black hankerchiefs.

Near to His Majeſty was a Black, who carried his umbrella of ſilk, of a fire-colour, laced with gold; and another who carried a chair of carnation velvet, with gold nails, and the wood all gilt. Two others, clad in red coats, carried his red hammock, but I know not whether it was ſilk or died cotton; the ſtaff was covered with red velvet. We bowed and ſaluted His Majeſty, whoſe name was D. Alvaro, the ſecond King of Congo. He told us we had obliged him in coming into his kingdom, for the good of his ſubjects, but that it would be more pleaſing to him, if we would go along with him to St. Salvador. We humbly thanked him, and anſwered, that there was more need of us at Bamba, there being never a prieſt in all that province, whereas there were many at St. Salvador. After this we talked with him of ſeveral matters concerning Italy and Portugal; after which he ordered his ſecretary, who was a Mulatto, to give us letters of recommendation to the great duke, that upon all occaſions whatſoever he might not fail to aſſiſt us in all things relating to our miſſion, or our private concern.

Being thus diſmiſſed by His Majeſty, he made us ſeveral preſents, as we did of ſeveral jewels of devotion, which were very acceptable to him, he being a perſon very religious and affable. We took leave of F. Anthony, and thanked him, returning very well ſatisfied that we had ſaluted the King, and ſeen in what ſtate he goes, carrying ſuch a number of people about with him. King Alphonſo the Third in 1646, when he gave audience to ſome miſſioners of our order, was more richly clad. He had on a veſt of cloth of gold ſet with precious ſtones, and on his hat a crown of diamonds, beſides other ſtones of great value. He ſat on a chair under a canopy of rich crimſon velvet with gilt nails, after the manner of Europe; and under his feet was a great carpet, with two ſtools of the ſame colour and ſilk, laced with gold.

We went through our journey eaſily enough, meeting with no particular obſtacle, and every day ſaw all ſorts of beaſts, ſo that one would have thought they had rendezvouſed there from all parts of the earth. One day as we were upon the road I heard the crying as it were of a little child; and making the Blacks, who went very faſt, ſtop, bid them take notice of that voice, to go ſee what it was. "We hear it," ſaid they laughing, "but it is a great bird that cries ſo." Which was true, for within a moment after we ſaw it riſe off the ground and fly away. It was a bird bigger than an eagle, of a dark yellow. During this expedition both going and coming home, we had certainly ſtarved had we not been paid for our eccleſiaſtical functions. It is true, the people of the country are very charitable among themſelves; for if we gave one of them any thing to eat, he would give a little of it to the next he met, and ſo all of them eat together, which ought to put many Europeans to the bluſh, who let the poor ſtarve rather than give them a bit of bread. This I ſay without any reflection upon thoſe who have more compaſſion for their neighbour's wants.

Being come again to Bamba, they began to bring us children to baptize, from all the country about. Others came to be married, but theſe were few, and only ſome of the beſt ſort and moſt civilized; for the main difficulty lies in bringing the multitude to keep but one wife, they being wholly averſe to that law. Others ſent us their children to ſchool, which we were fain to keep in the church, becauſe of the great number of them, inſomuch that upon holidays not only the church, but all the place before it, was full. We often ſaid two maſſes a day; true it is, we uſually went to ſay the ſecond in another Libatte, where the Macolonte treated us with kidney-beans, common beans, and other things the women ſow in the country, ſcarce eating any thing elſe, whilſt they are there, and at work. When harveſt is over, which is twice a year, they put all the kidney-beans into one heap, the Indian wheat into another, and ſo of other grain: then giving the Macolonte enough for his maintenance, and laying aſide what they deſign for ſowing, the reſt is divided at ſo much to every cottage, according to the number of people each contains. Then all the women together till and ſow the land for a new harveſt, the earth being fruitful and black like the people.

So they have ſomething to eat, they do not trouble themſelves about laying in great ſtore of proviſions, ſcarce minding in the morning whether they ſhall have any thing at night for ſupper. It has often happened, when I have been travelling with them, that having nothing to give them, becauſe I had it not for myſelf, they without any concern would take a piece of wood which they cut and ſhaped ſo as to ſerve inſtead of a mattock, and ſitting down on the ground would cut up the graſs, and near the roots found certain little white balls which they fed on: which did not a little ſurpriſe me, for having taſted of them, I could not for my life ſwallow one of them; and yet after ſuch a wretched meal, they would ſkip, dance and laugh, as if they had been at a feaſt. What greater happineſs can there be, than not to be afflicted when a man has nothing, nor ſo much as to deſire what he has not? So when they have any thing good to eat, they expreſs no more ſatisfaction than when they have the worſt.

Our employment continued as uſual. There was never a day but we baptized eight or ten children, and ſometimes fifteen or twenty, the poor people coming many leagues to us, which we conſidering reſolved to divide, one to ſtay in the monaſtery, and the other to go into the country. F. Michael Angelo offered to go abroad firſt, promiſing not to ſtay above a fortnight, and to let me hear from him, I being to take my turn after the ſame manner, to the end that by this means both the town and country might receive ſome ſpiritual comfort. During his abſence I continued adminiſtering baptiſm, and teaching ſchool. The great ducheſs had two ſons, D. Peter and D. Sabaſtian, who never

never miſſed coming, eſpecially to learn Portugueſe. At the ſame time I inſtructed them in the myſteries of faith, and their genius appeared to be ſuitable to their birth, though Blacks; being of a ſharp and ready wit, learning all I taught them, and behaving themſelves as became ſuch princes. Now and then ſome Black would come to me to complain that a wolf had devoured one of his children in the night; to which I anſwered, "What would you have me to do? If you who are the father or mother do not take care of them, muſt I look to them, who do not know where they go?" For to ſay the truth, they take no more care of them when they are big, than if they were none of their own.

I began then to be ſenſible what it was to live without eating bread, or drinking wine: for though I was well in health, I had very much to do to ſtand upon my legs, I was ſo ſpent with living upon that food which has ſo little nouriſhment, and with which I was forced to be ſatisfied in thoſe parts. So I recommended myſelf to God, that it might pleaſe him to preſerve my health, for the benefit of thoſe poor Blacks; not ſo much, to ſay the truth, becauſe I found myſelf incapable of undergoing very long the fatigue of our continual employment, as becauſe of the little likelihood there was of ſeeing any other miſſioners come into that country to ſucceed us, and to eaſe me of that employment, which I found to be above my ſtrength.

One evening an hour after ſun-ſet, I heard abundance of people ſinging. but in ſuch a doleful tone as cauſed horror. I inquired of my domeſtics what that meant; they anſwered, it was the people of ſome Libatte, that came with their Macolonte to diſcipline themſelves in the church, becauſe it was a Friday in March. This ſurprized me, and I preſently ſent to open the church-doors, light two candles, and ring the bell. Before they came in, they continued a quarter of an hour on their knees before the church, ſinging the *ſalve regina* in their language, with a very doleful harmony; then being come into the church, I gave them all holy water. They were about two hundred men carrying great logs of wood of a vaſt weight, for the greater penance. I ſpoke a few words to them of the benefit of penance, which if we will not undergo in this world, we ſhall be forced to endure in the next. They were all on their knees, and beat their breaſts. I cauſed the candles to be put out, and they diſciplined themſelves a whole hour with leather-thongs and cords made of the bark of trees. After that we ſaid the litanies of our Lady of Loretto; and having diſmiſſed them, they returned home, leaving the branches of trees they brought without the church, which ſerved us in the garden. This action, ſo much to be admired in thoſe poor people, comforted and encouraged me, conſidering how it pleaſed God thoſe miſerable Ethiopians, almoſt deſtitute of all ſpiritual aſſiſtance, ſhould one day upbraid the Europeans for their negligence, ſince they are ſo far from doing any thing, though they have full liberty and conveniency, that they even deſpiſe thoſe that do, and in comtemptible manner call them, Hermits, Executioners of Chriſt, and Wry Necks. Be this ſaid without offence to thoſe who do not approve of ſuch injurious words, and whoſe thoughts are more agreeable to their character of Catholics.

Another night after the Ave-Mary bell, our Blacks that were in the garden called me to ſee the heaven burn. I went out, imagining it might be ſome fire on a mountain, but found it was one of the greateſt blazing ſtars I ever ſaw in my life. I told them how it was called, and that it foreboded ſome ill to the world; that therefore they ſhould do penance for the ſins they had committed againſt the majeſty of ſo great a God, who is merciful to bear with ſinners, but juſt with thoſe that are impenitent. It was in March 1668 that this comet appeared.

One day they brought me a quantity of round roots like our Truffes (in Engliſh, pignuts); but theſe grow on trees, and are as big as a lemon: opening them, there appear

four or five ſuch nuts red within. To keep them freſh, they put earth about them; when they will eat them, they waſh them, taſte a little of each, and drink of their water. In eating of them they have a little bitteriſhneſs, but the water drank after makes them very ſweet. In their language they call them Colla; and I having obſerved that the Portugueſe made great account of them at Loanda, had ſome ſought out, and ſent them to thoſe gentlemen, my good patrons, who in return ſent me ſome preſents come from Europe.

F. Michael Angelo returned well pleaſed with his progreſs, having baptized abundance of infants and youths, who had never ſeen prieſts; for there are but ſix Capuchins in the whole kingdom, except at St. Salvador; and theſe have the hardeſt taſk in the world to preſerve their health; and when any one of them dies, as it often happens, it is a matter of no ſmall difficulty to get another into his place. My companion being come home, he applied himſelf to cultivate the garden, whence he had our chief nouriſhment; and finding there ſome vine-plants, he tranſplanted them to a riſing ground. He ſowed ſeveral ſorts of European grain, which all came up in perfection. He had brought with him a great many iron tools; for having baptized very many in a Libatte, that was near an iron mine, he had cauſed ſpades, ſhovels, hooks, axes, and other utenſils to be made of it for the garden and cutting of wood. He alſo cauſed to be made twelve ſharp ſpears two foot in length, to be fixed upon ſtaves, to ſerve the Blacks to defend themſelves againſt the wild beaſts when they go through the deſarts; for being ſometimes ſurprized when they leaſt think of it, they can make no uſe of their bows.

The father told me what had happened to him during his abſence; and particularly, that flying once from the paws of a tiger, he was forced to run a great way into a thicket of brambles, there being never a tree to get up, without which ſhift he muſt have loſt his life, as one of the Blacks did; who, to avoid pricking his ſkin among the briars, truſted to the ſwiftneſs of his heels, which could not deliver him from death, that mercileſs beaſt ſoon overtaking him. The Capuchin habit did the Father a kindneſs to keep off the prickles of the thorns, which had made as many holes in his legs as in a cullender.

I ſet out in my turn, after ſaying maſs, with twenty of thoſe who had accompanied F. Michael Angelo, and came to ſeveral places where no Capuchin had been of many years; ſo that in ſome Libattes I baptized above a hundred children, taking ſomething of thoſe that would give, and beſtowing my charity for God's ſake on thoſe that had nothing. I accepted of the preſents of the Macolontes, which were beans and kidney-beans, to maintain thoſe that went with me, who were ſatisfied to attend us, provided we maintained them. In ſome places they fled as ſoon as they ſaw me, having, in all probability, never ſeen any Capuchins. After fifteen days' travel, during which time I never returned to the ſame place, I came back to our houſe, where I found my companion buſy in the garden, which he had made up after the manner of Italy, and planted vines, orange, and lemon-trees, ſo that one would have thought it was not the ſame garden we found there at our coming.

Since that nation has received the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, there ſtill remain among them abundance of ſorcerers and enchanters, (as there are heretics in Europe,) who are the ruin of thoſe people, otherwiſe tractable enough. It is in a manner impoſſible for the King to root them out, inſomuch as that Prince, who is a very good Chriſtian and zealous catholic, has given leave to ſeveral of his great men, who know their lurking-places, to fire their cottages; but they having ſpies abroad, though they meet at night, make their eſcape, and are very ſeldom taken.

The great duke was now come home, and frequented our convent every day. He was ſurprized to ſee the alteration of our garden; and the more, becauſe in thoſe parts

the country is always green; and when the ground is burnt any where, the graſs ſprings up again immediately. I enquired once of the great duke, where he had left his army, which conſiſted of one hundred and fifty thouſand Blacks. He told me he had dropped them in the Libattes as he came along, to which they belonged; and when he came to Bamba he had but ten thouſand left. It is not to be admired there ſhould be ſo many people; for there being no ſort of religious perſon, and moſt of them keeping as many wives as they pleaſe, the country cannot chuſe but be well peopled. One of the kings of Congo led nine hundred thouſand Blacks to the war againſt the Portugueſe, an army one would think ſhould make all the world ſhake; and yet the Portugueſe gave him battle with four hundred muſketeers, and two field-pieces. The terror of that cannon loaded with partridge-ſhot, and the death of the King, put them to flight. I ſpoke with the very Portugueſe who cut off that King's head, and he aſſured me they found all the utenſils belonging to him of beaten gold. For that reaſon they do not at preſent work in the gold-mines, which are near thoſe of iron we have ſpoken of, leſt the Portugueſe ſhould make war upon them; for what miſchief will not gold ſtir up men to?

There was ſcarce a day but the duke, who lived near us, came to our church, in which there was a chapel of timber-work pretty big, where were the tombs of the dukes deceaſed, over which there were figures made of clay like our mortars, coloured with red. He once told us he had refuſed to be king, that he might be nearer the Portugueſe, to have the opportunity ſometimes of drinking wine and brandy. We underſtood him perfectly well, but would not ſeem to do ſo, to prevent uſing him to ſuch familiarity; for it is difficult to get wine to ſay maſs, there being none but what is brought out of Europe. This duke went habited like the King, but with fewer attendants. He wore a coat down to his knees made of palm-tree leaves dyed black, and over it a cloak of blue cloth; a red cap with a gold galloon about it; about his neck he had a large pair of beads with above fifty medals, his legs and feet bare like the reſt. The ſon of ſome lord carried his hat, another his ſcymitar, and a third his arrows. Fifty Blacks went before him playing confuſedly on ſeveral inſtruments; twenty-five men of note, and one hundred archers followed him. It is no difficult matter to find ſuch abundance of ſoldiers, the men exerciſing no trade, except ſome few who work in iron, or make thoſe clothes of palm-tree leaves.

The women of quality wear the fineſt cloth of Europe, whereof they make petticoats down to their heels. They cover their back, breaſt, and left arm, with a ſhort mantle of the ſame ſort, leaving their right arm naked. The inferior ſort wear ſtuffs of leſs value, and the commonalty ſtuffs made of palm-tree leaves, whereof they have only a petticoat.

F. Michael Angelo one day told me he found himſelf much ſpent, and preſently after he fell into a fever; which troubled me very much, and the more, becauſe in that country there are neither phyſicians nor medicines, but all muſt be left to nature. Bleeding is the only remedy uſed, and to that purpoſe I ſent to the great duke's ſurgeon: he was a Black, who had learned that profeſſion at Loanda; for being uſed to bleed the Blacks, it was eaſier for him to practiſe upon the Whites, whoſe veins are more viſible. During his ſickneſs, F. Philip our ſuperior came to Bamba, which was a great relief to me, becauſe he ſpoke the language of the country, and knew the manner of curing ſick perſons in thoſe parts. I was ſenſible I ſhould have need of his aſſiſtance, not being very well myſelf. Our ſick man let me underſtand that diſeaſe would be his laſt, becauſe he found it prevailed upon him. I ſpoke ſome words of comfort to him, ſignifying that his diſeaſe being but a double tertian, he might hope to recover; but however adviſed him to leave all to God, and reſign himſelf up to his holy will.

Soon after he complained of a pain in his left ear, which ſpread over his neck. I miſtruſted it might be an ulceration in the almonds of his ears, and acquainted the ſuperior with my thoughts, who was of the ſame opinion. We anointed him with oil of Angelico made at Rome, which ſeemed to work a wonderful effect, taking away the pain; but it removed to the other ſide, and the ſwelling in the throat increaſed, which made us forbear uſing our oil, for fear it might do more harm than good; and to ſay the truth, hearing him complain with ſo ſlight a fever, I concluded he was worſe inwardly than appeared outwardly. In ſhort, notwithſtanding all the care we took of him, I had the mortification to ſee him die the fifteenth day, having received all the ſacraments, and expreſſed a ſaint-like reſignation; hoping that the Lord, who does not forget to reward his ſervants, lets him now enjoy the recompence of all his labours.

My heart was more ſenſible of my trouble for this loſs than my pen can expreſs; and, without doubt, had not our ſuperior been there, ſent by God's ſpecial direction in ſo ſorrowful a conjuncture, and giving us all worldly and ſpiritual aſſiſtance, I had died too, having already loſt half my life, in that of the dear companion of my travels, ſnatched away by death. He had been blooded fifteen times; and, being apprehenſive it was too much, I gave an account at my return of his diſtemper to the phyſician at Angola. He told me it had been better to have bled him thirty times; but his hour was come, and it was the will of God.

The ſuperior finding me in a fever, which increaſed, thought Providence had ſent him to bury us both, and would not go away till he had ſeen the end of it: however, he reſolved to try means to cure me, cauſing me to be blooded twice a day, which I ſuffered to be done without ſpeaking one word: but, in truth, that uſage in a few days brought me into a deſperate condition, having been forty times blooded, and the fever never decreaſing. I confeſſed, and received the holy *viaticum*, being nothing but ſkin and bones. The father, but for whoſe charity I believe I had died like a beaſt, perceiving the diſeaſe was like to be tedious, the fury of the fever abating, gave me to underſtand, that for the good of the miſſion he muſt of neceſſity be gone. I had ſcarce ſtrength, bowing myſelf, to tell him, that ſince he could not ſtay longer, he ſhould inform my Blacks how they ought to manage me; and that he would pleaſe to ſend F. Michael de Orvietto to me, with whom I had travelled, and who knew how to look to the ſick. He promiſed to do ſo, but his orders miſcarrying, he came not. I was left in my bed, not able to turn myſelf; and the worſt was, that ſo much bleeding had almoſt blinded me. In that condition, half alive and half dead, I was left to the mercy of thoſe Blacks, who ſtole what they could, and brought me, when they thought of it, a porringer of broth; I being able to ſwallow nothing of ſubſtance, and loathing all ſuſtenance.

One day, when I was more caſt down with melancholy and ſadneſs than the diſtemper itſelf, I received a viſit from a Portugueſe jeſuit, who came from St. Salvador, and was returning to the college at Loanda. When he ſaw me in that miſerable condition, "How now, Father," ſaid he, "are you ſo ſick, and yet ſtay in this deſert?" "I came," ſaid I, "very well in health into this country, but after loſing my companion, I fell ſick, and have been now ſome months ſtruggling with death; but I perceive it is not God's will it ſhould have the upper hand, though it was one of my wiſhes." Two days he ſtaid comforting me, and preſented me with ſome pullets, which were more acceptable for coming from his hand, than for their own rarity. We confeſſed to one another, he declaring it was a ſatisfaction to him to be thus provided, being to paſs through many places, where the firing of the dry herbage made the wild beaſts run about

about the country. He aſſured me that, as he came, he was forced to get up a tree, though there were ſixty Blacks with him, to avoid death threatened them by two tigers. Therefore we are not to believe what ſome authors have writ, that the tigers do not aſſault Whites, but only Blacks.

After his departure I remained with my continual diſtemper; but what comforted me was, that every day I baptized ten or twelve children; and not being able to ſit up alone in my bed, was held up by two Blacks, another holding the book, and another the baſon, receiving what alms they gave me; not for my own ſake, for I could eat nothing, but for my family, who would all of them have forſaken me had they wanted meat. I married ſeveral of the chief people; one of them gave me a ſhe-goat, whoſe milk I drank every day, which indeed was little in quantity, but counted a great dainty in that country. This happineſs I had in my indiſpoſition, that I ſlept all night, which is twelve hours long, never varying half an hour all the year round. I would willingly have eaten an egg, but ſick people there are forbid eggs, they being looked upon as unwholeſome for thoſe that are ill, being too hot in thoſe parts. Whilſt I lay thus in bed, ſeveral cripples came to beg of me, and I gave them ſome of thoſe ſhells that ſerve inſtead of money, of which three thouſand five hundred make the value of a piſtole; ſo many are given for a pullet, for at Liſbon a pullet is worth a crown, in Brazil a piece of eight, at Angola ten ſhillings, and at Congo a piſtole, which ſeems to me cheaper than a crown at Liſbon.

My bed was againſt the wall, which was of fat clay ill put together, and might well be called a neſt of rats; for there were ſo many of them, and ſo large, that they troubled me very much, running over me every night, and biting my toes, which broke my reſt very much. To prevent this, I cauſed my bed to be laid in the middle of the room, but to no purpoſe, for thoſe curſed creatures knew where to find me. I cauſed mats to be laid all about my bed for my Blacks to lie on, and defend me not only againſt the rats, but any other wild creatures that might come. This precaution ſtood me in no ſtead, for there was no night but the rats diſturbed me. Another conſideration moved me to keep thoſe Blacks in my chamber, which was, that they might ſee how I lived, and be witneſſes of my behaviour, that country being no more free from detraction than others.

I took the freedom to acquaint the great duke with the trouble I had from the rats, and the ſtink of my Blacks, who had always ſome wild and diſagreeable ſmell. He ſaid he would give me an infallible remedy againſt thoſe two inconveniences, and that, had he known it ſooner, he would not have failed of ſending it: this was a little monkey that would expel the ill ſcent by that of his ſkin, which ſmelt of muſk. I gave him a thouſand thanks for his charity towards me, and ſaid I ſhould expect that favour from him. He ſent me the tame monkey, whom I laid at the feet of my bed, and who performed his duty exactly; for when the rats came as they were wont, the monkey blew hard at them two or three times, and made them run away; and the ſcent of muſk with which he perfumed the chamber, corrected the ill ſmell of the Blacks. Theſe monkeys are not the ſame creatures as the civet cats, for I have ſeen ſeveral of thoſe cats at Loanda, where they keep them ſhut up in a wooden cage, and faſtened with an iron or ſilver-chain, and the owner of them once a week, with a ſpoon, takes off the civet, which they call Angeglia, and which is found in a purſe between the hind legs. In ſhort, the little monkey did me extraordinary ſervice, not only for thoſe uſes already mentioned, but to keep my head and beard clean and combed, better than any of the Blacks would have done: and, to ſay the truth, it is eaſier to teach thoſe monkeys than the Blacks; for theſe have enough to do to learn one thing well, but the others every thing they are put to dexterouſly.

I juſt began to mend, though the fever had not left me, when one night as I lay aſleep, I felt the monkey had leaped upon my head; I thought the rats had frightened him, but at the ſame time the Blacks aroſe crying, "Out, out, Father." Being thoroughly awake, I aſked them what was the matter; "The ants," ſaid they, "are broke out, and there is no time to be loſt." There being no poſſibility for me to ſtir, I bid them carry me into the garden, which they did, four of them lifting me upon my ſtraw bed: their nimbleneſs ſtood me in good ſtead, for the ants already began to run upon my legs, and get to my body. After ſhaking them off, they took ſtraw, and fired it on the floor of four rooms, where the ants were already above half a foot thick; and there muſt needs be a wonderful quantity, for beſides the chambers, the porch and walking-place were full. They being deſtroyed by fire, as I ſaid, I was carried back to my chamber, where the ſtink was ſo great, that I was forced to hold the monkey cloſe to my face. Having cauſed the mats to be ſhaken, we had ſcarce ſlept half an hour before I was awaked by the light of a flame of fire at the chamber-door: I called my people to ſee what it was; they found the fire had taken hold of the thatch of the houſe, and fearing the fire might increaſe with the wind, I cauſed myſelf to be carried again into the garden. The fire being put out, we endeavoured to go to ſleep again, but all this hurry had diſcompoſed me too much; and before the troubleſome night was quite over, I heard a great noiſe near us: I waked my Blacks that they might be in readineſs, in caſe there was ſome other army of beaſts to engage. One of them laid hold of one of the halberts F. Michael Angelo had cauſed to be made, and went out to ſee who made all that hurly-burly: he came back again to tell us, that the piſmires having again broke into a neighbouring cottage, they had burnt them as we did; but the hut being all of ſtraw, it was conſumed as well as the ants, which made the Blacks get out of their houſes for fear the wind ſhould carry about the flame and burn all that quarter. I got off, cauſing myſelf to be once more carried into the garden, giving God thanks that he had delivered me from the piſmires; for had I been alone faſt in my bed, and unable to ſtir, as I then was, it is certain they had eaten me up alive. This often happens in the kingdom of Angola, where in the morning there are cows found devoured in the night by ants, and nothing left of them but the bones. It is no ſmall deliverance to eſcape them, for there are ſome that fly, and are hard to be removed from the place where they lay hold: but God be praiſed that my body was not devoured by them alive.

I had a young tiger given me, which I did not care to keep, eſpecially becauſe the monkey would not lie upon the bed with him: I gave it goat's milk to preſerve it, but it did not live long, and I was not ſorry for it, it being no ſatisfaction to me to ſee that fine beaſt, though little, and as yet unfit to do like the old ones. The great duke's viſits were a great comfort to me, and when he could not come himſelf, he ſent ſome of his chief men, who would ſtay three or four hours ſitting about me upon mats; but they always having their pipes in their mouths, and the ſmoke offending my head, I was forced to tell them they would oblige me in coming, but that I begged of them for God's ſake not to take tobacco in our houſe, and that the rather becauſe their pipes which are an ell long have great bowls like a little pot, which are never out. They were ſo obliging as to comply with me, and when they came, left their pipes in the garden.

I found no other remedy for my diſtemper but to recommend myſelf to God, through the interceſſion of the glorious St. Anthony of Padua. In ſhort, after long continuing irreſolute, I reſolved to cauſe myſelf to be carried to Loanda, notwithſtanding I was ſenſible of the fatigue of the journey, and could find no Black that would go along to be my interpreter. I ſpoke to the great duke, who promiſed me a great many Blacks,

Blacks, but he found not enough to carry all my baggage, part whereof was therefore left behind to be ſtolen. I took another way different from that we came, and did not paſs through Dante: all the poor Blacks flocking about me at my departure, came to expreſs their concern for loſing me, and I comforted them with the hopes of my return, if it ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore my health.

I went as far as the next Libatte without an interpreter, but could ſpeak enough to be underſtood. I endured all that can be imagined in ſuch a condition, for my conſcience checked me for putting myſelf into ſuch danger, as if I would have tempted God; but I had ſuch confidence in St. Anthony, whom I had taken for my advocate, that I fancied I ſaw him before my hammock. During all this journey, which laſted twenty-five days, I could not open my mouth till night, ſo that the Blacks often came to ſee whether I was not dead. One day being to paſs through a river, they diſcovered about twenty-five elephants that were gone to drink, which troubled them very much, and made them ſtay till they were gone another way from us. Having croſſed the river with ſome danger, the two Blacks who carried me going up a hill, did not hold the ſtaff faſt, and let me fall plump on the ground, which put me quite beſide myſelf, the ſtaff having hit me on the head and almoſt broke it: they took me up again, and I bound my head with a handkerchief without ſpeaking one word, fearing if I complained of being hurt, they might leave me there, and fly unto the woods; therefore I thought it better to hold my tongue than talk to people that have no compaſſion.

Being come to a Libatte, they left me alone in a cottage upon a little ſtraw, and carried away my ſtaff I had brought out of Italy, but I was reſolved to be concerned at nothing. I looked whether any body would come in, being very weak for want of ſuſtenance; but nobody appeared all day till ſun-ſetting, when the women returned with their children from their labour in the fields; I deſired them to boil me a pullet I had brought with me: they having dreſſed it very well, I took the broth, and gave them the fowl, which made a great feaſt among them. All my ſuſtenance during the journey was a porringer of broth a day. They gave me two Niceſtas, which are ſo refreſhing and dainty, that I could not forbear eating of them, though cautiouſly, for fear of cauſing my diſtemper to increaſe upon me.

Next day they carried me to a Libatte, where I found all the people made ſtuffs of palm-tree leaves, and therefore would not leave their buſineſs to carry me. Finding them poſitive, and not knowing what other way to take, I bethought myſelf of a bag of thoſe ſhells they call Zimbi, I had along with me, and began to call them, but they were deaf to me, though ſitting in the next cottages on the ground about their fire: that is their uſual poſture. After night-fall, that the women are returned out of the fields with their children, they light a fire in the middle of their cottage, ſit round it on the ground, and eat of what they have brought; then they talk till ſleep makes them fall backwards, and ſo they ſpend the night without any further ceremony. Finding it was to no purpoſe to call and ſpend my breath, I dragged out of the bed where they had laid me, which was about a foot from the ground, and crawling upon all four to the cottage-door, called a Muleche, or young lad, who was playing with his companions, and getting him to help me, opened my portmanteau, whence I drew the bag of Zimbis, and ſhaking the bag, that they might ſound, drew thoſe hard-hearted Blacks to me, and told them I would pay them in Zimbis if they would carry me to the next Libatte: they agreed to it, but being too few to carry all my goods, part of them was left to their diſcretion. There was no remedy but patience, and at length, by the help of Zimbis, beads, and medals, I came to Bamba, the firſt place belonging to the Portugueſe.

There

There I was met by a Portugueſe, who lived in the place, with a prieſt of Portugueſe extraction, but born in Africk; they carried me to their houſe, and ſeeing my countenance as yellow as ſaffron, ſaid to me, "Father, how came you to travel through theſe deſarts in ſuch a condition?" I could not anſwer them, nor open my eyes. They underſtanding by my carriers that I had eaten but one porringer of broth a-day, and never ſpoke all the way, endeavoured to bring me to myſelf with malmſey and new-laid eggs. Being a little recovered, I found all their people weeping about me. I told them nothing had befallen me but what I had foreſeen when I left Italy, and that I had concluded I ſhould not return out of that country, as is the common fate of the miſſioners ſent thither. I continued there two days, and having thanked them for their civility and charity they had uſed towards me, went away to Loanda. The Portugueſe gentleman would needs bear me company thither. I was kindly received by the chief men of my acquaintance, who wondered to ſee me alive ſtill with that dead countenance. They ſent me ſome refreſhment, which I did not taſte for want of appetite: there I continued ſix months without being able to ſtir out of my bed, and never quit of the fever: I loathed fleſh, and could eat nothing but a little fiſh. After that, I bled at the noſe, and loſt three or four pounds a day, as if I had not been blooded during my ſickneſs; the heat I endured going on the hammock contributed much towards it: it was ſurpriſing to me that there ſhould be ſo much blood in a man's body. The phyſician told me that all the water I drank turned to blood, and I drank five or ſix bottles a day, for they allow the ſick to drink as much as they will. The phyſician had me blooded twenty-four times by way of revulſion; for I kept account how often I was blooded during my three years ſickneſs, which was ninety-ſeven times, without reckoning the blood that ran in great quantities at my noſe, mouth, and ears, which to me ſeems prodigious.

During my ſtay at Loanda, the R. F. John Chryſoſtome, ſuperior of Loanda, came thither with two or three Capuchins of our miſſion, who had much ado to know me, and were yet more ſurpriſed to hear that moſt of our fellows were dead in that country. The father-ſuperior reſolving to provide the province of Meſſangrano, one of the chiefeſt in the kingdom, with miſſioners, ſent thither F. Peter de Barchi and F. Joſeph Mary de Buſſette: and within a few days news was brought that one of them was dead, and the other at the point of death, which much troubled the ſuperior, who had taken a great deal of pains to bring them from Italy, which ſhews how little that climate agrees with our bodies. I deſired the father-ſuperior to ſend me to Colombo, two days journey from Loanda, to try to recover my health. I went thither with F. John Baptiſt de Sallizan to a houſe of our father's near the river Coawza, where there are abundance of crocodiles. We have there a very fine garden, in which are orange and lemon-trees, and other ſort of fruit. There is a ſort of fruit in Africk like our St. John apple, at the end of which is a cheſnut little differing from ours: the apple is not eaten becauſe it is full of fibres, but they ſuck the juice, which has a muſcadine taſte. The cheſnut is boiled, and taſtes like our almonds, is very hot, but the apple cold, and is called Beſou.

Near that place live ſeveral Portugueſe farmers, who keep a number of ſwine, cows, and ſheep, but know not how to make cheeſe, it being very difficult there to bring the milk to curd. We ſometimes took the cool air under a fine row of trees ten paces diſtant, reaching from the church to the river. Theſe trees bear a certain ſort of fruit like great plums, but very harſh; they hold their leaves all the year round. One day as we were walking under thoſe trees, we diſcovered a great ſerpent croſſing the river to our ſide: we would have made it go back by ſhouting, and throwing clods of earth

earth for want of ſtones, which are not to be found, but in ſpite of us it came over, and went to take up its poſt in a little thicket of reeds near the houſe. There are ſome of them there twenty-five foot long, and as thick as a good colt, that make but a mouthful of a ſheep: when they have ſwallowed one, they go into the ſun to digeſt it: the Blacks who know the manner of it, watch and kill them, to make a good meal of them, for they are as fat as pork; and having flayed them, they throw away nothing but the head, the tail and the entrails.

F. John Baptiſt gave me an account of his travels in thoſe parts of Africk, and among the reſt, of his being at Caſſangi, where a black prince reſides who rules a large country, and is called Great Lord: that he came there at a time when that prince's birth-day was celebrated after an odd manner: he makes all the people of his country who can travel come into a great plain; they leave only one place empty, in which there are ſeveral trees, on which there are huts built for the great lord and principal men of his kingdom, who go up thither with ſeveral muſical inſtruments ſounding. One of the moſt furious lions in the country is faſtened to a tree ſtanding at ſome diſtance from the reſt. The ſignal being given, the ſtring that holds him is cut, and then, after ſome roaring, he falls upon the firſt he meets: they, inſtead of flying, run together from all parts to kill him, being obliged to do it without any weapon, and thinking themſelves happy in dying before their prince. The lion, before he is tired, kills ſeveral of them, and revenges his own death ſufficiently, being at laſt borne down by the multitude. After that, the ſurvivors eat the dead, and accompany their king with abundance of joyful acclamations to his palace, making all parts reſound, "Long live the Great Lord of Caſſangi." Thus they ſolemnize this feſtival, which the Father aſſured me he had been an eye-witneſs of. A helliſh invention, and fit for thoſe barbarous people.

He alſo told me he would go to the kingdom of Malemba or Mattemba, where of late years Queen Singa had reigned, who died a Catholic; but that after her death the people forſook the Chriſtian religion, and returned to their ancient ſuperſtitions. I agreed with him to go thither, if he could gain admittance into the country, provided he ſent for me; but when he was gone, I heard no more from him, and was left alone with two Blacks at Colombo. I baptiſed but very few there, the country about being poſſeſſed by the Portugueſe, but ſometimes there came boats full of ſlaves who were baptized; they brought me ſalt to uſe in the baptiſmal water, dug out of the mountains, which when pounded is very white. Whilſt I was there, the fiſhermen took a great fiſh as round as a coach-wheel; in the middle it had two teats, and upon it ſeveral holes through which it ſees, hears, and eats, the mouth being a ſpan long: the fiſh is delicious, and the fleſh of it like fine veal. Of the ribs of it they make beads to ſtop bleeding; but having tried them upon myſelf, they did no good; this diſtemper growing upon me, inſomuch that they once thought I was dead, which obliged the father-ſuperior to make me return to Loanda. The dread of going to ſea again, made me unwilling to go from Colombo, though in other reſpects the place was ſcarce to be endured, being tormented day and night with infinite numbers of gnats and flies, which almoſt darken the air, beſides the continual fear of ſerpents, crocodiles, and lions, who ſeldom failed a night of devouring ſome cow, calf, or ſheep.

At that time a veſſel was loading at Loanda for Brazil. Having obtained leave to return to Italy, I ſpoke with the captain, who was very willing to receive me, thinking himſelf happy in having a prieſt, and eſpecially a Capuchin, with him; for not only the Portugueſe but the Blacks themſelves cannot ſufficiently admire to ſee us take progreſſes into thoſe barbarous countries, without propoſing to ourſelves any other in-

tereſt but the ſpiritual good of our neighbour, and the propagation of the Catholic faith. I remember the great duke of Bamba one day ſent me ſeveral Blacks to be my ſlaves; which I would not accept of, but ſent them back to him. I afterwards told him, I came not into his country to make ſlaves, but rather to deliver thoſe from the ſlavery of the devil whom he kept in miſerable thraldom.

The ſhip I went aboard of, when it was ready to ſail, was loaded with elephants' teeth and ſlaves, to the number of ſix hundred and eighty men, women and children. It was a pitiful ſight to behold how all thoſe people were beſtowed. The men were ſtanding in the hold, faſtened one to another with ſtakes, for fear they ſhould riſe and kill the Whites. The women were between the decks, and thoſe that were with child in the great cabin; the children in the ſteerage preſſed together like herrings in a barrel, which cauſed an intolerable heat and ſtench. The captain had made me a bed upon the quarter-deck, with mats to keep me from the rain and dew.

This voyage is generally performed in thirty or thirty-five days at fartheſt; becauſe there is no occaſion to go to the Cape of Good Hope for a wind; but they ſail in a line: however we were fifty days, being many of them becalmed, during which time we endured great heat under the line. Being we made no way, the captain deſired me to baptize ſome Blacks that came laſt aboard, it being forbid, under pain of excommunication, to carry any Blacks to Brazil that are not baptized; which I did, inſtructing them in the principles of Chriſtianity.

The Portugueſe, who knew there was danger in that calm we were in, either in regard of the great heat of the ſun, or becauſe among ſo many mouths the proviſions grew ſhort, one day took the image of St. Antony, which they ſet againſt one of the maſts, ſaying theſe words on their knees; "St. Antony, our countryman, you ſhall be pleaſed to ſtand there, till you have given us a fair wind to continue our voyage." This done, and ſome prayers ſaid, ſome little wind came up, which ſet us forward, and made us rejoice. We paſſed very cloſe to the iſland called the Aſſumption of our Lady; where we did not touch, thinking we had no need of any thing. Nevertheleſs the voyage holding longer than we had imagined, a few days after we began to want proviſions, the proveditor not having rightly conſidered how great a number of mouths there was to feed.

The captain came to me full of affliction, and ſaid, "Father, we are all dead men, there is no remedy for it." My uſual fever being upon me, and a diſh of blood before me, I told him that was no ſurpriſing news to me, and that having loſt ſo much blood, I did not expect to live long. He made me ſenſible he ſpoke of all the ſhip in general, and that they wanted proviſions, being ſtill far out at ſea without diſcovering any land. To comfort him in ſome meaſure, I bid him look into the ſtern-lockers, for I remembered my friends had given me ſome proviſions, which might keep the Whites aboard alive ſome time; and as for the Blacks, he muſt have patience if they died, ſince there was no poſſibility of relieving them; but that nevertheleſs ſince there were ſtill forty butts of water, they ſhould give them as much as was neceſſary; and the climate being hot, they might live two days at leaſt upon water only: that yet God might relieve us, and we ought to confide in him, and not give way to deſpair.

I would have ſpoke ſome words of comfort to the ſhip's crew, and ſilenced them; but the diſmal news I thought to acquaint them with being already come to their knowledge, the children began to cry for mercy; the women hearing them, ſet up the ſame cry, and the men made up the diſmal harmony; which would have daunted the boldeſt heart. In fine, when they were a little pacified, I began in Portugueſe to exhort

exhort them to confide in the mercy of God, who never forſakes thoſe who ſincerely rely on him; adding, that God ſent us that affliction to puniſh our ſins, and for the blaſphemies wherewith they diſhonoured his holy name, and perhaps becauſe ſome of them were come aboard without confeſſing. Then turning to the Whites, I told them, that the ill example they gave theſe new Chriſtians, making themſelves drunk every day with brandy, had drawn that puniſhment upon them: that the Bleſſed Virgin was alſo offended at them, becauſe they had given her name, to which all reſpect was due, to a rope's-end, with which they beat the Blacks, which was not the way to perſuade them that we believed her to be the mother of God. This diſcourſe made them again cry Mercy, but with a more ſincere intention than at firſt. After the hymns of the Holy Virgin, which I cauſed them to repeat, they made a vow to cauſe eighty maſſes to be ſaid, forty for the ſouls in purgatory, and forty in honour of St. Antony.

Their minds being a little ſettled, the captain ordered every Black a porringer of water; but thoſe poor wretches, eſpecially the children, began to cry for hunger. The compaſſion their cries moved in me, without any means of relieving them, made me retire to my cabin of mats. I continued ſo a day without eating, for fear of ſharpening their hunger if they ſaw me eat. It was likely that unleſs God wrought ſome miracle, we were all loſt.

As I lay full of theſe thoughts, I heard ſome begin to talk of living upon man's fleſh, ſo far had deſpair diſordered them; for which I reproved them ſeverely, proteſting that rather than ſuffer any one to be killed to maintain another, I would ſacrifice my own life if it might any way contribute to prolong theirs. Notwithſtanding all this affliction, there were thoſe aboard who did not forbear doing ſome vile actions.

The maſter, being drunk, mortally wounded a ſailor; but he being the ableſt and moſt experienced ſeaman in the ſhip, it was requiſite to pardon him, and wink at it. At length God taking compaſſion on us, we diſcovered land; three days we continued without eating, and the water was ſpent before we got to the ſhore. Who can expreſs the joy which ſucceeded the former ſorrow! To hear all their diſcourſe, one would have thought all the people in the ſhip had been out of their right ſenſes. I obſerved the ſhip lay much more to one ſide than the other, and obliged the captain to redreſs it, the burden of men being greater on that ſide which inclined. He did it by filling four caſks with ſea-water, and faſtening them to the other ſide.

We diſcovered Cape St. Auguſtin, well known to the Portugueſe, and on Sunday entered the port of Baya de Todos os Santos, or the bay of All Saints, the capital town of all Brazil, where the viceroy reſides. There we found ſeveral veſſels of all nations. Next morning ſeveral boats came to us with merchants and others who had ſlaves aboard. Underſtanding we had been fifty days at ſea, they concluded that moſt of the Blacks were dead, and were pleaſingly ſurpriſed when they were told there wanted but thirty-three of the number, it often happening that half of them die in that paſſage. They thanked God for that miracle wrought in their behalf, for it would have been a very conſiderable loſs, if all the ſlaves had been dead.

I went aſhore as well as the reſt, but my weakneſs was ſuch, I had no uſe of my legs. A good woman, into whoſe ſhop I went, had compaſſion on me, and lent me her hammock to carry me in to the Franciſcans, who received me very courteouſly. A Genoeſe captain of my acquaintance would have carried me to his houſe, but I excuſed myſelf on account of the obliging reception I had met with in the convent; declaring that unleſs I found I was a burden to them, I would not leave it till my departure out of the country. The governor of the iſland of St. Thomas, which is

under the line, ſent his ſteward to make me a viſit, and to deſire me to come to his palace to ſee a Capuchin that kept his bed, and had been ſixteen years in Africk, either in the aforeſaid iſland, or the kingdom of Benin and Overola. I could not go immediately, but went afterwards ſeveral times to ſee that Father, being carried in a hammock. He wondered to hear I was ſo obedient to my phyſician, who was the ſame that had him in hand; but the phyſician told me, that according to his way he could not live long; and ſo it proved, for he died ſoon after at Liſbon.

In this convent there is a chapel of the third order of St. Francis. On Maunday-Thurſday the Fathers made a proceſſion, in which all the images of ſaints of the third order were carried. Then followed three hundred Blacks, carrying whole trees for mortification; others had their arms bound to a great beam in the nature of a croſs, and others after other manners. I was told their fathers' confeſſors had enjoined them that penance for robbing their maſters, and committing other ſins. It is not the cuſtom there to make ſepulchres that week, but they expoſe the bleſſed ſacrament with an infinite number of white wax-lights, whereof there is great plenty there, as well as of honey.

The Genoeſe captain, who was to ſail for Liſbon, had given me my paſſage aboard his ſhip. Being ready to ſail, the viceroy ſent to deſire the captain, that ſince he had a good fighting ſhip, he would, for the King's ſake, convoy the merchants' ſhips that were ready to ſail, for fear they might fall into the hands of the Turks when they came near the coaſt of Portugal; that kept us till Holy Saturday. Leave to depart being obtained of the viceroy, the captain ſent me word to come aboard, which I did, againſt my will, not liking to begin ſo long and dangerous a voyage upon a Holy Saturday; but he carrying me out of charity, I muſt ſubmit to his will. We ſailed, firing all the cannon, and all the bells in the town clattering.

The ſhip was like Noah's ark, for there were aboard it ſo many ſeveral ſorts of beaſts, that what with the noiſe and the talk of ſo many people as were aboard, we could not hear one another ſpeak. The loading was a thouſand cheſts of ſugar, three thouſand rolls of tobacco, abundance of rich wood for dying and making of cabinets, elephants' teeth; beſides the proviſion of wood, coals, water, wine, brandy, ſheep, hogs, and turkeys: beſides all this, abundance of monkeys of ſeveral ſorts, apes, baboons, parrots, and ſome of thoſe birds of Brazil, which they call Arracas. The ſhip carried fifty guns, four-and-twenty patareroes, and other neceſſaries. The people aboard were of ſeveral nations, as Italians, Portugueſe, Engliſh, Dutch, Spaniards, and Indian ſlaves who followed their maſters. The great cabin was hired by a rich Portugueſe merchant, whoſe name was Amaro, and who was returning to Liſbon with all his family, that is, wife and four children; gave a thouſand crowns for his paſſage, and had laid out two thouſand upon proviſions and neceſſaries for ſo long a voyage. That honeſt man ſeeing me ſo ſick, freely offered me a place in his cabin, which was large, painted and gilt. I accepted of his offer, his wife giving her conſent, who, being a virtuous lady, was glad to have a religious man's company. He would have allowed me his table, but I told him I was engaged to the captain, but that I might breakfaſt with him ſometimes after maſs, which I ſaid every day in the great cabin during the voyage, which laſted three months, excepting only three days of ſtormy weather; and not only he, but all the Portugueſe aboard were at it. The chaplain of the ſhip ſaid upon deck to the ſeamen and officers of the ſhip.

As we were under ſail, having ſcarce run two leagues, and being buſy placing the trunks and goods aboard us, it pleaſed God to mortify us, who thought ourſelves the ſafeſt of the five ſhips, that we might learn to honour holidays better; for we ſtruck

five times furiouſly upon a bank, which threw both the men and goods, not yet laſhed to, from ſide to ſide, and put all into a great conſternation, the veſſel ſticking faſt upon the flat. The officers and pilots, in a fright, thought to ſave themſelves from imminent danger of death, which threatened, and leaped haſtily into the boat to get to land, which was not far off, for we were ſtill in the harbour, it being four leagues in length. The ſailors and paſſengers, ſeeing themſelves forſaken, began to cry aloud, "We are all dead, we are all dead." And who can be able to deſcribe what a ſad ſpectacle that ſhip was, which but juſt before looked like a caſtle on the ſea? This concluſion made me riſe from a mat on which I lay ſtruggling with a fever; and being upon deck, perceived we made no way, though the ſails were all looſe, and a plank floating upon the ſea, which made it appear the ſhip was faſt.

Nothing could be heard but cries and complaints. Some caſt a barrel into the ſea, others a roll of tobacco, others a cheſt of ſugar, to lighten the ſhip, and every one did ſomething to ſave his life; only the captain ſat ſtill like a ſtatue, without being able to ſpeak or ſtir, though he had fought ſix Turks in that ſame ſhip. They would have fired a cannon for the others to come to our aſſiſtance, but in that hurry they could neither find gunner, powder, nor match. The ſeveral ſorts of animals hearing ſuch a noiſe, began to play their part and increaſe the confuſion. In this general conſternation both Whites and Blacks came to caſt themſelves at my feet, crying, "Father, Father, confeſſion, abſolution." Having cauſed them to make an act of contrition, I gave them abſolution, wanting time to hear them ſingly. I met the chaplain of the ſhip in his ſhirt, his countenance altered and looking ghaſtly, though he was one of the braveſt men aboard, as he had often made it appear, fighting with the Turks upon ſeveral occaſions. After hearing his confeſſion according to his deſire, I aſked him, what he intended to do in that caſe; "O God," ſaid he, "I had no mind to come on board, but I ſuffered myſelf to be deluded." I would have encouraged, and made him conceive, that God had not altogether forſaken us, but we might yet eſcape that danger. "Suppoſe it does ſo fall out," replied he, "I am reſolved to ſwim for it, and get aſhore." The others hearing his reſolution, renewed their complaints and exclamations. I went into the great cabin, and found the Portugueſe lady ſitting on a carpet, and leaning upon two cuſhions, with her four children on their knees, their hands claſped together in a fright, and crying, "Mercy;" the huſband ſitting on a chair, rather dead than alive. I comforted them both the beſt I could, and heard their confeſſions.

In the mean-while there came aboard us a captain, who was a friend to Senhor Amaro, to carry him and his family away to his ſhip. He ſeeing the horrid confuſion we were in, began to encourage all the people, and ſent two of his men to the pump, and into the hold, to ſee what harm was done. They neither found water, nor any thing broken, and perceived that the plank we had ſeen on the water, was only ſome of the ſheathing which had given way. Our captain taking heart, ordered to caſt the lead, and found but little water for ſo great a ſhip. Then he cauſed the ſhip's head to be brought about, which made the veſſel move; and it was well for us there happened to be but little wind, for had it blown hard we muſt have been beaten to pieces. They that were aſhore ſeeing us make way, came back with the boat; and we continued our voyage towards Fernambuco, a hundred leagues diſtant from Baga de Todos of Santos. There we came to an anchor, five miles from the town, the harbour being unfit for great ſhips.

The governor kept us there five days before he diſpatched us. As we were weighing anchor, when it was already above water, it broke off ſo ſuddenly, that all the men

men who worked at hoiſting it, being forty of them, fell down and hurt themſelves, ſome on the head, ſome on the ſides, and others in other places. They would have recovered it, but there was no doing of it, becauſe it dropt in a place that was very foul and full of ſmall rocks.

It was pleaſant to ſee our ſhip, where every tradeſman worked at his trade, as if he had been in his ſhop; there were gun-ſmiths, armourers, butchers, ſhoemakers, tailors, coopers, and cooks. Others mended the colours, there being an hundred of ſeveral ſorts, very fine upon great days, and particularly the pendant at the main top-maſt-head, eight ells long, and all of carnation taffety. When the weather would permit, the other veſſels bore up to us, and gave us a concert of drums and trumpets, ſaluting us with three huzza's all the ſailors gave, taking the ſignal from the boat-ſwain's whiſtle. The captain exerciſed his men in firing volleys. Theſe diverſions were one day interrupted by this accident:—Eleven Engliſhmen came together to complain to the captain that they were not allowed water enough to drink, which put him into ſuch a paſſion that he went to lay hold of a ſword, and had done them ſome miſchief, had not care been taken to appeaſe him. He cauſed one to be put into the bilboes, with two men to ſtand ſentinel over him, till we came to Liſbon, for fear he ſhould raiſe ſome mutiny among his comrades; for that Engliſhman was wonderfully ſtrong, would manage a cannon as another man would a muſquet, and had formerly blown up ſome ſhips, ſetting fire to the powder. He puniſhed him after this manner to teach the reſt, not to come in a body like mutineers to make their complaints to him, whereas one alone ſhould come when they wanted any thing. There was another Engliſhman, whom they called Kill Turk, whom he alſo put into the bilboes, becauſe he had made himſelf drunk with two bottles of brandy, and was not ſober again in three days. He was ſo ſtrong, that they ſaid he had cleft a man with his cutlaſs, and therefore it was feared he might do ſome miſchief in the ſhip, being in that condition.

One morning, before ſun-riſing, being near the coaſt of Portugal, we heard a cannon fire, and the ſhot fell not far from us. I turned out to ſee what was the matter, and obſerved that Captain Joſeph, brother to our captain, had put up the red ancient, which was a ſignal of battle. Our captain took a perſpective glaſs to diſcover what it was that had occaſioned it, and a moment after told us his brother was miſtaken, and that thoſe ſails we diſcovered, to the number of five hundred, were fiſhing-boats, that ſail with any wind. The ſun riſing, it appeared he was in the right, and we perceived, without the help of a glaſs, a prodigious number of boats covering all the coaſt. It is not to be admired that there is ſo much fiſhing, for moſt of the people in Liſbon eat fiſh at night, even upon fleſh days, which cauſes an infinite conſumption, and it is not ſold by weight, but by the barrel.

We arrived at Caſcais, a little town without the bar, and ſailed on to Fort St. Julian, where we fired ſo many guns that the report reached the city. Being come to the mouth of the river Tagus, we ſaw abundance of boats coming towards us, as well Italians as Portugueſe, that ſeemed to cover all the harbour; they were merchants and others who had ſome concern aboard us. I knew ſeveral who did not know me. They were ſurpriſed to ſee me alive, after they had received an account that I was dead, and expreſſed much joy that the news had proved falſe. Having taken in pilots belonging to the port, as is the cuſtom, we came to an anchor juſt before His Highneſs Prince Peter then Regent of Portugal's palace, the King being ſent away to the iſlands Terceras. All that came aboard the ſhip had put on ſuch fine clothes, that I ſcarce knew them again. This they do at every port, being but meanly apparelled, as long as they are at ſea. After my compliments to all thoſe who had been kind to me during the

voyage,

age, and particularly to our captain, I went aſhore to our convent, to expect ſome ſhip bound for Spain.

It was not long before an opportunity offered: Captain Dominick, a native of Corſica, who was deſirous to have a prieſt aboard him, came to offer me my paſſage in his ſhip, which was to ſail in company of two others, the Loretto and the Princeſs. His ſhip was called the Paradiſe, and it was too good an omen to refuſe to be chaplain to the Paradiſe. Several Dominicans, Benedictines, and other religious men, went aboard with me, inſomuch that one ſaid, "We were afraid we ſhould want a chaplain, but here are enough to keep a choir." However thoſe good religious men, who were very much afraid of death, were no ſooner under ſail, but they kept themſelves ſo cloſe under deck, that not one was to be ſeen. They admired, that I being indiſpoſed, the ſea did me no more harm than if I had been aſhore: but I ſaid to them, "Fathers, you need but go to the Indies, and then you will be no more afraid of the ſea than I am."

During this voyage I fell into diſcourſe with an Iriſhman, though he was a heretic, becauſe I found ſome diſpoſition towards gaining that ſoul to Jeſus Chriſt, and the more becauſe he was of an inoffenſive nature. He obſerved what I did, eſpecially when I ſaid maſs, and was pleaſed to hear the truth; ſo that in a few days, with God's aſſiſtance, without which the endeavours of the ableſt men are uſeleſs, I brought him to waver in his opinion. He told me, he would have abjured in public immediately, but that he would firſt go viſit a brother of his at Cadiz to receive abſolution. In fine, I was informed by him in that very town, that he was become a Catholic, which nevertheleſs I would not publiſh, though I ſaw him more pleaſant than he uſed to be, fearing he might do like many others, who ſometimes appear very zealous, and yet afterwards forſake the good way they were in.

Though our ſhip was the biggeſt of the three our convoy conſiſted of, yet our captain had conſented that the captain of the Loretto, as being the elder, ſhould be commodore. One day we diſcovered a ſhip, and it being our captain's duty to know what ſhe was, he made all the ſail he could. We fetched her up in a quarter of an hour, and fired a gun without a ball to make her ſtrike, as the ſtrongeſt uſually do. They, inſtead of anſwering our expectation, crowded up all the ſail they could, as if they would fly, their veſſel being much leſs than ours; that made our captain ſuſpect they might be Turks, ſince they had put out no ancient. He fired at them with ball, and put up the red ancient, which made them anſwer with one gun but without bullet. Being very near, the captain made a trumpeter, who ſpoke ſeveral languages, hail them. He ſpoke to them in French, becauſe they had put up white colours, but we ſuſpecting it was a cheat, bid them ſend ſomebody on board. They launched their pinnace, and the maſter came aboard, by whom we were informed, that the imagined Turk was a veſſel laden with ſalt-fiſh from Nantes, and bound for the iſlands Madeiras. They drank the healths of the Moſt Chriſtian King, and the republic of Genoa, and every one made the beſt of his way.

At laſt we came to an anchor in that great and noble port of Cadiz, one of the moſt famous in Europe, full of an infinite number of ſhips, galleys, barks, caravels, tartans, and other veſſels, which I was aſſured at that time amounted to an hundred ſail. Juſt at the entrance of the harbour we ſaw twenty-five ſhips of an extraordinary bulk. There is a continual reſort of ſhips from all parts of the world, even from the Indies; and it is uſual there to ſee thirty or forty ſail come in or go out in a day, as if they were but little boats. I went aſhore with an Italian gentleman, and ſome Spaniſh merchants, and we were all of us preſently ſtopped by the cuſtom-houſe officers: I gave an account of myſelf, and ſo did the gentleman; but he added he was a ſoldier in the King's ſervice,

and

and they let him paſs: the Spaniards ſaid ſo too, and we cauſed our goods to be loaded to go to our ſeveral homes. No ſooner were we in the town, but the chief officer of the cuſtom-houſe, with his followers, ſtopped the porters, and bid them carry the goods to the cuſtom-houſe. The Spaniards ſaid they were all cleared, and there was no need of further ſearch. The cuſtomer gave a ſurly anſwer; one word drew on another, ſo they came to ill language, and from ill language to blows. An hundred ſwords were drawn in a moment, but they were thronged ſo cloſe together, that they fought with the points of their ſwords up, ſtriking one another with the pummels, and making ſuch a noiſe, that one would have thought they were going to cut one another in pieces. The duſt flew ſo thick, there was no ſeeing one another, and the field of battle being near the harbour, the people ran thither in crowds, fearing there were many killed and wounded. There was much crowding to part the combatants, hearing their cries, and the clattering of their ſwords; but what abundance of rational ſober people could not do, was done in a moment by four drunken Engliſhmen, who, to make way to go to their ſhips, began to throw ſtones ſo furiouſly, that every man thought themſelves happy enough that his legs were ſound enough to run away. Thoſe who were fighting, not thinking it ſafe to ſtand that ſhower of ſtones, made their eſcape in an inſtant, ſome one way, and ſome another.

I repaired to our monaſtery, where my fever, which had granted me no reſpite, increaſed, and kept me in bed a month, being forced in that time to be ſix times blooded again, and that while our ſhips were gone. Before I could continue my journey into Italy, I took the opportunity of going to the ſhrine of St. James the apoſtle in Galicia, and, to that purpoſe, aſſociated myſelf with a Milaneſe religious man of the third order of St. Francis, with whom I embarked for Porto. A ſtormy ſort of gale carried us thither in a few hours, from whence we went by ſea to Birona, and from Birona with much difficulty afoot to Compoſtella, where we viſited the famous church of St. James the apoſtle. The canons of this church are all clad in ſcarlet, and called cardinals. They told us, that none muſt ſay maſs at the ſaint's altar but prelates and grandees of Spain, for which reaſon the ſacriſtan would not permit us to ſay at that altar. The ſaint's ſhrine is placed on the altar, with his image upon it, ſo that the pilgrims who go thither for their devotion, aſcend four or five ſteps, and put their hat on the head of that effigies, which is clad like a pilgrim. There are abundance of ſilver lamps about it, but they are all black, as if they were of wood. Having ſaid a Pater and Ave, we went away; and the Father told me, that if he thought it was as he found it, he would never have come into the country. I lodged at a goldſmith's, who treated us at table with Florence wine, Bolonia ſauſages, and Parmeſan cheeſe; which made me admire that Italian wines and proviſions ſhould be found in ſo diſtant a country, and we may well ſay, it is the garden of the world.

We had received information that, at Cape Finiſterre, there was a ſhip ready to ſail for Cadiz, which made us haſten our departure. Juſt as the captain was going into his boat to embark, we got thither; and, though I knew he was a heretic, I begged of him to give me my paſſage to Cadiz aboard his ſhip for God's ſake. He, without anſwering, made me a ſign to go into the boat, which, when I had done, ſeeing he had not anſwered me, and perhaps becauſe he did not underſtand Spaniſh, I ſpoke to him in Portugueſe, then he anſwered I was welcome, and that he would not only carry me to Cadiz, but to Seville, if I would. I thanked him for his charitable offer: but my companion, who would have been glad to be in ſuch a habit as mine, was forced to pay for his paſſage. It was a great Engliſh man of war of ſeventy guns, and three hundred men, loaden with anchors, and other naval ſtores. It was bound by order of

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His Britannic Majeſty to all the ports of Spain, to find out twenty-four frigates belonging to that crown, ſent againſt the Turks, and was to furniſh them with what they wanted.

When we were out at ſea, I ſaw the captain with a proſpective glaſs endeavoured to diſcover ſome ſails that appeared at a great diſtance; after which, he went into his cabin, and talked to his officers in Engliſh, who went to give out orders, and preſently after the drums began to beat, and the ſoldiers to take their poſts. My companion and I gueſt they were making ready to fight, though we ſaw no ſhips, but they had ſeen them. We directed our courſe towards them, ſailing with a ſide-wind, and adding two ſmall ſails on the ſides of the main-ſheet; ſo that having fourteen ſails aboard, we flew like the wind itſelf, and cut the water in a moſt violent manner.

Within an hour we came up with the two ſhips the captain had deſcried, and they having put out no colours, he gave them a gun to bring them in; but they ſeeing they were two to one, and, doubtleſs, never imagining our ſhip was ſo well manned, anſwered with a bullet, and, at the ſame time, we heard from one of thoſe ſhips a confuſed noiſe of voices as it were of people that complained. Our captain ſaid he did not queſtion but one was a Turkiſh veſſel that had taken the other which was a Chriſtian, and it proved ſo. At the ſame time he furled his ſails, and gave them a broad-ſide of twenty guns, which made ſuch a thundering as would daunt the braveſt heart. It was happy for us we had the wind, which carried all our ſmoke upon the Turks. Yet they fired like madmen from both ſhips, for the prize was manned with Turkiſh ſailors and ſoldiers, and the poor Chriſtians were forced againſt their will to help at the guns, the chief of them being put into irons. The cannonading continued an hour and a half, and, not knowing what the event might be, the Father of the third order and I confeſſed to one another. He was vexed at heart to be in that buſineſs, but I armed myſelf with patience againſt whatever might happen, whilſt no ball reached me.

Our captain perceiving the fight was like to hold, cauſed one of the enemies to be boarded, grappling with them to come to handy ſtrokes. Then it was we began to hear the groans and cries of the poor wounded men lying about the deck one upon another, and ſerving to ſhelter thoſe that fought. The attack was furious, and the reſiſtance vigorous; but the enemy being inferior in number, began to give way and yield. Our men without loſing time leaped aboard, put the Turks in irons and ſet the Chriſtians at liberty, who took up arms to be revenged of the infidels, and to ſecure the liberty they had newly obtained. The other veſſel being left alone fled for it, but our brave captain ſoon had all things in order, and put men aboard the prize, which being leſs than his ſhip, could better purſue the other that fled, which being loaded with goods taken from Chriſtians was ſoon fetched up by the other we had taken, that had nothing aboard but proviſions and ammunition. They fired ſome guns, but perceiving our great ſhip came up and was within cannon-ſhot, yielded. The lieutenant, who had the command of the firſt given him, went to take poſſeſſion of the other, putting the Turks in irons, and releaſing the Chriſtians, who were in number fourſcore in all, ſailors, merchants, and paſſengers, beſides twelve that were killed: of the Turks there were a hundred and thirty, the reſt being either killed or dangerouſly wounded.

The three ſhips drew cloſe together, and our captain ordered all the Chriſtians to be brought before him, who all knelt down to thank him for their deliverance out of the hands of thoſe barbarians: he aſked who was their captain; and a luſty man half ſtript told him in Spaniſh it was he; and afterwards in Portugueſe, which our captain underſtood better, gave an account how they had been taken: that ſailing from Malaga

laden with wine, and being out of the ſtraits near Cape St. Vincent, that Turkiſh ſhip, which carried no goods, but was well manned with about two hundred and twenty-five ſoldiers and ſailors, had attacked him, and being much the ſtronger made themſelves maſters of his veſſel after ſome reſiſtance. The captain bid them go dreſs themſelves, and take poſſeſſion of his ſhip again, making the Engliſh come out. They returned him abundance of thanks, and begged of him to convoy them to Cadiz, ſince he was bound thither as well as they, which our captain granted them. The Engliſh divided themſelves, ſome aboard our ſhip, and ſome aboard the Turk, put all things in order, and held on their courſe rejoicing that they had killed two birds with one ſtone, having taken the Turk, and delivered the Spaniards, among whom there were ſome Neapolitans, Milaneſes, and Flemings.

As we proceeded on our voyage, making all the ſail we could, the ſky began to grow dark on a ſudden; and fearing ſome ſtorm was gathering, we lowered our ſails, which indeed was done juſt in time, for but a moment after the wind blew ſo outrageouſly that there was no keeping the ſhip to her courſe, but ſhe was left to the mercy of the wind. Then were there heard throughout the veſſel ſuch hollowing and calling as increaſed the terror of approaching death; yet the captain bid us fear nothing, for that the ſhip being new would certainly bring us off: however we did not ceaſe to offer up our fervent prayers. The Father ſeeing we were every moment in danger of periſhing, told me we had done ill in going aboard thoſe heretics, who are always under excommunication; but I anſwered, "Thoſe who travel about the world muſt make a virtue of neceſſity." In the meanwhile the man at the topmaſt-head cried, Land, Land. The captain ran up, and perceived we were on the coaſt of Barbary, the ſtorm having carried us a great way up the Mediterranean; for which reaſon, before any Turks might diſcover us, he gave orders to ſteer towards Oran, a ſtrong place belonging to the King of Spain. We got thither in leſs than an hour, the wind blowing ſo hard, and gave God thanks for delivering us from the Turks, the wind, if we had not minded it, carrying us directly to Algier.

Our captain went aſhore next morning with ſome of his officers and the Spaniſh captain; they went to the governor, and gave him an account of our fight, and he in the name of His Catholic Majeſty thanked the Engliſh. This fortreſs ſeems to be of great conſequence, and in a manner impregnable: it is well provided with cannon, and very ſerviceable to Chriſtians when they are drove by ſtorms upon the coaſt of Barbary, there being no other place where Chriſtians can put in. Next morning the wind being fair, we weighed anchor, and ſoon arrived at Cadiz. I had thoughts of going aſhore to our monaſtery, but the captain told me, that he having ſome buſineſs at Seville had hired a bark to go thither, and that if I pleaſed he would carry me in it for God's ſake, which made me not neglect ſo good an opportunity. I ſtaid about a day till he had diſpatched ſome buſineſs he had at Cadiz, and then we ſet out, carrying thirty men with us to row in caſe the wind failed us. We touched at St. Lucar, ſtaid there ſome hours, and having kept going all night, arrived at Seville. I thanked him for ſo many favours I had received of him, declaring I was ſo much the more ſenſible of their greatneſs, becauſe I could not have received more from a Catholic. He made me ſuch an anſwer, as implied that Capuchins were in good eſteem among them.

I went to our monaſtery, which is great conſidering our poverty, and has a conſiderable number of religious men. There I continued eight days, as well to reſt myſelf, as to ſee the town, which would not be unlike Milan were the ſtreets handſome and wide: the dome is nothing inferior to that at Milan, only that it is not of marble,

but of a ſtone ſomewhat like it, yet ſofter and eaſier to work. It is the cuſtom throughout all Spain to make their choir and high altar in the middle of the church, particularly in cathedrals, which is very inconvenient where there is a great reſort of people, though otherwiſe they are great and ſtately ſtructures. The ſteeple is ſo large and well-built, that a man may go up to it on horſeback, or in a litter: going up to it, I was ſurpriſed to ſee ſo many bells, for there are no leſs than three and thirty. Whilſt we were there they came to ring them, and all being to ring but two or three that belonged to the clock, we made haſte down for fear of being ſtunned with the terrible noiſe of their clattering: as ſoon as we were in the ſtreet, they began to ring with ſuch a noiſe, that it ſounded as if all the bells in the town had been rung.

I went to ſee the King's garden, which is fine enough, and has abundance of water-works, orange and lemon trees, yet there is nothing in it but what we have in Italy in greater plenty. I viſited the convent of the Recolets, which is very large, but of an ancient ſtructure; there are in it above one hundred and fifty religious men, beſides thoſe in the infirmary. The bell they ring to call to the refectory is twice as big as that which ſerves our church. The canons of this city are very rich, and always go in coaches drawn by four mules: they then expected Monſeigneur Spinola an Italian, who had the archbiſhopric of that city conferred on him.

I ſet out from thence a-foot for Cordova, paſſing through Carmona, and other ſmall places, of which I will give no account for fear of tiring the reader; yet I cannot forget the wretched road, where there is neither houſe nor tree, nor ſo much as water to cool one's mouth, to be found. This made me provide a bottle of wine, which I had through the aſſiſtance of a gentleman I met on the road, who bought it for me, there being no hopes of having it given me for God's ſake by the inn-keeper. And were it not for people of quality that relieve us, it would be impoſſible for Capuchins to live upon charity according to their ways, the people being wholly ſtrangers to giving of alms. Being in a town where we have no convent, I begged ſome bread for God's ſake of a baker, which was ſo ſurpriſing to him, that he ſtood in amaze like a man beſides himſelf: I left him and his bread, for fear, if I ſhould beg any longer of him, he would be quite beſide himſelf. I continued my journey, begging of God that he would ſoon let me get out of a country where there was ſo little charity.

Being come to Cordova, I went to our monaſtery, where I was forced to be ſatisfied with the Spaniſh diſh they call Olla Podrida, ſignifying a rotten pot; which name is not improper, for it is an extravagant medley of ſeveral things, as onions, garlic, pumkin, cucumber, white-beets, a bit of pork and two of mutton, which being boiled with the reſt are almoſt loſt. The fathers aſked me whether I liked it: I told them it was very fit to kill me, being as I was almoſt ſick, and ſo weak that I had need of ſome better reſtorative than that Podrida, to which I was not uſed. They put ſo much ſaffron in it, that had I not been yellow enough already with my diſtemper, that alone might have been enough to dye my ſkin of that colour. It is a great dainty for Spaniards, but a ſcurvy meſs for thoſe that are not uſed to it.

The cathedral on the outſide looked to me bigger than all the town, and I was not deceived, for being in it, I was amazed to behold a church ſo large, that from one ſide of it a man can ſcarce ſee the wall on the other; and were it proportionable in height, it would be one of the wonders of the world: there are on the inſide ten rows of pillars, and fifteen pillars in each row: the middle iſle is very ſpacious after the modern manner, and gilt about the high altar and choir. A canon told me there were in it three hundred and ſixty-ſix altars; on the chief of them is a very large tabernacle all of precious ſtones, which has a revenue of three thouſand livres appro-

priated to it. In a large chapel there is a great ſilver *ciborium* that weighs ninety-ſix ounces. I obſerved upon a pillar ſtanding by itſelf, a man painted kneeling: they told me it was the picture of a Chriſtian who had been many years a ſlave in that town when it was in the poſſeſſion of the Moors, and had with his nails carved a croſs upon that pillar: it was ſhewed me, and a man would have thought it had been done with a penknife. I believe he was very long about it, for the pillar is very fine marble. This city is ſituated in a great vale, a river running by the walls; formerly it ran through the midſt of the city, which was then very large, but at preſent indifferent, and has in it nothing elſe remarkable that I know of.

I ſet out for Alcala la Real, and met with ſome Spaniards, who told me that Andaluſia was the garden of Spain: whereupon I ſaid to myſelf, God keep me from the reſt of Spain if this be the garden, I had better return to ſea. That town ſtands upon a hill, and I ſaw nothing remarkable in it. Granada, whither I went next, is a beautiful and very large city, but yet inferior to Seville. Our fathers have two monaſteries there, one for a novitiate, the other to ſtudy; the cathedral is not yet finiſhed. The palace of the Mooriſh kings, called the Alhambra, ſtands upon a hill; which, though very high, has plenty of water. There are ſuch abundance of rooms in this palace, that a man may loſe himſelf, as if he were in a labyrinth. There are two baths, where the Moors uſed to waſh themſelves, one of hot water, the other of cold: the ceilings of the rooms are very curious, being made of a coloured plaiſter that ſtill looks new. There is another hill on which the infidels did put holy martyrs to death, and where abundance of relicks are kept.

From Granada I went to Lerenna, the wine of which place is looked upon to be the beſt in Spain, but the people ſpeak ſuch ill Spaniſh, that they are hardly to be underſtood: they call them Biſcalins. I held on my journey to Antequera, a town as big as a city. I reſted there eight days, in one of our monaſteries; and the guardian, who did me a thouſand good turns, would have kept me there as long again. Thence I went to Malaga, which is an indifferent good ſea-port town, very populous, and full of trade. The archbiſhop is a Dominican, brother to Don John of Auſtria: I was told his revenue was worth eighty thouſand ducats a year.

I lay there waiting ſome opportunity of ſhipping, and finding myſelf ſtill very ill, my bleeding at the noſe, ears, and mouth, not being over, I put myſelf into the hands of an Engliſh phyſician, who had ſo much ſucceſs as to mend my condition, for I bled only at the noſe: for eight days I was pretty well, and then relapſed as bad as ever. After waiting ſome weeks, a very good opportunity offered: ſix Spaniſh galleys, returning from the ſtraits of Gibraltar, came to an anchor in the port, to take in proviſions, and go winter at Carthagena: I applied myſelf to the Marquis of Bayona, who commanded them; he was then called Marquis de Santa Cruz, having reſigned the title of Bayona to his ſon, who is now general of the galleys of Sicily. That noble lord underſtanding I was an Italian, did not only grant me my paſſage, but would have me aboard his galley; and though I could ſpeak Spaniſh, would have me converſe with him in my mother-tongue, becauſe he ſpoke Italian to perfection, having been formerly general of the gallies of Naples and Sicily. The prieſt belonging to thoſe galleys having been left ſick at Carthagena, during our paſſage I had the poſt of chaplain, and confeſſor to his excellency.

Our voyage laſted fifteen days, and in that ſhort time I found what it was to be at ſea in gallies: I envied their happineſs who were aboard great ſhips, which are more commodious and expeditious than galleys. The bad weather made us put back three times; a calm enſuing, we made way with our oars; diſcovering a ſail by the moon-

light, the oars were hard plied to fetch it up: when we were near, ſhe ſet up Engliſh colours, yet we hemmed her in, and gave her a gun. She anſwered, and the captain launching his boat, came aboard His Excellency. That veſſel appeared like a mountain to us that were aboard the galleys, the ſtern was all gilt; they were cruizing upon the Turks, whom they mortally hate: and did all princes follow their example, I believe thoſe wicked pirates would ſcarce ſhew their heads at ſea.

We held on our courſe to Almeria, where we continued two days, laying in water and other freſh proviſions: the town is neither large nor populous, but ſeems to have been conſiderable in the time of the Moors, being encompaſſed by mountains, and defended by a good fort: it is adorned with abundance of fountains of very pure and wholeſome water. As I was there, quenching my thirſt, proceeding from the fever and effuſion of blood, I heard the warning-piece for ſailing, and returned aboard the galleys. We ſet out about night-fall, being ſaluted by the fort, and in our way took three Turkiſh brigantines; the men were diſtributed among the gallies, and the veſſels manned with Chriſtians and Turkiſh ſlaves. At laſt we arrived at Carthagena, where is an excellent port formed by nature, ſhut in with mountains and very ſafe, eſpecially for galleys. The town ſeems to have been formerly conſiderable, but is at preſent the moſt wretched place in Spain; for after the inhabitants had ſtoned their biſhop, they were ſeven years without rain, but it ſeems God took compaſſion on them after that, for now it rains twice or thrice a year: however the country is barren, and they carry biſcuit thither out of Italy, to maintain the people belonging to the galleys that winter there. Thence I went to Caravaca, where I ſaw the holy croſs brought by an angel from heaven, and ſet on an altar where a prieſt was ſaying maſs without a croſs. I went on to Valencia, a very fine city, delightful for its gardens, the pleaſanteſt of which is the archbiſhop's. Thence to Murcia, and Alicant, a little town, but of good trade, the houſes high and well built: having ſtaid there five days, I continued my journey through Tortoſa and Tarragona, where there is a beautiful dome, and then came to Montſerrat: this place inſpires reſpect, and draws tears from the eyes of thoſe who go thither with a ſpirit of devotion. There are as many chapels as myſteries of the holy roſary. One would think all the way to it was hewed out, it being all through a rock. There is a very great number of ſilver and gold lamps, and ſome of amber, the ornaments of the altars being anſwerable to that grandeur. There are continually pilgrims on the road going thither, or returning from thence.

From our Lord of Montſerrat, I went to Barcelona, the capital city of Catalonia, and a biſhopric: I reſided there ſix weeks, becauſe of a pain I felt, which made me unfit even to ride a horſeback. Three monaſteries we have there, are out of the town: that of St. Matrona is upon the ſide of a hill under the fort, and in the church is the body of that ſaint. The ſecond is that of St. Eubalia, where that ſaint's houſe ſtood, among the mountains, two miles from the city, and that is the novitiate. The third is that of Mount Calvary, not that it is ſeated on a mountain, but it is ſo called becauſe of three croſſes there are in it: to this it was I betook myſelf, becauſe it is the greateſt, and has an infirmary. Thoſe Catalonian fathers received me with extraordinary civility, eſpecially when they underſtood I came from ſo far a country. The city is large and beautiful, abounding in all things neceſſary for human life, and would be the moſt conſiderable place in thoſe parts, had it a ſafe harbour for great ſhips. I took notice of the muſic they uſe upon rejoicings, for inſtead of violins at weddings, they have fifes and trumpets, which make the church ſhake.

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During my ſtay at Barcelona, there came thither one of our lay-brothers, whoſe name was Peter de Seſſari, from Argier, where he had been ranſomed among other ſlaves by the Catholic King: he had been taken ſix months before, with F. Luis of Palermo, in their way from Cagliari to Saſſari. Thoſe two Capuchins being carried to Argier, F. Luis found no difficulty to get his living by preaching, maſſes, and hearing confeſſions, and could beſides pay his maſter to whoſe ſhare he fell, ſo much a month as they agreed upon; for which reaſon he was not put to the oar, but was allowed to go about the town freely: ſo when they were about ranſoming of him, his maſter ſet him at three thouſand ducats, whereas the brother was ſold for three hundred, being only fit for the oar; and it being eaſier to raiſe that ſum, he was firſt ranſomed. I propoſed to him to go into Italy, and his head was ſo poſſeſſed with his late misfortune, that he gave me to underſtand that his only deſign was to return home as ſoon as he could. We reſolved, therefore, to lay hold of the opportunity of a bark bound for Sardinia, the captain whereof, D. Carlos de Piſa, a very devout Catalonian, received us very courteouſly: we were two hundred and fifty ſouls aboard that bark, which ſet ſail with a fair gale. The wind being very briſk, we had made much way, and were entering the gulph of Lions, when the weather becoming boiſterous, it grew to one of the moſt terrible ſtorms imaginable, the waves toſſing our bark like a nut-ſhell, and mountains of water covering of it every foot. The diſorder, confuſion, and eſpecially the cries of the women, terrified thoſe that were moſt inured to ſuch tempeſts. The worſt of it was, that the ſeamen could not hear one another, with the noiſe of the ſea and of the paſſengers, which obliged the captain to draw his ſword, to drive all thoſe under deck who could not help, but only ſerved to hinder the ſailors: all upon the deck and in the cabin were wet; the veſſel ſeemed to be ready to overſet with the beating of the ſea, which drove all the people to that ſide which inclined, when a wave ſtruck againſt it with ſuch violence that it broke the laſhings of one of the guns. The cannon being looſe ran down to the lower ſide with ſuch fury, and gave ſuch a ſhock, that it was a wonder the bark was not ſtaved: the noiſe it made increaſed the terror, which the darkneſs of the night ſpread. The ſailors wet and ſpent, reſolved to let the bark run before the wind, provided ſhe did not run aground. I thought with myſelf, how comes it about that I who have twice croſſed the ocean, ſhould come now to be drowned in a puddle of water; for to ſay the truth, I never thought myſelf ſo near being caſt away as at that time, ſeeing one of the maſts ſpent, the ſails half-rent, the bark battered, and the ſeamen all caſt down. This ſtorm laſted all night, ſo that we knew not whither we were going. About day-break the ſea ſeemed to grow ſomewhat ſtiller, and the ſky clearing by the riſing of the ſun, we diſcovered mountains, which were not above a league from us, and found we were on the coaſt of Spain near Cape Gata. So that perceiving I was drove back, and had in ſix hours ſpace loſt near as much ground as I made in ſix months, I reſolved to go no more to ſea. However we ſoon took heart, for whilſt we were making to ſhore, there ſtarted up ſuch a freſh gale from the north, that the pilot thought it would not be amiſs in ſome meaſure to regain the time and ground we had loſt. We bent our courſe for Catalonia, and in a few hours arrived at Mattalona, our pilot's native country.

Being come to an anchor, I landed with my companion whom I had not ſeen during the ſtorm, and we went to reſt us at our convent, which ſtands on a hill without the town. I deſigned to have ſtaid there ſome time, but underſtanding the pilot would ſail up to Ablana, which is a better harbour, I ſuffered myſelf to be tempted to make uſe of that conveniency, being willing to put to ſea again, as ſoon as I was aſhore, becauſe of the diſtemper I ſtill laboured under. In a few hours we got to Ablana, and went to

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our monaſtery ſeated on a rock in a peninſula joined to the town by a ſmall neck of land; ſo that the ſea ſerves for an incloſure to the monaſtery and garden, which I thought the fineſt ſituation of any convent of our order, the air being very temperate. I acquainted my companion that I intended to ſtay there ſome time, in order to return home through France, a more worthy object for my curioſity than Sardinia. The crew of our veſſel, and particularly the officers, who were all Italians, hearing of it, came to confeſſion to me, expreſſing how much they were concerned that I ſhould leave them. They ſailing again for Sardinia, I reſted eight days in that delicious place, and then ſet out with two companions for Girona; ſo that I ſaw almoſt all Catalonia, which is a very fruitful country, and the people extraordinarily well tempered. From Girona I went to Higueras on the borders of Spain; whence croſſing ſome mountains, I entered upon the earldom of Rouſillon, and the firſt town of it called Cerat.

From Cerat I went to Touy in the vale of Perpignan, and I remember I there paſſed over a river upon a bridge that has but one arch, the feet whereof reſt upon two hills, ſo that the middle of it is a prodigious height, and frightful to look down. They ſay there is not ſo high an arch in all France, and for my part I muſt own I have not ſeen any like it in all thoſe parts of the world where I have been. I ſaw all the country about full of ſoldiers; and aſking what might be the reaſon, was told, that country had once belonged to the crown of Spain; but being ſince under the dominion of France, and the price of ſalt being raiſed, the people had revolted; for which reaſon troops had been ſent thither from Languedoc to quell them.

Perpignan, which I ſaw next, is a fort royal ſeated on a high rock, encompaſſed by three lofty walls with good ditches, and well ſtored with cannon. To appearance it looks impregnable, yet the Moſt Chriſtian King took it after a ſiege of eight months: which was the eaſier for him to do, becauſe there is a very populous town adjoining to the fort; for had it been a fort alone without a town, eight months had not been enough to ſtarve the place, where they might have laid up three years proviſion. Our monaſtery there is without the town.

Having paſſed the mountains, I came to Narbonne, through the midſt of which there runs a river that falls into the ſea a league off. The city is not large, but very populous, as are all the cities and towns in France. The churches are not beautiful, but there is ſuch a reſort of people to them, eſpecially upon holidays, that there is ſcarce room for the prieſt to turn himſelf at the altar. The prieſts of the church of St. Juſtus are habited like monks. The two ſteeples have a notable echo, which is pleaſant to hear.

Next I ſaw the towns of Languedoc and Provence that lay in my road, whereof I ſhall ſay but little. Beziers ſtands on a hill in a delightful country, and well watered; I went to the cathedral to ſee the archbiſhop Monſigneur de Bonzy, a Florentine, but he was then abſent. He has been ſince made archbiſhop of Tolouſe, and His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ambaſſador at Madrid. Yet the King allows him the revenue of his biſhoprick, till it is beſtowed on another. In this church I took notice of a very large organ over the great gate, where there are only thoſe pipes that appear outward in ſight, the others being diſtributed by three and three among the pillars, which makes the church ſhake when they play, though it is extraordinarily great, which is a notable piece of curioſity.

Tholouſe is a city worth ſeeing, for the great number of relics kept there, as alſo for its greatneſs, and the number of its inhabitants; which made me take care not to go by the churches when maſs or veſpers were ending, the throng being ſo great that it would have forced me back.

Agde,

Agde, an ancient town, where was held the council called Agatenſe. In our monaſtery, which is on the ſtrand, there is a miraculous image of our Lady; for the ſea having three times ſwelled up to the town, has never encroached ſince the image was placed there, but rather gone back, for which reaſon it is called Noſtre Dame de Gué.

Arles, an archbiſhopric, and populous enough.

Martegues, a place curious to behold, for it is divided into four hamlets built upon the ſea, with bridges from one to the other. We have two monaſteries, one at each end of the town; in one of which there are fourteen religious men, and twelve in the other; and there being none of any other order, they hear confeſſions there, as they do in France, Spain, Germany, and ſome parts of Italy. The only ſupport of this town almoſt is fiſhing, there being eight hundred tartans for this purpoſe, beſides a vaſt number of little boats that cover a great part of the ſea.

Thence I went to Aix the capital city of Provence, and to Marſeilles, a conſiderable town, and of great trade, yet not ſo large as I had fancied it. The harbour is very handſome and ſafe, more eſpecially for barks and galleys, becauſe great ſhips cannot go in loaden. There I ſaw twenty five galleys laid up cloſe by one another, and in the midſt of them the royal galley, which all veſſels that come into that port ſalute with a gun. Her ſtern is finely carved, and gilt. True it is, ſhe is not ſo big as the royal galley of Spain I ſaw at Carthagena, which carried the empreſs: this town has three forts, of which the new one at the mouth of the harbour has three walls, and four on one ſide. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has cauſed the wall that incloſed the ſide next to the hill to be thrown down to enlarge its compaſs, which has brought our monaſtery into the town, and will make it much more conſiderable, being filled with a vaſt multitude of people of all nations: ſeveral bodies of ſaints, and abundance of relics are to be ſeen there, particularly St. Andrew's croſs. I went to ſee the churches of St. Maximin and St. Beaume; they are places that inſpire devotion, and draw tears from the hardeſt hearts.

I took ſhip for Ciotat and Toulon. This is an indifferent town, but the port very conſiderable, and capable of receiving any number of the biggeſt veſſels: I ſaw the Royal Luis, which muſt be finiſhed by this time, and carries a hundred and twenty guns; it has three galleries, and the ſtern all gilt, as are the ſides, head and cabins. The gilder that was about it told me they had already laid out three thouſand crowns in leaf gold. I took the opportunity of a veſſel bound for Savona: the firſt day we ſailed right afore the wind, and at night put into St. Trompes; but the next day the bad weather forced us into a place where there were but two houſes, at a great diſtance from the city Graſſe, which ſtands on a hill encompaſſed by other hills, ſo that we could ſcarce ſee it at ſea, and therefore we muſt either go thither, or ſtarve. Finding myſelf ſomewhat hot of that which the phyſicians at Marſeilles called a hectick fever, making me unfit to travel, I lay down to ſleep under a tree, but hunger would not ſuffer me to cloſe my eyes. Being thus weary of myſelf, and not able to go to Graſſe as the others did, I knew not what courſe to take, when God, who has always relieved me in diſtreſs, as I have often found by experience in my travels, ordained that I ſhould meet a perſon that to me ſeemed of ſome note, and ſaid to me, "Father, what do you here all alone?" "My diſtemper," ſaid I, "which you may diſcern by my looks, has made me ſtay here; but at preſent hunger torments me more than my fever." He anſwered, "I am come in that covered felucca you ſee near that rock, and it is mine; I have caught ſome pilchers, if you pleaſe we will ſup together." The offer was very pleaſing to me, as any man may imagine, and ſo I followed him very readily. We went into the felucca, where two ſeamen had made all ready. "How ſhall we do," ſaid he,

'for,

" for we have no bread but biſcuit?" " Any thing is good in the time of need," ſaid I, " and I have been often without bread or biſcuit." That good man talked to me in Portugueſe, which I admired, being ſo far from that country, and therefore I aſked him whether he was a Portugueſe. He told me he was not, but that he had been there ſome time.

We began to eat and drink, without regarding that the ſun ſhined violently hot in our faces, hunger making me lay about me, and giving an excellent reliſh to any ſort of meat. Having eaten, and given thanks to Almighty God, we walked along the ſhore diſcourſing together; I ſtepped forwards alone to ſee a dolphin that made a noiſe in the water, as if it had been fighting with another fiſh, and was buſy throwing ſome ſtones at him. When I had done, I looked about and found that good man did not follow me, which made me turn back for fear he ſhould be gone before I could return him thanks; but I ſought him in vain, nor could I diſcover the felucca. I went back to the place where it lay, and ſaw nothing, which put me almoſt beſide myſelf. And indeed when I reflect upon it, I cannot tell what to think. One thing I know, which is, that having carefully examined thoſe that were left aboard our brigantine, whether they had ſeen that felucca that came to the ſhore with three men in it; they anſwered, they had ſeen no creature, though they had been all the while aſhore fiſhing in that little creek. I held my peace, and in my heart thanked God, the ſource of all that is good, for that he had been pleaſed, without any deſert of mine, to relieve me in that diſtreſs, into which I had fallen for his ſake. Whether it was by the hands of a man, or of an angel, I could not tell, but I felt an unſpeakable comfort; and ſuch it was, that had my health permitted, I ſhould have certainly returned to Congo, ſince I could ſtill make uſe of my miſſioner's patent which was not yet expired.

Next day we went aboard, and ſailing before the wind, arrived near to Nice; but the port not being ſafe, went on to Villa Franca, where I went to our monaſtery, which looks like a paradiſe amidſt ſo many high mountains, and ſo many uncouth rocks. Three days after, I ſet out aboard a Genoeſe galley, which carried me ſafe to Monaco; this is a place of conſiderable ſtrength, very pleaſant and delightful. Thence I took the opportunity of a brigantine bound for Savona; but we had like to have periſhed in a ſtorm, and were forced back. I would not truſt the ſea again, after finding it ſo mercileſs and uncertain, for fear leſt, after ſo many dangers as I had gone through, I ſhould at laſt be ſhipwrecked in the very harbour. I thought the land would be more favourable to me, and making ſhort journeys, took my way through Menton, St. Remy, which is as it were the paradiſe of Italy, Savona, Seſtri di Ponente, and Genoa. In the monaſtery called the Conception, which is without that city, I expected my ſuperior's orders, having ſent them an account of my return. A violent fever which held me forty days, had like to have done the work a hectic fever could not perform in three years. It was a comfort for me to be among my acquaintance, who did me abundance of favours.

During that time brother Michael de Orvietto came to Genoa from Congo, being ſent to Rome by the ſuperior, to repreſent to the holy congregation *de propaganda fide*, to what a low condition that miſſion was reduced, moſt of the miſſioners dying in a ſhort time, and only three remaining in the whole kingdom. He brought us news of the death of D. Alvaro King of Congo, and the election of another as devout as he. Beſides, he told us that the Blacks had eaten F. Philip de Galeſia, a miſſioner of the province of Rome, which happened in this manner; the great men having obtained leave of the King to burn ſuch ſorcerers as they could find, went to a place where they knew they were got together, and ſet fire to their cottages. As ſoon as the flame began

to riſe, they fled, and meeting with F. Philip in their way, fell upon, killed and eat him; which the Blacks who purſued them ſaw by the light of the flames, and carried the news to St. Salvador. This happened in the province of Sonde, where a duke who is the King's ſubject reſides.

Contrary to all expectation I recovered, and paſſing through Piacenza, came to Bononia, where, God be praiſed, I am at this time with ſome relicts of my diſtemper, left me by the great fatigues of my travels, thinking my time well enough ſpent, if but one of two thouſand ſeven hundred children and youths I baptized, obtains ſalvation through my miniſtry. F. Michael Angelo, before he departed this life, told me he had baptized three hundred and ſixteen; and it is no wonder we ſhould baptize ſo many in ſo ſhort a time, the people being innumerable. A Black told me that a Macolonte had got fifty-two children upon ſeveral women. God of his mercy preſerve thoſe that for the future ſhall be appointed for this miſſion, for fear if they fail, all thoſe people ſhould turn Pagans. Be it all to the glory of God, whoſe judgments are incomprehenſible, and the means he uſes for our ſalvation various and wonderful in all reſpects. I deſire the readers to pray for thoſe poor converted Ethiopians, that they may perſevere in the faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and that we may all together attain to our deſired port of the kingdom of heaven. Amen.

A

VOYAGE TO CONGO,

AND

SEVERAL OTHER COUNTRIES, CHIEFLY IN SOUTHERN AFRICK.

By Father JEROM MEROLLA DA SORRENTO, *a Capuchin and Apoſtolic Miſſioner in the Year* 1682.

Made Engliſh from the Italian.*

THE AUTHOR's PREFACE.

THE author of our ſalvation Chriſt Jeſus, the only begotten Son of God, deſcending from the boſom of his Father to viſit our tottering manſions here on earth, never had greater deſires than to teach us by his word and works the ſecure and infallible way to heaven, and thereby to deliver us from the horrid and deplorable ſlavery deſigned us by the devil and his miniſters; and wherein we were all miſerably involved by the ſin of our firſt parents. Hence it is, that after his moſt glorious aſcenſion, he commanded his diſciples to go preaching his moſt holy word through all the habitable parts of the earth: and that in defence thereof, if neceſſity ſo require, they ſhould be ready to ſhed their deareſt blood, which all the apoſtles and martyrs have accordingly done in obedience to his moſt holy commands, and for the good and propagation of the only true Catholic church. Now, becauſe the preaching of this word of God to a people that were wholly ignorant thereof before, was one of the greateſt of ſpiritual undertakings, Father Francis da Montelione, a Capuchin Friar, and native of the province of Sardinia, determined to go to Congo and other neighbouring kingdoms, to expoſe his life for that purpoſe; and the rather by reaſon that thoſe people, eſpecially the Giaghi, were ſo far from paying any adoration to the true God, that they ſacrificed directly to the devil; and what is yet worſe, their oblations were not ſheep and oxen, but men and women. Being thus earneſtly reſolved, this Friar, inflamed ſolely by fervent charity, requeſted of the ſacred college *de propaganda fide*, permiſſion for himſelf and his companions to effect what he had thus propoſed; and to the end he might not be thought to have any regard to ſelf-intereſt, he proffered to go *gratis*, thereby depriving himſelf of what had always been accuſtomed to be given by that college to miſſioners, and truſting entirely to Divine Providence for ſupport. Having obtained leave for himſelf, he further begged of the ſaid college that I might go as his companion, which being likewiſe granted, I accepted the honour and great favour done me, though I was but little capable of ſo difficult an undertaking, either in reſpect of my health or ability. What follows is the product of ſome few years' obſervations in thoſe parts, which, though ſhort and imperfect, yet I aſſure my readers is wholly true, and that eſpecially which I have affirmed myſelf to have been an eye-witneſs of.

* Churchill's Coll. i. 521.

AUTHORI PRO ARGUMENTO OPERIS.

QUISQUIS amat Congi fines peragrare nigrantes,
Africæ et Æthiopum cernere regna, domus ;
Æthram flammantem, multiplex clima locorum,
Diverſum tegmen corporis, atque togas ;
Quadrupedum variam ſobolem, variumque ferarum
Ortum, ſerpentum lethiferumque genus ;
Nubivagas acium turbas, volucreſque loquaces,
Fluminis et ponti ſquamigerumque pecus ;
Obliquos amnes, jucundo murmure rivos
Currentes, vaſtos æquoreoſque ſinus ;
Arboreos fœtus, ridentes gramine ripas,
Plantarum ſylvas, fructiferumque nemus ;
Multiplices fructus, epulas, eſcaſque, ciboſque,
Quas humus Europæ fundere noſtra nequit ;
Affectus, mores, naturas, prælia, ritus,
Facta, gubernaculum, jus muliebre ſimul ;
Eventus, caſus, præſtantia mira ſtuporem
Auribus ac menti, luminibuſque ſuis.
Perlegat hunc librum, quæ dixi namque videbit,
Ut propriâ ſpectans luce MEROLLA *refert.*

FR. ANGELUS DE NEAP. PICCARDUS.

A VOYAGE TO CONGO, &c.

PART I.

ON the 5th of May, in the year of our Lord 1682, and under the pontificate of His Holineſs Pope Innocent XI., we ſet ſail from Naples in a felucca for Corſica and Sardinia, and arrived at Baſtia the capital city of the former, on Whitſunday, where, meeting with a Genoeſe ſhip ready to go for the ſalt-pits, the wind being favourable, we immediately went on board her, and ſoon came up with a large Genoeſe ſloop, with only three men on board. We hailed her, and begged of the maſter to tranſport us miſſioners to the bay of Algheri in Sardinia, whither we were bound in queſt of ſome of our companions. Our requeſt being readily granted, we exchanged our veſſel, and coaſted along the iſland, often endeavouring to enter the bay; but the wind proving contrary, were as often forced back to ſea. We had recourſe to our prayers, becauſe in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions: however the Divine Providence, that orders all things for the beſt, ſaw it not convenient that we ſhould be ſo heard as to land where we deſired; and therefore, inſtead of ſuffering us to proceed on our voyage, we were driven back to a ſmall port near the point. Here my companion, being well acquainted with the country, would needs go aſhore and climb a ſmall mountain, intending to beg a lamb

a lamb for charity of any ſhepherd he could meet; as ſoon as he reached the top, he began to call out to us below with great earneſtneſs, requiring us ſpeedily to come up to him; where, when we came, we plainly perceived that, had we turned the point, we had infallibly fallen into the clutches of a Turkiſh corſair that lay there upon the catch. To be the better convinced of this, we took our glaſſes, and found what he ſhewed us to be real; beſides that, ſome coral barks he had chaſed aſſured us of the truth of it. Then began our maſter to lift up his hands to heaven, and to offer up acknowledgments with a flood of tears to St. Francis for having delivered both him and his companions from ſo imminent a danger on our account.

The night following, the pirate being wholly out of ſight, and we probably out of danger, we went again on board our ſloop to proſecute our interrupted voyage. In few hours after arriving at Algheri, we ſaw near an hundred Genoeſe barks fiſhing for coral, which, it ſeems, greatly abounds in thoſe ſeas; as alſo for tunny-fiſh, and ſeveral other ſorts, whereof there is great plenty. At our landing in the bay, we immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the father-guardian of our monaſtery, to acquaint him we were come aſhore, and to deſire him to ſend us a horſe to carry our baggage to the convent. Inſtead of a horſe he ſent an ox, that being the beaſt of burden commonly made uſe of in this country. This ſeemed very ſtrange to me, eſpecially when I underſtood that he was likewiſe a pad upon occaſion, and all this by reaſon of the extreme ſmallneſs of their horſes; which I was the more eaſily induced to believe, when ſome Portugueſe gentlemen told me that the ſame was done in the iſland of Cabo Verde, ſubject to them, where there was a breed between oxen and ſhe-aſſes, which they compaſſed by binding a freſh cow's hide upon the ſhe-aſs, and this to the end that the cattle bred of them might be expeditious. The conſideration whereof I refer to philoſophers.

In this city I ſtaid about a month, waiting for my companion, who was gone about the iſland in ſearch of the other miſſioners, who were to go with us to the kingdom of Congo. During my ſtay the biſhop of the dioceſe made a ſolemn entry into the city, and ſhewed himſelf to be much devoted and well affected to our order; for the next day after his arrival at his palace, he came to our convent to viſit us. Moreover, on the feaſt of St. John Baptiſt, the patron of our church, he aſſiſted with us at maſs. Likewiſe, as a farther inſtance of his favour, having been informed by ſome of our brothers that I was going on a miſſion to the Southern Afric, without any extraordinary proviſion of neceſſaries, he gave me a letter of recommendation to ſeveral of his friends in Spain to ſupply me with what I wanted; which kindneſs of his, as it happened, was of no uſe to us, becauſe we touched at no port in Spain.

My companion returning, brought along with him only one friar, named Father Francis de Bitti, a preacher, the reſt having been detained by ſome buſineſs. All things being now diſpatched here, and finding a ſhip of Provence ready in the harbour, we immediately embarked and ſailed towards that country. The captain being nephew and brother to two of our order, uſed us very courteouſly, not only while we were on board him, but after our landing, inviting us to his houſe, where we ſtaid for ſome time; and to complete his civility towards us, underſtanding that the King of Portugal's fleet waited at Villa Franca to carry His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Savoy to Portugal (whither he was going to ſolemnize his nuptials with the Infanta of that kingdom), he would needs take a felucca at his own charge to conduct us to that port, where we ſoon after arrived, and were received with great joy and civilities by the Portugueſe commanders, telling us that if we could not find conveniences elſewhere in their ſhips, we might oblige them in accepting of their own cabins.

Our ſuperior, Father John da Romano, coming from Genoa with Father Amedeo da Vienna, and a ſecular prieſt of Piedmont, we all ſix went aſhore to a convent of our order, where we remained three months, and had every week a charitable ſubſiſtence of two wethers, a ſmall caſk of wine, and ſufficient bread ſent us by thoſe gentlemen, beſides other preſents made to the monaſtery on our account.

The delay the fleet made to ſet ſail laſted in all ſix months, and which was occaſioned by the duke of Savoy's falling ſick, and growing worſe every time, he reſolved upon his departure; which politicians tell us happened through the providence of God, and for the benefit of Italy.

Not before the 4th of October, being the feaſt of our glorious patron of St. Francis, did the fleet put to ſea, the wind north. For our better accommodation our ſuperior had ordered our company to go but two in a ſhip. Himſelf and his Piedmonteſe companion went on board the admiral, the count of St. Vincent commander. I and Father Amedeo were in the ſhip called the Fiſcal, commanded by Signior Gonſalo de Caſta; and the other two in Don Lewis Lobo's ſhip, named the St. Benedict. This laſt perſon had been viceroy of the kingdom of Angola in Ethiopia. His ſingular piety and kindneſs to us was ſo remarkable, that I cannot omit giving one particular inſtance of it. The 1ſt of November being come, when we were to bid a farewel to fleſh, and the land of Portugal being in view, but which we could not reach that day, he ſent a boat aſhore on purpoſe to fetch us refreſhment, to the end we might paſs the laſt day of our carnival with the greater ſatisfaction.

On the 2d of November, being All-Souls-day, we entered the port of Liſbon about ſun-ſet. The waters here are a proportional mixture of ſalt and ſweet; the latter being plentifully poured out by the river Tagus, ſo famous for its golden ſands, and not unlike the Lydian Pactolus, according to Juvenal and others:

Quod Tagus, et rutilâ Pactolus volvit arenâ.——JUVENAL.

Hic certant Pactole tibi Duriuſque Taguſque-——SIL. ITAL.

Quodque ſuo Tagus amne vehit, fluit ignibus aurum.——OVID.

Here we were obliged to make uſe of a pilot, (this port being near as dangerous as the Fare of Meſſina,) and that by the King's orders, to prevent any more wrecks, too many having happened here already. This kindneſs is uſed towards friends, but as for enemies they are left to the mercy of many ſharp rocks, and of ſeveral well-fortified caſtles and forts.

Our veſſel coming to an anchor, we entered our boats and landed, not at the uſual place Belem, or Bethlehem, by reaſon of the too ſwift eddy that ran there, but at the palace royal, between the hours of one and two at night. Not knowing the way to our monaſtery, we endeavoured to get a guide, but there was none to be had, though a religious man that came with us, and was well provided, offered a conſiderable reward to any that would ſhew us the way. At laſt a negro native of Congo conducted us gratis, proteſting the many favours and civilities his countrymen had received from the religious men of our nation moved him to it. As ſoon as we came to the monaſtery, after ringing the bell, our guide was ready to begone: we entreated him to accept of ſome reward, or, at leaſt, of a glaſs or two of wine for a refreſhment: but though the people of that nation are immoderate lovers thereof, yet could he not be prevailed upon to accept of a drop, which made me have a more than ordinary affection for the people of Congo.

Whilſt

Whilſt I was at Liſbon I viſited the houſe where St. Anthony of Padua was born: it is now converted into a church; and though rich in reſpect of its ornaments, is good in regard of its ſtructure, being both low, and built in the angle of a ſtreet. I viſited likewiſe the parochial church and font of baptiſm of the ſame ſaint: the church is now called St. Engraca, which, after it had been many years building with a vaſt expence, fell down, and was at this time erecting again. I likewiſe paid my devotion to the convent of the Canons Regulars, amongſt whom St. Anthony lived for ſome time, and whoſe ſtatue, in the habit of this order, is placed over their high altar. Their church is alſo the chapel-royal, and the burying-place of the kings, and of ſeveral heroes of Portugal.

I ſhall not buſy myſelf in any farther deſcription of this famous city of Liſbon, its worth being already ſufficiently known, and its ſituation admired. I ſhall only add, that its port is ſo large that it runs out thirty miles in length, though the bay before the city is but ſix miles over, and that its cuſtom-houſe is conſiderably employed with entries of pearl, incenſe and ebony, from Arabia, of rubies and emeralds from Bengala, of caſſia and amber-greaſe from Ethiopia, of cloves, cinnamon, and nutmegs from the Moluccoes, of ſlaves, ivory, and civet from Congo and Angola, of great varieties of ſilk and linen from India, of ſugars, tobacco, and ſeveral ſorts of wood from Brazil, and of divers commodities from other places, which I have neither room nor leiſure to enumerate here.

Not having ſpent above a month in this city, I looked out every day for a ſhip to proceed onward on my voyage; for this purpoſe, I addreſſed myſelf to a captain of a ſhip, and deſired of him to let me go as his chaplain to Brazil: he told me he could not accept of me as a chaplain, having one aboard him already, but go with him I might if I pleaſed as a paſſenger. I thanked him kindly for his proffer, but withal acquainted him, that my ſuperior had commanded me to go in no other capacity; and ſo I took my leave of him.

It happened a little after that another ſhip bound for Brazil, having paid off her chaplain and left him aſhore, ſet ſail with all imaginable expedition; but ſhe had not been many days at ſea before ſhe was toſſed with ſo violent a tempeſt, and threatened ſo many ways with deſtruction, that ſhe was glad of a turn of wind to drive her back again to Liſbon: the captain vowing never to ſail again without his ſpiritual guide at whatever rate. Upon his landing therefore, being acquainted that ſome of us had a mind to go for Brazil, he courteouſly received and promiſed me all the accommodation his veſſel could afford, my companions being already provided. This coming to the firſt captain's ear whom I before had applied myſelf to, he began, with what reaſon I know not, to be in a great paſſion, affirming that I ought not to have promiſed another, ſince he had firſt proffered to carry me. The cauſe of this ſtickling about us I gueſſed to be by reaſon that we were to do our office at eaſier rates, for Capuchins are to have only their table free: when by the laws of Portugal, a prieſt or other religious perſon is to have not only his diet, but likewiſe a ſtipend of ſo much a month, and when he comes to land muſt have moreover a houſe hired for him, and three Carlinos a day allowed him. This put the captain into ſuch a paſſion, that he threatened to challenge him that had taken me aboard, and would have done it had not all the reſt blamed and condemned his proceeding.

The 1ſt of December we went on board, but for want of a wind could not ſail till the 8th, being the feaſt of the Immaculate Conception: we were in all five ſhips, in two of which went our other two companions, Father Amedeo da Vienna and Father Francis da Bitti. Having left Liſbon, I wafted a farewel ſigh towards the beautiful and

happy Europe, and immediately after we fell into the gulph of Mares, ſo called from the furious agitation of its waves. We had now over againſt us the iſland of Madeira, which before its being inhabited was all over woody, and thence had its name Madeira, in Spaniſh ſignifying wood, but after being diſcovered, it was by fire rendered exceedingly fertile. Its preſent inhabitants have a more than ordinary deſire to a convent of our order among them; but for want of religious men thoſe pious inclinations have been laid aſide. I am very ſure that a gentleman of that iſland came once to Liſbon on purpoſe to ſolicit that affair with the King of Portugal, at the requeſt of the devout inhabitants.

From Madeira to the iſland of Palma are threeſcore and ten leagues: this Palma is one of the Canaries, and whither we muſt go from Madeira with a ſtrong convoy to prevent pirates: from thence we may ſail forward unguarded without any fear of danger. Thoſe that are bound for Brazil ſteer towards the height of Cape Verd, ſituate in fourteen degrees of north latitude, and diſtant from Palma about two hundred and ſixteen leagues. Sailing near three hundred leagues more, you come into the torrid zone, and have the ſun perpendicularly over your head. Hence the latitude of either pole is reckoned by degrees, each of which is generally computed at ſixty leagues; but becauſe the degrees may differ in many reſpects, I ſhall leave their number of leagues undetermined.

Our voyage now was ſo proſperous, that every ſhort ſpace of time we found ourſelves conſiderably advanced: but notwithſtanding the many briſk gales of wind we had, the heat, by reaſon of the propinquity of the ſun, was ſtill prevalent; and though we were in the midſt of winter, made us conſiderably ſweat and languiſh. At length by the grace of God we paſſed the equinoctial, when it has often happened that others have been kept under it for ſome time with no ſmall prejudice to their health, and frequent danger of their lives.

I think I ſhall not much interrupt the thread of my relation, if I mention here a certain ceremony uſed by the mariners the day they cut the line. A ſort of court is erected among them, and by conſent of the commanders: then two judges dreſſed accordingly ſit at a table, where they take full cognizance of all ſuch as have not yet paſſed the line; thoſe they find, they upbraid them with having lived ſo many years, and not having yet cut the line; and then, as if it were a great crime, they mulct them according to their quality: ſuch as were not ready to pay their fines, or at leaſt willing to offer ſomething, are ſeized in a trice, and by a rope about their middles hauled up to the main-yard-arm, whence they are let thrice ſucceſſively into the ſea. From this puniſhment or a fine none are exempt, and it is ſaid that with the latter they maintain a church.

Whilſt the winds gently played their parts, we now began to devote ourſelves to ſpiritual exerciſes, continually celebrating maſs; morning and night we ſung the Roſary, and in the evening the Litany. On holidays we had always a ſermon preached by one or other of us. Our ſhip was dedicated to Our Saviour, the Bleſſed Virgin, and St. Joſeph, which made us to celebrate the Holy Nativity with more than ordinary ſolemnity. Thoſe merchants that were on board us not only adorned the altar with the richeſt things they had, but likewiſe hung the outſides of our ſhip with ſeveral carpets and rich clothes, the air being at that time ſerene, and the ſea calm. Having juſt then finiſhed my Lent, and it happening to fall out on a Friday, when we were obliged to faſt by the rules of our order, Providence ſo ordered it, that that very night a flying fiſh of a conſiderable bigneſs darted againſt our ſails, and dropt down into our ſhip: this fiſh, with a great deal of pleaſure, our captain preſented me, and which was received

ceived with no ſmall thanks by me; for God knows how much I had ſuffered during that whole courſe of my abſtinence, fleſh being the only proviſion of our ſhip, and my conſtant diet boiled lentiles, biſcuit, and ſtinking water. The difficulty of getting fiſh I believe was partly contrived by the ſeamen on purpoſe to make me break my Lent, they having often told me, that in ſuch long voyages as this, there was no obligation to abſtain from fleſh; but I thank God, notwithſtanding their opinion, I ſtill perſevered in my duty.

On twelfth-day, about two in the morning, we diſcovered a ſtar ſo large and luminous, as is almoſt incredible to believe: the captain declared he had never ſeen the like, though he had ſailed thoſe ſeas forty times. This, ſaid others, may probably be that guide which on this day conducted the Magi to Bethlehem. But for my part, I am of opinion it was no other than the planet Jupiter.

During all this time we had but only one calm half day, and that the captain propoſed to ſpend in fiſhing. Here it is moſt wonderful, that having caſt the lead in that vaſt ocean, and ten degrees from the line, we found but ninety foot water. Among other fiſh we took one called the Dorado or Gilt-fiſh, and truly not without reaſon, having perfect rays of gold on his back, and being moreover excellent meat. This ſeems to me to be the fiſh Martial ſpeaks of in his thirteenth book, where he ſays,

Non omnis pretium laudemque aurata meretur.

The prey this fiſh moſt delights in is the flying fiſh, with which theſe ſeas greatly abound, and which is like to our ſea-ſwallows, and unlike them only in that it has a blue back: the flying fiſh has this particular unhappineſs, that it is neither ſafe in the air nor in the ſea, being perſecuted by the birds in the former, and by the golden fi in the latter.

On the 17th of January we arrived at Baia, or the city of San Salvador in Brazil, ſituate in thirteen degrees of ſouth latitude. The port of this city is not a little remarkable, whether it be for its capaciouſneſs, or its ſecurity for ſhipping, the latter being occaſioned by two mountains on either ſide the entrance of it, as likewiſe by its diſtance from the ſea.

At our landing we met a widow carried in a net with a pole through it on the ſhoulders of two black ſlaves, with morning clothes wrapped about them, and the net covered with a quilt, at the four corners whereof marched four women ſlaves. This at firſt ſight being a thing new to me, I took to be a corpſe going to be buried, and upon enquiry found it to be a Portugueſe widow. I thereupon demanded, "Why being a Chriſtian ſhe had not a croſs carried before her;" and immediately out of pure charity and devotion fell to ſaying the *de profundis* for her ſoul. This occaſioned an immoderate laughter in the ſtanders-by, who began to gather about me, whilſt I hanging down my head, and perceiving my miſtake of a living woman for a dead, was glad to ſteal off as faſt as I could.

The ordinary ſort of theſe nets I ſpoke of have only one pillow or cuſhion in them whereon either to lie or ſit: thoſe for the women have a carpet under to ſit on, and another over; and the women ſlaves, whom they call Moccomas, being the ſame that wait on them in their chambers, walk by their ſides. The richer ſort of people have theſe coverings like to the tops of coaches, with curtains on each ſide, but then the nets change their names to Palangas, and are much in uſe, not only in Brazil, but likewiſe all over Ethiopia.

This city of Baia or San Salvador is the metropolis of all Braſil, and has both a governor equal in power to a viceroy, and an archbiſhop. The ſhores of this king-

dom are chiefly inhabited by Portugueſe, beginning at the river Della Plata, and extending to that of the Amazons, as likewiſe up as far as poſſible into the country. Beyond, the natives have their reſidence. The principal traffic here is for tobacco and ſugars, of which, every year, great quantities are fetched away by the Portugueſe ſhips, and that not only from this city, but likewiſe down the rivers from San Franciſco and Janeiro.

To uphold the ſugar-works, a vaſt number of ſlaves is required, as well to plant and cultivate the canes, as to provide ſufficient fuel for the prodigious furnaces that are employed both night and day: ſome there are who have no leſs than five hundred ſlaves for this purpoſe, and whoſe labour is ſo hard, and their ſuſtenance ſo ſmall, that they are reckoned to live long if they hold out ſeven years.

So great is the application of the Brazilians to this traffic of tobacco and ſugars, that few or none take care to till the ground, or ſow corn. Hence it is that all manner of proviſions are exceſſively dear in thoſe parts. Their bread is generally made of the root of the herb Mandioca: the way they have to propagate it is by tearing off a branch of it, and burying it in the earth, when in a ſhort time it will caſt forth a root, and ſhoot up a ſtalk and leaves like to our lupins. At certain ſeaſons of the year they preſs the juice out of the ſtalks and leaves by a ſort of hand-mill, and that ſerves them either for drink or broth. The ſame cuſtom is uſed likewiſe in the kingdom of Angola, and other places.

Fiſh is extremely dear in this country, there being but very few that apply themſelves to catch it. Fleſh likewiſe is at a great rate, and that by reaſon of the great diſtance of paſtures, inſomuch that cattle often either die by the way in bringing, or elſe are harraſſed to ſkin and bone by their journey. Water alſo, that neceſſary element, is ſcarce, and what they have is, for the moſt part, brackiſh; ſo that a traveller in theſe parts muſt of neceſſity provide himſelf as well with this as with victuals.

Fruit they have here of many excellent kinds, and which, though different from ours in Europe, yet is no leſs palatable and nouriſhing. Among others, there is a ſort of palm called Cocoa, whole nuts ſhoot out with a ſtalk in a cluſter to the number of twenty, more or leſs, at the bottom of a thick crowd of long, ſharp, and bending leaves, not unlike ſcythes: each of theſe nuts is of the bigneſs of a flaſk with its ſtraw clothing, with two rinds, whereof the latter being ſawed aſunder, ſerves for cups to drink out of. Its fruit is of an excellent ſavour, and white as milk, but very ſubſtantial; in the midſt of it there is about an ordinary glaſs-full of liquor, which, while the fruit is green, is in greater quantity, though not ſo pleaſant, but, as they ſay, cooling; yet when ripe, they ſay it becomes hot. This ſort of palm is to be found in Ethiopia and in the Eaſt Indies, and, in time of year, by tapping, affords a great deal of wine. Here is another kind of fruit called Mamao, which grows on a tree moſtly without branches, and whoſe trunk is like to a beam adorned with leaves and fruit; each leaf produces its fruit like to melons and pumkins in ſhew as well as taſte: the ſeed is like pepper, and has ſomething of the taſte of it; the ſtalks on which the leaves grow, are long, like the ſhoots of our vines in Europe, bowing with the weight of the large leaves, and four or five ſpans long.

Another ſort of fruit-tree is the Banana, but which may rather be termed an aſſemblage of leaves interwoven and twiſted together ſo neatly, that they form a plant about fifteen ſpans high; at the top it throws out one cluſter of fruit like to a bunch of thoſe grapes which we, in Italian, call Corniole, and which is, of itſelf, a ſufficient burden for one man: every berry of this cluſter is about a ſpan long, and as thick as one's wriſt, with a rind like to an orange. When the fruit is once gathered, you cut down the tree to make it ſprout anew, inſomuch that being once planted, and thus ordered,

it will often be ready to offer a grateful return to its planter. This fruit the natives called Cacchio, and which, even while green, they gather and hang up in their houſes, where by degrees it ripens, and grows as yellow as gold: when dry, they cut it acroſs the middle, and it taſtes much like to a dried fig of Calabria. The leaves of this plant are ſo neatly ſtreaked and fleeked, that one would think they were rather the work of art than nature: they are generally about ten ſpans long, and about three in breadth. Many are of opinion, and argue that theſe were the leaves our firſt parents covered their nakedneſs with, after tranſgreſſing the divine precept in Paradiſe; which is not unlikely, becauſe of their length and breadth before-mentioned, and becauſe in ſome countries this ſort of fruit is called a fig; and the Scripture tells us they made them aprons of fig-leaves; unleſs it were that fig, in India, which the Arabs and Perſians call Mouz, and the Portugueſe the Indian fig, one leaf whereof ſerves for a table-cloth at a feaſt.

The fruit Niceſi is much of the ſame kind with the former, being produced by a like plant, and diſagreeing only in, that theſe are ſomewhat leſs. This fruit being cut in the middle, or any ways except in length, ſhews a ſort of ſketch or rough draught of a crucifix, and which I take to be more wonderful than that of the fruit of the plant Baruth, vulgarly called the Paradiſe fig, wherein, when cut, is to be ſeen plainly the impreſſion of the Greek letter *tau*, when in this our fruit is as eaſy to be diſcovered the figure of our Saviour upon the croſs.

For want of a conveniency to carry me farther up into the country, I was fain ſometimes to rely upon the relations of others, but then I always took care to take them from perſons of credit and natives of the place. I was told that, higher up, there were vaſt woods of large citron-trees, which ſeems not improbable, if we conſider the great quantity of candied citron-peel preſerved, and brought yearly from thence. To ripen them, they bend down the tendereſt branches of the tree, and cover the citrons with earth, whereby they ſoon become ſoft and yellow, and are pleaſant to eat. I forbear to mention the many fruits that are to be found in theſe woods, and will confine myſelf to ſpeak briefly of the trees.

The trees in the foreſt are ſome of them ſo vaſtly great, that large boats, called Canoos, are made out of them all of a piece. One of theſe I ſaw in the port of Baia, higher than one of our feluccas, as broad, and of length ſufficient for ten or eleven men to row with long oars, having only the rudder added to it from another tree. This I muſt tell you was ſomething extraordinary, for commonly they row theſe boats with oars like ſhovels, and that, ſtanding more or leſs on a ſide as occaſion ſerves. The Indian fiſhers have other ſorts of boats made of reeds raddled together, and which ſerve their turn well enough, for they value not the waters coming in, having no clothes to ſpoil. In this country there is great quantity of the wood called Brazil wood, ſome red of the colour of porphyry, and another ſort quite black like ebony. Here are alſo ſome trees that diſtil the true balm, others that produce a kind of oil, called by the natives Coppaiua, and which is an abſolute cure for green wounds, as likewiſe a remedy againſt old aches, and good to comfort the ſtomach. A third ſort called Almeſega, which diſtils a liquor like to frankincenſe, and ſerves to heal contuſions and bruiſes in any part of the body, and moreover comforts the ſtomach if taken inwardly. There are alſo ſome plants to be met with here named Bicoiua, or nutmeg, whoſe juice is a great relief againſt, if not an abſolute cure for, fluxes and gripes.

Not many years ſince cinnamon was firſt ordered to be brought hither by the King of Portugal from the Eaſt Indies, with expreſs command to the captains of ſhips, that they ſhould deliver it to the reverend fathers of the Society of Jeſus, who about four

miles from the city of Baia, have a marſh belonging to them, where it has thrived to a miracle. The birds likewiſe, by picking the ſeed, and dropping it about the country, have mightily contributed towards its increaſe; for when I was there, I ſaw many little trees of it in ſeveral places, and which could not have come thither by any other means. Alſo at my being there, the trees that were firſt planted were begun to be ſlawed, and about fourteen pounds of the bark ready to be ſent as the firſt-fruits to the King.

I imagine I ſhall not much ſtray from my ſubject, if I give ſome light here into the origin of the natives of this country from a certain Franciſcan writer, who writ in the Portugueſe tongue, and had his information from the Hollanders. He ſays, that theſe people came from the iſlands of Swedeland, either becauſe of the great colds that reign there, or being thrown on theſe coaſts by a tempeſt. The Indian natives of Brazil have the name of Tabareos, and thoſe born of a Portugueſe and a native are called Cabollos. The former ſort are of a browniſh complexion, have long ſtraight hair, with little round eyes, and thick well-ſet bodies of a middle ſize: their clothing is no more than they came into the world with: they maintain themſelves with hunting and fruit, which is the reaſon that they ſeldom continue long in one place, but wander about according to the ſeaſons proper for that purpoſe. Sometimes they feed upon man's fleſh, and that upon the following occaſion: when any one of their relations or friends fall deſperately ſick, before he grows worſe they knock him on the head, and cutting his body to pieces, diſtribute it amongſt the reſt to eat; alleging, "that it is much more honourable for him to be devoured by them, than to be preyed upon by worms and inſects." And thus, as they have lived like beaſts, ſo, like beaſts, they die.

I was told by one Father Martin, a Capuchin, who had lived fourteen years in thoſe parts, and was then ſuperior, that theſe ſort of people are very apprehenſive and docible, and that though they could not read, yet they would ſing and aſſiſt at maſs and veſpers. This Father told me likewiſe, that he had brought over great numbers of them to the true faith, and that they were in appearance ſo good Chriſtians, that, when they were at church, (I ſpeak this to our confuſion and ſhame,) they might be ſeen kneeling on both knees like ſtatues, without the leaſt motion; and though they heard any noiſe, not one of them would offer to look behind him, or ſpeak the leaſt word, thinking it a ſacrilege. He added further, that at firſt he found great difficulties in learning their language, but that at length, in the ſpace of four years, he made himſelf an abſolute maſter of it.

And becauſe that theſe people lived without a ruler and government, when he came among them, the ſame Father choſe out the beſt among them for their governor, and whom the reſt readily obeyed. He then reduced them to our way of living, and brought them to eat their meat at due times of the day, whereas before the pot was always ready, and they did little elſe but eat and drink. He taught them alſo to plant their Mandioca ſpoken of before, and inſtructed them in the art of ſpinning and weaving their cotton, to the end that they might conceal thoſe parts which decency require ſhould be hid. He told me likewiſe, that before that time he had met with but one among a great number that had any thing to cover his nakedneſs, and that was given him by a miſſioner.

This Father, in proceſs of time, becoming perfectly ſkilled in their language, and being moreover well-beloved by them, had a more than ordinary opportunity to inculcate religion into them; and which undertaking of his was likewiſe facilitated by their having no idols or worſhip among them at the time of his attempting it. Their notions of a deity are, that there are two great perſons much in favour with God, and they pray for them continually; but who theſe perſons are they cannot tell yet, which may be eaſily excuſed, in regard that ſome of them believe nothing at all. How

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zealous they are for their new religion may be ſeen by the following inſtance: — A certain wizard, inſtructed perhaps in his helliſh ſcience by ſome Blacks that had run from their maſters, was on a time ſeized by them, and carried before Father Martin, by whom, being ſharply reproved for his wicked practices, he was let go, on condition that he ſhould forſake his horrid profeſſion. But this readineſs of his to promiſe rather proceeded from want of liberty than from any inclination to recant; inſomuch, that in a very ſhort time he relapſed into his former error, and was ſeized a ſecond time by ſuch as did not think fit to releaſe him any more without the loſs of his head. This done, they dragged his body before Father Martin, to whom they addreſſed themſelves in theſe words: "O dear Father, you are too forward in forgiving: theſe ſort of people may prove a great check to the growth of our new religion, and therefore we have lopped off the head of this wicked wizard, to prevent his doing any more miſchief among us. Here are his head and body to diſpoſe of as you ſhall beſt think fit." And to give them their due, they are more than ordinarily careful to protect the ſacred truths eſtabliſhed among them.

The fleſh they eat is generally that of wild creatures, killed by them in great abundance with their bows; and eſpecially of a ſort of ſerpent called Bomma, which they love inordinately. This ſerpent, after he has well filled his belly, falls aſleep; and being ſo found by the hunters, they dart their arrows into him, and kill him. They ſay his fleſh is exceedingly white, and well reliſhed, and in fatneſs much like a hog. After they have cut off his head, and torn away his bowels, they devour the reſt of it greedily. At a certain feaſt in Baia, I obſerved the windows, inſtead of tapeſtry and arras, adorned with the ſkins of theſe ſerpents, as wide as that of a large ox, and long in proportion.

Father Martin having taken care that the Indian governor elected by him ſhould pay obedience to the Portugueſe, it ſoon happened that a mutual commerce was eſtabliſhed between both nations; and though the merchandize of the former was but of ſmall returns, yet it nevertheleſs ſerved them to clothe their nakedneſs, and to furniſh them with iron for their uſes. The things they traded in were chiefly Brazil wood, ſkins of beaſts, divers ſorts of monkeys, parrots of all kinds, and the like. Of theſe laſt, the hens are called, in the Indian language, Coricas, and are obſerved to be far more loquacious than the cocks. Araras are another ſort; theſe are about the bigneſs of our capons, and have long tails of divers colours. The paroquets are equal to our thruſhes in bigneſs, and generally green, whereas the others, for the moſt part, are grey and crimſon. They all imitate the human voice when taught.

Apes and monkeys, likewiſe, they have of all kinds, but none without tails. One of theſe ſorts is very much eſteemed; but no leſs difficult to tranſport into any part of Europe, becauſe of the cold; they are called Sagoris, or Sagorini, are no bigger than dormice, and are kept in cotton in muffs. Thoſe few monkeys that are brought to Portugal are bought by the ladies there for about a piſtole a-piece; and if they be of both ſexes, the price is much greater, and they ſerve for a conſiderable preſent. Theſe, and many other things no leſs curious than gallant, are brought by theſe people to ſell to the Portugueſe all along the coaſts of Brazil. Such among them as have no genius to trading voluntarily liſt themſelves in the Portugueſe ſervice for ſo much a month or a year.

Becauſe I have before begun to ſpeak of birds, I will here give ſome ſhort account of the oſtrich; if I may have leave to call that a bird, which is more beholden to its legs than its wings. In this country the oſtrich is called Hiema, and is of that largeneſs as may

may be gueſſed at by the dimenſions of its egg: I have ſeen both young and old, little and great, of them: their feathers are of a light brown, and their wings ſtrengthened by a double joint. They eat all ſorts of food, and will digeſt wood and iron, both which they greedily devour. Their eggs they lay in the ſand, wherewith they cover them, I know not whether out of deſign that it ſhould ſerve them for a tomb or a cradle; for it often happens that, not remembering where they have laid them, they by miſtake hatch thoſe of another, and the chicken is no ſooner out of the ſhell but it ſhifts for itſelf. When they run from you, they only raiſe one wing, and for the reſt truſt to their feet, whereon they have but two claws on each. They are ſo ſwift, that, provided they have the wind for them, (which they always take a great deal of care to procure,) they will out-run a horſe in his full career. When the hunters have a mind to take them, they always follow them full ſpeed, and with a long hook ſtretched forth catch them, if can, by the neck; which, if accompliſhed, they ſoon conquer, and have enough to boaſt of all the remainder of their lives.

Before I leave Brazil to proceed on my voyage, I muſt take notice of another ſort of hunting there, and that not of animals by men, but, on the contrary, of men by animals, and thoſe of the ſmalleſt ſize. You muſt know, then, that here is a ſort of worms almoſt inviſible, which are called, in the country language, Nigua, which, hopping upon men's toes for ſome time like fleas, afterwards penetrate the ſkin, and hide themſelves between the fleſh and nails of the toes. This at firſt gives a pleaſant tickling, but at length they grow to the bigneſs of a vetch, and occaſion a great deal of pain, reducing the patient, if not timely prevented, to a manifeſt danger of either loſing his toe or foot. When they have thus entered the ſkin, the only way to get rid of them, and reſtore the part, is by paring away the fleſh, ſo far at leaſt as is infected; for they are of a ſort of venomous nature, and will rot and corrupt whatever they lie long upon. For my part, I have experienced both the pain and the danger of them. But a certain French friar of our order was more particularly plagued with them; for had he not had ſpeedy recourſe to a ſkilful ſurgeon, he had infallibly loſt all his toes.

Some will needs have theſe worms to be one of the ten plagues of Egypt, ſent by God to humble Pharoah; and Father Michael Angelo de Guattini, a Capuchin miſſioner to the kingdom of Congo, hints as much in a letter to his father from Fernambuco.

In the iſlands of Cape Verde there is another ſort of worms that penetrate the heel, and thence creep up under the ſkin like a horſe-hair. The way to extirpate theſe is either to ſcarify the fleſh as before, and ſo ſtop their progreſs; or elſe to ſeize them by one end, and by little and little to draw them out whole. Of this ſort Della Valle ſpeaks in his travels; but his, it ſeems, were of a more contagious kind, and of a much longer ſize.

During my ſtay at Baia, however diverted, my mind ſtill ran on purſuing my voyage, and conſequently my chiefeſt buſineſs was to enquire for ſhips bound for Africa. We were but three of us, and heard of one, but that was not to depart in four months; therefore ſo great delay could not at all ſuit with our deſires to be gone. At laſt we lighted on a ſmack or brigantine, which was to ſet ſail the firſt fair wind, and whoſe captain proffered to carry us to Angola. His kindneſs we readily accepted: but whilſt we thought ourſelves ſecure of a paſſage, the governor of Brazil commanded him to tranſport nine priſoners in chains to Angola, amongſt whom was his own ſecretary, diſgraced for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of his maſter; and for his greater puniſhment, chained by the leg and arm with a Black ſlave. The captain having received theſe orders, excuſed himſelf of his promiſe to us, alledg-

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ing that he had not room in his ſhip for us all, and therefore deſired we would provide ourſelves elſewhere. This, however, did not diſcourage us, for we immediately applied ourſelves to the governor, and begged of him to let part at leaſt of the priſoners be left a-ſhore, that we might proceed on our miſſion. He was ſo far from yielding to our requeſt, that he commanded that we likewiſe ſhould be gone on board, not caring whether there were any accommodations for us in the ſhip or no. He was obeyed, but ſcarce were we got out of the port, before the captain (whether moved by zeal or gold, I won't determine) called me to his crew, and aſked them, where we poor Capuchins ſhould lie, alledging that it was both his and their duty to take care of us. And ſo hoiſting out the long boat, he put the ſecretary and two other priſoners into it, and ſent them aſhore, and I believe he had done as much for the reſt had they preſented him, by which means we got ſome accommodation. We afterwards heard that this ſecretary proved ſo great a thorn in his maſter's ſide, and ſecretly raiſed ſo powerful a faction againſt him, that in a ſhort time he occaſioned him to be ſeized and ſent to Liſbon. This it ſeems has been a common practice in the Portugueſe colonies at ſo great diſtance from court; for whenever they do not like a governor, they forthwith embark and ſend him home, and he ought to be thankful if he eſcapes ſo. The ſame has been ſometimes done in the kingdom of Angola, and elſewhere in the Portugal dominions. If the ſucceeding governor does not bring a general pardon for all delinquents, he is not admitted aſhore; and this becauſe of their having once been called to account and ſeverely puniſhed for want of ſuch policy.

Seventy-ſeven days were we cooped up in this ſmack without diſcovering land; but what moſt grieved us was, that we could not ſay in all that time that we had ſeen either ſky or ſea, being kept down in the hold continually to avoid the rain or waves. Towards the Cape of Good Hope we met a furious tempeſt, whoſe vehemence broke down part of our prow, and we ſaw ourſelves at death's door; but at length through God's grace, and the diligence of the ſeamen, that danger was removed. All the while the pilot was extremely concerned that we ſaw no land, when by his computation it ſhould have appeared at leaſt eight days before. Nevertheleſs, at length we had ſight of it, and found ourſelves much nearer to it than we thought we had been. Then began joy to ſhine out in each man's countenance, and a feaſt was ordered throughout the whole ſhip; and the pilot was ſo well pleaſed, that he gave the ſeaman a pair of ſilk-ſtockings who firſt brought him news of the land.

After this we put our boat to ſea, and ſome of the ſhip's company going in her a fiſhing, had ſo good luck in a very ſhort time, as almoſt to fill her with excellent fiſh. This ſight ſurpriſed me, and put me in mind of the ſea of Geneſarette, where the apoſtles, through our Saviour's bleſſing, had the like good fortune. We left the boat at ſea all that night, faſtened only with a rope to our ſmack, and with two men in her. About five hours after night, a whale happening to paſs between the boat and the ſmack, broke the rope in two, and ſet the boat adrift; which was not all, for ſhe gave ſuch a ſhock to the veſſel, as put out the light at the bittake, and the ſteerſman being in the dark, we were in evident danger of being loſt, and muſt have inevitably periſhed, had ſhe taken us acroſs the middle of our keel. The night was exceedingly dark, inſomuch that we could by no means diſcover which way the men and boat were driven; therefore we furled our ſails, and laid by, and at the ſame time threw up ſome fire-works in the air to ſerve for a guide to thoſe miſerable wretches to find us; who at length appeared, when we had given them over to be loſt.

Amongſt other fiſh obſerved by me in theſe dangerous ſeas, is the ſhark; his nature is to follow ſhips in hopes of prey. His head is like that of a dog, and his bigneſs more

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or leſs according to his age; but generally at full growth as thick as an ox. He has a very large mouth, and a treble row of exceedingly ſharp teeth. When he eats, his upper jaw only moves; and man's fleſh is one of the greateſt of his dainties. Our mariners with a bait of ſalt beef took one of them, but in hoiſting him up to the ſhip he eſcaped; yet throwing in the hook ſpeedily he was taken again. Having opened his belly, we found therein a great many of the bones of meat which we had thrown for ſeveral days into the ſea; and whereby it appeared that he had followed us for ſome time. I obſerving that his heart beat long after it was torn from his entrails, took it up and kept it till the next day; when going to view it again, to my great wonder, it ſtill panted. This fiſh always ſwims attended by a great many little ones of divers colours, and which ſome will have to ſubſiſt upon the ſteam that flies from his mouth. Theſe little fiſh are called by the Portugueſe Romeiros, which ſignifies pilgrims. There is another ſort of about a ſpan long which ſtick to him, with their bellies upwards, and noſes like nutmeg-graters; theſe have the name of Pegadores, that is, ſtickers, from this action. They are mentioned by F. di Gennaro, in his Sacred Oriental, lib. i. c. 7.

That this ſhark-fiſh is more than ordinarily greedy of man's fleſh, may appear by the following inſtance: — Our ſhip having a briſk gale of wind moſt of the way between Liſbon and Brazil, a poor mariner about break of day happened to drop off the yard-arm into the ſea. At this accident the ſentry immediately gave notice, which occaſioned us all to come ſpeedily running to the man's aſſiſtance; ſome threw overboard to him whatever planks they could find, whilſt others endeavoured to tack about the ſhip; but all in vain, for being under ſo full ſail we made too much way. At laſt finding all means to ſave him fruitleſs, I cauſed one to call out to him from the poop of the ſhip to give a ſign of confeſſion; which the unhappy wretch immediately did, by holding up his arm; which I perceiving gave him abſolution, and then he ſoon ſunk. Not long after I ſpied a ſhark-fiſh, half above and half under water, rather flying than ſwimming towards the body; which was a terrible ſight to all, but more particularly touched me to the heart.

Another ſort of fiſh we ſaw, whoſe name is Bonitto, as large as the lantern-fiſh, and of a yellow and green colour; but which the more pleaſing it was to our ſight, the more pernicious it would have proved to us had we eaten of it, for it cauſes ſudden death, which makes the fiſhermen as ſoon as taken to throw it away.

The birds that fly moſt about in theſe ſeas are Alcatraci, a ſort of ſea-gulls as big as geeſe, of a browniſh colour, with long beaks, wherewith they take fiſh: and which they feed on, either upon the ſurface of the water, or after they are up in the air. At night when they are diſpoſed to ſleep, they dart themſelves aloft 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, they no ſooner come to the water but they retake their flight, and both which being often repeated, they may in a manner be ſaid to ſleep waking. Oftentimes it happens that they fall into the ſhips as they ſail, and into ours there fell two one night, and one another; thoſe that know the nature of them, farther ſay, that in time of year they always go on ſhore to build their neſts, and that in the higheſt places, whereby they facilitate their flight, having but ſhort feet, and thoſe large like unto a gooſe. Of this we made an experiment upon them that fell into our ſhip, and found that being left at liberty upon the plain deck, they could by no means raiſe themſelves.

Before we had a ſight of the Cape of Good Hope, we ſaw ſeveral other birds called Velvet-ſleeves, as large as geeſe; exceedingly white, and with long black bills. Theſe, like the pigeons out of the ark, were as ſo many meſſengers to inform us that the land was at hand, their cuſtom being a days to flutter about upon the waves, and at night

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to return to the ſhore to reſt; the ſight of them makes the ſeamen leap, and cry out for joy like madmen.

There are alſo other ſigns of land being near, as thoſe they call the Caravels of Britany, being weeds, or rather reeds like the Indian canes; or rather like graſs, but as thick as one's finger, thrown out by the rivers, and which ſeem at a diſtance to be a ſmall iſland fixed in the ocean, being met ſometimes an hundred miles at ſea. Whilſt we ſailed along the coaſts, ſome of the ſeamen would needs ſhew me a great croſs cut in a mountain, and which they told me was made there long before thoſe countries were diſcovered by the Europeans. But notwithſtanding all the diligence I could uſe, with the help of a proſpective glaſs, I could not perceive it by reaſon of the great motion of the ſhip. I aſked them who was ſuppoſed to have introduced this ſign of our ſalvation amongſt thoſe ignorant pagans; but they could give me no manner of ſatisfaction.

Now we are coaſting along the ſhore of the Cape of Good Hope, I imagine it will not ſeem any ways improper to diſcourſe of ſomething relating to the inhabitants of this country. By the relations of many, thoſe people are ſaid not to have the gift of human voice, but to underſtand each other only by a ſort of hiſſing tone, and motion of the lips; likewiſe that whatever pains have been taken with them, they could never hitherto be brought to ſpeak articulately. Inſtead of clothing in winter-time, they generally anoint their bodies all over with a certain liquor diſtilled from a tree; and which the better to ſettle upon their ſkins, they bedaub themſelves ſufficiently with wild oxen dung, which when dried and hardened, cannot be eaſily got off. When they would take off that cruſted coat, they do it with hot water, which leaves them naked as before, as they go in hot weather, and eat much fleſh. Which makes me ſay with Ovid in his De Triſtibus, lib. v. el. 7.

Sive homines, non ſunt homines hoc nomine digni.

The Portugueſe call them Papagentes, that is, men-eaters, on account of ſome accidents that have happened there, one of which that was told me I will inſert.

In one of the ports formed by nature, where there are many on theſe coaſts capable of receiving two or three thouſand ſhips each, a certain veſſel came to an anchor; the captain with ſome of his crew going aſhore well armed, and happened to ſtray a little further than ordinary from his companions, ſaw two women entirely black and naked carrying of wood. Theſe women, at the ſight of a white man, began to ſtand ſtill; which we perceiving, and being willing to encourage them, threw them down ſeveral trifles, ſuch as fine knives, glaſs, coral, and the like. At this they immediately caſt away their burdens, and fell to gathering up the toys, leaping and dancing about the captain. This pleaſed him ſo well, that he was reſolved to have as much of it as he could, and for that end ſquatted himſelf down on the graſs. They perceiving his ſecurity, continued their gambols for ſome time; but at length one of them ſeizing him behind acroſs the arms, and the other catching up his feet at the ſame time, flew away with him with ſuch dexterity and ſwiftneſs, that it was impoſſible for his companions, who both ſaw and heard him cry out, either to reſcue or come near him. Being deprived of all hopes of recovering him, they thought it adviſable to return to their ſhip, where they reflected on the barbarous banquet thoſe, rather beaſts than human creatures, were to make that night.

To confirm the probability of this ſtory, Father Michael Angelo de Guattina relates in a letter to his father from Loanda, a city in this country, that whilſt he was ſailing along theſe coaſts, not above a muſquet-ſhot from ſhore, the pilot of the ſhip went

aſhore to eaſe himſelf; but ſcarce was he out of the long-boat before he leaped back again with great ſurpriſe and amazement, having it ſeems diſcovered behind a rock, abundance of fiſh drying at a great fire, by which he underſtood the Papagentes were not far off, and put him into ſuch a fright, that he never thought of the buſineſs he went about in three days after.

Another ſtory I have heard as follows:—The captain of a certain ſhip having been in a great ſtorm, drove into one of theſe ports to repair his damage; his paſſengers going aſhore to look about them, diſcovered at a diſtance a ſort of ſea-monſters like unto men, and that not only in their figures, but likewiſe in their actions; for they ſaw them plainly gather a great quantity of a certain herb, with which they immediately plunged themſelves into the ſea. Having obſerved what ſort of herb this was, the paſſengers gathered ſeveral bundles of it likewiſe, and laid the ſame upon the ſhore; the ſea-monſters returning, and finding it ready gathered to their hands, took it up and plunged into the ſea as before. But, O the great example of gratitude that reigns even in the deeps! Theſe creatures knowing themſelves to have been obliged, forthwith drew from the bottom of the ſea a great quantity of coral, and other ſea-herbs, and carrying them aſhore, laid them in the ſame place where they had found the herbs. This being repeated ſeveral times, the paſſengers thought theſe creatures endeavoured to exceed them in benefits; and therefore as a great rarity, ſcarce to be paralleled even in rational animals, they reſolved if poſſible to take them. For this purpoſe they procured a net from the ſhip, and pitched it in a proper place; but though their deſign ſucceeded ſo far as to take them, yet could not they hold them, they ſhewing them another human trick, which was by lifting up the net and making their eſcape, never appearing there after as long as the ſhip ſtaid.

Another relation I have had made me, which may not be improper to infert here:—The Portugueſe, for the conveniency of ſailing thoſe ſtormy ſeas, would needs ſome years ſince make a certain experiment on theſe parts. For this end they brought from Liſbon ſix or eight condemned perſons, and left them in one of the three points of the Cape of Good Hope, with proviſions of all things ſufficient for a year. Theſe men they commanded to take ſtrict notice of all mutations of ſeaſons, of the climate, the land and the ſea; and withal enjoined them to let nothing paſs of any moment each day they were there; promiſing them withal, that if they obſerved theſe their commands, they would come the next year and fetch them away, and give them their liberty to-boot. Theſe wretches being thus left, inſtead of eſcaping deſtruction, met a more than common fate by theſe means; for in a ſhort time, through the exceſſive cold that reigns there, more than in any other of the points of the ſaid Cape, they were all frozen to death. At the return of the ſhips, the laſt of them that ſurvived having obſerved many particulars, and related the manner of his other companions' deaths, was found frozen to a ſtone with a pen in his hand. The laſt thing remarked by him was, "That the greateſt fire was ſcarce capable of overcoming the moſt intenſe cold of this country." But all this I muſt ſubmit to the reader, having it only by hearſay, and not having experienced it myſelf.

After three or four days ſailing along theſe coaſts right afore the wind, we entered a port in the kingdom of Banchella, or Banquella, a conqueſt of the Portugueſe. Here the people, through a bad temperature of the air, which infects their victuals, have all the countenances of death, ſpeak with broken voices, and as one may ſay, can ſcarce keep their ſouls between their teeth. Our arrival being but juſt known, the vicar-general came to viſit us at one o'clock in the morning, bringing along with him ſeveral refreſhments of fleſh, fruit, and herbs. At this unexpected charity and civility, we were

were at firſt ſurpriſed; but after we came to know that both he, and four of his brethren, had been bred in our monaſteries, that wonder ceaſed. This vicar may be ſaid to be general only over himſelf, there being no Catholic prieſt in all this country but he.

Some years paſt there was another miſſion of our order into theſe parts; but becauſe the chief man gave no good example himſelf, few of the Blacks were converted, and thoſe that were gave but little attention to what was taught them, giving for reaſon, "That if the law of God was ſo negligently obſerved by Whites, how could they be expected to practiſe it more devoutly?" The laſt two of the friars employed at that time, died martyrs to their lenity; for they chuſing rather to admoniſh than correct, to exhort than reprove a certain great man of a ſcandalous life, in about eight days time died of poiſon, thereby terminating both their miſſion and their lives: the truth of this ought not to be doubted of, becauſe it was the common talk when I was there. The other Pagans that live up higher in the country, lead the infamous life of the Giaghi, a people that ſhall be ſpoken of more at large hereafter.

As ſoon as day-light appeared we went on ſhore to return thanks to Almighty God for our ſafe arrival. Here the firſt thing I obſerved was, a great abundance of date-trees, which it ſeems of all Lower Æthiopia flouriſh moſt in theſe parts, though in goodneſs they are far inferior to thoſe of the eaſt. I likewiſe took notice of many arbours and walks of vines, which, by reaſon of the moiſtneſs of the earth, ſprings being every where near the ſurface, produce grapes twice a year in great plenty. Nevertheleſs no wine is made, becauſe the exceſſive heat that reigns here would rather putrify than purge it. Every houſe hereabouts has ſpring-water, it lying not above two foot deep; and which is the greater wonder, by reaſon that it is ſo near the ſea.

If this country abounds with bad men, it is no leſs productive of good beaſts. Of elephants here are many, which with their ivory teeth bring great profit to thoſe that take them. The elk likewiſe, that ſo much deſired and ſalutiferous beaſt, is frequently to be met with in theſe parts; and which for the virtue of one of his feet, has deſervedly obtained, in the Congolan language, the name of Ncoco, ſignifying The Excellent Beaſt. It is only called in Spain La Gran Beſtia, or the Great Beaſt. The way to find out in which foot the virtue lies, is by knocking him down; when to recover himſelf of the blow, he will immediately lift up that leg which is moſt efficacious, and ſcratch his ear. Then muſt you be ready with a ſharp ſcymitar to lop off the medical limb, and you ſhall find an infallible remedy againſt the falling-ſickneſs treaſured up in his claws. Peter Cobero Sebaſtian ſays, in his travels, that he has ſeen many of theſe beaſts in Poland. Thoſe ſeen by me were of about the bigneſs of little aſſes, of a browniſh colour, with long broad ears hanging down like to thoſe of Engliſh ſpaniels.

In theſe woods may alſo be found another creature, called by the natives Engalla, and much like unto a wild boar: the two tuſks of which beaſt being reduced to powder, expels fevers, evacuating by way of ſweat the malignity of the diſtemper. This powder being likewiſe made up with the juice of a palm-tree, called Mateba, compoſes an admirable antidote. Here is alſo the unicorn, called by the Congolans Abada, whoſe medicinal virtue being ſufficiently known, needs not to be taken notice of. Theſe unicorns are very different from thoſe commonly mentioned by authors; and if you will believe what I have heard ſay, there are none of that ſort now to be found. A Theatine miſſioner to the Eaſt Indies told me, at his return from Goa, that he had endeavoured to get one of theſe laſt, but whatever diligence he uſed, he could by no means obtain it. He added moreover, that he had heard ſeveral of the Eaſtern people,

eſpecially the Chineſe aſtrologers, ſay, that according to their computations thoſe unicorns all died the ſame day that our Saviour died. What alluſion theſe can have to our Saviour may probably be from their chaſtity, but I muſt leave all to my reader, who will condemn and approve as he thinks fit. The unicorn or Abada of this country commonly arrives to the bigneſs of an ox, and the male only has a horn in his forehead: theſe have the ſame virtue as the other ſort, if taken young, and before they have coupled; for the old ones loſe much of their virtue by coupling.

Theſe foreſts likewiſe breed another four-footed animal called Zebra, not unlike a wild mule: the ſkin of this creature is ſo beautiful, that one would rather take it for a fine woven ſilk than a hide: its beauty conſiſts of ſeveral equidiſtant ſtreaks (four fingers broad) of white and black, bordered on both ſides with ruſſet. This animal is no leſs ſwift than beautiful, inſomuch that if the natives can but tame one of them, no price is thought too great to offer for it. Our ſuperior, Father da Romano, amongſt other things, ſent ſeveral ſkins of this beaſt as a preſent to the great Duke of Tuſcany.

Here are alſo abundance of another kind of beaſts, called by the Negroes Impellanche, of about the bigneſs of the foregoing, and in colour much like to what we call in horſes a ſorrel: theſe have ſtraight twiſted horns, by the ſeveral degrees of which wreathing, their age comes to be known. They have, in like manner, ſome reſemblance of a mule; their fleſh is white, and would be more in eſteem were it not ſpongy and inſipid; but in rutting time, ſay the natives, it ought by no means to be eaten, for fear of doing harm. The ſame is reported of the wild goat, that if it be eaten when it is luſtful, it cauſes ſuch a rot in the feet that the toe-nails drop off. This is held to be ſo infallible, that it can never miſs. An inſtance whereof happened in my time, in the following manner:—Some hunters having taken one of theſe goats, ſuſpected of being in the aforeſaid condition, brought it to our monaſtery at Sogno to ſell: our Fathers not knowing the nature of it, eat part of it, reſerving the reſt for another time. This coming to the count's ears, he came in mighty haſte to our convent, with a numerous attendance, and going directly into the kitchen, he commanded all the fleſh to be thrown away, the veſſels that it had touched to be broken, and would moreover have ſet fire to the houſe as infectious, had not our Father remonſtrated to him in an humble manner, "That they were ſenſible of no harm it had done them, and that they verily believed there was none to be feared upon that occaſion: as alſo, that whatever miſchief had formerly happened, it was rather to be attributed to ſome other accident, than to any peſtilential quality in the goat." With theſe and the like reaſons they at length prevailed on the count to depart, without doing them any farther damage. When theſe wild goats are old, there are certain ſtones to be found in their bellies, not unlike to Bezoar ſtones, and whereof thoſe produced by the male are of the nobler kind, being experienced remedies in ſeveral caſes, eſpecially in that of poiſon. At the firſt taking them out, they are ſoft and tender, but having been a-while in the air they begin to harden, and in a ſhort time become perfect ſtone. They muſt be taken as ſoon as ever the beaſt is killed, otherwiſe they will ſoon diſſolve.

Another ſort of beaſts in this country are the Impanguezze, ſo called by the natives: theſe are a kind of wild cows, whereof ſome are red, others aſh-colour, and ſome quite black: they are all very ſwift-footed, and have a pair of exceeding long horns in their foreheads. When they are wounded in the chaſe, like wild bulls or buffaloes, they immediately face the aſſaulter, and if he does not inſtantly take care to ſave himſelf in ſome tree or other, inſtead of killing, he will be in no common danger of being miſerably killed. The fleſh of this beaſt is very well reliſhed and ſubſtantial; its marrow is an infallible remedy againſt cold humours and aches: of its ſkin the Negroes

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make targets, which will reſiſt the ſwifteſt force of an arrow, ſo that if a man ſtands bowing behind it he is altogether ſafe.

It is now high time to leave the wild beaſts to range in the woods, and to come to ſpeak of a certain brutiſh cuſtom theſe people have amongſt them in making of ſlaves, which I take not to be lawful for any perſon of a good conſcience to buy here. Every one of theſe Negroes takes to wife as many women, be they ſlaves or free, it is no matter, as he can poſſibly get: theſe women, by his conſent, make it their buſineſs to charm men to their embraces, which, when they have done ſo as to make them commit the act, they preſently accuſe them to their Barracan, ſo they call their ſuppoſed huſband, who, feigning himſelf to be in a great rage, immediately runs and impriſons the lovers; afterwards, in a ſhort time, ſells them to ſtrangers, without being ſubject to any account for ſo doing: with the money he has thus unjuſtly got, he buys other ſhe-ſlaves, which are permitted to do the ſame thing; ſo that from time to time he is ſuffered to go on in this wicked round without any manner of controul. Of theſe women I fancy Tibullus ſpeaks, when he cries out,

Ah crudele genus! Nec fidum femina nomen.
Ah pereat! didicit fallere ſiqua virum.

There are others who, not by means of women, but of themſelves, going up into the country through pretence of juriſdiction, ſeize men upon any trifling offence, and ſell them for ſlaves.

The current coin of this kingdom is little bits of glaſs coral, brought hither by the Portugueſe, and which the natives call Miſangas: this they make uſe of not only for money, but likewiſe for ornament, making of them both bracelets and necklaces. The forts and houſes of the Whites here are compoſed of wood and clay, after this manner: two rows of ſtrong poſts are fixed in the earth, about two ſpans aſunder, and joined together at top by ſeveral tranſverſe pieces of a ſmaller ſize. The ſpace between theſe rows is filled up with clay well beaten, and ſmoothed within-ſide and without, and which being chequered with creaſes, ſeem at firſt-ſight to be a ſtone-wall. The roofs are made with reeds, laid over rafters, as with us. This is all I could obſerve of this country, having been but one day in it, and that in a continual hurry in preparing for our farther voyage.

After our departure hence, in four days ſail, we reached the port of Angola, the utmoſt end of our deſires, on the 6th of May, in about a year from our leaving of Naples.

I reſerve the deſcription of this city of Angola for another place, intending at preſent to ſpeak only of its port: this is as ſecure as famous, being formed neither by art nor nature, but only by chance, having a long ſlip of ſand thrown up by the ſea, and forming a plain iſland, about ten leagues in length, about a mile from the city, behind which the ſhips ride: the entrance into it is by two narrow paſſages at the extremities of the ſlip. Here all the drinking water uſed in the city is taken up, and the greateſt wonder is, that it is freſheſt at the flood, and ſalteſt at the ebb. Here, and no where elſe on theſe coaſts, are caught crabs and lobſters, as likewiſe Cuttle fiſh, and thoſe little ſhell-fiſh called Zimbi, which paſs for money. Heretofore the King of Congo reſerved the right of fiſhing for theſe only to himſelf, but now the Portugueſe uſurp that liberty upon him. In the aforeſaid pleaſant iſland, the citizens of Angola delight themſelves as much as the Neapolitans do in their retirement at Poſilippo: for this purpoſe they have ſeveral little houſes there, which being intermixed with verdant trees,

trees, afford a very delightful proſpect. They likewiſe cultivate the earth in that iſland, which being well watered, proves not a little fertile.

Being got into port, and our arrival known, the governor immediately gave notice thereof to our Father-ſuperior, who forthwith ſent Father Joſeph da Seſtri, and Father Francis da Pavia to bring us a-ſhore. At our landing in the city, I could perceive joy in every countenance on the occaſion, and which was ſeconded by the great civilities ſhewed us by the citizens; for as we paſſed by their houſes, they not only ſent us umbrellas to defend us from the ſcorching heat, but likewiſe to honour us. Being come to the church, our Fathers ſang *Te Deum* for our ſafe arrival. For eight days together we received viſits and treats from the principal perſons of the city, in return whereof we preſented them with ſome ſmall relics brought from Italy, which were nevertheleſs accepted with a great deal of devotion and thanks. The accuſtomed ceremony uſed at the arrival of miſſioners or a prefect, was not ſhewn for us, by reaſon that we were only three. The ceremony is this: — No ſooner is the news ſpread abroad that there are ſeveral Capuchin miſſioners come into port, but our brethren, accompanied by the nobility and gentry of the city, go out to meet them: having received them into a barge, they conduct them a-ſhore, where are poſted a great number of White finging-boys, dreſſed like Capuchins, who, going before in proceſſion, ſing all the way to the church, and afterwards perform *Te Deum* there: then the governor, and all the clergy and laity of the place, come to pay them their reſpects.

In about a fortnight's time I was obliged to depart from hence, with ſome of our Fathers, who, although they had been here above nine months, were not yet gone out on their miſſion, and that by reaſon of their expecting the heat ſhould abate, which it ſeems it is wont to do about this month of May, juſt contrary to our country, where the cool weather begins with September rains. Father Joſeph Maria da Baſſetto, a man of great learning and experience, choſe me for his companion in his miſſion to Sogno, and aſked me of our perfect, Father Paul Francis da Portomauritio. Though I found myſelf not altogether recovered of my laſt fatigue, yet conſidering the eaſieſt way of travelling was by ſea, as alſo that this miſſion of Sogno was not only the ancienteſt, but likewiſe the beſt we had, through the commodiouſneſs of its river, and the diſpoſition of its inhabitants, I readily conſented to accompany this Father thither. Hereupon the day appointed for our departure being come, we went on board a ſkiff, and in four days arrived at the mouth of the river Zaire, the port of Sogno. At our entering this river the wind blew ſo hard, and the waves roſe ſo high, that we were not a little afraid of being loſt. At length having weathered the firſt point, we ſpied ſome fiſhermen, ready, as we thought, to aſſiſt us, but expected to be called; yet we taking them for heathens, and fearing, that inſtead of helping they might rather hinder us by their ſorceries, gave them no ſign.

My companion conjured the winds and ſeas, but I having ſaid my prayers betook myſelf to an oar, at which I tugged heartily for ſome time, till at length, by the ſole mercy of God, we were courteouſly received into the embraces of the river. After having paſſed the firſt reach, our ſouls began to revive, and we took pleaſure in caſting our eyes about towards both ſhores, which ſeemed to be ſtrewed with vegetable emeralds; or might be taken at firſt ſight rather for the induſtrious workmanſhip of Pallas, than the capricious product of nature. The water alſo appeared more like a cryſtal cauſeway, than any part of the inconſtant element. As we rowed along the winding banks of this river, we were continually ſhrowded with trees called Mangas, not unlike the royal laurels: theſe trees, at the joining of each branch, ſprout forth a long hanging root, which at length reaching the mud and taking root, ſhoots up anew,

and in a ſhort time of one tree forms a kind of a little wood, in a manner that you can hardly diſtinguiſh the ſuckers from the plant. I was ſhewn one of theſe trees, quite withered and decayed, and was informed that a certain biſhop of Congo, having been ill-treated by ſome of theſe people, made the ſign of the croſs upon it, whereupon it immediately dyed, like the fig-tree curſed by our Saviour.

Although my buſineſs ſhould be to write only what I obſerved in my voyage, and not to take notice of other matters, yet cannot I forbear ſpeaking of ſome particulars relating to this large and famous river: its mouth then is about ten leagues wide, though ſome writers will needs have it to be thirty; but their miſtake I preſume ariſes from including the mouth of another branch of it, not far diſtant from the former. The waters of this river are ſomething yellowiſh, by which they are known above thirty leagues at ſea, and which was likewiſe the cauſe of this country being firſt diſcovered; for the King of Portugal, Don John II., having ſent a fleet under the command of Don Diego Cano to make diſcoveries on this ſouthern coaſt of Africa, that admiral gueſſed at the nearneſs of the land by nothing ſo much as by the complexion of the waters of Zaire; and putting into it, he aſked of the Negroes what river and country that was; who not underſtanding him anſwered, "Zevoco," which in the Congolan tongue is as much as to ſay, I cannot tell; from whence, though the word be corrupted, it has been ſince called Zairo. After this on one of the points of this river the Portugueſe firſt planted a croſs of fine marble, which ſome time after being found out by the Hollanders, they out of envy broke it to pieces; nevertheleſs ſo much remained of it when I was there, as to diſcover plainly the Portugueſe arms on the ruins of the baſis, with an inſcription under them in Gothic characters, though not eaſy to be read.

The firſt diſcovery of this part of the world by the Portugueſe happened in the year, ſo fortunate for them, 1485, and becauſe they had been ſo courteouſly received by the Negroes, and admitted among them with ſo many tokens of love and affection, this kingdom of Congo has never yet been ſubjected by the Whites, when it fared quite contrary with the queen of Singa and others. The firſt religious perſons that ſet footing there, were three Dominican friars, as is teſtified by Father Maffeus a jeſuit, in the firſt book of his hiſtory of the Indies. One of theſe was killed by the Giaghi at the time when they over-ran the kingdom of Congo, and routed the Congolan army under the conduct of their general Zimbo. This barbarian of a conqueror amongſt other ſpoils ſeized upon the ſacred veſtments and utenſils of this unhappy friar, and not contented with the bare poſſeſſion of them, would needs ridicule and profane them by putting them on, as likewiſe by appearing at the head of his followers with the chalice in his hand. As for the other two miſſioners, they died in a ſhort time after their arrival, through the exceſſive heat of the climate, which is often fatal to us Europeans.

To theſe ſucceeded twelve Franciſcans of the order of Obſervants, who were carried hither by the ſame Don Diego Cano in his third voyage into theſe parts. Some attribute the whole converſion of this country to theſe Fathers, not allowing that the three that were there before, through the ſhortneſs of their continuance, could have time to do any thing towards it. But for my part I am of opinion that it is next to impoſſible, thoſe who had been ſo courteouſly received, and who found the people ſo eaſy to be wrought upon, ſhould not convert many of them before they died. Likewiſe it is certain that the friar that was killed by the Giaghi had been chaplain to the Congolan army, and conſequently was in a poſt to do with them even what he pleaſed. Nevertheleſs not to carry the argument farther, let me be allowed to ſay, that it is probable the firſt friars might ſow the ſeed, and that the laſt were thoſe that cultivated and cauſed it to flouriſh.

Several

Several other evangelical labourers had been ſent out from time to time into this vineyard, and at length, at the requeſt of Don Alvaro ſixth King of Congo made to Pope Urban the Eighth, that His Holineſs would be pleaſed to ſend ſome more Capuchin miſſioners into his kingdom, there were others ſent with letters patent from the ſaid pope in the year 1640, although through the many rubs and difficulties they met with, partly occaſioned by Philip the Third King of Spain's death, and the ſeizing of the crown of Portugal by the Duke of Braganza, they did not arrive till the year 1645, which was under the pontificate of Pope Innocent the Tenth, and in the reign of Don Garcia the Second, ſucceſſor to the before-named Don Alvaro. Theſe Fathers entering the river Zaire, the firſt place they landed at was the country of Sogno, where they were received with extraordinary demonſtrations of love and joy by the people, and eſpecially by the count, who went out to meet them many miles from the place of his reſidence, and aſſiſted with them at maſs with great devotion in the church of Pinda, a town near the mouth of Zaire, adorning their altars moreover with the richeſt furniture in his wardrobe. Hitherto flocked an infinite number of people upon this occaſion, as well out of curioſity to ſee theſe new apoſtles (whoſe awful deportment filled them with wonder and amazement), as to vie with each other which ſhould ſhew moſt obedience to the goſpel. But this is no wonder, ſince the firſt converts made by the aforeſaid Franciſcan friars were the Sogneſe, and who ſtill ſeemed to have lively impreſſions left upon them of their former inſtructions. The firſt that were baptized among theſe Negroes were the count and one of his ſons, whereof the former had the name given him of Don Emanuel, and the other of Don Antonio. This Emanuel dying, beſides the funeral commonly made for other counts, he had a particular ceremony paid to his memory every year after, and which I myſelf have more than once performed on his account. After the count of Sogno, the King and Queen of Congo, together with their eldeſt ſon, were prevailed upon to be baptized, the two former taking the names of Don John and Donna Eleonora, the King and Queen of Portugal, and the latter that of the King's ſon the Infante. Thus began the Chriſtian faith to be firſt eſtabliſhed in theſe parts, and which has been all along ſince maintained through the grace of God, and by the labours of ſeveral poor miſſioners ſucceſſively ſent in the ſervice of the goſpel.

But let us return to ſpeak farther of the river Zaire. This river is commonly ſaid to take its riſe in the kingdom of Matamba, ſubject to the queen of Singa, which kingdom being altogether governed by the female ſex, I may number it among thoſe nations deſcribed by Claudian in Eutrop. lib. i. v. 323.

——Medis, levibuſque Sabæis
Imperat hic ſexus, reginarumq; ſub armis
Barbariæ pars magna jacet.

In this Matamba there is a vaſt collection of water, which dividing itſelf into two principal ſtreams, one runs through Ethiopia, and is this river Zaire, and the other flows towards Egypt, being the Nile: this laſt was formerly adored by the Egyptians as a god, and that becauſe of their being not able to find out its ſource, imagining that therefore it had none. I believe the cauſe why they could not diſcover its head, was by reaſon they could not go far up it, being hindered by the cataracts which fall in ſuch a dreadful manner, that they at the ſame time offend both the eye and the ear. In this vaſt lake before-mentioned, before it divides itſelf into the aforeſaid rivers, are to be found ſeveral water-monſters, amongſt which there is one ſort which differs from human kind only in want of reaſon and ſpeech. Father Francis da Pavia, one of our miſſioners living in this country, would by no means believe that there were any ſuch monſters in

this lake, affirming they were only illuſions deviſed by the Negroes; whereupon the queen of Singa being informed of his infidelity, invited him one day to go a fiſhing for them: ſcarce had the fiſhermen thrown in their nets, but they diſcovered thirteen upon the ſurface of the water, whereof they could nevertheleſs take but one female, which was big with young. The colour of this fiſh was black, it had long black hair and large nails upon very long fingers, which perhaps were given it by nature to help its ſwimming: it lived not above twenty-four hours out of the water, and during all that time would not taſte any the leaſt food that was offered it.

Throughout all the river Zaire there is to be found the mermaid, which from the middle upwards has ſome reſemblance of a woman, as in its breaſt, nipples, hands, and arms, but downwards it is altogether a fiſh, ending in a long tail forked: its head is round, and face like to that of a calf: it has a large ugly mouth, little ears, and round full eyes: upon its back it has a large hide tacked, perforated in ſeveral places. This hide or ſkin ſeems to have been deſigned by nature for a ſort of mantle to cover it, being contrived either to open or ſhut. The ribs of this fiſh are proper to ſtaunch blood, but the greateſt of its phyſical virtues lies in two little bones in its ears. I have eat of this fiſh divers times, and it ſeems to be well-reliſhed, and not unlike ſwines-fleſh, which its entrails likewiſe reſemble. For this reaſon the Negroes name it Ngullu à Maſa (the water-ſow), but the Portugueſe called it Peixe Molker (the woman fiſh). Although it feeds on the herbs that grow on the ſides of the river, yet does it not nevertheleſs ever go out of the water, but only holds its head out. For the moſt part it is to be taken only when it rains, for then the water being diſturbed it cannot ſo well diſcern the approach of fiſher-men. Thoſe that go to take them have a little boat for that purpoſe, in which they paddle up ſoftly till they come to the place where the fiſh lies, and which they know by the motion it cauſes in the water; then having a lance ready, they immediately dart it with all their force into her, and if through the ſmallneſs of their boat, or for want of ſtrength, they cannot hold her, they let go the lance, and leave the fiſh at liberty, well knowing that being exceedingly long the lance muſt neceſſarily diſcover where ſhe flies with it. But if on the other hand they can maintain their ſtroke with another lance, they dart a ſecond time, by which means at laſt they eaſily tire and take the fiſh. After the ſame manner, but with leſs trouble, they take pilchards, which are fat, and as large as herrings, and they have no other way to take them but this. I ſhould have told you what ſort of faſhioned lances theſe were, becauſe they differ ſomething from ours of Europe; they have a very long round ſtaff made of wood, but as hard as iron, round, and ſo thick, that as many darts are made faſt to it a ſmall diſtance from one another, that they take up ſix or ſeven ſpans in compaſs.

There is alſo in this river the water or ſea-horſe, as large as two land ones: he has ſhort thick legs, round feet, a large wide mouth, with a double row of hook teeth, and long tuſks beſides in the lower jaw, like to thoſe of a large wild boar, with which, when he is in fury, he tears whatever comes near him. As I was once ſailing along this river, I ſaw one of theſe horſes floating near our boat, and neighing like a horſe, of which he has great reſemblance: a-nights he goes aſhore to feed, but, in the daytime, he keeps for the moſt part cloſe in the water; but whereſoever they are, the female is always at hand, in whoſe defence the male fights deſperately; and when the female is with young, or has lately dropped her colt (which ſhe generally does in the fens where there is but little water), the male is moſt furious, and, being exceedingly jealous, will aſſault the barks as they paſs along the river, and ſometimes, if they be ſmall, overturn them with his heels: this makes thoſe that know his nature, to avoid the marſhes at that time, not caring how far they go about, ſo they can but have their

paſſage ſafe. The time to hunt them is a-nights, when they go to feed upon the land: then the hunters block up their way back to the river with boats, and afterwards wait for their return. Being returned, they let fly their arrows at them like hail; but woe be to him that happens to be in any one of their ways after being wounded, for he will then aſſuredly tear him to pieces, if they have not trees to ſave themſelves on, which they generally take care to procure. Sometimes theſe creatures will fly away after they are wounded, and, not finding a paſſage open to the river, will run to the next precipice, and leap off from thence into the water, whereby they break their legs, and then are eaſily taken. The fleſh of theſe animals is little valued, being generally eſteemed food for the meaner ſort of people, allowed by divines to be fiſh ſbecauſe they live and breed in the water, though they feed on land. The yard of the male, and the two ſtones found in his ears, as large as hen-eggs, are good to diſſolve the ſtone, as well in the kidneys as the bladder. This laſt is likewiſe a remedy againſt a ſtoppage of urine, being pulverized and diſſolved in fair water, and given about a ſpoonful at a time. As I was once going up this river, I obſerved in a low iſland hard-by, ſeveral ſmall houſes ſet upon ſtakes, about ten foot from the ground, with a ladder at the door to draw up and let down. Having inquired what theſe meant, I was told that they were built in that manner to prevent the inhabitants from being injured by the ſea-horſes, that always feeds thereabouts a-nights. The like ſort of houſes I have ſeen near the foreſts, to prevent the ravage of lions and tigers: but what makes me wonder moſt of all is, at the name of theſe ſea-horſes, it being their nature to keep always out of the ſalt-water, which they hate and cannot ſubſiſt in.

Here are no crocodiles as in other rivers, but there are nevertheleſs ſeveral kinds of excellent fiſh which are taken various ways, though never in any great number, by reaſon of the ſlothfulneſs of the inhabitants, who are naturally enemies to hard labour. The right of fiſhing with nets is wholly reſerved to the prince, who nevertheleſs is accuſtomed to give leave to do it to any that will aſk it of him; and when he wants fiſh, he ſends his ſervants with his own nets for it.

Having ſailed up this river, about midnight we arrived at the town of Pinda, twelve miles from the ſea. Landing immediately, we retired to a church, the firſt built here by the Portugueſe, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, whoſe ſtatue of baſſo-relievo is conſtantly worſhipped every Sunday by a vaſt number of Negroes who flock hither for that purpoſe. Here likewiſe was formerly a convent of our order, but by reaſon of the badneſs of the air, being too near the river, it was thought adviſable to remove it to the city of Sogno where the count reſides, about two miles off. Hither we went next morning with a great deal of willingneſs, though I could not ſay I had wanted for ſatisfaction all the way I came up this river. Being got to our convent, the count came immediately thither to congratulate and welcome our arrival, and that more eſpecially on account of my companion, who had been there three years before. After his viſit, he ordered us a preſent of ſeveral things of the product of the country. In this our convent we found only one prieſt named Father Paul da Vareſe, and he returned to Loanda in a few days in the ſame ſkiff that brought us; there remaining then with us only a lay-brother, one Leonard da Nardo, an old man of a good life, and extraordinarily well verſed in the cuſtoms of the country, through the long ſtay he had made there.

We now began forthwith to apply ourſelves to the buſineſs of our miſſion, and it fell to my ſhare to celebrate the firſt maſs; but not knowing much of the language, I could not pretend to preach in public. I therefore haſtily compoſed a ſhort ſermon, and preached it in the congregation adjoining to our church, which conſiſts of the better ſort of perſons, and who generally underſtand ſomething of Portugueſe. Out of ſome of this

congregation it is that the counts are moſtly choſen, provided they are of the Sangre de Cadera, as they call it, which is an expreſſion borrowed from Portugueſe, and ſignifies, "the blood of the throne." My companion always preached publicly every holiday; but we were fain to ſay maſs late, becauſe of the count and his followers, who never came till then. He always came in great pomp, being better attended than any prince of the Lower Æthiopia is wont to be. The fifth Sunday after Whitſuntide it happened, that when I was juſt ready to come out to ſay maſs, the count came in. My companion, and ſuperior, preſently ſpied him, and, turning to me, bid me preach that ſermon in public which I had prepared for the private congregation, that the count might not go without a ſermon on that day. I began to ſhrug up my ſhoulders, and to excuſe it, not thinking myſelf yet qualified to ſpeak in public; till at length he bid me obey, and God would aſſiſt me. I began maſs; and after the Goſpel, the uſual time of preaching, took for my text the words of the commandments, "Thou ſhalt not kill." From this text I took occaſion to inveigh againſt wizards, who bear a mighty ſway in this country, proving, "That it was much worſe to kill the ſoul, by inclining it to diabolical illuſions, than to murder the body." Now, becauſe I often repeated the word "kill" in my ſermon, the people began to give a great hum. I nevertheleſs went on, and was rather encouraged thereby to exaggerate the heinouſneſs of the offence, than affrighted from ſpeaking againſt it. But the more I raiſed my voice, the greater was the murmur, I might have ſaid clamour; the count only all this while continued ſilent. At length the ſermon being ended, and the ſubſtance of it explained by the interpreter, according to cuſtom, I and my ſuperior were in a thouſand doubts about this humming. We inquired of every one we met concerning it, yet none durſt ſatisfy us therein; but all went away ſmiling. When all the reſt were gone, we took one into the houſe, and treating him with aqua-vitæ and roll-tobacco, intreated him to tell us the cauſe of the diſturbance in the church, believing it could not be cauſed by the ſermon, in which nothing was to be condemned, either as to the ſubject or language.

"The diſcourſe," ſaid he, "was moſt excellent, though not deſigned by the Father; for the people, though not well ſkilled in the Portugueſe language, imagine that the Fathers-miſſioners know all that has happened, and that hum was a token of their approbation, they having taken his words in another ſenſe." "Pray tell me what has happened," ſaid F. Joſeph: "I will ſo," replied he; "but take notice, there is no leſs penalty than death for him that diſcovers it to the miſſioners, and, therefore, Your Reverence muſt take care that you do not make me loſe my life." Being aſſured we would keep his ſecret, he proceeded thus:—"Your Reverence muſt then know, that in the time of holy week, Father Paul da Vareſe officiating in the church, great multitudes of this principality flocked hither from all parts to join with him in devotion. At the ſame time the devil, who is never wanting to promote his intereſt as often as he ſees occaſion, took the opportunity to put it in the count's and his relations' heads, that ſeveral of this congregation, under pretence of religion, were met together in a treacherous deſign. Hereupon a great number of the count's vaſſals and friends being aſſembled to wiſh him a merry Eaſter, that prince ordered them to ſee the oath taken (what this oath is ſhall be explained hereafter) by ſuch and ſuch as he then pointed out, in three ſeveral places of his dominions, and whereby," continued he "there are many already dead, and more and more die thereof every day." "Is it ſo?" quoth Father Joſeph: "for the future you ſhall have no reaſon to fear any more dying by theſe means. "Neither ſhall you," ſaid he to the Negro, "be in any danger for your diſcovery of theſe deviliſh practices." The ſecond maſs after, the ſame Father preached, and re-

ſuming the ſubject which I had been upon before, took occaſion from thence to hint ſomething againſt this ſcandal.

Towards night we both went to court, and deſired private audience of the count; which was readily granted us. The firſt that began with him was my companion Father Joſeph, who warmly repreſented to him, "That being a Chriſtian, he had behaved himſelf like a Pagan, commanding thoſe poor people to take ſuch a deviliſh oath on a groundleſs ſuſpicion." To this ſmart charge the count at firſt gave no anſwer, being no doubt ſurprized with ſo unexpected a reproof; but inſtead thereof, though a Black, became almoſt pale, and thereby convinced us at the ſame time both of his guilt and remorſe. This ſtrange and ſudden alteration put me in mind of what the poet ſaid of Queen Dido:

Maculiſque trementes
Interfuſa genas, et pallida morte futurâ. VIRG. l. 4. ÆNEID.

"I cannot believe," added the Father, "that Don Antonio Bareto da Silva (ſo was this prince's name) could do this of his own head, but rather imagine it to have been contrived by his counſellors or relations." The poor count immediately fell on his knees, weeping and lamenting like another David before Nathan the prophet, and confeſſing his crime in the following words: — "Truly," ſaid he, "I have been exceedingly to blame, in ordering ſo barbarous a teſt of my ſubject's loyalty; but ſince I have ſinned like David, like him I alſo beg pardon." To which Father Joſeph replied in the words of St. Ambroſe ſpoken to Theodoſius the Emperor; "ſince you have imitated a king in his ſin, follow him in his repentance." The effect of this was, that the count the ſame night countermanded his orders, and thereby all further miſchief was prevented.

The aforeſaid oath, Bolungo, is adminiſtered to the ſuppoſed traitor, by a ſort of wizard called Cangazumbo, who making a certain compoſition out of the juice of herbs, ſerpents' fleſh, pulp of fruit, and divers other things, gives it to the ſuppoſed delinquent to drink, who if guilty (as they tell you) will immediately fall down in a ſwoon, or trembling, to the ground, inſomuch that if they did not preſently give him an antidote, he would infallibly die away; but if not guilty, no harm would happen to him. A manifeſt and open cheat this, though not diſcovered through the blindneſs of this people; for the wizard, in caſe he has a mind to acquit the accuſed, omits thoſe ingredients in the compoſition which he puts in where he deſigns to condemn him. This order from the count was an abſolute new thing, and never practiſed before; for he had commanded every one of his ſubjects, not excepting any, to go to one of thoſe three places where theſe miniſters of the devil reſide, and there to undergo a teſt of their loyalty, after the following manner: —The ſuppoſed traitor was made to look into a great vat of water, wherein if he fell he had immediately his head ſtruck off; but if he was innocent, he came away ſafe and ſound. Whence it proceeded that they did or did not fall, time muſt diſcover; but they that performed this work being heathens, it is to be ſuppoſed that they poiſoned the water.

Now we are upon the ſubject of theſe oaths or teſts, give me leave to inform you of ſeveral other ſorts now in uſe among theſe wicked people: one of theſe is called Chilumbo, and which might rather be ſaid to be applied than adminiſtered; for the perſon accuſed hath a red hot iron paſſed over his naked leg; which if it cauſes any bliſter, he is forthwith thought guilty; but if not, he is releaſed. The deceit of this is, that if the patient be determined to be acquitted, the ſubtile wizard has a certain preparation

concealed in his hand, of an exceedingly cold nature, with which ſtroking gently over the part, the fire when applied there loſes its force; but if he be to be found guilty, that remedy is omitted, and then the iron is left to cauſe its effect.

The following paſſage happened when I was in my miſſion at Bengo in the kingdom of Angola, on the account of my health:—The ſon of a Mulatto being ſick, was ordered by a phyſician to be let blood; and a ſlave of his that had been a ſurgeon, undertaking to perform the operation, through an unſteady guidance of his lance happened to prick an artery, whereby ſoon followed a gangrene, and in a ſhort time the patient died. The father of this youth ſuppoſing that the ſlave had done what he did on purpoſe, reſolved to have him undergo the trial of Chilumbo, and thereupon immediately cauſed him to be ſeized and carried to one of thoſe three before-mentioned places where the wizards live. This done, he was ſoon brought to the teſt, and had not only the red-hot iron paſſed over his thigh, which burnt him miſerably, but the enraged father likewiſe, not contented with what he had already ſuffered, would needs bind him hand and foot, and after that thruſt a flaming torch ſeveral times into his face. The knowledge of this coming to my ear the next day, by means of a courier belonging to the biſhop of Loanda, who likewiſe heightened the fact, alledging that the Mulatto had moreover burnt the ſlave alive, and afterwards thrown his aſhes into the river; I told the courier that I could give no credit to what he related, unleſs he would bring two witneſſes to vouch the truth thereof. Hereupon they were preſently produced, but could only affirm, that they ſaw the Mulatto thruſt the torch ſeveral times in the ſlave's face; and that they afterwards heard he was burnt and thrown into the river. Upon theſe depoſitions I uſed all the means I could to get the wizard into my power, that had performed this helliſh ceremony; but found it impoſſible, becauſe he had ſuſpected I ſhould be informed of it, and ſo fled away. The next thing I had to do was to catch the Mulatto, which I ſoon accompliſhed by the diligence of ſome ſpecial friends. Being brought before me, he accoſted me after this manner: "I would fain know," quoth he, "for what reaſon I am brought before you?" "For having wickedly burnt your ſlave," ſaid I. "That is not ſo," anſwered he, "for he is yet alive." "Bring him then hither," ſaid I, "that I may ſee whether he be or not." Hereupon he immediately ordered ſome others of his ſlaves to bring him in, which they forthwith did, but bound after that barbarous manner, that it was impoſſible to looſe him without cutting the cords. Then I demanded of the Mulatto, why he uſed his ſlave ſo barbarouſly. He anſwered, "For having murdered his only child." "That was his misfortune, rather than his fault," ſaid I, "and therefore you have not done what you can juſtify." "I will juſtify it," ſaid he, "before any magiſtrate whatſoever." "Then you ſhall do it," replied I, "to the biſhop of Loanda." And accordingly I ordered both him and his ſlave to be ſent away to that city. I afterwards heard that the ſaid biſhop had diſcharged the ſlave, but ſhut up his maſter in priſon till he had ſatisfied for his offence.

There are many other ſpecies of this teſt of Chilumbo, but which I ſhall only hint at here, they having been more at large deſcribed already by Father Montecuccolo in his Hiſtorical Deſcriptions.

The ſecond way of adminiſtering this Chilumbo teſt is, by taking a tender and ſoft root of the tree Banana, which is put into the mouth of the perſon accuſed. Now if this root ſtick to his mouth, and make him ſeem to be eating of ſomething clammy, then he is immediately thought guilty, and worthy of puniſhment; or if it happen otherwiſe, then is he forthwith diſcharged.

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The third way is, by eating the fruit of a certain palm called Embà, which yields oil; this being firſt taſted by the wizard, to ſhew that there is no danger in it to the innocent, is afterwards poiſoned and given to the perſon intended to be convicted; but if that perſon be wary, and has a mind to come off ſafe, he muſt greaſe the fiſts of the diſtributers, and by thoſe means may eſcape.

The fourth trial is, by a pot of boiling water, into which the wizard throws a ſtone, or any other thing of the like nature, and then takes it out himſelf with his naked hand, ordering the reſt to do the ſame; they that take it without being ſcalded, are ſuppoſed innocent, whereas the contrary declares their guilt.

The fifth, and which is chiefly practiſed in the kingdom of Congo, is to clap ſeveral ſnail-ſhells to the accuſed perſon's temples; where, if they ſtick, he is condemned, but if not, diſcharged. Let the reader judge if there may not be any fallacy in this way, or not.

The ſixth, moſt in uſe among the Blacks, is to light a torch made of a certain bitumen diſtilled from trees, and to quench the ſame in water; and afterwards to give that water to the ſuppoſed criminal to drink; which, if he be guilty, will do him harm; but if not, will cauſe no alteration in him.

The ſeventh is practiſed only by ſmiths, who are ſometimes wizards, and is called by the natives Nole Fianzumdu. The manner of adminiſtering this Chilumbo, is by heating an iron red-hot, and afterwards quenching it in water as before; which water is immediately given to drink to thoſe that take the oath. Now, if it is obſerved that they cannot eaſily get it down, as it ſometimes happens, through apprehenſion only, then are they pronounced guilty without any farther proof; or elſe, by their eaſy ſwallowing of it, diſcharged.

Others make this trial, by the water wherein their lord's feet have been waſhed, and which is called Nfy-a-maſa. The reſt of the kinds I ſhall omit ſpeaking of, for the reaſons before-mentioned.

There are other ways of diſcovering theft and ſorcery, as likewiſe for abſolving any that have taken the aforeſaid oaths.

As for the firſt, a ſubtile wizard is commiſſioned with the name of Nbaci, who takes a long thread in his hand, either of linen or woollen, and holding one end himſelf, gives the other to hold to him who is the ſuppoſed thief. This done, he applies a red hot iron to the middle of the ſaid thread, and if it burns, the delinquent is fined to the value; or, if the theft be great, he is made a ſlave; but if otherwiſe, abſolved. Whether the devil has any hand in this I cannot decide, not being thoroughly acquainted with the matter of fact.

Concerning the ſecond, to diſcover who has been dealing with the devil, they make the following experiment:—The root of a certain tree called Ncaſſa, is diſſolved in water; and, after diſſolution, that water is put up in veſſels, and given to the perſon accuſed to drink. Afterwards he is delivered into the hands of ſeveral ſtrong men to miſuſe, and ſhake about in a manner, that in a very ſhort time he falls down in a ſwoon; ſome imagine that this is rather occaſioned by poiſon given him inſtead of the ſaid root. This tree is pretty tall, and of a red colour, and has a wonderful virtue for curing the tooth-ache and ſore gums. It is likewiſe extremely pernicious to birds, who fly from it; for if they ſhould once ſettle on its boughs, they would immediately fall down dead to the ground.

As for the third, to abſolve from any ſort of oath, it is performed by a miniſter called Ganga, or Nzi, who rubs the tongue of the perſon to be abſolved with the fruit

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of the palm that produces oil, and after muttering ſome few words to himſelf, he thereby frees him from his oath, and ſo ſends him home to his houſe.

Laſtly, there is another ſort of trial, which is performed not by the deceitful hand of a wizard, but by a perſon of ſome quality, after the following manner:—Two obſtinate fellows being at law together, and the truth being hard to be got out of them, the judge ſummons them both to appear before him, where being come he fixes to each of their foreheads a ſea-ſhell, and at the ſame time commands them to bow down their heads; now he that the ſhell firſt drops from is taken for the liar, and the other acquitted.

Whilſt I was in Bengo above-mentioned, my companion Father Francis da Monte Leone, having ſeized upon one of the aforeſaid wizards, ſent him to the Portugueſe governor to be puniſhed, who immediately upon conviction condemned him to death: his time of ſuffering being come, he was exhorted by Father Francis to confeſs his crime, but inſtead thereof, being an obſtinate fellow, he gave this anſwer: "What! would you have me to accuſe myſelf where I have committed no crime? My practice has always hitherto been to do good to all men and not evil; for when the poor people of my country have ſowed, and the earth became afterwards dry for want of rain, if I out of mere charity have cauſed the clouds to diſſolve to ſupply that neceſſity, was this a crime? If I have converſed with tygers, ſerpents, lions, and other wild animals, and they have anſwered me, was there any harm in it? If at a time when there was no boat to be found in the river, I out of pure compaſſion called crocodiles to carry us over, muſt this be accounted a ſin?" After this and the like manner he juſtified his crime for ſome time, yet however at length thought fit to own himſelf guilty; but becauſe he had been proſecuted by a miſſioner, he was afterwards pardoned his life, and ſent bound to Brazil.

We had not been many months in Sogno before the people, through remorſe of conſcience, diſcovered to us that the ſiſter of a certain nobleman of that country cured perſons publicly by the help of magic; and that moreover to make herſelf the better known for a ſorcerer, ſhe went clothed like a witch, and wore long diſhevelled hair, contrary to the cuſtom of theſe parts. They further informed us, that ſhe frequently had a drum beat before her to publiſh her profeſſion, and likewiſe that ſhe had a ſon that practiſed the ſame art, and lived with her in the houſe. This being heard by us with great abhorrence, we immediately drew up a charge againſt both mother and ſon, and at the ſame time made uſe of our utmoſt endeavours to get them apprehended: but the former being timely acquainted with our deſigns, eſcaped up into the country, while the latter fell into our ſnares, and was ſent by us bound to the count. This prince, notwithſtanding our diligence to ſeize the priſoner, gave him nevertheleſs ſo much liberty, that he ſoon found means, though bound, to get to his father's houſe, by whom he was inſtantly looſed, and ſent to an iſland in the Zaire to be protected. This was the firſt diſpleaſure we received from the count, whom we afterwards ſeverely upbraided with deſtroying the tender plants of Chriſtianity in his country, and putting a ſtop to all good works we had begun there; telling him, he imitated but ill his predeceſſor Count Stephen, who, after having extirpated theſe wicked wizards almoſt totally out of his dominions, commanded his governors that wherever they were found at any time to have returned, they ſhould immediately be ſeized, and have their heads lopt off without any further ceremony; and in caſe any of his officers did not put this law in execution, he was liable to the ſame ſentence. After this manner were our miſſioners aſſiſted in their endeavours during Count Stephen's reign: nay, he was ſo zealous in his aſſiſtance, that he would travel about with them himſelf, and obſerve how things

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paſſed with his own eyes; and if he found any whoremonger, he would reprove him in the following words:—"Either this woman pleaſes you, or not; if ſhe does pleaſe you, why do not you marry her? and if not, why does ſhe continue with you?"

This reprimand we gave the count ſucceeded ſo well, that he ſeemed afterwards inclinable in ſome meaſure to comply with our deſires, alledging that he would willingly bring thoſe offenders to puniſhment, but that he could not catch them, by reaſon of their being removed too far up into the country. Notwithſtanding, the father that had before releaſed his ſon without authority, being afraid of being impriſoned himſelf for ſo doing, thought it adviſeable to feign himſelf ſick to evade that danger, and conſequently ſent for me to confeſs him: I immediately complied with his deſires, and confeſſed him, but ſoon found that what he had done was more out of hypocriſy than ſincerity; for it is a cuſtom in this country, that where any perſon has received abſolution, he forthwith becomes free from any crime, and may conſequently depart at liberty, though he were in hold before. The reaſon they give for this is, "That if God has pardoned them, how can man pretend to find them guilty?" The ſame was anſwered us by the count, when we requeſted him, upon finding out the fellow's diſſimulation, to have him impriſoned again. "Have ye not abſolved him?" quoth he, "Is he not free? How then can I pretend to lay hands upon him?" Nor would he hear any reaſon to the contrary, becauſe the offender was his kinſman.

Awhile after the count ſent us another of theſe wizards, with an aſſurance that for the future he would let none eſcape that came into his power. This perſon we immediately carried into a room to examine; but while my companion went into an adjoining apartment to fetch a paper, leaving the priſoner for me and the interpreter to keep, he, notwithſtanding our diligence, and the great number of people in the next room, got from us. A dog we had in the houſe being alarmed at the noiſe immediately run after him, while I by another way purſued him ſo luckily, that I ſoon met him and tript up his heels, and at the ſame inſtant followed his fall and leapt upon his back, belabouring him with all my might, notwithſtanding the fear the people have here of meddling with wizards, with the cord of my order, invoking all the while St. Michael and the reſt of the ſaints to my aſſiſtance. At the ſame interim my companion came in, and could not forbear laughing to obſerve how luſtily I laid him on. A little after, the people that had brought him to us came up and bound him in ſuch a manner that he could not ſtir; for you muſt obſerve they were not afraid to touch him, by reaſon of the Agnus and other preſervatives that we had furniſhed them with. Being thus in our power, we ſoon brought him to abjure his errors, and afterwards ſet him at liberty. The laws of this country as to theſe caſes are as follow:—If the wizard that is taken be a freeman, and abjures, for the firſt offence he is only enjoined penance; for the ſecond he pays an Indian piece of about the value of a ſlave; but if he offends a third time, he is forthwith ſold for a ſlave, and the price of him diſtributed among the poor: if he be a ſlave himſelf that offends, although it be the firſt time, he is nevertheleſs preſently ſold, and ſent among the Whites, a thing ſo much abhorred by them that they would almoſt purchaſe their redemption with the price of their lives. When any of theſe three laſt caſes happens, a perſon is deputed either to receive the money and diſtribute it as before, or elſe to take in exchange ſo much linen as amounts to the value, and this to wrap the dead poor in, after the cuſtom of the country. All which is done without our concerning ourſelves, leſt it ſhould occaſion ſome evil-ſpirited people to ſuggeſt that what we did was rather through a motive of covetouſneſs than any of charity or religion.

So

So many cafes of this nature happened to me during my miffion, that would fuffice to make a volume apart; nevertheleſs, not to be too tireſome to my reader, I ſhall content myſelf with relating only the moſt remarkable. Upon a time a certain wizard more famous than ordinary was brought before me, whom, not to truſt any more to the count, I committed to the cuſtody of the keeper of the church (an office of great gain and much honour, and which is not conferred by us but upon perſons beſt qualified), to the end that he might impriſon him the ſafer in his own houſe. This good man, notwithſtanding my particular injunctions, not long after ſet his priſoner at liberty, and placed in his room and in chains a poor ſlave. At my coming a little while after to examine the offender, not finding him to be the ſame that I ſent, I began to demand of the keeper what was become of him. He anſwered me, "That was he." Then I aſked the priſoner, if he were the perſon: to which he replied, "He was." Hereupon I ſeemed to believe both, yet being certain that I was impoſed upon, I was reſolved to know the truth: for this end I called one of the ſlaves belonging to the church to me, and commanded him to go immediately and cut off the pretended wizard's head. Hereat the impriſoned ſlave being affrighted, eſpecially when he ſaw the axe brought, began to tremble, and cry out, "I am not he, I am not the wizard, but ſuch a one is (naming him) whom the keeper has ſet free, and put me in his ſtead." Then turning to the keeper, I ſaid, "What ſay you to this?" He anſwered, "Father, the wizard is gone forth to ſeek a livelihood, and has left this perſon here as a pledge till he returns: but (continued he) I will immediately go and look after him, and do not queſtion but to find him." Hereupon I went along with him, but to no purpoſe, for the ſubtle conjurer had very prudently given us both the ſlip. For this offence I could do no leſs than deprive the keeper of his place, and he was not a little thankful that I left him his life. Moreover, priſoners eſcape many times here through the ſlightneſs of their priſons, for being moſt commonly built with reeds they cannot be ſuppoſed to be very ſtrong. To remedy this, we generally took care at the arrival of any European veſſel to embark our priſoners on board, and to tranſport them to other countries.

The infernal practice of ſorcery is even abhorred by the natives, and thoſe that make uſe of it are for the moſt part the meaneſt ſort of people, ſerving here either for phyſicians or ſurgeons, there being no others in the country. The remedies they have are generally the natural ones, and therefore they have recourſe to witchcraft to credit their art, and to make people believe that the virtues of their medicines are communicated to them by the devil. If their phyſic fails, they excuſe themſelves, and ſay, "A certain ominous bird flew over their heads, and hindered the operation of it:" or elſe they aſſert ſome other ridiculous lie. Theſe ſorts of incantations are always practiſed in the night-time. The firſt thing they ſay to the ſick perſon after he comes under their cure is, "If you have a mind to be cured, be ſure not to ſend for any confeſſor, for his preſence will not only take away the virtue of the remedy, but likewiſe deprive you of your life." When any one dies under their hands, they affirm that there were other occaſions of his death than thoſe of his diſtemper, which puts the parents upon divers curſed methods of finding out the ſuppoſed murderers, they being generally of opinion that nobody dies a natural death.

Dreadful to be remembered, though not unworthy of memory, was a caſe that happened in our time, as follows: — A certain child had languiſhed for ſome time under a deſperate diſeaſe, and which, by being the only one its parents had, was their chiefeſt comfort and ſupport: the relations often ſolicited them to ſend for ſome wizard or other to recover its health, but they would by no means hear of ſuch a propoſal, alledging

alledging that they never yet had had recourſe to any ſuch people upon any occaſion whatever. To this the relations replied, and aſked them, "What they thought the world would ſay, that they who had but one only child, ſhould ſuffer it to die for want of being at the expence of a magician?" This they urged ſo home, and made uſe of ſo many other arguments of the like nature, that they at length prevailed upon the deluded parents to ſend for a wizard hard-by: when he came into the houſe, the mother had her ſick child in her arms, which the magician ſtretching forth his arm to touch, in order to begin his charm, at the ſame time both the child and the wizard expired: this occaſioned ſo exceſſive an affliction in the father and the mother, that blaming themſelves for this impious credulity, and looking upon this accident as no better than parricide in them, before they would bury the body of their unhappy infant, they came to confeſſion at our convent.

Not unlike this was another accident that happened in this country while I was there. A certain ſick perſon ſent to a magician to come and cure him: the magician came accordingly, but as he was ſtretching forth his hand, as in the foregoing caſe, he fell down dead to the ground, miſerably loſing his own life, at the ſame time that he endeavoured by wretched means to prolong that of another man.

But let us return to ſpeak a little more of the wicked oaths practiſed among theſe people. They have another ſort of oath which they call Orioncio: the way of adminiſtering this is, by putting exceeding ſtrong poiſon into the fruit called Niceſi, ſufficiently ſpoken of before, and afterwards giving that fruit to the ſuppoſed guilty perſon to eat: he has no ſooner taſted of it, but his tongue and throat begin to ſwell to that exceſs, that if the wizard did not ſpeedily apply an antidote, he muſt inevitably ſoon periſh under the experiment, and though innocent he commonly remains tortured for many days.

The oath called Oluchenche is given after the following manner:—The perſon that takes it has his limbs bound tighter or looſer, to force out the truth as they term it, according to the wizard's inclination to find him either guilty or innocent.

As I paſſed through the kingdom of Angola, one of the aforeſaid ſorts of the oath called Bolungo, was adminiſtered to a Mufacca (ſo they call the receiver among the Whites), a relation to the King of Congo, and to him of Loango, one of the powerfulleſt along that coaſt, and whoſe ſon, as they told me, was to ſucceed in that kingdom. To this perſon the Scinghili, (gods of the earth, being the name they have for their wizards,) attributed the cauſe of its not raining in the month of March, at which time it always had accuſtomed to have rained. He therefore, to ſatisfy the rage of the people, was to undergo this dangerous teſt, which he accordingly did, and unexpectedly came off acquitted. The Scinghili, or wizards, boaſt that it is in their power to grant or prevent either wet weather or a drought.

We having put aſhore in one of the ports of this kingdom, as we were on our voyage to Congo, and the people having underſtood who I was, and that I was of a contrary opinion to that of their Scinghili, they began immediately to murmur againſt me. Their wizards, to confirm their belief, and to oppoſe mine, foretold that there ſhould be no rain all that ſummer. But it ſo fell out, and Providence, I believe, had ſo ordered it, that ſcarce was I got aſhore to ſay maſs, but the heavens began to pour forth their watry wrath againſt theſe infidels in ſuch a manner, that theſe very wizards were afterwards forced to own to me that their knowledge in theſe matters was not infallible.

In our convent at Sogno, our Fathers had built one apartment two ſtories high, on purpoſe to keep ſome of the church utenſils by themſelves. No rain having happened

that ſeaſon, the Scinghili attributed the cauſe thereof to our raiſing our building contrary to the cuſtom of the country. Hereupon the too credulous people came one day in a great rage to pull down that apartment; when one of our Fathers, immediately going out, demanded of them, "What they would have?" Whom they anſwered in great fury, "That they muſt either pull down that building, or they ſhould always want rain." This ſoon fired the pious Father, and made him to go on with a great deal of zeal; firſt reproaching their unwarrantable folly, and after giving them to underſtand that God was the only diſpoſer of all gifts, whether in heaven, earth, or ſea, ſometimes giving, and ſometimes withholding, according as he beſt ſaw fit and convenient; and that the miniſters of the prince of darkneſs, ſuch as their Schinghili, were only qualified to deſtroy men, both here and hereafter, inſtead of doing them the leaſt kindneſs. "Make a devout proceſſion," ſaid he, "to our Lady of Pinda, I aſſure you God will relieve your wants." So they did, and ſo it fell out, the earth being ſoaked with the rain, the houſe remaining untouched, and the people ſatisfied. Since then they have uſed this in time of diſtreſs, and it has happened they have gone from the Banza with fair weather, and returned well ſoaked from Pinda.

Whilſt my companion, Father Joſeph, was formerly travelling on his miſſion in Sogno, he came to an open country at a time when the clouds were juſt ready to diſembogue their burthens. He there overtook a traveller likewiſe, who was ſtanding ſtock ſtill, and murmuring ſtrange words to himſelf. After which he mounted his bow, and ſhot an arrow up into the air with great indignation. The Father perceiving this, and gueſſing it to be ſome of the deviliſh practices of this country, immediately came up to him, and after having ſharply reproved him for his offence, acquainted him, "That he believed all his helliſh art would not ſuffice to keep it from raining that day;" and as he gueſſed, ſo it ſoon happened; for preſently after there fell ſo great a ſhower, that the Father was wet to the ſkin, which he was nevertheleſs pleaſed with, by reaſon that it had ſo plentifully diſappointed the wicked ſorcerer. At this the wretch was much ſurpriſed, but would not nevertheleſs be convinced of his error, affirming, "That this had happened through the power of thoſe that went before him, who were greater proficients in magic than himſelf." Theſe provoking words cauſed the black Chriſtians that were along with the Father to ſeize upon the wizard, and to give him that chaſtiſement which his crime deſerved.

In the country about Coanza, a river to be paſſed in the way to Singa, a certain Soua, or lord of the manor, cauſed himſelf to be accounted a Scinghili, requiring his vaſſals to make their addreſſes to him when they wanted rain. One of our Fathers coming thither, and deteſting the impious abuſe, did what lay in his power to get him ſeized; but being diſappointed through the quality of the perſon, he was forced to have recourſe to a milder remedy; and no doubt inſpired by God, he told the inhabitants, "That if they did not rid out of their hearts that curſed opinion, they would never have any rain." As the Father propheſied, ſo it happened; for ever ſince, for ſeventeen years together, they have not had one drop in thoſe parts, whereby the earth is become ſo dry, eſpecially conſidering the climate, that it was yawned wide in moſt places, and ſeems with ſo many mouths to beg pardon to the Almighty Diſpenſer of the benefits for the blaſphemy of their lord. It is true, the beſt come-off they have for this offence is, that the ſaid Father, after their diſobedience, curſed the air; and ſo cauſed it to withhold its favours from them. Notwithſtanding the curſe on his country, and the loſs of his vaſſals, who went to live in other parts, the obſtinate Soua, unwilling to own his error, ſtill continued to pretend to the ſame power.

To conclude ſpeaking any more of oaths, I will give one terrible inſtance relating to them, which happened in the kingdom of Matamba, being the dominions of the queen of Singa, and related to me by Father Francis dà Pavia, a miſſioner there. Upon an affair ſomething more conſiderable than ordinary, a certain friar of our order thought fitting to give an oath on the holy evangeliſts to two of the greateſt magicians, counſellors to the queen. At firſt they refuſed to take it, but at length conſented, ſaying to themſelves, "What harm can happen to us by ſo doing? We had better ſatisfy the Father in ſo indifferent a matter, than diſoblige him by a refuſal." Hereupon they preſently agreed to take it, and ſwore, but falſely, when a ſtrange accident happened. The firſt of theſe burſt, and fell down dead, while he had his hand on the maſs-book; and the other languiſhed away, and died in about ſix hours after. Which taught others to be more cautious how they jeſted with God.

From the death of theſe two magicians of the higher rank, let us proceed to ſpeak of other wizards, who moſt commonly die violent deaths, and that for the moſt part voluntarily. For the preſent, I ſhall only ſpeak of the head or chief of theſe wretches, from whom the reſt take example. He is ſtyled in the country-language Ganga Chitorne, being reputed god of the earth, and to whom is conſequently paid the firſt fruits of all it produces, due to him, as they ſay, as its author, and not either to the ordinary work of nature, or to the extraordinary one of Providence. This power he alſo boaſts to be able to communicate to others, when and as often as he pleaſes. He further aſſerts, that his body is not capable of ſuffering a natural death; and, therefore, to confirm his adorers in that opinion, whenever he finds his end approaching, either through age or diſeaſe, he calls for ſuch a one of his diſciples as he deſigns to ſucceed him, and pretends to communicate to him his great power; and afterwards in public (where this tragedy is always acted) he commands him to tie a halter about his neck, and to ſtrangle him therewith, or elſe to take a club, and knock him down dead. This command being once pronounced, is ſoon executed, and the wizard thereby ſent a martyr to the devil. The reaſon that this is done in public, is to make known the ſucceſſor ordained by the laſt breath of the predeceſſor, and to ſhew that he has the ſame power of producing rain, and the like. If this office were not thus continually filled, the inhabitants ſay, "That the earth would ſoon become barren, and mankind conſequently periſh." In my time, one of theſe magicians was caſt into the ſea, another into a river, a mother and her ſon put to death, and many other baniſhed by our order, as has been ſaid.

In the firſt year of our arrival in theſe parts, there happened a paſſage worthy to be remembered, which, before I can begin with, I muſt go ſome years back with my ſtory. Upon the late King of Congo's death, two very conſiderable perſons pretended to that crown, either of whom did all that in him lay to procure the count of Sogno, a powerful elector, on his ſide. One of theſe, whoſe name was Simantamba, made him ſeveral preſents of ſlaves for that purpoſe, but which had been all taken by force; and therefore the Fathers that were then at his court adviſed him by no means to accept of them. To this the count anſwered, "That he had already conſidered of the matter, and was inclinable to be of their opinion, that he ought not to accept of them." Some time after, the ſame Simantamba, to ingratiate himſelf the further into this prince, and to engage him in a ſtricter tie of friendſhip, requeſted his ſiſter of him for a wife. To this the count ſo readily conſented, that he not only ſent him her forthwith, but likewiſe the crown itſelf, which, it ſeems, he had then in his poſſeſſion, together with a velvet throne, ſeveral other things of great value, and divers armed troops. Simantamba having advice of the approach of his ſpouſe, went out ſeveral days' journey to meet

meet her; and, the better to avoid the ſnares that might be laid for him by his rival in the crown, thought it proper to ſet down and fortify himſelf in a very ſtrong wood. The count's army arriving ſome time after with ſongs, muſic, and dancing, entered the wood with great alacrity, which Simantamba's followers perceiving, and, fearing ſome treachery by reaſon of ſo great a number of people ſent by the count, adviſed their maſter to oppoſe their entrance: but he truſting too much to his ſecurity, rejected their advice, and, conſequently, ſoon became a martyr to his credulity; for the count's army had no ſooner got poſſeſſion of the wood, but they ſet upon both him and his followers with piſtols, and, killing the greateſt part, forced the reſt to fly. Thus, inſtead of a joyful hymen, this prince met with a barbarous death, and which, together with that of his friends, ſuited with the deſcription made by Virgil in the ſecond book of his Æneid:

Luctus ubiq. pavor, et plurima mortis imago.

Some time after, the brother of this deceaſed prince got together a great number of people to revenge his brother's death; and his firſt exploit was the taking of a great part of the county of Chiovachianza belonging to Sogno. To recover which, the count, at our being there, raiſed a great army likewiſe, and marched directly towards the chief city of his antagoniſt. At his arrival, he found all the inhabitants fled; whereupon the Sogneſe ſoldiers fell immediately to rifling of the houſes, and moreover began to kill all the living creatures they met in their way, to ſatisfy their hunger. Amongſt the reſt they found a cock of a larger ſize than ordinary, with a great ring of iron about one of his legs, which occaſioned one of the wiſeſt among them to cry out, "Surely this cock muſt be bewitched, and is not at all proper for us to meddle with." To which the reſt anſwered, "Be it what it will, we are reſolved to eat it." For this end they immediately killed, and tore it to pieces after the manner of the Negroes, and afterwards put it into a pot to boil. When it was enough, they took it out into a platter, and two, according to the cuſtom, having ſaid grace, five of them ſat down to it with great greedineſs. But before they had touched a bit, to their great wonder and amazement, the boiled pieces of the cock, though ſodden, and near diſſolved, began to move about, and unite into the form they were in before, and being ſo united, the reſtored cock immediately raiſed himſelf up, and jumped out of the platter upon the ground, where he walked about as well as when he was firſt taken. Afterwards he leaped upon an adjoining wall, where he became new-feathered all of a ſudden, and then took his flight to a tree hard-by, where fixing himſelf, he, after three claps of his wings, made a moſt hideous noiſe, and then diſappeared. Every one may eaſily imagine what a terrible fright the ſpectators were in at this ſight, who, leaping with a thouſand Ave-Marias in their mouths from the place where this had happened, were contented to obſerve moſt of the particulars at a diſtance. The cauſe of their preſervation they attributed to the grace that was ſaid before they ſat down; otherwiſe they were of opinion that they ſhould all have been either poſſeſſed or killed. I having related this ſtory to Father Thomas da Seſtolla, one of our order, who had been ſuperior of a miſſion to Congo and Angola for above ſeven years, he told me, that whilſt he lived in Congo, he heard two perſons aver that the before-mentioned Simantamba had a very large cock, from whoſe manner and time of crowing he obſerved with great ſuperſtition, whether his undertakings ſhould be unlucky or proſperous. But notwithſtanding the infallibility of his oracle, we find he was deceived when he made that laſt expedition wherein he loſt his life. Whether this cock of his was the ſame mentioned before

before to have been reſtored to life after a moſt miraculous manner, I ſhall not take upon me to determine.

The ſame Father Thomas acquainted me how he and his companion had been abuſed in their miſſion at Sogno, and ſent among the pagans into the kingdom of Angoij, which was after the following manner. A King of Congo being deſirous of being crowned, had recourſe to the Portugueſe of the kingdom of Angola for their aſſiſtance, with condition, that in caſe he ſucceeded in his deſign, he would give them the country of Sogno, and two mines of gold to boot. This proffer being not unwelcome to the Portugueſe, they immediately aſſembled themſelves to take poſſeſſion of it, to the end that thereby they might be more ſecure of having their bargain performed after they had done their work. At the ſame time, the King gathered great numbers of his ſubjects together to join the Portugueſe, adding moreover a certain company of Giaghi under the Calangola (a chief among this barbarous people, that delight in feeding on man's fleſh) all which immediately ſet forward towards Sogno. The count being ſoon acquainted with theſe proceedings, raiſed a prodigious army likewiſe, and therewith went out to meet his bold invaders. But it ſo happened, that by reaſon the Sogneſe army were wholly unacquainted with the fire-arms and manner of the Portugueſe fighting, they were ſoon diſcomfited and routed, leaving the field, and an innumerable number of priſoners, together with the dead body of their count, to the conquerors.

After this victory obtained, the aforeſaid Calangola propoſed to the Portugueſe captain to have all the priſoners killed, and given to his ſoldiers to eat, alleging, "that the next day they ſhould take as many more, and they would then not be able to keep both." This propoſal the captain, either through clemency or intereſt, refuſed to conſent to, telling the calangola, that his men, if they pleaſed, might feed for the preſent on the dead bodies, and in the mean-time he would conſider of his requeſt. Whilſt this paſſed, the counteſs-dowager, together with all the people, petitioned the ſaid captain, "that he would proceed no farther with his hoſtilities, and he ſhould be fully ſatisfied in what he demanded." To which the captain anſwered, "That he was reſolved to go on as far as the fartheſt Banza*, to teach the Sogneſe people the bounds of their obedience to Congo." Hereat the people being extremely enraged, one of the principal among them being of the blood of the counts, ſtood up, and told them, "That if they would elect him for their count, he would ſoon rid them of their fears of the Portugueſe." To this the affrighted people immediately conſented, and, at the ſame time, choſe him for their ſovereign. Being thus choſen, he began to unite and fortify the diſtracted minds of his ſubjects; and to the end they might quickly be in a condition to take the field, he gave them the following inſtructions. Firſt he ordered them to ſhave their heads (which cuſtom continues even to this day among theſe people, whether male or females). Next he commanded them to bind palm-leaves about their temples, to the end that in the battle they might thereby be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe Blacks that accompanied the Portugueſe. He further adviſed them not to be afraid either of the noiſe or flaſhings of guns, ſince they were only as bugbears fit to fright children, and not men of courage. He moreover cautioned them againſt minding thoſe European trifles which their enemies the Whites were accuſtomed to throw among them, when they had a mind to diſorder and make them break their ranks †. He likewiſe ordered them to ſhoot always at the men, and not the horſes, theſe laſt being inconſiderable in

* Banza is a name given to the cities here.

† The Portugueſe, to put them into diſorder, uſed to ſcatter knives, bits of coral and of cloth, about which they ran out to pick up, and ſo were diſperſed.

war,

war, and nothing like to the nature of tigers, lions and elephants. He commanded them moreover that if any among them turned his back, they ſhould immediately ſtrike off his head; and if more than one did the ſame, the reſt ſhould ſerve him the like: "For," ſays he, "we are all reſolved to die a glorious death, rather than live a miſerable life." Laſtly, to the end that his followers might go on under him with the leſs concern, he commanded them to kill all their domeſtic animals; and the better to encourage them therein, was the firſt that ſet them an example, by killing his own in their ſight. This he did likewiſe to prevent the Portugueſe (in caſe they ſhould have the better of him) from having any thing to triumph over, and feaſt with in his dominions; and rather choſe to have his ſubjects feed on them, to hearten and ſtrengthen them for battle, than to have his enemies fatten and regale on his ſpoils. Now becauſe his orders had been ſo punctually obſerved in this particular, the whole race of theſe beaſts, eſpecially of cows, has almoſt been totally deſtroyed ever ſince; inſomuch that I myſelf have known a young maid ſold here for a calf, and a woman for a cow. To reinforce this his army, the laſt thing this count did was to call in his neighbours to his aſſiſtance, together with whom and his own ſubjects having compoſed a wonderous force, he forthwith marched out into the field. His enemies, through too great a negligence and contempt of his power, ſoon betrayed themſelves into his hands; for marching on without the leaſt order, they gave opportunity to an ambuſh that lay ready for them, to break, and put them eaſily to flight. The firſt that fled were the Giaghi, being the troops under their calangola, and the forces of the King of Congo followed ſoon after. The ſlaves that had been taken in the battle before, finding here an opportunity to eſcape, run like madmen in amongſt their friends, and having their arms unlooſed by them, preſently turned all their fury upon the remaining Portugueſe, who ſtill kept their ground; but at length being overpowered by numbers, they were forced to give back, and were all killed in the purſuit, except ſix who were taken priſoners, and brought before the count; who demanded of them, "If they would chooſe to die with their companions, or ſurvive to be made ſlaves?" To which they anſwered, with an accuſtomed Spaniſh reſolution, "Never did Whites yet yield to be made ſlaves to Blacks, neither would they." Which anſwer ſoon cauſed their deſtruction; for ſcarce were the words out of their mouths, but they were all killed upon the ſpot. All the artillery and baggage was taken by the Sogneſe army; the former of which, together with ſome pieces of cannon bought of the Hollanders, ſerved to furniſh a fortreſs built with earth at the mouth of the river Zaire, which commands both the ſaid river and the ſea.

Before they left Loanda, the Portugueſe army had deſired of the commander of the Armadilia (ſo they called their fleet by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of it) "that as he ſailed along the coaſts of Sogno, wherever he ſaw great fires burning he ſhould anchor." Now after the obtained victory, the Sogneſe ſoldiers ſpent all their nights in jollity and merriment about ſuch fires, as had been deſcribed; which the ſhips immediately perceiving, dropped their anchors hard-by and were preparing to land their force: while diſcovering from the ſhore a Portugueſe ſlave that hailed them, they ſoon took him into a boat, and found he had been ſent by the count to the governor of Loanda with a leg and an arm of a White; together with this inſulting meſſage, "Go carry the news of your defeat, together with this preſent, to the governor of Loanda your maſter." Thus you may perceive the ſeamen, if they had landed, had been in the ſame caſe with the landmen, and inſtead of impriſoning the Blacks in the ſhackles they had carried along with them for that purpoſe, had been undoubtedly in the like condition themſelves, and had been at leaſt made ſlaves of, if they came off with their lives.

What

What the Sogneſe ſay for themſelves in juſtification of this quarrel, is as follows: They aſk firſt, "What right the King of Congo had to give away their country of Sogno to the Portugueſe, when it was none of his, but a ſovereignty of itſelf?" And next they would know, "Why the Portugueſe, who were not unacquainted with that particular, ſhould be ſo unjuſt as to be ready to accept of it, and that in an hoſtile manner?" They alleged moreover, "That when the Hollanders ſome years ſince had got poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Angola, a great number of Portugueſe being routed thence, fled to Sogno, where they were courteouſly entertained by the count, who gave them the iſland of Horſes to live in; and moreover furniſhed them with all manner of proviſions gratis. Now they could not but much wonder that thoſe people whom they had ſo hoſpitably relieved, ſhould have the ingratitude to endeavour to take their country away from them." Theſe jars ariſing upon this occaſion, could not but be extremely prejudicial to the infant growth of Chriſtianity in this country, inſomuch that one of our order who lived at Sogno died for mere grief thereof: and I myſelf met with ſeveral people in Chitombi, the place where the battle was fought, who would come no more to confeſſion upon that account.

Now to return to our ſtory: the count having received in the aforeſaid battle about thirteen wounds, in near the compaſs of a month, died thereof; and a new one being ſoon choſen in his ſtead, he nouriſhed in his heart ſo great a hatred to the Portugueſe, that he reſolved for the future to have no more dealings neither with them nor the Capuchins, whom he looked upon to belong to them. Whereupon ſending for ſome Flemiſh merchants that were juſt then upon their departure out of his country for Flanders, he writ by them to the pope's nuncio there, to furniſh his dominion with new prieſts. The pious prelate upon the receipt of this letter, ſent him two Franciſcans and one lay-brother, with ſtrict command to them, that if there were any Capuchins in the country, they ſhould ſubmit to them as their ſuperiors. Theſe three religious perſons being arrived, were received with all the courteſy imaginable, and afterwards conducted to our convent. The count perceiving that he had now got other prieſts, made uſe of ſeveral falſe pretexts to ſend ours away; and at laſt being not able to prove any crimes againſt them, he had recourſe to the moſt barbarous and arbitrary uſage that could be thought on, commanding that they ſhould be dragged out of his dominions for the ſpace of two miles together. This was forthwith executed with the greateſt rigour, for the officers of this cruel maſter not only tore them along in their own cords, with their faces grating downwards upon the ſands, but likewiſe reviled them all the way with unmerited reproaches and calumnies. All which notwithſtanding theſe pious fathers underwent with the greateſt chearfulneſs, well remembering what greater puniſhments and indignities their Saviour had ſuffered for them before. So great nevertheleſs were the injuries offered to theſe fathers, that in no long time after one of them died; and the other, who was the aforeſaid Father Thomas, hardly eſcaped with his life. Being thus miſuſed, and withal unprovided of all neceſſaries, they were at laſt left on the confines of the count's dominion, in a little uninhabited iſland of the river Zaire. Here they made ſhift to ſupport themſelves for two or three days; F. Thomas, who was the leaſt hurt of the two, going out to hunt for their ſubſiſtence: but at length they were unexpectedly delivered from hence by ſome pagan fiſhermen, who took them on board them, and carried them to a city of their's called Bombangoij in the kingdom of Angoij. Here arriving at night, they were very courteouſly entertained by an infidel of the place, who gave them a ſupper, and moreover aſſigned them a houſe, and three women to wait on them after the manner of that country. But our fathers not caring

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to truſt themſelves among theſe people, ſoon after they had ſupped, ſending away their women, meditated an eſcape. For this purpoſe Father Thomas, who was the beſt able to walk, took his lame companion upon his back, and marched out of the houſe; but he had not gone far, but he was forced, through weakneſs, to ſet down his burden under a great ſhady tree; which as ſoon as day appeared, for fear of diſcovery, they made ſhift to get up into. Their patron coming that morning to viſit his gueſts, and finding them gone, much wondered; and well knowing they could not be got far, by reaſon of the condition he left them in, immediately went about to ſearch after them. Coming at laſt near the place where they were, and not having yet found them, a pagan thought came into his head, that they might have been carried away by ſome ſpirits, and which he expreſſed after this manner; "If the devil has carried them away, I ſuppoſe he did it that they might make me no recompence for my kindneſs." Our Fathers hearing this, could not forbear laughing, even amidſt their miſeries and misfortunes, and putting out their heads from the tree, cried out, "We are here, friend, never doubt our gratitude, for we only went out of the houſe to refreſh ourſelves with the rays of the riſing ſun." Hereat the old man being exceedingly rejoiced, immediately took them down, and putting them into two nets, ſent them away to Capinda, a port of the kingdom of Angoij, about two days journey from Bombangoij. Here, if I am not miſtaken, the Father that had been moſt haraſſed, died; and Father Thomas embarking himſelf not long after on board a veſſel that lay there, departed for Loanda in the kingdom of Angola. One of the two Franciſcans that remained yet in Sogno, the other having been gone for Angola ſome time before, being extremely affronted at the ill uſage of theſe two Capuchins, ſignified to the count that he thought himſelf obliged in charity to go in queſt of his baniſhed brethren, and that either to ſupport them if alive, or bury them if dead. This requeſt the count highly approved of, and conſequently gave him leave to go. Having hereby obtained his deſire, he ſoon ſet out for Capinda, but never returned, thinking it rather adviſeable to go on board the ſame veſſel with Father Thomas for Loanda.

His companion, the lay-brother, not finding him to return, obtained leave likewiſe to go on the ſame errand, as well as under pretence of haſtening his return; but being once out of ſight, he alſo was no more to be ſeen. Our convent thus being deprived of all its inhabitants, only one lay-brother remaining behind, whom the count kept locked up for fear of loſing him; the people roſe in great fury againſt their Prince, and that for depriving them of the miſſion deſigned for their good. No prudence being capable of oppoſing this mutiny, they at laſt went ſo far that they ſeized upon their count, and ſent him bound to an iſland of his dominions in the Zaire; where, that he might not be abſolutely idle, they left him at liberty to command, and afterwards choſe a new count. This Prince being but little ſatisfied with his confinement, did all that in him lay to get himſelf reſtored, intriguing inceſſantly with the neighbouring nations for that purpoſe. But which coming timely to his ſubjects' ears, they once more ſeized upon him, and tying a huge weight to his neck, threw him in a rage into the ſea, with theſe words: "Over this river you made the poor Capuchins to paſs into baniſhment, for no offence, and into the ſame go you, barbarous and inhuman monſter, for ſo doing." Thus ended the life of a perſecutor of poor harmleſs men, who offended him only in that they were either really or elſe ſuſpected to be Portugueſe.

Whilſt matters went thus, Father Joſeph Maria, who lived then at Loanda, after ſome time came to Sogno, under pretence of carrying away the lay-brother beforementioned, with ſome church-utenſils belonging to the miſſion, though in reality his

buſineſs was to ſound the minds of the Sogneſe people. After his arrival at the mouth of the river Zaire, called by the Portugueſe Pionta del Padron, before he would ſet foot a-ſhore, he ſent a meſſenger to acquaint the count with his being there. As ſoon as the people heard of it, they hurried away in great numbers to ſee him, and preſently acquainted him, "how they had diſpatched the enemy of the Capuchins into that river, and that for the future they would defend thoſe holy men to the laſt drop of their blood." This promiſe they afterwards confirmed by an oath at the holy altar. They alſo, at the ſame time, earneſtly entreated this Father, "that he would continue among them, and depart no more for Loanda." To this requeſt, Father Joſeph anſwered, "That his commiſſion from his ſuperior extended no farther than to bring away Father Leonard, together with the church goods." In ſhort, ſo very urgent were their entreaties, and ſo powerful their reaſons, that he was at length prevailed upon to tarry with them; and that eſpecially at the return of the meſſenger who brought him the ſame deſires from the new count. All this gained ſo far upon him, that he not only conſented to ſtay himſelf, but likewiſe, as a farther token of good-will, and pardoning their late offence, procured alſo the injured Father Thomas to return once more among them; and even from thence-forward our order has lived in that country without the leaſt moleſtation.

This earldom is very large, even if you except Chiovachianza ſpoken of before. In it there were formerly about ſix miſſioners, but there are now for the moſt part but one or two, when there is occaſion for a much greater number. In the firſt miſſion my companion went on into theſe parts, above five hundred, as well men and women, as children, were baptized by him in a day. I have alſo known here abundance of mothers come five or ſix days journey, with their infants in their arms, to have them chriſtened, or elſe to confeſs themſelves, paying the interpreter to-boot. How often does it happen among Europeans, that many put off the ſacrament of the bleſſed ſupper from time to time, with no ſmall hazard to their ſouls? Whereas, in this country, there is only a want of apoſtolic labourers to make the people ſtrict obſervers of the commandments, and conſtant in the faith.

To preſerve as much as poſſible this new-planted Chriſtianity, it has been ordered, that in every city, or place of any note, there ſhould be one church at leaſt, and at my being here there were in all about eighteen throughout the count's dominions. To every of theſe there is ſent ſome perſon that has been bred up in our convent, who, three times a-week, is to ſay over the Roſary to the people, and withal to teach every Sunday. On all holidays, inſtead of maſs the Litany is only ſung, and the Chriſtian doctrine expounded; and on the firſt Sunday of every month there is a proceſſion to be of the Roſary. As often as any dedication-day of a church happens, the miſſioner takes care to be preſent himſelf if he can poſſibly, when great numbers appear, either to baptize their children, to marry, or to receive the ſacrament.

Herein nevertheleſs there did not want abuſes, introduced for the moſt part by foreigners, rather than the natives, of whom there are many, who, through the grace of God, live ſuch good lives, that ſometimes in their confeſſions there has ſcarce been matter for abſolution. The firſt abuſe was in matrimony, after the following manner:—Theſe people were accuſtomed to converſe with their wives ſome time before they married them, to try if they could like them; and after the ſame manner the wives were to experience their huſbands.—The contracts were made thus: A father and mother ſeeing their ſon arrived to an age fit for marriage, ſend a preſent (which goes alſo for a portion), according to their ability, to the father and mother of the perſon that he fancies, requeſting their daughter of them for a wife to their ſon. Together with this

preſent

preſent there is likewiſe ſent an earthen pot full of palm-wine, called by the natives Cietto à Melaffo. Before the intended wife's parents receive the preſent, they and their company are to drink up the wine: firſt, the father is to drink, then the mother; and after them it is handed about among the ſtanders-by: if this laſt ceremony were omitted, it would be accounted a conſiderable affront. After all this is done, the father is to return an anſwer either one way or other: if he rejects the offer, he muſt make his excuſes; but if he accept it, he only retains the portion. When the laſt happens, the huſband, with his friends and relations, goes immediately, upon notice that the preſent has been accepted, to his wife's father's houſe; and having there received her of her parents, conducts her to his own. The way of marrying *in facie eccleſiæ* is not at all approved of by them, for they muſt firſt be ſatisfied whether their wife will have children, of which they are very ſolicitous; whether ſhe will be diligent in her daily labour; and laſtly, whether ſhe will prove obedient, before they will marry her. If they find her faulty in any of theſe points, they immediately ſend her back again to her parents. When the fault proceeds from the wife's ſide, the huſband muſt have the preſent he made her reſtored; but when it happens on his part, he can recover nothing. Though the woman, through any defect, either in perſon or behaviour, be returned, yet is ſhe not nevertheleſs looked upon as the worſe for it, but ſoon after generally undergoes another trial. Being obliged by us to marry, when once they are become ſo, they will live ſo chriſtian-like and lovingly together, that the wife would ſooner ſuffer herſelf to be cut to pieces, than conſent to defile her huſband's bed. If it at any time happen otherwiſe, which I am confident rarely does, the adulterer is obliged to give the value of a ſlave to the huſband of the adultreſs, and ſhe is to go forthwith and beg her huſband's pardon for the wrong ſhe has done him; otherwiſe if he comes to know of her crime, he may eaſily obtain a divorce. Such as are found to cohabit together, without being lawfully married, are fined ſo much of the country money as amounts to the value of nine of our crowns.

It muſt be obſerved, that the father of the bride, when he receives the preſent for her, though it be never ſo little, muſt not complain, for that would be no better than ſelling his daughter. Wherefore, to prevent ſuch a crime, all men are taxed by the public in thoſe matters how much they ſhall give, and which is always rated according to their qualities and conditions.

All that the bride's parents receive upon this account, they look upon as due to them for maintaining their daughter to the time of her marriage; ſo that you may perceive he is to be eſteemed the richeſt perſon here who has moſt daughters.

A notable abuſe is this other, though practiſed by the meaner ſort of people, and that but ſeldom. When a man happens to draw near his end, who has taken a woman for his wife, but whom he had not yet married, to ſave returning the portion, he leaves the concubine to ſome kinſman. To prevent the which, we have ordered, that he who receives a woman in that nature ſhall be baſtinadoed. One of theſe Negroes that had taken his couſin to wife, was once brought before me. This perſon was of the better ſort; but I thought the greater his quality was, the greater would be the ſcandal if I ſhould let him go unpuniſhed; and therefore having firſt uſed admonitions to him, and finding them fruitleſs, I proceeded to menaces; but all the effect they had was, that inſtead of quitting her, he made a new preſent to her father, and thereby inſinuated that he had fulfilled the law. Hereupon I cauſed him to be again apprehended, together with his ſpouſe; and having made a ſhort ſermon to them both, and the reſt of the people, to ſhew the heinouſneſs of this crime, upon their further obſtinacy, I delivered them up to the people to be dealt with as they thought fit; who, taking them

into their cuſtody, before they parted with them, ſeverely ſcourged them both, and moreover deprived the man of a certain office he held, which brought him in great profit.

I ſaid before, that women would have experience of their huſbands before they married them, in like manner as the men were to have of them; and in this particular I can aver, that they are commonly much more obſtinate or fickle than men, for I have known many of theſe laſt, that were willing to be married, and the women always hung back, and either fled away or made excuſes.

Amongſt the many caſes of this nature that happened to me in my miſſion, I ſhall relate only one more. Being called to confeſs a ſick woman that had a daughter who lived with a man upon trial; before I confeſſed her, I told her "That I could not make her partaker of the benefit of abſolution, unleſs ſhe withdrew her daughter from the ſtate of ſin ſhe lived in, and obliged her to marry:" to which the ſick woman readily anſwered, "Father, I will never conſent that my daughter ſhall have occaſion from me to curſe me after I am dead, for obliging her to marry where ſhe does not fancy." Then I replied, "What, do you ſtand more in awe of a temporal than an eternal curſe?" And at the ſame time calling the daughter to me, I demanded of her, "If ſhe would be willing that her mother ſhould go to hell upon her account?" The wretch hearing this, began immediately to tremble and weep, and calling her feigned huſband to her, ſwore before me, that ſhe would be ſure to marry him the firſt holiday that came; and accordingly ſhe did; for ſoon after going a fiſhing with her huſband, they happened to have good luck, and therewith they ſolemnized their nuptials. Hereupon I preſently confeſſed the ſick mother, and ſhe not long after died in peace. Notwithſtanding this, ſome obſtinate mothers have rather choſen to die unconfeſſed, than to concern themſelves with the marriage of their daughters.

The economy obſerved between huſband and wife is as follows:—The man is obliged to procure a habitation, to clothe his wife according to her condition, to prune the trees, to grub up roots from the fields where there is occaſion, and alſo to carry home the palm-wine to their houſe as often as it riſes. The woman on her part is to find meat for her huſband and children, and therefore only they have the care of marketing. As ſoon as rain comes, ſhe goes into the fields, and works till noon, at which time ſhe is to return home to get her huſband's dinner. Being got ready, ſhe ſets it down before him, who ſits only at table, and who, after he has ſatisfied himſelf, gives the reſt to her, and ſhe forthwith divides it between herſelf and children. I ſhould have told you alſo, that the wives here wait on their huſbands at table.

Another abuſe is, that when the women are with child, they clothe themſelves from the loins to the knees, after the country-faſhion, with a ſort of rind taken off a tree, which is like a coarſe cloth, and ſo neatly interwove, that it rather ſeems the work of the loom, than the product of the earth. This tree is called Mirrone, the wood whereof is very hard, the leaves like thoſe of the orange-tree, and every bough ſends down abundance of roots to the ground. It is generally planted near the houſes, as if it were the tutelar god of the dwelling, the Gentiles adoring it as one of their idols; and in ſome places they leave calabaſhes full of wine of the palm-tree at the foot of them, for them to drink when they are thirſty; nor do they dare tread upon its leaves, any more than we would on the holy croſs. But if they perceive any branch broke, they no longer worſhip it, but preſently take off the bark, or rind, whereof the women with child make thoſe garments, receiving them at the hands of the wizards, who tell them they eaſe the burden of the great belly, and cauſe them to be eaſily delivered. It is not to be imagined how careful the women are of this tree, believing it delivers them from

from all the dangers that attend child-bearing. Nevertheleſs, underſtanding there was one in the liberty of our miſſion, I went, well attended, and cut it down. The woman it belonged to aſked why it was cut down; I told her I wanted it to cut into planks; and ſhe went into her houſe without ſpeaking one word more.

The fourth abuſe is, that whilſt their children are young, theſe people bind them about with certain ſuperſtitious cords made by the wizards; who likewiſe teach them to utter a kind of ſpell while they are binding them. They alſo at the ſame time hang about them bones and teeth of divers animals, being preſervatives, as they ſay, againſt the power of any diſeaſe. Likewiſe there are ſome mothers ſo fooliſh, that they will hang Agnus-Deis, medals, and relicks to the aforeſaid cords. When theſe women bring their children to be chriſtened, if we find any of theſe cords about them, we preſently order them to be ſtopped in their proceedings, and inſtead thereof to receive ſeveral ſcourges on their knees, till ſuch time as they recant their error. I will relate only one of the ſeveral caſes of this nature that happened to me. A woman came to me to have her ſon baptized, and who at the ſame time had the magic cord about his waſte: I immediately ordered the mother to be whipped; but ſcarce had ſhe received one ſtroke before ſhe fell down on her knees, and in great conſternation directed herſelf to me after this manner: "Father, pardon me, I beſeech you, for the love of God, becauſe that my child, having had four of theſe cords on, I took off three while we were upon the road, and the fourth I deſigned to take away as ſoon as I had opportunity, but forgot it." This cauſed great laughter in the ſtanders-by, but in me it raiſed an effect of pity of the ſimplicity of the woman, inſomuch that giving her only a ſmart reproof, I ſent her away unpuniſhed.

The fifth is, that being to wean any one of their children, the father and mother together lay him on the ground; and whilſt they do that, which modeſty will not permit me to name, the father lifts him by the arm, and ſo holds him for ſome time hanging in the air, falſely believing that by thoſe means he will become more ſtrong and robuſt. This ceremony they call the lifting of a child, and is in my opinion the moſt impudent and ſuperſtitious that could be imagined. Theſe people moreover keep their young children always naked upon the ground, to the end they may thereby grow hardy and active; and ſcarce are they able to walk alone, but they tie a bell about them, to give notice where they are to be found when they have ſtrayed.

A ſixth abuſe is, that the mothers are accuſtomed to preſent their infants to the wizards as ſoon as born, that they may foretel what good or evil fortune is likely to befal them: for this purpoſe the falſe prophet takes the child in his arms, and turning and winding it about, makes his pretended obſervations upon the muſcles and other parts of its body, and afterwards tells the parents what he thinks fit. The ſame obſervations are made upon ſick perſons, to know what has been the occaſion of their diſeaſes: if they happen to gueſs wrong, and the patient comes to die, they never want for excuſes to clear themſelves.

Seventhly, it is a cuſtom that either the parents or the wizards give certain rules to be inviolably obſerved by the young people, and which they call Chegilla: theſe are to abſtain from eating either ſome ſorts of poultry, the fleſh of ſome kinds of wild beaſts, ſuch and ſuch fruits, roots either raw or boiled after this or another manner, with ſeveral other ridiculous injunctions of the like nature, too many to be enumerated here. You would wonder with what religious obſervance theſe commands are obeyed. Theſe young people would ſooner chuſe to faſt ſeveral days together, than to taſte the leaſt bit of what has been forbidden them; and if it ſometimes happen that the Chegilla has been neglected to have been given them by their parents, they think they ſhall preſently die

die unleſs they go immediately to receive it from the wizards. A certain young negro being upon a journey, lodged in a friend's houſe by the way: his friend, before he went out the next morning, had got a wild hen ready for his breakfaſt, they being much better than the tame ones. The Negro hereupon demanded, "If it were a wild hen?" His hoſt anſwered, "No:" then he fell on heartily, and afterwards proceeded on his journey. About four years after theſe two met together again, and the aforeſaid Negro being not yet married, his old friend aſked him, "If he would eat a wild hen?" To which he anſwered, "That he had received the Chegilla, and therefore could not." Hereat the hoſt began immediately to laugh, enquiring of him, "What made him refuſe it now, when he had eaten one at his table about four years ago?" At the hearing of this the Negro immediately fell a trembling, and ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far poſſeſſed with the effects of imagination, that he died in leſs than twenty-four hours after.

Eighthly; the maids have a cuſtom, that in what place ſoever they firſt have their courſes come upon them, they muſt continue, though without doors, till one of their kindred comes to carry them into the houſe; then they have two maids and a ſeparate apartment aſſigned them, where they muſt keep locked up for two or three months together, and obſerve certain ſuperſtitious ceremonies, ſuch as, not to ſpeak to any man, to waſh ſo many times a day, to anoint themſelves with Taculla, which is the duſt of a red wood tempered with water, and the like. If they ſhould not do this, they are of opinion that they ſhould never be fit for procreation, though experience ſhews them the contrary. This ſuperſtition is by them called the Caſket of Water or Fire.

On the feaſt of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, I had a mind to preach a ſermon againſt theſe practices; and the better to move the people, I had before placed the image, in relievo, of this bleſſed ſaint, covered, on the altar, with a dagger ſtruck through her breaſt, and which the blood followed: this done, I began to diſcourſe againſt thoſe women that obſerved the helliſh deluſions before-mentioned, proving that they thereby not only offended their loving Saviour, but likewiſe did great injury to his immaculate mother. At the ſame inſtant I drew aſide the curtain and diſcovered the image, which the people perceiving ſo wounded and bloody, began immediately to relent, and broke out into the extremeſt grief. Among the many preſent, there was one father of a family that had a daughter then ſhut up upon the foregoing account; who returning home in a great paſſion, fell upon both wife and daughter, and banged them to that degree, that they were glad to come immediately to our church to be confeſſed.

The ninth and laſt abuſe is, that all the fields of this country being without fences, their owners, to preſerve their corn, plant about them ſeveral rows of ſtakes, which being bound round with bundles of herbs by the wizards, they tell you will kill any ſuch as ſhall offer either to rob or do them damage.

To remedy as much as poſſible all theſe diſorders, which for the moſt part are practiſed either by women or men of no conſideration, we have thought proper to iſſue forth the following ordinances:

Firſt, That all the Manis or governors either of provinces or cities, who are not lawfully married, ſhall be forthwith deprived of their governments, to the end that they may not by their ill examples withhold the common people from their duty. To get this the better obſerved, we drew on our ſide all the principal courtiers, whom we perſuaded to marry their wives without deſiring to have any foregoing experience of them. This pious endeavour of ours, through the grace of God, ſucceeded ſo well, that all that embraced it were eſteemed; and ſuch as oppoſed it either deſpiſed or puniſhed.

Secondly,

Secondly, That all the women which were great with child ſhould be confeſſed, and communicate oftener than they were wont to do, and eſpecially ſuch as were near their time; both whom we likewiſe enjoined to wear religious relicks inſtead of the wizards' mats.

Thirdly, That all mothers ſhould make the cords they bound their infants with of palm-leaves that had been conſecrated on Palm Sunday, and moreover guard them well with other ſuch relicks as we are accuſtomed to make uſe of at the time of baptiſm.

Fourthly, That all fathers and mothers ſhould at certain times offer up their children to God, and that in the church before ſome image of Our Saviour.

Fifthly, That all mothers after the birth of their firſt born ſhould carry it to the church, and perform the ceremony, which is called entering into the holy place; and if it be ſick, we ordered its mother to recommend it to the Lord, together with ſome ſort of vow.

Sixthly, That the parents ſhould enjoin their children to obſerve ſome particular devotion, ſuch as to repeat, ſo many times a day, the Roſary or the Crown in honour of the Bleſſed Virgin, to faſt on Saturdays, to eat no fleſh on Wedneſdays, and ſuch things uſed among Chriſtians.

Seventhly, Thoſe women that ſhould be found ſhut up for the future on account of their conception were to be ſcourged, and which was forthwith executed by order from the count: but if through neceſſity they were obliged to keep up, then they were enjoined only to repeat the Roſary on common days, and to hear maſs on all feaſt-days.

Eightly and laſtly, Whipping was likewiſe impoſed on all ſuch as ſhould rob, or otherwiſe do damage in any field; and that inſtead of the magic guard their owners had planted to preſerve their corn, and to render it fertile, they ſhould make uſe of conſecrated palm-branches, and here and there ſet the ſign of the croſs. And further, to the end that all theſe preſervatives ſhould be left ſtanding at the time of reaping the corn, we ſent always a good company of our ſcholars at that ſeaſon with a ſtandard, to run over the fields, and ſee that all was in order; and alſo to back their authority, we procured ſeveral of the count's ſons and relations to accompany them, who might warrant the pulling down any ſpells or inchantments which they ſhould meet with in their way.

Being thus got into the ſpacious fields of Sogno, let us take a view by-the-bye of the ſituations, poſſeſſions, habitations, and manner of living, and clothing of thoſe Ethiopians. The earldom of Sogno is abſolute, except only its being tributary to the kingdom of Congo. It is a peninſula, bordering on the eaſt upon Bamba, a duchy belonging to Congo, and divided from it by the river Ambriſe: on the weſt and ſouth it has the ocean, and on the north it is bounded by the river Zaire, which divides the Chriſtians from the Pagans of the kingdom of Angoii, and is ſeated in the torrid zone, being only ſix degrees diſtant from the equinoctial line. It has ſeveral iſlands in the Zaire, which are all inhabited by Chriſtians. The election of the count is performed by nine electors, who for the moſt part chuſe a new one before the old one deceaſed is buried. During the interim of the *ſede vacante* (vacancy of the throne) a child governs, who is obeyed by all as if he were their real prince. As ſoon as the election is made, we miſſioners are acquainted with it by order, to the end that if we approve of it, we may publiſh it in the church, otherwiſe the election goes for nothing.

The count being dead, the counteſs-dowager (like the Queen-dowager of Congo) returns with her children to her firſt habitation, where ſhe is to exerciſe no dominion, but becomes a private woman, only retaining a privilege to take place next to the

counteſs-regent. Sometimes it happens that there are three or four of the counteſs-dowagers living at a time, and that becauſe the women in this country are much longer lived than the men, as alſo that it is lawful for nobody to marry theſe counteſſes except the ſucceſſor only.

Their duty is to obſerve continence ſtrictly in their widowed ſtate; for if any of them ſhould be proved guilty of unchaſtity, they muſt either undergo death by fire or the ſword. If either the ſon, or any other perſon of the blood has a mind to ſucceed his relation even in the life-time of the dying prince, there commonly ariſe great troubles to the ſtate; for they generally by factions get poſſeſſion of the throne, and exclude the electors from doing their duty. It is therefore that the death of all counts is always concealed as much as poſſible, inſomuch that ſometimes the bleſſed ſacrament has been forborn to be given them, for fear of diſcovering the occaſion by the prieſts going to court.

It once happened that I was called to court to comfort the indiſpoſed count, but the meſſenger it ſeems had a particular order to conduct me by the moſt unfrequented road. I went, and being come into the count's preſence, after having received me with all the civility imaginable, he demanded of the courtier what people he had met by the way: he anſwered, only three or four, and named them. After which, without any reply to him, he addreſſed himſelf to me, and diſcourſed of many things relating to my miſſion. I knew ſuch diſcourſe could not be the cauſe of his ſending for me, and therefore after ſome time intreated His Highneſs to diſcover to me the occaſion of it: he anſwered, "The occaſion of my ſending for you, Father, was only to ſee you, and to delight myſelf with your converſation." But as I was afterwards informed by a perſon about him, his reaſon was to have ſome remedy from me for his indiſpoſition; yet although I had been above an hour with him, he had not the courage to open his mind to me, fearing leſt even I ſhould diſcover his illneſs to be greater than it really was, and therefore the better to keep me in ignorance, he immediately cauſed himſelf to be lifted out of the bed. My companion ſoon after returning from his miſſion in the neighbouring parts, found ſeveral dead bodies in the road, which we diſcovering to the count, fearing it was by his order they had been murdered, he frankly owned that they had been ſacrificed to the intereſt of the ſtate. We told him our ſenſe of ſuch practices, and withal enjoined him a ſevere penance for the fact.

The ſons of the deceaſed count remain likewiſe no more than private gentlemen after his death; and if their father in his life-time has a mind to buy them any eſtates, he muſt publiſh throughout his whole dominions, that he has done it with his own money, legally ariſing from his own rents, otherwiſe his children would run a riſk to be deprived of their poſſeſſions, as, for want of ſuch a proclamation, it has often happened they have been. The counts have another way to leave livelihoods to their children or friends, and that is by grubbing up woods belonging to his crown, and thereby reducing them to arable lands, which he is at liberty to grant as he thinks fit. This way we have likewiſe made uſe of to ſubſiſt any ſlave baptized into our church, and for whom we have begged ſome of this land for him to cultivate to his own profit.

The count's dominions are very large, and in which are many cities called Banza, one of the principal of which is Chiova, but the greateſt of all is the Banza of Sogno, where the count reſides. This Banza is always governed by one of the count's near relations or friends, and who has only the name of governor, the reſt having only the title of Mani. There are likewiſe ſeveral territories and towns ſubject to theſe cities, which are termed by the natives Libattas.

Every

Every governor or Mani on the feaſt-day of St. James is obliged to appear with all his people at the Banza of Sogno, to aſſiſt at the firſt maſs ſaid there. If any one be any ways hindered from coming, he muſt ſend a deputy in his room, which if he neglects to do, he will both loſe his employment, and pay a fine beſides.

On the ſame day every one is to pay allegiance to the Prince after the following manner:—In the great market-place near our convent a throne is erected for the count, who in the preſence of all the people comes to receive benediction from the miſſioner, who attends for that purpoſe in the church-porch: he afterwards exerciſes two feats of arms. In the firſt, after the cuſtom of the country, having on his head a crown of flowing feathers, he makes uſe of a bow and arrows: in the other, being adorned with a hat with plumes of feathers on it, a chain and croſs of gold about his neck, to which is fixed a long rope of coral which hangs down to his knees, together with a ſhort ſcarlet cloak, all embroidered, on his ſhoulders, with two open places to put out his arms on each ſide, and ſeveral other fine things, he exerciſes with the fuzee. In both theſe he is at the ſame time imitated by the people, who herein uſe the ſame geſtures and motions they would do in caſe they were either to attack or defend themſelves againſt their enemy. As ſoon as the count has ended his exerciſe he goes to ſit upon his throne, which is prepared for him under a great tree that ſtands on the ſouth-ſide of the market-place before-mentioned. After him the captain-general, having received the like benediction with his maſter, performs the ſame thing that he had done before him, and wherein he is alſo followed by all the people, with divers ways of attacking, retreating, and other ſtratagems of war, called by the nations Saſchelari. As ſoon as he has done, he places himſelf on a high ſeat covered with leather, built up for him on the eaſt-ſide of our church: this he does, that he may both the better be ſeen, and obſerve the military exerciſes performed ſucceſſively by the electors and the Mani, each being as a captain at the head of his company, and who every one carry a ſpecimen of that which they are obliged to offer every year to the count for the ſubſiſtence of himſelf and court. For example; if they are to give fiſh, they carry a couple of fiſh tied together on the head of a ſpear: if oil, then they ſhew the palm-fruit that produces it: if fleſh, they carry a horn of ſome beaſt; and ſometimes I have ſeen a man wrapped about in a cow's ſkin to demonſtrate that duty. At the ſame time the Manis diſpoſe of the Syndicſhip to him that is moſt worthy, and remove ſuch as have ill executed their offices from their employments. The great number of people met together from all parts to aſſiſt at this ceremony, occaſions us alſo a great deal to do during the ſpace of fifteen days: for ſome apply themſelves to us to be married, others to confeſs themſelves, and ſome to baptize their infants. I think of theſe laſt, for my ſhare, I baptized about two hundred and ſeventy-two in one day. All the aforeſaid ceremonies being at an end, the people return home each to their own country, but not without craving a bleſſing from father-miſſioner.

This ceremony is begun on St. James's day, by reaſon that apoſtle is looked upon as the patron and protector of all theſe parts, and that for having given a famous victory to the King of Congo againſt the idolaters on his day. The manner according to the common report was this:—

Giovi, the firſt Chriſtian King of Congo, being dead, Don Alphonſo his ſon, no leſs heir to his virtuous actions than crown, ſucceeded him. Panſanguitima his brother thinking his title not good, becauſe he had changed his religion for the Chriſtian faith, in a ſhort time rebelled, and having no better warrant than his ſword, moved againſt him with a numerous army of idolaters. Don Alphonſo, not a little ſurpriſed at this attempt, marched out to meet him with a ſmall number, truſting to the merits of his

cauſe, and the aſſiſtance of our Saviour: they ſoon came to a battle, and though the idolaters were very numerous, yet were they immediately routed, and Panſanguitima himſelf wounded. After the battle this prince fled to a certain retired place in the mountains, where being met with by ſome Blacks that were Chriſtians, they ſeized upon and took him priſoner, and afterwards brought him bound before the King his brother: the King ſeeing him in that condition, embraced him with all the bowels of a loving brother, and being extremely concerned to find him ſo deſperately wounded both in ſoul and body, made it his utmoſt endeavours to get him healed of both. But no Chriſtian charity was able to prevail upon the ſtubborn and obſtinate Pagan Panſanguitima, who giving himſelf up altogether to deſpair, would ſuffer neither remedy nor comfort, and ſo in a ſhort time died. It did not ſo happen to his lieutenant-general, for he having heard the dreadful ſentence of death pronounced againſt him in caſe he did not turn Chriſtian, choſe rather to be baptized than to die a martyr to his former opinion. Hereupon the King immediately cauſed his bonds to be looſed, and ſet him free, only enjoining him this penance, "That for a certain time he ſhould be obliged to bring water for all ſuch as were to be baptized." Now upon report that St. James was viſibly ſeen aſſiſting at this battle, he has ever ſince been received for the patron of Congo and Angola, and ſome other neighbouring nations.

The office of the Mani is to receive the King's revenue, and to employ huſbandmen to manure the crown-lands when the rains have rendered them fit to till. At the time of reaping, theſe officers reſerve a certain part of the corn for themſelves, being their due, and a perquiſite annexed to their employ. As for the adminiſtration of juſtice, whether civil or criminal, it all belongs to them, except in ſome particular caſes, reſerved to be determined either by the Prince or his delegates. The parties in law having joined iſſue to come to a trial, the plaintiff firſt urges his reaſons on his knees before the judge, who ſits on a carpet with a little ſtaff of authority in his hand, and under the canopy of a ſhady tree, ſuch as are wont to grow in the great men's court-yards here. Sometimes the judge hears cauſes in a great ſtraw-hut built for that purpoſe. When he has gravely given ear to all the proofs the plaintiff can bring, he proceeds in like manner to hear the defendant: after which he calls for the witneſſes, and if they do not attend, the cauſe muſt be put off to another day: if the witneſſes appear and give their teſtimony, the judge after having ſeriouſly weighed and conſidered the proofs and allegations of both parties, proceeds to pronounce ſentence according to the dictates of nature and reaſon, and not through any knowledge of any kind of laws. He that has judgment pronounced in his favour, after having paid ſo much to the judge's box, extends himſelf all along with his face to the ground, being a poſture whereby to demonſtrate his gratitude. When all is over, and the plaintiff about to return home, his friends and relations begin to ſet up their throats, repeating all the way to his houſe the conqueror's cauſe, and the judgment pronounced in his favour. Being got home, he is obliged to treat thoſe that had accompanied him, and ſometimes ſcarce a night and a day are ſufficient to bound their merriment: if the caſe be conſiderable, they commonly feaſt for three or four nights together with no ſmall charge to him that invites. All this while the unfortunate perſon having had the cauſe gone againſt him, remains ſilent and quiet, returning to his habitation without the leaſt murmur or ill will.

There are other ſorts of feaſts which are wont to be kept by the Blacks, ſuch as upon the birth-days of their patrons, their aſſumption to any dignity, or the like: it is then that every one endeavours to make his lord a preſent ſuitable to his capacity, and moreover aſſiſts at the common ſolemnity beſides.

Having

Having thus given a ſhort ſketch of ſome feaſts in uſe among theſe new Chriſtians, I will likewiſe take a little notice of one of the Pagans of theſe parts, and that eſpecially upon the birth-day of the Caſſangi, the moſt potent emperor of the Giaghi, with ſome other particulars relating to his dominions. What I am about to tell you was communicated to me by Father John Baptiſt de Saleſano, a friar of our order, who accidentally happened to be in this country on the day this feaſt was ſolemnized. The dominions of Caſſangi are very conſiderable, not ſo much for their bordering upon the kingdom of Matamba, as becauſe of their continued enmity with the Queen of Singa, a friend to the Portugueſe. This queen has formerly been very ſerviceable to the Whites, but now they generally make uſe of the aſſiſtance of another prince of the Giaghi, called Calangola, as has been obſerved before. But to ſpeak of the feaſt made by the Caſſangi: his ſubjects being ſummoned together, appear in a vaſt body in ſome ſpacious plain. After they are thus met, they gather themſelves into a ring, leaving a large void in the middle, where there are ſeveral trees: on the top of one of which they erect a ſort of ſcaffold capable to contain the Caſſangi, with the chiefeſt of his lords: afterwards, at a convenient diſtance, they chain down to the trunk of a tree one of the fierceſt lions they can meet with. When all this is done, and the emperor with his court placed as aforeſaid, the people begin to ſet up a huge noiſe, which, joined with the untunable diſcord of a great number of odd muſical inſtruments, compoſes a helliſh harmony. After this a ſudden ſign is given for all to be huſh and ſilent, and then the lion is immediately looſed, though with the loſs of his tail, which is at the ſame time whipped off to make him the more furious. At his firſt looſing he commonly ſtares about, and ſeeing himſelf at liberty, though not altogether free, by reaſon of the multitudes that ſurround him, he immediately ſets up a hideous roar, and afterwards, being greedy of revenge, ruſhes upon ſome part or other of the company, where tearing one, and rending another, he makes a fearful havock among them: all this while the people run round him unarmed, being reſolved either to kill him with their bare hands, or to periſh. At laſt the wild beaſt, having been the death of a great number of his aſſailants, is nevertheleſs forced to yield to the preſſing crouds that gather on all ſides about him; when the lion is killed, they all greedily devour the dead bodies; after which their muſic begins again, and ſo they return ſinging and dancing, and crying aloud, "Long live our Caſſangi, Long live our Caſſangi," to their emperor's palace, where being afterwards treated by him, they at length return with great joy to their own homes.

Now let us leave the Giaghi, and return to ſpeak farther of Songo. To maintain this country in its due obedience to the Chriſtian faith, no ſmall number of prieſts is neceſſary. In former times there have been a father-ſuperior, and ſix miſſioners all at once. In my time there was only I and one companion: the means we made uſe of to make theſe people live well has been hinted at before; what remains is to inform you, that as ſoon as any miſſioner is arrived in any city, the Mani, or governor thereof, at night, when all the inhabitants are retired to their houſes, publiſhes a proclamation to acquaint the people, "That a miſſioner is come thither, and that they muſt all appear before him to have their ſpiritual neceſſities relieved, and continue ſo long with him as ſuch a buſineſs will require." If the Mani himſelf appear negligent in this, or occaſion any manner of diſturbance, he will receive a deſerved puniſhment, for we make it our buſineſs to get ſuch a perſon removed from his employment, even within his year.

At my firſt going out on my miſſion, I found, near a city called Tubii, a place where the wizards practiſed their ſorceries. No doubt Providence directed me to diſcover

this helliſh trade, for whilſt I was walking along, I ſaw a large white bird flying before me, ſuch as I had never ſeen before in theſe parts; my curioſity led me to have a nearer view of it, and in order thereto I followed it into a thick and ſhady grove ſomewhat dark, at the end whereof I obſerved a large heap of earth in form like a tomb, with a great number of arches and calabaſhes at the top, and at both ends. Being pretty well aſſured what this was, I preſently ſent for the Mani, who came trembling to me, and proteſted he knew nothing of the matter; I commanded him to inform himſelf then, and to get me the wizard ſpeeedily ſeized: he ſaid he would, but I not caring to truſt his diligence, returned the next night to the ſame place, expecting to have found the wizard there; but he it ſeems having been acquainted with my proceedings, took care to diſappoint me by running away, as they all do as ſoon as they hear we make any ſearch after them. Then I ordered the Mani, that within ten days time he ſhould grub up and level all that place, which he nevertheleſs diſobeyed me in; whereupon I cauſed him to be ſummoned before the count in our convent, where after a ſevere reprimand I commanded him to diſcipline (ſcourge) himſelf in the middle of our church during the whole time that I was celebrating of maſs, adding withal ſeveral other puniſhments in caſe he did not level the ſaid grove at his return home.

The churches for the moſt part are built here with boards, and ours, as exceeding the reſt, was capable of holding five hundred perſons. In the Banza of Sogno there were five other churches, in one of which the counts were always buried, and another was the chapel-royal. The houſes are generally thatched, and the four ſides of them are fenced with palm-branches, or leaves interwoven not contemptibly with each other: the floors are of loam well beat and hardened, and the roofs and ceilings made of thoſe ruſhes we are uſed to bottom chairs withal. The lord's houſe is of a quadrangular form likewiſe, and built with boards, but the front is always painted with a ſort of colour that iſſues out of the planed wood: the like any of the gentry may have, if they can obtain leave from their lords. Within, theſe houſes are hung with a ſort of oſier mats variouſly coloured, but we Capuchins are wont to have ours done with ruſhes, as more warm in winter.

The count's habit differs according to the ſeveral feaſts, and ſometimes on other occaſions: his ordinary wear is a veſt of ſtraw-cloth girt cloſe about him, but of ſuch workmanſhip as may be only worn by him, or by thoſe that he thinks fit to honour with that privilege. This veſt hangs down to the ground, as does likewiſe a long bays cloak he wears over it on his bare back. On feaſt days he changes this cloak for a ſhort ſcarlet one fringed all round with the ſame cloth pinked. On the moſt ſolemn days he puts on a ſhirt of the fineſt linen, as likewiſe yellow or crimſon ſilk ſtockings, and a cloak of flowered ſilk, which bears the name of the ſpring. When he comes to communicate with us at the altar, he has a cloak all white, and which trails along upon the pavement as he walks. When the count comes to church, which is at leaſt three times a week, he has a velvet chair and cuſhion carried before him, being brought himſelf in a net on the ſhoulders of two men, each with a commander's ſtaff in his hand, one all ſilver, and the other only of ebony tipped: the hat the count then wears is covered firſt with taffety, and next with a ſort of very fine feathers: on his head he generally wears likewiſe a little ſilk ſtitched cap, which can be worn only by him and ſome few others. Before him marches one muſician above the reſt, who has ſeveral little round bells fixed to an iron two ſpans long, wherewith he gingles, and chants to it the glory and grandeur of his lord: beſides this there are ſeveral other ſorts of muſical inſtruments made uſe of at feſtivals, the principal whereof are thoſe which in the country-language have the name of Embuchi, which I mention firſt becauſe they belong only to kings, princes, and others

of the blood royal. Theſe are a ſort of trumpets made of the fineſt ivory, being hollowed throughout in divers pieces, and are in all about as long as a man's arm; the lower mouth is ſufficient to receive one hand, which by contracting and dilating of the fingers forms the ſound; there being no other holes in the body as in our flutes or hautboys. A concert of theſe is generally ſix or four to one pipe. The Longa (which is made of two iron bells joined by a piece of wire archwiſe) is ſounded by ſtriking it with a little ſtick: both theſe are carried alſo before princes, and that eſpecially when they publiſh their pleaſure to the people, being uſed as the trumpet is with us. The inſtrument moſt in requeſt uſed by the Abundi, being the people of the kingdom of Angola, Matamba, and others, is the Marimba; it conſiſts of ſixteen calabaſhes orderly placed along the middle between two ſide-boards joined together, or a long frame, hanging about a man's neck with a thong. Over the mouths of the calabaſhes there are thin ſounding ſlips of red wood called Tanilla, a little above a ſpan long, which being beaten with two little ſticks, returns a ſound from the calabaſhes of ſeveral ſizes not unlike an organ. To make a concert, four other inſtruments are played upon by as many muſicians, and if they will have ſix they add the Caſſuto, which is a hollow piece of wood of a lofty tone about a yard long, covered with a board cut like a ladder, or with croſs ſlits at ſmall diſtances: and running a ſtick along, it makes a ſound within, which paſſes for a tenor: the baſe to this concert is the Quilando, made of a very large calabaſh, two ſpans and a half or three in length, very large at one end, and ending ſharp off at the other, like a taper bottle, and is beaten to anſwer the Caſſuto, having cuts all along like it. This harmony is grateful at a diſtance, but harſh and ungrateful near at hand, the beating of ſo many ſticks cauſing a great confuſion.

Another inſtrument of this concert is that which the natives call Nſambi, and which is like a little guittar, but without a head, inſtead whereof there are five little bows of iron, which, when the inſtrument is to be tuned, are to be let more or leſs into the body of it. The ſtrings of this inſtrument are made of the thread of palm-trees: it is played on with the thumbs of each hand, the inſtrument bearing directly upon the performer's breaſt. Though the muſic of this inſtrument be very low, it is nevertheleſs not ungrateful.

Over and above the great drums uſed in the army, there is another ſort of a leſſer ſize, called Ncamba; theſe are made either of the fruit of the tree called Aliconda, or elſe of hollowed wood with a ſkin over one end only: they are commonly made uſe of at unlawful feaſts and merry-makings, and are beaten upon with the hands, which nevertheleſs makes a noiſe to be heard at a great diſtance. When the miſſioners hear any of theſe at night, they immediately run to the place in order to diſturb the wicked paſtime. It fell often to my lot to interrupt theſe helliſh practices, but the people always ran away as ſoon as ever I came up to them, ſo that I could never lay hold on any to make an example of them. The Giaghi not only make uſe of theſe drums at feaſts, but likewiſe at the infernal ſacrifices of man's fleſh to the memory of their relations and anceſtors, as alſo at the time when they invoke the devil for their oracle.

But to return to the count's habit. From his neck to his knees there commonly hang ſeveral ſtrings of purple coral, together with a large chain of the fineſt gold, having a maſſy croſs juſt before his breaſt to demonſtrate his being a Chriſtian: on his wriſts he generally wears bracelets of high-prized corals, and on all ſolemn days chains of gold of the fineſt workmanſhip: his fingers are almoſt always covered with rings: he generally goes in ſlippers inſtead of ſhoes. There are commonly carried before him two umbrellas of peacock's feathers, and two others of ſtraw, both being fixed to the tops of long poles: he has likewiſe two horſes tails along with him, wherewith to drive away

away the flies, although ſeldom any come near him. Thoſe of his followers who are employed in theſe offices, are commonly his greateſt favourites or relations. While maſs is ſaying, at the reading of the goſpel he has a lighted torch preſented to him, which having religiouſly received, he gives to one of his pages to hold till the conſummation be over, and when the goſpel is done, he has the maſs-book given him to kiſs. On feſtival-days he is twice incenſed with the cenſer, and at the end of the maſs he is to go to the altar to receive benediction from the prieſt, who laying his hands upon his head while he is kneeling, pronounces ſome pious and devout ejaculations. Whilſt the prieſt that officiates goes out to put off his veſtments, the count in like manner retires to his private oriſons: afterwards he enters into the veſtry to pay his reſpects to the miſſioner, who receiving him courteouſly, accompanies him back as far as the door of the church. As ſoon as he is come out, he falls on his knees again, and the people all ſtanding round about him give themſelves ſeveral cuffs on the ear as a token of their fidelity, according to the cuſtom of their country, and he makes them a ſign with his fingers to ſignify his ſatisfaction. At his coming out of the church on the principal feaſt-days, he commonly practiſes ſome warlike exerciſe; and on thoſe of leſs conſideration either the captain-general performs that part for him, or elſe his courtiers entertain themſelves with dancing to the aforeſaid muſical inſtruments. On all the moſt ſolemn feaſts maſs is ſung by us and our interpreters to the glory and honour of God, after which the count's guards which he brings along with him give a volley of muſquet-ſhot, with drums beating, and other muſic.

The captain-general and the governors, or Manis, have all their places ſeverally aſſigned them in the church to prevent any diſputes: the noblemen have carpets allowed them to kneel on, but no cuſhions, that honour being wholly reſerved for the counteſs to ſit on. The habits of the nobility and gentry are as follow:—The gentry have a kind of ſtraw-garment on their ſhoulders, which reaches down to their waſtes, curiouſly wrought, with their arms coming out at two ſlits, and ends in two taſſels which hang down on their right ſide. About their waſtes they have a cloth girt, which on one ſide hangs down to the ground: on their heads, thoſe alone who have that honour allowed them, wear a wrought ſilk cap neatly quilted. The noble women have a ſort of ſtraw-petticoat called Modello, which reaches to their middle: from the waiſt upwards to their breaſts they have a piece of cloth which they bring twice about them, and that which goes about a ſecond time they wrap about their head like a veil in the church. Both men and women generally appear with long pipes in their mouths ſmoking. The vulgar of both ſexes have only a cloth about their loins, which reaches no farther than their knees. In the inland parts it ſuffices that they cover only what modeſty requires ſhould be hid. Within doors they generally go ſtark naked, being accuſtomed ſo to do in regard to the exceſſive heat that torments them for nine months together, not enjoying the leaſt freſco, only during the months of June, July and Auguſt.

The manner of their cultivating the earth in this country is ſuch, that they make uſe neither of the plough nor ſpade. When the clouds begin to afford the leaſt moiſture, they are accuſtomed to prepare for the rain by gathering up the ſcorched herbs and roots into heaps, and afterwards ſetting them on fire upon the land: then as ſoon as the firſt ſhower is fallen, they proceed to turn up the ground with a ſlight hoe, called by them Lzegú, which is fixed to a handle about two ſpans long: with this they cut into the earth with one hand, and with the other ſcatter the ſeed, which they have always ready in a bag by their ſides. Now the buſineſs of manuring the ground belonging ſolely to the women in this country, they are almoſt forced to carry their children upon their backs in ſwathing-rolls, thereby to prevent their being either infeſted with,

or devoured by the great number of infects that come out of the earth upon this occaſion; for at home they do not care to leave them, out of an extraordinary love and fondneſs they have for them. The ſame they are wont to do when they carry any burden, for then they have a ſort of hammock which comes about one ſhoulder, wherein they ſecure their children from any danger either ſleeping or waking, their feet coming round their mother's waſte on either ſide.

Theſe people ſow in March, and, if the heavens prove favourable in affording them rain, they may gather in their harveſt in June. The ſeed they ſow is of various ſorts of pulſe, for the moſt part unknown to us; but thoſe we are acquainted with, are Indian wheat, and a kind of little kidney-beans, called Ncaſce.

Amongſt many others they eſteem, are the Mandois, which grow three or four together like vetches, but under-ground, and are about the bigneſs of an ordinary olive. From theſe milk is extracted, like to that drawn from almonds (in Italian Mandole), from whence, for aught I know, they had their name. There is another ſort of ground pulſe called Incumbe, which alſo grows under-ground, is like a muſquet-ball, and very wholeſome and well-taſted. Amongſt theſe, I and others have often found nutmegs, perhaps fallen from the trees, the uſe of which is altogether unknown to theſe people. There are ſome wild ones found, which they call Neubanzampuni.

They alſo have a ſort of roots called Bataras, which being roaſted, taſte much like cheſnuts. Their Mandioca is a root, which being bruiſed as ſmall as rice, is not made into bread, but is either eaten raw, or elſe ſoftened in broth. This plant caſts no ſeed, and, therefore, the way to propagate it, is by breaking off a branch and burying it in the ground, where it will ſoon ſpread and flouriſh.

This ſort of food is more uſed by the Portugueſe than Blacks, either becauſe they have a better way of planting theſe roots, or by reaſon that they will laſt ſeveral years. There is another ſort uſed inſtead of bread, made with ſodden roots, which is called Gnamn, and is very different from the foregoing, both in form and kind.

The Ouuanda, a ſort of pulſe not unlike rice, grows upon a ſhrub, and will laſt two or three years, and which, every ſix months, propagates itſelf in great abundance.

The pulſe Ncanza brought from Brazil, is exceedingly white, and holds great ſimilitude with the Indian beans, whence the Portugueſe give it the name of Brazil beans.

Cangula, another ſort of pulſe, is greatly eſteemed by the Blacks, but little valued by us Europeans. Mampunní, or maize, is much like Indian wheat.

Maſſa Mamballa ſhoots up in ſtalks about the height of our wheat; to which it is not unlike both in ears and whiteneſs: it yields a white flower, and is leſs offenſive to ſome ſtomachs than others.

The ſeed of the herb Maſſango greatly reſembles that of our hemp.

The plant Aſely runs up as high as a halbert; its ears not unlike our millet: it gives the gripes or cholic to thoſe that are not accuſtomed to eat of it.

The Luuo may be preſerved many years: its ear is triangular; its grain like unto that of millet: its colour red, and its ſubſtance no way prejudicial to health.

Of thoſe plants that grow but little above-ground, the moſt in eſteem is the Ananas; its leaves are like thoſe of aloes, and its fruit greatly reſembles pine-apples, and differs from them only in that theſe are yellow, and, when ripe, all pulp: on the top of this fruit there grows a tuft of leaves, which being taken off and planted, produces a new plant. When this fruit is ripe, it exceeds the melon in luſcioufneſs; but if you cut it green, it preſently dries up and conſumes.

Concerning fruit-trees, ſetting aſide the Niceſi, Bonane, and Mamai, which I have already deſcribed when I ſpoke of Brazil; here are not a few of other kinds, whereof the

the moſt valued is that which bears the name of the Count. The fruit of this tree is not unlike the giant-pear, and has but an ordinary out-ſide, though inwards it is as white as milk. Its ſeed is like to a bean, and its juice is ſo exceedingly pleaſant, that it is commonly given to ſick people to recover their taſtes. About the mountains of Congo I have ſeen ſeveral of theſe trees that grow wild. The Caſhiù fruit is much larger than an apple, and, when ripe, is plentifully beautified with yellow and crimſon. From its core it throws out another fruit of a duſky-colour, which, being roaſted in the fire, taſtes like a cheſnut; and is naturally hot, though the other be mild and refreſhing.

The Guaiavas are a fruit not unlike pears: they have ſhort ſtalks, are yellow without, and carnation within; and they would be more in requeſt were their ſeeds, which ſtick cloſe to the pulp, not quite ſo hard.

The Chichere are a ſort of plums like to thoſe the Italians call Caſcavelle, which being a little eager, are given to people in fevers.

The plant Colas affords various kinds of fruit; which being incloſed, as it were, in a crimſon purſe (its huſks), is much valued by the Portugueſe, inſomuch that whenever they meet any lady in the ſtreet whom they deſign to honour, they preſently offer her ſome of theſe fruit; they ſay that, chewing it, it makes water drink pleaſant.

Palm-trees here are of different kinds: thoſe eſteemed the moſt, are ſuch as produce both oil and wine. Theſe are to be ſeen thinly planted up and down in the fields. The oil they have is got from the fruit which grows in cluſters, but ſo cloſe, that they ſeem to be all one piece. Theſe cluſters are ſo large, that a very ſtrong man muſt not pretend to carry above one or two of them. In the language of the country they have the name of Chachij, and their ſeeds or ſtones, whereof they have a great number, are called Embe. From theſe, which are like a date, being pounded ſmall with hot water, they extract an oilineſs, which they make uſe of as we do of our oil.

At certain times of the year the natives aſcend theſe palm-trees, by help of a hoop, to tap the wine: the manner of doing which is thus; wherever they perceive any flower blown, they preſently whip it off with a knife, and thruſt the ſtalk into a very large calabaſh called Capaſſo, which they cover and faſten to the tree. When this is done they leave it, and in a ſhort time have their bottle full of liquor as white as whey. This they let ſtand to purge itſelf for about a day after they had taken it down, which it will always do to that degree, that its fermentation ſeems rather to be raiſed by a good fire, than any natural heat. When this is over, they rack it off the lee, and there remains a perfect taſte of wine, called by them Melaſſo, which often makes the Blacks drunk. They are obliged to drink it ſoon after, for in three days time it will turn to vinegar, and in four coagulate and ſtink. The nature of this tree is principally hot, though it produces oil as well as wine, which is naturally cold, and every body knows will congeal like butter.

There is another ſort of wine called Embetta, of a colder nature, drawn much after the ſame manner from another ſort of palm-tree; but this tree generally yields a greater quantity, and is planted on the ſide of a river, and no where elſe. The tree is called Matome.

In thoſe countries where theſe palm-trees that produce wine do not grow, the people have artificial ways of procuring it. For this end they let Indian wheat ſoak in water for ſome time, in like manner as we do wheat to make ſtarch of. This they afterwards take out, and having well beaten and preſſed it, they put the liquor into a pot, whence it is after a while drawn off into another, and then they drink it with a great deal of pleaſure. This liquor they call by the name of Guallo.

Theſe

There is another kind of palm called Tamgra, which bears a fruit like olives: but theſe having little or no taſte, generally fall to the ſhare of the apes and monkeys. Another ſort there is, whoſe fruit are long ſtrings of little balls extremely hard; which nevertheleſs, after they are pounded and mixed with the powder of the Engalla, or wild boars teeth, compoſe a wonderful cordial. Theſe trees are called Mateba.

That palm which is very like the Matome, if it be not the ſame, affords a ſort of thread from its leaves, whereof the natives weave cloth. Its ſmalleſt branches being both ſmooth and pliant, ſerve to make travelling nets of, and which the better ſort of Blacks, but eſpecially we Whites, uſe for that purpoſe. Of the greater branches, both they and we commonly build our houſes.

The fruit of the tree called Mabocche is not unlike our oranges; they are exceedingly round, and have very tough rinds. Within they have ſeveral ſeeds like unto thoſe in pomegranates, but placed more confuſedly: the taſte of them is ſo very pleaſant and delightful, being ſomewhat inclined to the ſharp, that they are commonly given to perſons that lie ſick of fevers to rectify and refreſh their palates. Of theſe there are two ſorts, the greater and the leſſer; but by how much the latter muſt yield in bulk, by ſo much it for the moſt part gains in perfection.

The Donno tree has its bark only to boaſt of, being in virtue and fragrancy not much unlike to our cinnamon. Although this country has not the plant garlic itſelf, yet has it nevertheleſs a tree, whoſe wood not only ſmells like it, but has its taſte alſo, and moreover is commonly made uſe of after the ſame manner.

The Aliconde is a tree immeaſurably great; within the cavity of whoſe trunk, it being generally hollow at the bottom, hogs are commonly kept from the ſun. The fruit of it is very like to our pumpions, with a ſtalk about the bigneſs of a man's finger, and in length near two or three foot. The uſe of the ſhells of theſe fruit is commonly either for veſſels or bottles. The inner rind of this tree being well ſoaked and beaten, yields a ſort of matter to ſpin, much more durable and finer than our hemp, and which is made uſe of here for that purpoſe. Cotton here is to be gathered in great abundance, and the ſhrubs it grows on are ſo prolific, that they never almoſt leave ſprouting.

Having thus ſpoken of divers plants and fruit-trees of the leaſt note, I will proceed to deſcribe others of both kinds, that have phyſical virtues aſcribed to them.

Amongſt theſe the tree Angariaria has the firſt place; either the wood or root of this tree is ſaid to be good to drive away any pains in the ſide, occaſioned by the ſtone, gravel, or the like; but however the moſt efficacious part of it is its fruit, which is not unlike to our acorn. Hence it comes to paſs, that no diſeaſe of this kind was ever known to have continued long in theſe parts.

Another tree of medicinal virtue is the Chiſecco, any part of which being reduced to powder, and mixed with water, is good againſt fevers; and being applied either to the forehead or temples of the ſick perſon, infallibly prevents his fainting.

The Chicongo, a tree likewiſe, has a purgative power attributed to it.

What is moſt ſurpriſing, is the nature of the tree Mignamigna, which produces poiſon in one part, and its antidote in another; if any perſon be poiſoned either by the wood or fruit, then the leaves ſerve to cure him; and if he be poiſoned by the leaves of them, then he muſt have recourſe either to the fruit or wood: the fruit of this tree is like a little lemon.

Our old lay-brother Leonard, whom I have had often occaſion to mention in this relation, and who had lived in this country many and many years, told me he had ſeen

three plants of Storax, Gum-benjamin, and Caſſia; but that neither of them were held in any eſteem by the Blacks.

As to pepper, what I have to ſay is only this; being one day grievouſly tormented with wind, I aſked a noble Negro, if he could help me to a remedy, he anſwered, "Yes," and immediately fetched me ſome pepper. I took it according to his preſcriptions, and received relief. I afterwards demanded of him, whence that came; he told me it was brought from a wood juſt out of the count's dominions. And doubtleſs there are many other excellent products in theſe parts, which for want of being ſufficiently known, loſe their eſteem.

I ſhould have told you before, that within the dominions of Sogno, there are many excellent lemons; and wherewith one particular iſland ſo abounds, that there are no other trees to be found in it except here and there an orange-tree. In the way to Singa you meet with vaſt woods of orange-trees, which go by the name of Portugal, but rather deſerve that of China, for their thin rinds and luſcious pulps.

As to birds, this country has two ſorts like ours, which are ſparrows and turtles; the firſt of which, in time of rain, change their colour to red, though they afterwards return to what they were of before, which is uſual with other ſorts of fowl. Here are alſo eagles, but to ſay the truth, not ſo large as I have ſeen elſewhere. I have moreover obſerved divers kinds of parrots here, which were very different from thoſe of Brazil. The crows of this country are white upon their breaſts, and on the top of their wings, but black every-where elſe like ours of Europe.

Pelicans are often to be met with as you travel to Signa; they are all over black, except on their breaſts, which nature has adorned with a kind of fleſh-colour like to that of the neck of a turkey. Whether this be the true pelican or not, which naturaliſts ſay feeds her young with her own blood, and at the expence of her life, I ſhall not undertake to determine.

Father Francis da Pavia, my companion into theſe parts, through his long experience has informed me, that whilſt he was on a journey to Singa, he obſerved certain large white birds, with long beaks, necks, and feet, which, whenever they heard the leaſt ſound of an inſtrument, began immediately to dance and leap about in the rivers where they always reſided, and whereof they were great lovers; this, he ſaid, he took great pleaſure to contemplate, and continued often for ſome time upon the banks of the rivers to obſerve.

There is another ſort of birds ſo exceedingly white and fine, eſpecially in their tails, that the white ladies buy them up at any rate to adorn themſelves with. There are divers other kinds of birds and fowl, which for brevity ſake I omit ſpeaking of.

Concerning theſe and other birds building their neſts, I obſerved that ſparrows, and ſuch-like little birds, built them after the form of our ſwallows neſts. The materials they make uſe of, are for the moſt part the thread of palm-leaves, which they draw out thence with their beaks, and afterwards carry to the place where they deſign to build. The manner of their building is round a ſlender bough, whereby when the wind blows, their young are rocked about in their neſts, like children in their cradles.

The greater ſort of birds build, either on the top, in the trunk, or on the thorny boughs of the tree called Mafuma. The prickles of this tree are exeeedingly hard, and its fruit ſomething reſembles a green citron: and which when opened throws forth a wonderful fine wool (no ſilk finer, ſofter, nor cooler), whereof are commonly made pillows and bolſters for ſick people.

Of wild hens I have ſpoken in another place, and here I again affirm, that they are in this country much better taſted, and more beautiful than the tame ones. The ſame

I have

I have to ſay of the partridges, which are much like to ours, but neither of which are any ways valued by the natives, and therefore they ſeldom or never look after them.

But among all the winged inhabitants of this climate, none pleaſed me ſo much as that little bird deſcribed by Father Cavazzi in his Hiſtorical Deſcriptions, b. 1. p. 50. no. 153. This bird, not much unlike a ſparrow, at firſt ſight ſeems wholly black, but upon a nearer view may be diſcovered to be of a kind of blue. As ſoon as day breaks, he ſets up his notes and ſings; but the excellency of his ſong is, that it harmonioufly, and almoſt articulately pronounces the name of Jeſus Chriſt; which repeated by many of them in concert, is a heavenly muſic worthy our ſpecial obſervation, ſeeing thoſe heathen nations excited to own the true God by irrational creatures. They are excited by the heavens forming a croſs of ſtars under the zone, which many have deſcribed, and I beheld; they are excited by the mountains, which have the croſs carved on them, as has been ſaid, without knowing by whom; they are excited by the earth, which draws the crucifix on its fruit called Nicefo, as we have obſerved. In fine, theſe little angels excite them with their voices, yet all theſe things are of little force to move the hardened hearts of thoſe Gentiles.

It is a wonderful bird mentioned by our Father Coprani, in his Cambr. Illuſt. whoſe ſong conſiſts of theſe plain words, Va Dritto; that is, go right. Nor is there leſs to be admired in another bird in theſe parts, and particularly the kingdom of Matamba, which, as travellers are on their way, harmonioufly ſings, "Vuichi, Vuichi," which in the language of the Blacks ſignifies, honey, honey; and ſkipping from one place to another, reſts upon the tree where the honey is, that the paſſengers may take it, and the bird feed on what remains. But it ſometimes falls out, that following the cry of the bird, the paſſenger falls into the clutches of ſome lion that lies hid, and ſo meets his death inſtead of honey; therefore when the bird cries, if he ſees not the honey, they are aware of the hidden lion, and fly in time.

Among the variety of numerous quadrupeds, the moſt wonderful are the elephants, being, as it were, living and moving mines of moſt curious white ivory, whereof ſo great a trade is made; but theſe being vulgarly known to all perſons, I will give no other account but only of the manner of killing them.

When theſe beaſts are gathered together in a herd, the hunter anointing himſelf all over with their dung, gets in ſlily with his lance in his hand among them; there does he creep about from one to the other, under their bellies, till he ſees an opportunity to ſtrike any of them under their ear, by which wound they are eaſily to be brought to the ground. After the ſtroke given, the hunter takes immediate care to eſcape, before the beaſt can well turn about to revenge himſelf; and the other beaſts being deceived by the ſmell of their dung, take no notice of his crying out, and flouncing, ſuppoſing it to be only one of their young. By theſe means the reſt of the herd walking on, and forſaking their falling companion, leave him a prey to the ſucceſsful hunter. If the wounded elephant happens to purſue his aſſaulter, he can eaſily baffle him, by taking to many roads, for it is a very difficult thing for this beaſt to turn his body ſo often as ſuch a dodging would require. The Negroes are wont to diſtil a water by the ſun from the bones of this animal's legs, which is held to be good againſt aſtmas, ſciaticas, or any cold humours. Some of the pagans of theſe parts, particularly the Giaghi, have a kind of devotion for the tail of this beaſt; for when any one of their captains or chief lords comes to die, they commonly preſerve one of theſe tails in memory of him, and to which they pay a ſort of adoration, out of an opinion they have of its great ſtrength. For the ſake of cutting off theſe tails only, they often

undertake this hunting; but which amputation muſt be performed at one blow, and from a living elephant, or their ſuperſtition will allow it no virtue.

In this country of Sogno there are no lions, tigers, nor wolves to be met with, which nevertheleſs other parts of this ſide of Africa are not exempt from. When any of theſe beaſts, eſpecially tigers, happen to enter the count's dominions, he that firſt diſcovers them is obliged to go immediately to a governor, or Mani, and acquaint him therewith; whereupon an alarm is preſently beat to raiſe the country, and the people being ſo raiſed, forthwith apply all their endeavours, whether by ſhouts, drums, or inſtruments of war, to force the beaſt into the open field. After they have got him there, they ſingle out one among them to aſſault him; which the perſon pitched upon performs with a ſharp long knife in one hand, and a ſlight manageable ſhield in the other. As often as the beaſt leaps at him, the combatant receives his attempts on his ſhield, till at laſt, taking his opportunity, he whips off one or more of his legs with his knife, whereby the beaſt being diſabled, eaſily becomes a victim to the conqueror's fury. The Royal Lions, ſo called for their generoſity, carry themſelves with majeſty, and do not hurt unleſs provoked by ſome accident.

In Sogno there are a ſort of wild dogs, who going out to hunt in great numbers, whenever they met with any lion, tiger, or elephant in their way, ſet upon him with that fury, that they commonly bring him to the ground, though they loſe never ſo many of their company by the attempt. Theſe dogs, notwithſtanding their wildneſs, do little or no damage to the inhabitants. They are red-haired, have ſmall ſlender bodies, and their tails turn up upon their backs like a greyhound's.

The wolves that ſometimes infeſt theſe parts are ſo very ſubtle, that they will ſcratch through the walls of the houſes built here with palm leaves, on purpoſe to come at the people, whom having found, they immediately devour or tear to pieces. A certain woman once happening to go a little further from her houſe than ordinary, left her child within aſleep: whilſt ſhe was gone, a wolf broke in, and lay down cloſe by the child that was aſleep: The mother coming ſoon after, went in to feed her child, and ſpied the wolf, who ſeeing himſelf diſcovered, immediately fled.

At ſome huntings there have been taken in this country both wild men and women: which to confirm, Father Leonard once told me, that before my coming thither there had been one of that kind preſented to a friar of our order, which was again beſtowed by him on the Portugueſe governor of Loanda.

Monkeys there are here of divers kinds, ſuch as the baboons, which are the largeſt ſort; another kind party-coloured, as big as a cat; and a third ſort leaſt of all, which nevertheleſs, like the others, have all tails longer than their bodies.

Here are likewiſe great numbers of wild goats, and many wild boars are to be found in the woods. The tame goats of this country are ſo exceedingly fertile, that they will bring forth three or four young ones at once.

The ſheep here do not produce wool, but hair; neither are the rams furniſhed with horns as with us, nor are the ewes ſo fruitful as the goats before-named. Goats-fleſh is in much greater eſteem in theſe parts than mutton, and therefore the natives chuſe rather to geld their young goats than their lambs.

Serpents are not in the leaſt wanting here: thoſe ſeen by me of greateſt note were the Copras, a ſort of ſerpents whoſe poiſon is in their foam, which though at a great diſtance they ſpit into the eyes, and cauſe ſuch grievous pains, that unleſs there be ſome woman by at the ſame time, to aſſuage the pains with her milk, the party will become immediately blind. Theſe climb about in the houſes and trees night and day.

There

There is another ſort of ſerpents, as I have been told, in this country which as ſoon as they are moleſted by any traveller, will leap upon him, and twining themſelves round about his body, fix a ſharp ſting they have in their tails into his breaſt, whereby he ſoon burſts and expires. The name of this ſerpent is Embambe, and the way the natives have to cure themſelves of his wound, and ſave their lives, is by cutting him in two with a knife, which they carry about them for that purpoſe, as ſoon as ever he has entered his ſting.

But from hence let us proceed to give an account of more memorable matters. In the ſecond year of my miſſion I was forced to do my duty for ſome time alone, by reaſon that our ſuperior being dead, my companion, Father Joſeph, was advanced to that dignity, and was gone to reſide in the kingdom of Angola. At the ſame time the Moſt Reverend Cardinal Cibo writ us a letter in the name of the ſacred college, complaining that the pernicious and abominable abuſe of ſelling ſlaves was yet continued among us, and requiring us to uſe our power to remedy the ſaid abuſe; which, notwithſtanding, we ſaw little hopes of accompliſhing, by reaſon that the trade of this country lay wholly in ſlaves and ivory. Nevertheleſs, meeting together not long after, we joined our addreſſes to the King of Congo, and count of Sogno, and obtained the favour from them, that the heretics at leaſt ſhould be excluded from dealing in this merchandize; and that eſpecially the Engliſh, who made it their chief buſineſs to buy ſlaves here, and to carry them to Barbadoes, an iſland of theirs in the Weſt Indies, where they were to be brought up in the Proteſtant religion, ſo very contrary to ours. This letter was firſt read by me to the count, and afterwards on a feaſt-day I made the contents of it known to the people, earneſtly recommending to them to have a compaſſionate regard to ſo many miſerable creatures, their countrymen, that were daily ſuffered to come under the power of heretics, that would not only enſlave them, but likewiſe pervert the good principles we had inſtilled into them. I moreover urged, that if there were a neceſſity for a trade of this kind, they ſhould ſooner have to do with the Hollanders, who were obliged to deliver ſo many ſlaves at Cadiz every year, whereby their countrymen might have ſtill the happineſs of continuing among Catholics, though in bonds.

I propoſed likewiſe for them to trade in this nature with the Portugueſe, rather than the Hollanders; which they would not hearken unto for ſeveral reaſons.

Firſt, Becauſe they would by no means have that nation eſtabliſh themſelves in their country. Secondly, By reaſon that they would give them no opportunity to ſell their arms and ammunition amongſt them: and Thirdly, Becauſe they always under-valued the ſlaves, and never offered ſo much as they were worth.

Theſe, with ſome others, have been the reaſons that the Portugueſe have never yet been able to get any footing in Sogno.

A year almoſt paſt before there was any ſhip appeared in this country; at laſt an Engliſh veſſel came to anchor there. This I immediately adviſed the count of, requiring at the ſame time, that if ſhe were really Engliſh, ſhe ſhould not be ſuffered to land any perſon whatſoever. The count's anſwer was, that I ſhould be obeyed: but which I obſerved to be ſpoke by him with ſuch coldneſs, that I could eaſily diſcover in him a contrary intention; and which I was the more confirmed in, when I reflected upon the profit he was to make, both by the buyer and the ſeller. All this while the captain of the ſhip pretended that he would tarry only three days to take in freſh proviſions; which being paſt, he ſcarcely ſhewed the leaſt ſign of being gone. While he was yet in the river, I happened to go down to the ſhore to ſpeak with the Mafucca, or Receiver of the Whites. Being but juſt entered his houſe, I ſaw two Engliſhmen, who I thought had been no nearer than their uſual ſtation; they ſeeing me, drew in, and I turned my back

to

to go out again: but ſcarce had I reached the threſhold, before I heard a brace of piſtol-bullets whiz by my ear. At this being aſtoniſhed, I looked about, but ſaw nobody. Then I fell on my knees, returned thanks to heaven for my eſcape; and afterwards went in again boldly to make my complaint to the maſter of the houſe of the villainy, which I ſuppoſe was deſigned me by theſe Engliſhmen: but to my great diſappointment he returned me neither a compliment nor a reſentment.

The day following the before-mentioned captain came to me, but that rather to affront than confer with me; demanding of me at firſt ſight, "What I had to do to oppoſe the Engliſh trading in that port?" To which I replied, "That purſuant to an agreement between me and the count, all heretics were to be excluded from dealing in ſlaves throughout the dominions of Sogno, but as to all other matters of traffick they were at liberty." "What do you mean by heretics?" quoth he. "Is not our Duke of York a Roman Catholic, and chief of our company, from whom I have a full power to trade, where, and in what merchandize I pleaſe?" "Granted," ſaid I; but then I alledged further, "That I was ſure it was not the intention of that Duke, that Chriſtians ſhould be bought and ſold for ſlaves, nor that ſuch as he (meaning the captain) ſhould be allowed not only to trade, but likewiſe to rob and infeſt the ſhores wherever they came, in like manner as another Engliſh captain had done there laſt year; who, as ſoon as he had taken in all his lading, fell to waſting the country, and forced away ſeveral of the natives into ſlavery, and killed many others that he could not get away. This (I told him) I would aſſuredly acquaint the Ducheſs of York, my country-woman, with, that the Duke her huſband's reputation might not ſuffer, and ſuch offenders might be puniſhed as they well deſerved." To this the captain began to reply with great heat, defending both himſelf and his countryman, the other captain, thinking to overcome reaſon with noiſe; and if ſome people had not come in to my aſſiſtance, I know not what might have come on it. I afterwards ſent to let the count know, that I ſhould not open the church-doors till thoſe heretics, that were enemies both to our church and him, were gone. This meſſage ſoon brought the count to our convent, where, when he entered to ſpeak with me, there came in with him only one man, who had a long knife in his hand drawn about four inches out of the ſheath: this knife, as he knelt on the ground, he held with one hand on the haft, and the other on the ſheath. For the better underſtanding of this, you muſt know that whenever the count comes to ſpeak with us, nobody has leave to enter the room with him but the interpreter: and when any extraordinary caſe requires another's coming in, he muſt kneel all the while, in like manner as the interpreter is obliged to do. The count began with me very low, endeavouring to convince me, that, conſidering the many enemies that ſurrounded him on all ſides, he ought to provide himſelf of arms and ammunition of war, and which he could beſt do from the European ſhips that came to trade in his dominions. This and the like he urged with a great deal of cunning, but at length perceiving by my anſwers that he gained but little upon me, he began to gather up his countenance, and to move his lips quick in order to thunder out ſome dreadful menaces againſt me; but which I timely perceiving, ſtarted up upon my feet, and prevented his fury with the following words: "The reaſon," ſaid I to him reſolutely, "of my coming into your dominions, was for the ſervice of God, and the ſalvation of your ſouls; and in order to that duty incumbent on me, I cannot diſpenſe with the hazarding even of my life, in withdrawing ſo many poor ſouls from out of the power of Lucifer," (meaning the ſlaves to be bought by heretics,) "which nevertheleſs you ſeem by your arguments to give wholly up to him. Think then, my lord count," continued I, "on your own caſe in ſo palpable an act of diſobedience; for as for my part, I ſhall always

endeavour to perſiſt in my duty." Having ſpoke theſe words, I immediately offered to go out of the room, but the repenting count catching me faſt hold by the arm, and changing his countenance almoſt from black to yellow, would by no means ſuffer me ſo to do, crying out, "Hear my reaſons firſt, Father; hear my reaſons before you go." Then clapping himſelf down upon a bench, he fell into a long diſcourſe, but in which I often interrupting him, he at laſt flew away in a great paſſion, muttering and mumbling to himſelf, "That he was the head of the church in his dominions, and that I without him could do nothing; no, not ſo much as baptize a child." By theſe and other ſuch like ſpeeches of his, I could eaſily perceive that he ſided with the Engliſh, and I was thoroughly convinced thereof afterwards, when he cauſed proclamation to be made at three of the clock in the morning, to forbid all his ſubjects throughout the whole Banza to go any more to our church; but this he nevertheleſs did without laying any penalty on thoſe that diſobeyed him, and conſequently his ſubjects being true ſervants of God, took no manner of notice of his proceeding, but continued to come to church as before. Notwithſtanding their good diſpoſitions, I thought myſelf obliged to excommunicate the count by fixing a ſchedule on the church-doors, and which I did by an authority ſent me from the biſhop of Angola. Hence it followed that our ſlaves that belonged to the offices of the church, as likewiſe thoſe that ſerved in the convent, immediately forſook me, and that I ſuppoſe by inſtigation of their prince who had withdrawn them, to cauſe me the ſooner to comply. Whilſt I yet continued firm in my reſolutions, a Dutch ſhip appeared in the harbour: ſoon after her arrival the count's ſecretary brought her captain, according to cuſtom, to me for my benediction, which nevertheleſs the Engliſh captain had neglected to aſk; I gave it him, and by thoſe means extinguiſhed part of the fury inſtilled into the people's breaſts by the magicians and wizard againſt me; for they had made it their buſineſs to make the people believe, that I purpoſely oppoſed the aforeſaid contracts with the Europeans, that their nation might be unprovided of arms and ammunition when their enemies the Portugueſe came againſt them, and which they likewiſe affirmed I by ſecret means encouraged. The anchoring this ſhip in the harbour occaſioned the ſpeedy departure of the other; for in leſs than thirteen days after ſhe hoiſted ſail and put to ſea, carrying away with her about fourteen or fifteen of the natives of Sogno, beſides near a hundred more which the captain ſaid had been ſold him by the pagans.

Finding an opportunity to acquaint my ſuperior, in the kingdom of Angola, with theſe matters, I immediately ſet about it, and diſpatched away two letters, but which were both intercepted, by order from the count: this coming to my ears, I writ three more, one of which I confided to a faithful Black, promiſing him a conſiderable reward if he delivered it; the other two I ſent publicly, which were intercepted, as before. About the ſame time the count likewiſe writ a letter to the biſhop of Loanda, complaining, "That I would neither adminiſter the ſacraments, nor open the church;" and beſides, "That I had condemned the wizards to death in an open congregation." To this the ſaid biſhop, well knowing both the treachery and hypocriſy of the Blacks, gave no anſwer; but however ſoon after ſent my ſuperior, accompanied with Father Benedict à Belvedere, to aſſiſt me. Here mark the providence of God! Whilſt the count continued in his obſtinacy, a certain diſeaſe that reigned in the neighbouring parts, called in the Portugueſe Bexigas, but in ours the ſmall-pox, had reached his dominions, and whereof great numbers died daily. The people being ſenſible that this muſt be ſent as a judgment among them, gathered forthwith together, and addreſſed themſelves with great earneſtneſs to the count, adviſing him, "To retract and atone for the great error he had been guilty of, or, beſides the juſt judgment of God

both

both upon him and them, they would infallibly riſe againſt him for redreſs." To this the count anſwered, "That it had never been his deſires, that they ſhould ſuffer any ways upon his account; and that what he had forbid by his proclamation, was only to frighten the miſſioner into obedience: but ſince they were of opinion that what had befallen them was occaſioned by this injunction, he was willing, if he might thereby confirm their ſafety, to take it off." Though he ſoon after was as good as his word, yet were the people not wholly ſatisfied, affirming, "That they would not die like dogs, but like true Chriſtians, as they had been bred, and therefore willed him to preſent himſelf before me, to aſk forgiveneſs for his crime, to the end that the church-doors might be again ſet open to them." This he ſoon after accompliſhed, in the following manner, but whether through ſincerity or hypocriſy I ſhall not pretend to determine: — Having clothed all his courtiers in like manner as they were wont to be when they go to receive ambaſſadors, he alone appeared in ſackcloth, unſhod, with a crown of thorns on his head, a crucifix in his hand, and a large cable rope about his neck: in this manner, coming to our convent, he proſtrated himſelf humbly at the gate, beſeeching me to pardon him his crime, and only excuſing himſelf, that what he did was done raſhly and without conſideration, but that he was now ready to make me all manner of ſatisfaction for his diſobedience. He remembered me moreover of the preſumption of David, and hoped, that like him having repented, he ſhould likewiſe receive mercy. Having ſaid thus much, he gave his crucifix to one of his attendants to hold, and afterwards kneeled and kiſſed my feet: hereupon I immediately raiſed him from the ground, took off the crown of thorns from his head, and rope from his neck, and then repeated to him thoſe words which I formerly uttered to another perſon on the like occaſion, "If you have ſinned like David, imitate him likewiſe in your repentance." After this I waited upon him out as far as the ſtreet, and then left him.

He afterwards came a ſecond time in the aforeſaid manner to have his excommunica taken off: but I told him, "That I would willingly have complied with his deſires, but that in about three days time my ſuperior would come into thoſe parts, and that it was more proper for him to abſolve ſo great a perſon as he." I farther told him, "That as for his accomplices, I would undertake to give them abſolution," which I ſoon after performed both to his and their ſatisfaction. At laſt the expected Father arrived, and I having acquainted him with what had been already done, he after a delay of a few days gave the penitent count abſolution. Having received this great favour and aſſiſtance from the biſhop, I thought myſelf obliged to return him my moſt humble thanks and acknowledgements, and withal to inform him of the cauſe, manner, and time of my ſhutting up the church, as likewiſe with the reaſons I had to threaten the wizards with the puniſhment the count had writ to him about.

The Dutch all this while followed their trade cloſe. A certain captain among them called Cornelius Clas, having acquired a reputation with the natives by his ſubtilties, went about ſowing his heretical tares amidſt the true corn of the goſpel. Amongſt other (damnable) doctrines, he maintained, that baptiſm was alone neceſſary to ſalvation, becauſe it took away original ſin, as the blood of our Saviour did actual ſin. The better to comply with the Blacks, whom he knew to be deſirous of greater liberty in thoſe matters, he affirmed, there was need of no other ſacrament than that of baptiſm; and that if they had a mind to communicate, they ſhould do it, but that confeſſion was not neceſſary, being only to be underſtood figuratively. And he farther (impudently) diſowned the real preſence of Chriſt in the conſecrated hoſt. To procure himſelf with the greater credit, he often invoked the ſaints to his aſſiſtance, and eſpecially St. Anthony, though his tribe generally deny the praying to ſaints to be of

any uſe to us. He afterwards repeated ſeveral expreſſions here and there out of our ſermons in Lent, and then proceeded to ridicule them after the following manner: — "O!" cried he, "your father's an able preacher and a great ſcholar, he hits the nail on the head, and talks to the purpoſe; but if he would improve you thoroughly, he ought to advance ſuch and ſuch doctrines" (which by the way were moſt perniciouſly heretical). Thus he run on for above an hour together, exploding our opinions and recommending his own, till he had at laſt ſo far prevailed upon thoſe miſerable Negroes, that their hearts were become as black as their countenances. Although this perſon's principles and deſigns came at length to be known, yet were the moſt ignorant nevertheleſs affected with his arguments and perſuaſions; but notwithſtanding theſe miſchiefs came not to our knowledge till after the departure of their author.

Let us now come to other matters not unlike the foregoing. In the fifth year of my miſſion another Engliſh ſhip happened to come to an anchor in the river: as ſoon as I perceived it, I went to the count and ſaid, "Behold, my lord, another Engliſh ſhip appears in the harbour!" and at the ſame time begged of him not to permit any of the men to land, for fear of the like inconveniences that had before happened: he ſeemed to comply readily with my deſires, and promiſed that none ſhould; nevertheleſs ſelf-intereſt blinding him again, he received the accuſtomed preſents, and ſuffered them to trade again within his dominions, which we would by no means agree to. The captain came with his commiſſion to our convent, and endeavoured to find me out, but could not. In the mean-time, without any further delay, we publiſhed a manifeſto, that upon pain of excommunication none ſhould preſume to ſell any ſlaves to the Engliſh: but as to bartering ivory, ebony, or the like with them, they might freely do it. The captain hereupon could get but five negroes, and thoſe he bought before the manifeſto was publiſhed. He came a ſecond time to my apartment accompanied by a Dutch captain, and with a great deal of ſubmiſſion ſaid to me, "Father, what reaſon have I given you to deny me, ſo much to my diſadvantage, a free trade in this port, when I have ſuffered ſo many hardſhips, and undergone ſo great peril in my voyage hither?" To which I courteouſly anſwered, "That I would do any thing that lay in my power to ſerve any Chriſtian, and him in particular, who appeared to be ſo very civil, but that in this matter I could do nothing without an order from my ſuperior." I told him further, "That though I was againſt his trading aſhore, as being an Engliſhman, and conſequently a heretic, I could not prevent his doing it by ſea, and therefore if he could find any to traffic with him he might freely do it:" "That is what I would rather have," replied the captain, "for thereby I may trade cuſtom-free. Now I perceive," continued he, "that theſe brutes," meaning the Negroes, "have always their hands open to receive preſents, but when there is any favour to be returned, they immediately ſhrug up their ſhoulders and excuſe themſelves, pretending the miſſioners will not let them grant it. But why," added he, "did they not explain themſelves at firſt, that I might have ſaved my preſent, and ſailed about my buſineſs elſewhere? It ſhall go hard, but I will make them know whom they have to deal with." Then turning to me, he ſaid, "Well, Father, I cannot but thank you heartily for acquainting me with the truth, and let them reſtore to me what I gave them, and I will be gone. But firſt," quoth he, "give me leave to preſent Your Reverence with a barrel of wheat-flour to make your Hoſts of, a ſmall veſſel of Aqua-vitæ, and ſomething elſe that may lie within the verge of my capacity." I returned him a thouſand thanks for his kind proffers, and told him, that though I had occaſion for the wheat-flour I would by no means accept it of him, and afterwards having forced a baſket of fruit upon him diſmiſſed him. The count having diſpoſed of

the preſent that was given him, could by no means reſtore it, and beſides durſt not for fear of excommunication provide him the ſlaves he had promiſed. This ſo vexed the captain, that taking only along with him two ſlaves, and a little ivory he had got before, he left his houſe in the night-time, and went immediately aboard his ſhip; his landlord ſoon miſſing him got up betimes, and went after him for his rent, but the captain having cauſed three Patereroes to be turned againſt the Negro's boat, dared him to come near him after the following manner: "Come hither, ſlave," quoth he, "and I will pay you in a certain coin that you very well deſerve." After which, beſtowing a great many curſes on him, he ſet ſail and departed. The count was again excommunicated for his diſobedience, but not by a paper fixed up at the church-doors formally, which he took with much patience. Though a Black, he is an abſolute prince, and not unworthy of a crown, though he were in Italy, conſidering the number of his ſubjects, and large dominions.

Before the Engliſhman had weighed anchor to be gone, another Dutch ſhip came into the river, which my companion Father Benedict dà Belvedere perceiving, immediately oppoſed the landing of any of her men; his reaſon was that they were heretics, in like manner as the Engliſh, and which he confirmed by the hereſies the above-mentioned Dutch captain had not long before ſpread amongſt us. I could not well diſſent from this opinion of his, nevertheleſs for quietneſs-ſake I told him, that ſince we had ſo luckily got rid of the Engliſh, we muſt of neceſſity admit of the Dutch, or the people would be apt to rebel; for not caring to trade with the Portugueſe for ſome reaſons beſt known to themſelves, they would have noboby elſe to utter their commodities to, which would prove no ſmall detriment both to the church and the ſtate. He underſtood me I don't queſtion, but notwithſtanding took little or no notice of what I ſaid, being tranſported with too great a zeal for the church's good, which, had it not been ſo exceſſive, might have ſucceeded better than it did.

On Eaſter-Day there was a great feaſt held throughout the count's dominions, when the electors and governors were obliged to come to court to wiſh their lord a happy Eaſter, according to cuſtom. He that voluntarily abſented himſelf was looked upon as a rebel, and thoſe that came were treated at the count's charge; the electors and governors dividing the proviſions amongſt their followers. My aforeſaid companion hearing a confuſed ſound of inſtruments, and many loud acclamations from the people gathered together in vaſt numbers, made what haſte he could to them that he might prevent thoſe feſtivals, which he looked upon as not proper to be celebrated in a place where the count aſſiſted, who then ſtood excommunicated. For my part I could not well fathom his intentions, for he only came to me and demanded my bleſſing and leave to go out of the convent, which I could not refuſe him. At his firſt coming the chief elector came up to him to ſalute him, which he coldly received and returned; after a few compliments they came to complaints. My companion began to blame them for having ſo courteouſly admitted of the Hollanders, as alſo for ſolemniſing of this feaſt, which they ought not to preſume to have done as matters went. This ſo exaſperated the elector, that he cried out with a great paſſion, "What heretics! What Chriſtians! What Catholics! Are we not all to be ſaved by baptiſm alone?" Father Benedict being out of patience at theſe words, and truly moved for the honour of God's ſervice, though a little too exorbitantly, without any reply ſtepped up to him, and gave him a ſound box on the ear by way of admonition. This affront the elector's people ſo greatly reſented, that they immediately gathered about him to defend him, and thoſe that were without the walls likewiſe made at the ſame time an attempt to get into the place. The count, captain-general, and great-captain being

ſoon informed of what had happened, preſently interpoſed to prevent the miſſioner's receiving any damage from the fury of the multitude, and afterwards conducted him ſafe to our convent. The chief intent of this Father's extraordinary zeal, was to make known to ſo great a company of people got together, what danger their ſouls were in by converſing with heretics.

For my part I judged a ſpeedy reconciliation with the elector highly neceſſary, and therefore ſome few days after I ſent for him to our convent; he came, and after having courteouſly received him, I deſired him to recant ſincerely what he had ſaid, and aſk Father Benedict's pardon, and I would abſolve him. To which he anſwered ſmiling, "That would be pleaſant indeed; I am the ſufferer, and yet I muſt be guilty; he was the aggreſſor, and yet I muſt beg pardon. Muſt I receive a blow, and notwithſtanding be thought to have offended?" Then I replied, "That muſt not be taken for an injury, which was not ſo intended; the blow was not to offend, but defend you, being as it were a remembrance not to hearken to the errors of heretics. Beſides you ought to conſider that it was given out of paternal affection by your ſpiritual Father, and whom it did not miſbecome to give it. Moreover you know among us the biſhops do it in caſes of confirmation, and the perſon that receives it takes it rather for an honour than affront. You ought to confeſs that you deſerved correction for venting ſo dangerous an opinion in the preſence of ſo many true Catholics." Being convinced by theſe reaſons that he had been in the wrong, he conſented to recant his error, which he did after maſs at the church-door, confeſſing that what he had done was merely occaſioned through paſſion, and not out of any diſobedience to the doctrine of the church, for which he had a ſincere veneration. Afterwards begging pardon of the aforeſaid Father, and kiſſing his feet, he was again received into our communion. After all this he made his humble acknowledgments to the count, for having preſumed to incline his people to a rebellion within his dominions.

To extirpate this hereſy effectually out of the minds of the people, we took an occaſion, after we had given abſolution to the elector and his followers, to preach a ſermon to them to this purpoſe: "That whereas paradiſe was allowed by all to be a place of the greateſt purity and brightneſs, ſo ought to be the minds of thoſe who are in election to be admitted inhabitants thereof. Lucifer the prince of light, for having ſuffered himſelf to be contaminated with pride, occaſioned his being thrown headlong into hell, together with his adherents. Can it ſeem poſſible to you that ſo pure and peaceful a place ſhould admit of the haughty and unclean? Some among you are like your own Maccacos, or monkeys amongſt us, who keeping poſſeſſion of any thing they have ſtolen, will ſooner ſuffer themſelves to be taken and killed than to let go their prey. So impure ſwine wallow in their filth, and care not to be cleanſed. To remedy this, our Saviour inſtituted the ſacrament of repentance, to the end that when man had ſinned, he might come and purify himſelf from his tranſgreſſions." Theſe and many other ſpiritual memorandums were given by us, proving at the ſame time, that God being all goodneſs, could not poſſibly be the occaſion of any evil. We then demanded of them, "If they were not convinced that this was true by the light of their natural reaſon?" They all anſwered with a common conſent, "That it was, and that they had been deceived by the heretical ſeducer, who had impoſed doctrines upon them which were contrary to the word of God. We hope therefore that for the future theſe hereſies will be totally extinguiſhed, ſince we have taken ſo much pains to decry them both in the pulpit and elſewhere." The ſame night that the count had been made acquainted with his falling again under the ſentence of excommunication, for having deſigned to furniſh the Engliſh with ſlaves, contrary to the manifeſto publiſhed by us,

his counteſs was ſeized with a fainting fit, occaſioned either by her being with child or elſe through the diſguſt ſhe had conceived at her huſband's proceedings. Being thus ill, ſhe immediately diſpatched her ſon to me to deſire me to come to her, who doubting whether I would comply or not, thought himſelf obliged to ſwear, that his mother was at death's door. Being moved by charity, I went accompanied by Father Stephen de Romano, who had ſome ſmall ſkill in phyſic. By his means, and through God's grace, ſhe ſoon recovered, and was confeſſed. This lady was, to give her her due, a very religious woman, and a great frequenter of the bleſſed ſacrament; and beſides, one that upon many occaſions, when the count her huſband and we were at variance, would ſend us divers refreſhments of oranges and lemons, and the like. The count having obſerved at a diſtance the civility and kindneſs we ſhewed to his wife, ſeemed to be mightily pleaſed with it. Thinking to take him in this good humour, I went up to him, and deſired him to excuſe what I had ordered him to be made acquainted with, having been thereto obliged by the duty of my function, and was for that end come into his country. I likewiſe told him, that if he would needs follow his own inclinations, he muſt be a pagan, and could not deſerve the title of a Chriſtian; and moreover informed him what a ſtrict account I had to give not only to my ſuperiors, but alſo to my own conſcience, and therefore exhorted him to ſubmit himſelf to the cenſures of the church. I deſired him to remember likewiſe how I had expoſed my life for his good, and that I could not but have a particular kindneſs for him, being my ſpiritual pupil. This I ſpoke to prevent his flying out into paſſions and diſdain, as he was wont to do upon occaſions of reproof.

From mid Lent to Whitſuntide the count had not been within the church-doors, except ſometimes incognito; but generally ſtood at a diſtance, whence he might ſee the prieſt at the altar, and where he heard maſs. On Aſcenſion-eve he ſent to beg of me for the love of God to abſolve him. I would have willingly complied with his requeſt, but was prevented by Father Benedict, who alledged that it was by no means proper to take him again into our communion, till the Hollanders had weighed anchor, and were gone. On Whitſunday he ſent a meſſenger to me again, giving me to underſtand, that his ſubjects not ſeeing him appear in the church as formerly might probably riſe in a tumult; to prevent which he propoſed to agree to all I had required of him, provided I would abſolve him. My anſwer was, that he ſhould appear next morning at the ſecond maſs, dreſſed in mourning like a penitent, and ſhould moreover bring along with him all the electors, together with the two captains, the general, and great-captain. As I had commanded, ſo it was performed. Thoſe others that ought to have been preſent, and could not come, were excuſed upon ſending proxies. Being all met, I addreſſed myſelf to the count, and endeavoured to make him ſenſible what damage he might do to ſo many poor ſouls as he was maſter of, by encouraging them to have commerce with heretics. I remembered him alſo of the late affronts received from the Engliſh, and indulged by him. Upon hearing this and a great deal more, which I do not think neceſſary to repeat here, both the count and all the reſt took an oath upon the holy Miſſal, that they would ſooner loſe their lives than ſuffer any Engliſh ſhip to enter any of their ports again, which is obſerved and performed even to this day. The penance I impoſed upon the count was that he by his authority ſhould oblige three hundred of thoſe that lived in unlawful wedlock to marry. He gladly accepted the propoſal, and afterwards entered the church with great pomp and univerſal joy, and never in the leaſt offended after.

The reconciled count not only performed what had been enjoined him, but brought over four hundred to the holy ſtate of matrimony. Amongſt the reſt there was one Mani, who not only married himſelf, but alſo cauſed two ſons, and as many daughters

of

of his to do the like at the ſame time. My companion Father Benedict obſerving and wondering at the great care and diligence the count employed in reducing ſo many ſtrayed ſouls to matrimony, cried out, " As long as all is ſecure here, I will go on in my miſſion, and try what I can do with others abroad, by urging theſe good examples to them." As he hoped, ſo it came to paſs; for in leſs than ſix weeks he had cauſed above ſix hundred to marry. This was a very laborious work, and put him into a violent fit of ſickneſs two days journey from our houſe. As ſoon as I heard of his being ill, I ſent for him home; but he would by no means comply with me, affirming, " That a good ſoldier ought to die with his ſword in his hand:" and further, " That if he loſt that opportunity of recovering ſo many poor ſouls from perdition, he knew not when he might have the like again offered him." His death not long after, together with my being ſick, put a ſtop to ſo great and ſo good a work but juſt begun.

It is neceſſary here to inform you, that in the dominions of Sogno, thoſe that are lawfully married live with all manner of love and amity together, and particularly the women, who are conſtant to their huſbands, whether Blacks or Whites. The many years that the Europeans have traded here, there has not been found one baſtard among them, which are nevertheleſs ſo frequent to be met with in other countries. Theſe women have a particular averſion to heretics, as may be perceived by what follows. A Dutch captain walking one day in this country, and obſerving a married woman taking a pipe of tobacco after the cuſtom of the country, ſent his ſlave to her to deſire her to let him have a whiff. The good woman hearing the meſſage, took her pipe out of her mouth, and hugged it in her arms, and without anſwering a word proceeded on in her way. The ſlave nevertheleſs proſecuted his maſter's requeſt, and followed her, repeating often what he had before required, till at length perceiving her obſtinate and fixed in a refuſal, the better to incline her to reſign the pipe to him, he gave her a box on the ear, threatening her with worſe, if ſhe perſiſted in a denial. The woman notwithſtanding bore all patiently, and would not conſent to gratify him, whatever he could do to her. I ſhould have told you, for the better underſtanding of this, that it is a cuſtom in this country, that when any one obtains a pipe out of a woman's mouth, it is a probable earneſt of further favours. From hence may be learnt what a propenſity the women have to chaſtity in theſe parts, many of whom meet together on the firſt day of Lent, and oblige themſelves to a ſtrict continence till Eaſter; inſomuch that if any one among them ſhould happen to deviate from the vow they had jointly engaged in, ſhe would immediately think herſelf guilty of a great fault, and conſequently undergo voluntarily ſome ſevere penance. They are likewiſe moſt rigid obſervers of all faſts enjoined by the church, and which they will not tranſgreſs even where neceſſity requires they ſhould, and in which caſes we are obliged to command them to do it to ſave their lives.

At length my companion Father Benedict finding himſelf worſe and worſe, ſent a meſſenger to me to deſire me to afford him ſome ſuccour. I thereupon immediately diſpatched four ſlaves belonging to the church, to bring him in a net to the convent, that being the eaſieſt way I could propoſe to have him brought. The better to inſure the performance of my commands, I threatened the ſlaves with tranſportation, a thing they are more than ordinarily afraid of, in caſe of diſobedience or treachery. They brought him ſoon after, and being arrived, he immediately entered upon a general confeſſion of his ſins, even from his youth upwards to that day. The malady he was afflicted with was the gout, which, getting not long after into his ſtomach, at once ended both his life and his good actions, which were many. His funeral obſequies were performed ſuitable to his character, at which aſſiſted the count with a vaſt number of people, I myſelf ſaying maſs, though I languiſhed at that time under a violent fever. Father

ther Benedict was a native of our kingdom of Naples, though he firſt received the habit of the order of St. Francis in the Roman province. He was a public preacher in the city of Rome, as likewiſe a confeſſor to the nuns. The death of this good man may well be ſaid to be lamented by all, ſince the very birds and beaſts had their ſhare of concern at it: for it was to be obſerved, that whilſt the corps was upon the bier, it was attended by ſeveral parrots and wild hens, which hovered about waiting till it ſhould be interred. A dog likewiſe that had belonged to the deceaſed Father, miſſing his maſter after he was buried, would neither eat nor drink, but lay howling after an extraordinary manner at the church-door. I gave him afterwards to the captain-general to be tranſported into ſome diſtant iſland: but this availed little, for in leſs than a month's time he returned, and placing himſelf at the door of the deceaſed Father's cell, continued to howl as before, till at length, having eat nor drank nothing for many days, and being thereby quite famiſhed, he groaned out a diſmal farewell to his loving maſter, and ſo died.

It may not be here amiſs to inſert a certain quarrel that happened among the Negroes in the fourth year of my miſſion, and whilſt the aforeſaid Father was living; but wherein nobody was killed through the timely orders ſent to prevent it. The difference was this: — The captain-general, ſon to the count's brother, being at variance with the count's other nephew, ſon to his ſiſter, while they were mutually provoking each other with ill language, the latter happened to throw down the former, and falling a-top of him, began to belabour him luſtily with his fiſts, which nevertheleſs nobody ſaw. The perſon aggrieved complained of this uſage to the count, who having heard him patiently, at length ſaid to him, "What juſtice would you have me to do between you two that are ſo nearly allied?" The captain-general having received the like affront once before from the counteſs's brother, briſkly replied, "What, would your excellency have me put up this affront too? No, it is not in my power, and I would have my enemies to know that I am not ſo much to be deſpiſed." This ſaid, he withdrew, and taking up arms together with his other three brothers, he beat an alarm to challenge the count's other two nephews to battle, who nevertheleſs were not able to appear againſt him without the aſſiſtance of their uncle's troops that were already gone all over to the captain-general's ſide; and this cauſed them not to appear at all.

The better to underſtand the manner of challenging in this country, I muſt acquaint you that the Negroes, when they have any private quarrels among them, do not care to decide the matter ſingly, but each gets as many of his friends as he can together to do it for him. When they are come to the appointed place, and drawn up in ſight of their adverſaries, they begin to argue the caſe coolly; then proceed to abuſing each other with invectives, till at length, their blood being fired by injurious language, they fall to it helter-ſkelter. Then their drums begin to beat confuſedly, which are made of thin wood all of a piece, and in form like our great earthern jars. Theſe being covered with a beaſt's ſkin, are ſounded, not with little ſticks, but with the hand, and which make a much greater noiſe than our drums do. They that have the uſe of guns, after the firſt onſet throw them away, having them more to fright than offend the enemy. They ſet them againſt their breaſt, without taking any aim, by which means the balls generally fly over their enemies' heads, without doing them any harm; for they perceiving the flaſh in the pan, are likewiſe accuſtomed to ſquat down, and after having ſo received the firing, riſe up of a ſudden, and run forwards. After they have thus thrown away their fire-arms, they betake themſelves to their bows and arrows. When they are at a diſtance they ſend their arrows up into the air, that by their falling they may do their enemies the greater miſchief; but when they are nearer, they ſhoot them

them in a direct line. They are wont ſometimes to poiſon their arrows, the wounds made by which they recover by piſs. When the arrows fall, the adverſe party immediately gathers them up to make uſe of them again. The ſhort arms they employ are great and ſmall knives, axes, and the like, which they buy of the Europeans. When they come to engage, the perſons that are conquered become ſlaves to the conquerors, if they are taken; and if not, they often kill themſelves for anger. In Congo, when there are no prieſts there, Chriſtians make ſlaves of Chriſtians, which they often do upon very ſlight quarrels.

But to return from whence we have ſtrayed, let us go on with our ſtory. After a little while two electors, whereof one was the Mani Enguella, the count's couſin, came up to the captain-general, who together with his friends ſtood with their arms in their hands, and endeavoured to pacify him. They found him ſitting majeſtically under an umbrella, as it were a canopy; when with a more than kingly gravity, he broke forth into theſe words: "He that has a mind to ſpeak with me, let him do it proſtrate on the ground." This the two electors would by no means condeſcend to do, ſince that would be to make him no leſs than count. Whereupon the haughty general leaped up in a paſſion, and diſpoſed himſelf to a rebellion, marching with his followers two days journey off from the city. His three brothers poſted away immediately to his government, which was a country given him by the count, in gratitude for having ſuppreſſed a dangerous rebel, who called himſelf Duke of Bamba of Sogno. Hither he was ſoon after to follow, but was happily prevented by our interpoſing; for had he gone, the conſequence might have been no ſmall prejudice to the count. The arms and ammunition he carried along with him were ſeveral ſmall field-pieces, three hundred muſquets, thirty barrels of powder, a great number of bows, arrows, and the like, with great quantities of proviſions. The manner of our interpoſing was this: — On All-Saints' day, after the firſt maſs, the count came to me with concern in his countenance, and told me what a rebellion was raiſed againſt him. I anſwered, that as ſoon as I obſerved the firſt motions amongſt the people, I leaped forth of my cell, and went to enquire what was the matter. I was acquainted that the Baretti (ſo the family of theſe rebels was called) were got together to divert themſelves. To which I replied, that their exerciſe did not at all ſeem to me to be tending that way; but I rather ſuppoſed it to be occaſioned by ſome contentions among them. Having then the chalice in my hand to ſay the ſecond maſs, and being ſomewhat miſtruſtful that this might ariſe from the captain-general's influence, I cauſed it to be enquired into when he had been at church, and was informed that he was preſent at the firſt maſs. Now if this had been true, I had ſoon prevented all future miſcarriages; but being impoſed upon, I could not. I then offered the count to do what in me lay to quiet the diſturbance, and promiſed to go find out the captain-general for that purpoſe. Hereupon my net was ſpeedily got ready, and I ſet forth, but had not gone above three or four miles before I was ſtopped by a guard of ſoldiers, who told me I ſhould go no farther. This cauſed me to come out of the net to know the reaſon, thinking when they ſaw me they would let me paſs; but I found it quite otherwiſe. I aſked their commander if he knew me, he anſwered, "This poſt was aſſigned me to let nobody paſs whatſoever, and Your Reverence never yet baptized me, nor have I confeſſed to you." Then I went to go on, but this captain fell down on his knees, and hindered me. I believed poſitively that this was an act of humiliation and ſubmiſſion, it being the Blacks' cuſtom always to ſpeak upon their knees to the prieſts and their lords. But ſee how I was miſtaken, for as I offered to go forward, he clapped the butt-end of his muſquet to his ſhoulder, and was about to fire at me, which I perceiving, retired,

and

and giving a ſmall crucifix to one of the ſoldiers, bid him to carry it to the captain-general, as a token that I was coming to ſpeak with him. In the mean-time I took to another road, which although it was three miles about, yet by the grace of God I got to Chitomba before midnight. In our way we paſſed through ſeveral villages, whoſe inhabitants were all fled to the ſea-ſhore; therefore not finding any-body to relieve my poor net-men, as they expected, they were forced to carry me patiently, without reſting a minute, for fear of loſing time. Manichitombo ſent me word that he would have me come on no forwarder, leſt I ſhould loſe my way in a huge wood, which I muſt neceſſarily paſs through, and which I might very well do in the night-time: and moreover that if I continued at Chitombo, he would come and wait on me there. My anſwer was, that if he had a mind to ſhow himſelf an obedient ſpiritual ſon to me, he ſhould continue where I was till I had known the count's farther pleaſure in the matter; and I withal requeſted of him, that the letters I ſhould ſend for that purpoſe might not be intercepted by any of his faction; and to the end they might be able to diſtinguiſh which they were, I let him know that I would order them to be carried aloft upon a pole. Whilſt I was in expectation of an anſwer from the count, Manichitombo's brother and ſecretary ſent me my crucifix again, and withal gave me to underſtand that his brother would not have me by any means to give myſelf the trouble to come to him, for that he would comply with me in all I deſired and came about; and therefore begged of me to pray for him and his friends. Having this anſwer from the captain-general, I thought it to no purpoſe to ſtay any longer at Chitombo; and therefore I immediately ſet out for Sogno again, and arrived there about midnight. Next morning I ordered my interpreter to go and acquaint the count what I had done; but though he ſeemed to comply with my commands, yet did he not nevertheleſs obey them, fearing to fall under diſgrace thereby; for it is common among the Blacks to ſuſpect what the interpreters tell them, if there be not a prieſt by to confirm it, and ſometimes ſuch meſſengers have been taken and puniſhed barely upon ſuipicion. When I came to underſtand this, I went to the count myſelf, and having informed him of all that had happened, he ſeemed in ſome meaſure to be pacified; however deſired to be ſatisfied in two queſtions. The firſt was, why I had not excommunicated the captain for having ſo impudently ſet up his ſtandard againſt his ſovereign: and the ſecond was, that he deſired to know of me what puniſhment ſo great an offender deſerved. As to the firſt, I anſwered, that I could not have excommunicated him for two reaſons:—firſt, becauſe he had not rebelled againſt the church; and ſecondly, in that he complied with my demands, which I preſumed were for His Excellency's benefit. As to the count's ſecond queſtion, I plainly perceived that it was both deſigning and politic; for could he have procured me to declare the captain-general a rebel, he would have ſoon had him caught, and ſtruck off his head. But I thank God, being aware of his intentions, I prudently avoided them, telling His Excellency in a jeſting way, that I would ſend the little boy (a youth that had been brought up in our convent, and whom the count dearly loved) to ſatisfy him in that queſtion. This cauſed all the ſtanders-by to laugh, and I myſelf was not a little pleaſed that I had avoided anſwering to ſo enſnaring a demand. The third or fourth day after, the governor of Chioua, the count's eldeſt ſon, appeared with a powerful army which he had raiſed to defend his father. This perſon at his firſt coming was indeed extremely courteous and humble; but he afterwards ſoon became proud and haughty. How much pains we took to reconcile theſe two diſagreeing parties, need not be expreſſed. In a word, we happily compoſed the diſſenſions between them, and we thought the captain-general had agreed to appear only with his three brothers. But wherever the miſtake was, he came at the time appointed,

attended

attended by his whole army, which having drawn up before our church, in ſight of that of the Mani of Chioua, he waited for the count's coming to give him a remiſſion of his crime. I fixed my eyes upon the multitude, and could not imagine what the event of this interview would be. I told the count's ſecond ſon, that was then in our convent, that in my opinion it was not at all proper for his father to appear in any paſſion at this juncture. He anſwered, that the way to meet one that came to aſk pardon after this manner, was to come with bullet in mouth, and the muſquet ready to receive it. "Not ſo faſt, ſir," quoth I, "perhaps I may find a remedy." Then I went and ſpoke to the captain-general's ſecretary, who of all his brothers was the wiſeſt and moſt prudent. I told him my ſentiments concerning the hoſtile appearance of ſo great a number of men, and his anſwer was, that they ſhould be all ſent home to their houſes, which was the ſame day performed. Of all this I immediately informed the count, and he appointed the four brothers to appear before him next morning, without any attendants. They accordingly came, and three leathern chairs being ſet out before our church, one for the count, another for me, and a third for the captain-general, the count after his wonted humble manner, took the left hand. After a little while the captain-general, making three low bows to the count, humbly acknowledged his offence, and received pardon. When this was done, the count ſtarted up, and nodding his head with a fierce countenance, to ſhow he was not altogether pleaſed with what had paſſed, and turning towards me ſaid, "Is there any thing more, Father, that you deſire of me? are you ſatisfied? are you contented?" Which having ſpoke, he in a kind of paſſion left us. Happy was it for theſe four that I had interpoſed; for otherwiſe they would not have recovered their former poſts, as they did. Nor was it a matter of ſmall labour to get the captain, the ſecretary, and the other lieutenants reſtored. Yet I obſerved with admiration that the count laid hold of this opportunity to put ſeveral Manis from their governments, who depended on the captain-general, and among the reſt, thoſe that had commands neareſt his Banza, putting into their places ſuch as he moſt confided in, retrenching by degrees his exorbitant power: and thus the general was humbled, his maſter ſatisfied, and the people quieted.

Having given an account of this rebellion of a nephew againſt his uncle, I will conclude this firſt part with that of a ſon againſt his father a Portugueſe, and the dreadful puniſhment God inflicted upon him for his diſreſpect to his parents: a paſſage no leſs dreadful than memorable, and which may ſerve for a warning to unruly perſons to be more reſpectful to thoſe, nature and the law of God have placed over them. Some few days before the arrival of the Fathers-miſſioners, F. Andrew da Pavia and F. Angelo Franciſco of Milan, at the miſſion of Sogno, as ſhall appear hereafter, a run-away ſoldier embarked at Loanda for this place aboard a Dutch ſhip, in order to paſs into the kingdom of Loango, and thence into Europe. He, though he arrived at Sogno, ſucceeded not in his deſigns, as he projected; for being often rejected by the Dutch, he was left forſaken upon that point of the river called El Padron, the landing-place of the aforeſaid earldom. This place being on one ſide hemmed in by the river, and on the other by the waves of the vaſt ocean, and the land being covered with a thick wood of Mango trees, he durſt not ſtir one ſtep in that intricate labyrinth. He often deſired the heathen fiſhers reſorting thither from the kingdom of Angoij, and the Sogneſe Chriſtians to carry him into their countries; but both of them excuſed themſelves, alledging they could not do it without their maſters leave. He having nothing but his ſword, thought to prevail by force, which they perceiving, forſook the place, for fear of embroiling themſelves with the Portugueſe, and to ſhun him that took their fiſh away, and abuſed them. The wretch being in this condition, ſurrounded with misfortunes, ſaw the two aforementioned

Fathers coming from Angola, and conceived hopes they would relieve and conduct him to their houſe, hunger oppreſſing him. Coming out to meet them, and perceiving they did not ſo much as look at him, but went away without ſpeaking a word, he cried out, "Fathers, I fly to your compaſſion, and deſire to be received by you." "We cannot," replied they, "baniſh that charity from our hearts which is due to all men like ourſelves; but God forbid that at our firſt appearance among theſe new converted Chriſtian Blacks, we ſhould introduce with us the example of a moſt enormous wicked action committed by a white Chriſtian as you are." Thus they left him forſaken in that place. The caſe was thus:—This wretch had give a full looſe to all his lewd inclinations, and being often reprimanded by his father, he never took the leaſt notice. On the contrary, to remove all obſtacles that hindered his proceeding in his wicked courſes, he reſolved to deſtroy him of whom he had received his being. Accordingly he inhumanly fired a piſtol at his father, the bullet whereof hitting him on the forehead without any hurt, rebounded back upon the ſon, and wounded him ſorely, who, as he was, took ſanctuary in a church; but fearing the puniſhment he deſerved, endeavoured to make his eſcape with the Hollanders, as has been ſaid. The moſt remarkable thing in this curſed action was, that the ableſt ſurgeons could never heal his wound, the fleſh ever remaining raw, as a brand on his forehead for ſo barbarous an action, and an example to all others to dread committing the like inhumanity. As I was going by water to the kingdom of Angoij, I ſaw him walking with a ſword in his hand inſtead of a ſtaff; and he called to the ſeamen, who were his countrymen, but durſt not come near becauſe the governor of Angolo would have puniſhed them ſeverely, had they preſumed to tranſport a run-away ſoldier.

To the former I will add one paſſage more, well known to all this earldom, where the witneſſes to it are ſtill living; it was thus:—A certain Chriſtian being often admoniſhed by one of our miſſioners to leave his wicked courſe of life, he was ſo far from it, that running on in his lewd courſes, he ſcoffed at him. This man being one day to paſs a river with two companions, he was viſibly taken up by an inviſible hand into the air. One of his companions going to take hold of him by the feet, had ſuch a cuff given him, that he fell down in the boat, and the offender was ſeen no more, the two companions being left to proclaim what had happened all the country about.

But ſince I have ſpoken of a ſon that was ſo ill a liver, I will conclude with other children born in this black Ethiopia, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe that beheld and gave an account of them. One of theſe came from his mother's womb with a beard and all his teeth; perhaps to ſhew he was born into the world grown old in vice. A white and a black child were alſo born at one birth; and a black woman brought forth a child quite white. Thus I conclude this firſt part with three wonderful births.

PART II.

ETHIOPIA, ſo called either from Ethiops the ſon of Vulcan, or from the Greek word *aitho*, I burn, according to Pliny's opinion, who expreſſes it thus, *Nam ſolis vicinitate ejus regionis incolæ torrentur.* Ap. Diction. 7 Lingu.: and which either by means of its ſcorching ſands, the nature of the climate, the oddneſs of the food, and variety of the daily diet, produces nothing but blackneſs among its own native inhabitants,

may with good reaſon be termed the dark and diſmal tomb of Europeans, and the fatal grave of white people. The blackneſs of theſe ſooty nations, ſome will have to be cauſed by the climate, or nearneſs to the ſun; but others, with more reaſon, derive it from their original, family and deſcent: for Sevil being in about 38 degrees of north latitude, produces white people. Near the river of Plate, in the ſame latitude ſouthward, the men are of a cheſnut, and ruſty iron colour; and near the Cape of Good Hope, which though more eaſtward, is in the ſame latitude, the natives are quite black as pitch. And therefore with Cardan we may ſay, the blackneſs does not proceed from the temper of the climate, but from the race. *Ut videantur, ſtirpe potius quam aeris natura tales evadere.* Card. de Variet. lib. ii. c. iv. Which the poet confirms thus:

Sanguine tum credunt in corpora ſumma vocato,
Æthiopum populos nigrum traxiſſe colorem. OVID. MET. lib. ii. v. 235.

S. Iſidorus, quoted by the moſt illuſtrious and moſt learned Monſigneur Paolo Areſi in his Eſſays, is of opinion, that the Ethiopians are deſcended from Chuſh the ſon of Ham, curſed by Noah for his unbecoming curioſity in looking upon his father's nakedneſs. *Certiſſimum eſt originem ingrediri non a regione, ut hactenus exiſtimatum eſt ob ſolis ardores, ſed a ſtirpe et ſanguine Chus provenire.*

In the ſecond year of my miſſion, I fell ſick of a violent fever in Ethiopia, inſomuch that I found my ſtrength to fail me ſo faſt, that I thought it but prudence to prepare for my laſt miſſion into another world. The remedy we Europeans make uſe of here upon theſe occaſions, is, to let almoſt all our blood out of our veins, and to repleniſh them with ſuch as the food of the country produces, which being more connatural to the climate, agrees beſt with us. And if it pleaſes God to ſpare life, it is no leſs painful, or requires any ſhorter time to recover; for days and months paſs away in accuſtoming the body to the unuſual food, but it is the work of two or three years, with continual care and application, to re-eſtabliſh health. If the probability of this be queſtioned, I appeal for confirmation of it to Father Cavazzi da Montecuccolo in his Hiſtorical Deſcriptions before-mentioned, where he ſpeaks of it in many places, viz. in his firſt book, p. 146, in his third, p. 330, &c.

If the torments this fever occaſioned my body were ſo grievous, much more muſt they needs be to my ſoul, ſince I had only the poor lay-brother Leonard to adminiſter the ſacraments to me: who nevertheleſs in temporals was as ſerviceable as I could expect or wiſh, but in ſpirituals could only ſprinkle me now and then with holy water, and call ſometimes for me on the names of Jeſus and Mary.

Whilſt I was thus labouring under an uncertainty, whether I ſhould live or die, an envoy was introduced to me from the King of Caconga, who writ me word, that both he and his whole kingdom were diſpoſed to receive our holy faith, and therefore deſired I would make what haſte I could to him to have thoſe good intentions accompliſhed. At that time I was ignorant that the count of Sogno had married his ſiſter to this King, on condition that he ſhould embrace the Chriſtian communion, but which not long after I was acquainted with by the ſaid count himſelf. This good news I muſt own was no ſmall relief to my malady, though it did not abſolutely recover me. I therefore entreated His Excellency the count, that he would pleaſe to ſupply the want of ability in me, and give the envoy an anſwer which might demonſtrate my gratitude, and great obligations to his maſter for his propoſal.

This King ſent afterwards to our count to offer him the iſland of Zariacacongo, which being neareſt to his dominions might be better governed by him, and continued in the Chriſtian religion when once planted there. With the meſſenger that brought

this offer, I diſpatched another to the King, to let him know that for the preſent I was extremely ill; and beſides that there was no other miſſioner throughout the count's dominions beſides myſelf, but that if God in his infinite mercy ſhould pleaſe to ſpare my life, I would take ſuch care that he ſhould be ſerved in his requeſt, either by me or ſome other. I deſired His Majeſty moreover to order the governor of the iſland, that whenever any of my interpreters ſhould come there, to ſet up a croſs as an original ſign of Chriſtianity, he would permit them to do it without moleſtation. I likewiſe begged of His Majeſty to aſſign ſome place in his dominions for a church to be built. All I had ſo deſired, was punctually granted not long after by this good King, who teſtified a more than ordinary inclination to ſee me; but which my weakneſs, occaſioned through the great loſs of blood I had undergone, hindered me from obeying him in. One of our Fathers being come to me, ſet forward immediately to forward ſo good a work, as the converſion of a whole kingdom; who coming to Bomancoij, a city on the other ſide of the river Zaire, and metropolis of the kingdom of Angoij, heard that the King was dead, and a new one elected. This cauſed him immediately to return homewards, employing himſelf by the way in other miſſions among the iſlands belonging to Sogno: he thought it not amiſs to touch at the iſland of Zariacacongo, to pry into the diſpoſitions of that people; and finding a croſs erected amongſt them, he took thence an occaſion to aſk them, "If they deſired to be Chriſtians?" The governors anſwered, "That they could not receive any new law without leave from the preſent King; which if he would grant, they were moſt ready to embrace it." There were not wanting ſome among them that ſaid ſcoffingly, "When we are ſick forſooth, the wood of this croſs will recover us!" This they ſpoke, I ſuppoſe, by the inſtigation of the wizards, who knew well enough that the Chriſtian religion ſhould be no ſooner eſtabliſhed there, but they would be perſecuted; and therefore, no doubt, thought it adviſeable to oppoſe it. The Father having done all he could to pleaſe them, and finding his endeavours ineffectual, left them till a more favourable opportunity offered itſelf. The count finding theſe iſlanders to oppoſe the commands of their late King, reſolved to compel them by force to perform them, and conſequently ſet out againſt them with an army for that purpoſe; and we ſeeing it involved in troubles, thought fit to put off our going thither till another time.

This iſland is none of the ſmalleſt, and ſituate in the midſt of the river Zaire. It abounds with all ſorts of proviſions, and great numbers of inhabitants. It is plain, raiſed eight fathom above the water, and is divided from the kingdom of Congo by a river, over which there is a bridge.

About the end of the fifth year of my miſſion, arrived at our convent the two Milaneſe Fathers formerly mentioned, viz. Father Andrew da Pavia (who was appointed ſuperior in my ſtead) and Father Angelo Franciſco da Milano; together with a lay-brother, one Giulio d'Orta. They brought along with them ſeveral refreſhments from Europe, whereby having greatly comforted me, I began to recover my ſtrength, inſomuch that I reſolved ſpeedily to ſet forth in my miſſion, but knew not well whither to go. If I went to Chiovachianza, I was afraid I ſhould not ſucceed there, by reaſon, as Father Leonard told me, they had not ſeen the face of a prieſt for many years; and moreover, ſince they had had any among them, they had been ſubdued, as I told you before, by Simatamba. And if I went to the new King of Cacongo, I diſtruſted my ſecurity there, becauſe he had never invited me. At length it was the advice of all, rather to repair and ſupport what had been already built, than to think of laying a new foundation in another place, and the rather, becauſe there was no extraordinary underſtanding between the count of Sogno and the new King of Cacongo, although the

the count had given him his vote as one of his electors. I was nevertheleſs not yet reſolved to go for Chiovachianza, having heard what happened there to one of our order, who coming thither from Sogno, and being for that reaſon ill-looked upon, did little or no good; and beſides, happening to take a ſmall quantity of Talk, wherewith that country greatly abounds, he was taken and clapped up into priſon, beſides other ill-uſage offered him; and was at length releaſed, more out of covetouſneſs than either charity or juſtice. Notwithſtanding this conſideration, I was at laſt prevailed upon to go: for this purpoſe I reſolved to carry with me interpreters of the beſt quality I could get; and therefore procured, though with ſome difficulty, the Count don Stephano's ſon, a perſon extremely beloved throughout theſe dominions, together with the ſecretary and his brother, both nephews to the preſent count, and who have been mentioned by me before. Having got all things in readineſs for ſo long and dangerous a journey, taking up four or five days at leaſt, the interpreters thought themſelves obliged, according to the cuſtom of the country, to go and aſk their lord and maſter's benediction: which he gave them with a pleaſing countenance; but nevertheleſs could not help ſaying, "What, will you leave your prince to hunt after Bonghi (the money of that country)?" to which they readily anſwered, that they were going in the ſervice of God, and not in ſearch after Bonghi. This did not paſs ſo ſecretly but it came to my ears, and which I obſerved to have had that effect upon the before-mentioned perſons, that I reſolved to alter my reſolutions, and inſtead of Chiovachianza, to embark for Angoij, and thence to go to Cacongo.

If it was not my good fortune to go to Chiovachianza myſelf, give me leave to tell you who did. We had a certain native of Congo, whom we had bred up in our convent from a youth. This perſon being very virtuous, and of a more than ordinary capacity, our friars cauſed him to be made a prieſt for the benefit of Chriſtianity, to the end that being naturally more proper to bear fatigue and labour than they, he might be ſent out on a miſſion where they could not go. Him we forthwith diſpatched to the above-mentioned country, where in a few days he baptized above five thouſand children. Having remained there for ſome time, and worked like a faithful labourer in his Lord's vineyard, at the requeſt of our Fathers, he obtained a canonſhip in the biſhopric of Loanda in the kingdom of Angola, where he now reſides, with a great deal of honour due to his behaviour and character.

I went to wait on the count to take leave of him, telling him, that I had in ſome meaſure been hindered from making my miſſion by land, and therefore I was reſolved to perform it ſpeedily by ſea. His anſwer was little to the purpoſe, which nevertheleſs ſavoured more of craft than any thing elſe. He told me, that ſince my departure was ſo ſudden, he could only furniſh me with a brace of goats, and ſome pulſe.

I embarked, and the firſt port I touched at was Capinda in the kingdom of Angoij, where the Portugueſe trade all the year, as do the Dutch. I was no ſooner landed, but I ſet about my ſpiritual employment; yet whatever pains I took, and however I inculcated the truth, I could gain over but one ſingle perſon, whom I baptiſed. I confeſſed ſeveral Chriſtians that came thither about buſineſs, together with ſome Flemiſh Catholics that lived there. I continued aſhore all the day to ſay maſs; at which aſſiſted not only the Roman Catholics, but the Pagans, eſpecially the women of theſe laſt, who were ſo well pleaſed with the picture of the Virgin Mary, that they clapped their hands after their manner of devotion, and cried out in their language, "Eguandi Ziambiabungù magotti, benchì, benchì!" that is, "This is mother of God, O how beautiful ſhe is!" Which ſaid, they all fell on their knees and worſhipped her. This act

act of tenderneſs ſo wrought upon me, that it quickly brought tears of joy into my eyes, to ſee ſo much devotion and acknowledgment in ſo ignorant a people.

Angoij is a kingdom rather in name than in dominions, being but a very ſmall territory. Here formerly a certain Mani happening to marry a Mulatta, daughter to a very rich Portugueſe, his father-in-law would needs make him King of Angoij; and for that purpoſe cauſed him to rebel againſt the King of Cacongo his lawful ſovereign. The manner in ſhort was thus:—The King of Congo having ſent a governor, or viceroy, to govern the kingdom of Loango; that perſon being rather ambitious to reign abſolutely, than rule under another, got himſelf to be proclaimed King of all that country; and moreover, took in ſo much more land belonging to his maſter, that his dominions are at preſent extremely large, and wholly independent of Congo. Cacongo lying in the middle between Congo and Loango, that Mani declared himſelf neuter, and ſet himſelf up for King of Angoij, rebelling againſt his lawful ſovereign the King of Cacongo.

The kingdom of Loango lies in five degrees and a half of ſouth latitude. The Chriſtian religion was firſt planted there in the year 1663, by the labour and diligence of one Father Ungaro a friar of our order. This pious Father had run through divers countries and kingdoms, when at laſt coming to Sogno, and lodging in our convent, a Portugueſe traveller happening to come that way, was very courteouſly received and relieved by him, inſomuch that in a little while they had contracted a great friendſhip together. After ſome time the Portugueſe went his way, and coming to Loango, related to that King the great integrity and honeſty he had found in this Capuchin miſſioner. The King giving credit to what he told him, was eaſily induced to ſend two of his younger ſons to Sogno, to be inſtructed by this perſon in the principles of the Chriſtian religion; which, after they had well been, and baptized, they were ſent back to the King their father.

Theſe princes confirming the character the Portugueſe had given of Bernardino Ungaro, the King had a great deſire to ſee ſo good a man, and keep him always with him; and therefore wrote forthwith to the governor of Angola to ſend him to him. This governor having obtained leave of the then ſuperior, Father John Maria da Pavia, diſpatched him accordingly to Loango, without any manner of delay: where arriving ſoon after, and having inſtructed the King and Queen for ſome few days, he proceeded to baptize them both, and then to marry them after the manner of our church. His next buſineſs was to baptize the King's eldeſt ſon, and after him ſucceſſively the whole court, which conſiſted of above three hundred perſons. In a word, within the ſpace of a year that he lived there, he had baptized upwards of twelve thouſand people. At laſt this zealous miſſioner finding himſelf oppreſſed with a grievous indiſpoſition, and believing that he ſhould not live long, ſent for our lay-brother Leonard; who coming not long after to him, the pious Father died the ſame morning he arrived, well provided, as we may imagine, of merits for another world. The good King hearing this, and being deſirous to keep up what he had ſo happily begun, ſent brother Leonard to the aforeſaid ſuperior to acquaint him with Ungaro's death, and to deſire of him to ſend him ſpeedily another miſſioner; but however, theſe his good intentions were afterwards diſappointed by a rebellion raiſed againſt him by a kinſman, who being ambitious of his crown, and having been aſſiſted by ſome apoſtate Catholics, deprived the good King of his life. This King's extraordinary zeal for propagating of the Chriſtian religion, appears, in that he has been often heard to ſay, "that he would ſhed his deareſt blood in the defence of it."

The

The tyrant and uſurper that diſpoſſeſſed him, lived not long after to enjoy his ill-gottten throne, but was ſnatched away from it by a ſudden death. This wicked perſon being dead, another Chriſtian King aroſe, who, though he did all he could, by the help of one Capuchin, to promote what had been begun by Father Ungaro, yet was he not able to bring his intentions about, and that for want of more miſſioners; wherefore this kingdom remains at preſent, as formerly, buried in idolatry. In my time were ſeveral attempts made to recover our intereſt there, though to no purpoſe; yet there is now a greater probability of ſucceeding in it than ever, the preſent King having prohibited the heretics to traffic within his dominions, by reaſon that they had ſold his ſubjects fire-arms, which he imagined might in time prove prejudicial to him.

I never heard there was any Chriſtian prince that reigned in the kingdom of Angoij, that country having been always inhabited by a ſort of people extremely given to ſorcery and magic, and who have likewiſe ever been profeſſed enemies to the people of Sogno and Cacongo. Before I left thoſe countries, thoſe miſſioners I had left behind me in Sogno, writ me word that the count had declared war againſt Angoij; and having conquered that King, had taken all his guns, arms, and ammunition from him, vowing withal never to ſuffer any perſon to enjoy any office or dignity in that kingdom, unleſs he were a Chriſtian. This put me in mind of the ſaying of the Chriſtian poet Claudian,

Aſperius nihil eſt humili cum ſurgit in altum. EUTROP. lib. i. v. 181.

And I believe the chiefeſt motive of the King of Cacongo's ſeeking the count's friendſhip, was to have the people of Angoij kept under, he being a kind of check upon them.

Whilſt I continued at Capinda, I obſerved a ſort of fiſhing which I never ſaw elſewhere. The fiſhermen threw into the ſea a large net with weights, which having long canes fixed to it at equal diſtances from each other, by their bobbing down ſhew when there is any fiſh taken; this net has large meſhes only to detain the great fiſh. It is made of thread of a certain root, which being beaten, becomes like unto our hemp*.

I ſaw all along theſe ſhores oyſter-ſhells lie in great numbers; and being deſirous to find thoſe with oyſters in them, although the Negroes would not direct us, we ſoon loaded our boat. We found them lying one upon another in great heaps, and reſembling a rock: it requires no great ſtrength to looſe them, but only a little ſhaking.

I had here an opportunity to ſee the civet-cats, called by the natives Nzime, and by the Portugueſe, Gatte d'Angelia. This country abounds with them, and they are ſold in great numbers to the Whites. They are white and black, and of about the bigneſs and make of a large cat. The civet is taken from the male, when ſhut up in a cage, by catching him by the tail that he may not turn; and then ſkimming the ſweat off from his limbs with a kind of ſpoon. There are other ſorts of wild cats, which are called by the natives Nzſuſì.

The moſt civilized habit here is a piece of cotton thrown over their ſhoulders, and another girt about their loins; which they purchaſe in exchange for ſlaves and ivory: others content themſelves with a ſhort apron, only to ſhew they are Gentiles. They wear a little horn about their necks, hanging like a jewel; and which they anoint every full moon with an oil that their wizards give them, and afterwards bind them about with divers ſpells. They wear their hair according to their quality: the Queen that I

* What our author tells for a wonder, is now very common, for all draw-nets have corks fixed at an equal diſtance to do the ſame office.

ſaw,

ſaw, had hers ſhaved cloſe on the crown, and little tufts left all round on the ſides. Others have it left in a circle like that of a monk, and others have theirs plaited down in points towards their foreheads and their necks, inſomuch that if there were the leaſt ſtraggling hairs, they would be cut away, and the reſt ſhaved cloſe to the head.

The houſes for the moſt part are of reeds, whereof ſome are built round, and others ſquare; they are generally ſuch miſerable huts that they are rather fit to receive inſects, wherewith this country abounds, than to afford a tolerable habitation for men. The houſe of the Mafucca, receiver of the Whites, though it was built with the ſame materials, yet was it nevertheleſs very large and well-contrived, having ſeveral arched rooms, within each of which were two ſmall braſs-cannons, which, together with two great ones at the gate, made in all eighteen. Theſe cannons they had got in exchange for Negroes, ivory, and the like, from the Whites. The King's palace ſeemed to me not unlike the foregoing. What moved my wonder moſt was, the governor of Bomangoij's houſe, which at a diſtance ſeemed to be a well-fortified citadel encompaſſed with walls, and unlike the workmanſhip of the Blacks; but as you come nearer you find its walls to be only compoſed of large ſtakes (paliſadoes) ſtuck into the ground, five thick, and then raddled up to the top with others of the ſame bigneſs; within there were two large ways, which ſubdivided into ſeveral leſſer paths. The rooms are all hung within with a delicate ſort of mats, made of oziers of divers colours. It ſeemed to me a ridiculous thing nevertheleſs, that their houſes ſhould be but of ſtraw, ſtakes, and oziers, and yet defended with braſs guns.

The people here, for want of laws to prevent it, take as many wives as they pleaſe; and ſhe commands the reſt who beſt pleaſes her huſband, but he has always a power to put her away as well as the reſt. The ladies of the blood-royal have a liberty to chuſe for themſelves what man they pleaſe, whether noble or a plebeian; but woe be to that man that happens to diſappoint them in their expectations, for they have likewiſe abſolute power of life or death. Whilſt I was in this city, one of theſe ladies ſent a young woman to be ſold to the Portugueſe, ſtrictly commanding her guardian to let her go at any price, but not to diſpoſe of her to any but Whites. Her crime it ſeems was a bare ſuſpicion of being too familiar with the ſaid lady's huſband. Thoſe women that receive ſtrangers into their houſes are obliged by a barbarous cuſtom to admit them to their embraces for a night or two, depriving their huſbands of that right in the mean-time. Where we Capuchin miſſioners come, our interpreters immediately give notice, that no woman may come within our doors.

Theſe people abound ſo in ſuperſtition, that it would ſcarce be believed by any but thoſe who ſaw it; and to go about to prevent it would be to little purpoſe, ſince the chief among them are ſuch as encourage it. I declined ſeeing the King although I had made him preſents, and he had returned the favour, by reaſon I had been told that he wore enchanted bracelets on his arms, and had divers other magic charms about his body, reſolving at my return both to viſit and make him ſenſible, if poſſible, of the curſed ſtate he was in without repentance. Whilſt I was here I heard ſeveral proclamations made publicly by the wizards, that all thieves and robbers ſhould ſpeedily make reſtitution, or they would have recourſe to their arts to diſcover them. I ſaw likewiſe at a diſtance an oath adminiſtered, which, that it might be done with the greater efficacy, it was propoſed to be taken in the preſence of their idol; this hobgobbling reſembled in ſome meaſure a mountebank's merry-andrew, having a divers-coloured veſt on, and a red cap on its head, and ſtanding on a little table. As ſoon as the company that ſtood round in a ring ſaw me, they immediately diſperſed and hid their idol. This they did not out of any fear of us, by reaſon that being pagans we

had no juriſdiction over them, but becauſe (ſaid they) the preſence of a prieſt deprives them of the power of acting. Before the gates of their houſes almoſt all have one of theſe idols, whereof I have ſeen ſome five or ſix foot high, others are ſmaller, but both are generally clouterly carved; they place them likewiſe in the fields where they are never worſhipped but on account of finding out ſome theft, for which the thief when diſcovered muſt die. They that keep idols in their houſes, every firſt day of the moon are obliged to anoint them with a ſort of red wood powdered, as was ſaid above. At the appearance of every new moon, theſe people fall on their knees, or elſe cry out, ſtanding and clapping their hands, "So may I renew my life as thou art renewed." If it happen that the air is cloudy at that time, then they do nothing, alledging that that planet has loſt his virtue. This ſort of devotion is obſerved moſtly by women. As I was travelling over hills and valleys to tranſport myſelf to Congo, I chanced to light upon a place where they were invoking of evil ſpirits; the place was a poor, wretched, deſpicable hut built on a ſmall riſing ground; on one ſide hung two coarſe naſty aprons which ſtunk ſo that they were enough to ſtrike any one down that came near them. In the middle of this hut was a wall raiſed about two foot with mud and dirt, behind which ſtood the wizard to pronounce his fallacious oracles on account of the prince of darkneſs. He had on his head a tuft of feathers variouſly woven, and in his hand two long knives without ſheaths. Having a mind to enter this temple of the devil's, I perceived a very large fire before me, but nevertheleſs found ſo inſupportable a ſtench that all my ſenſes were in a manner taken from me. I reſolved notwithſtanding to proceed, arming myſelf frequently with the ſign of the croſs, and recommending my protection to the Almighty. Whilſt I was endeavouring to go forward, for you muſt imagine the ſtink was no ſmall obſtacle, I heard a great number of the poor deluded pagans come murmuring and muttering behind me, exclaiming againſt my rude attempt to enter their helliſh tabernacle. This prevented my going any further, fearing I might otherwiſe provoke their blind rage to do me a miſchief. But to return to my ſubject.

When I had continued ſome time at Capinda, the Mafucca told me he had orders from the King of Congo, that whenever any Capuchin friars appeared in thoſe parts, he ſhould ſend them to him. I anſwered, that coming from Sogno I knew not if I ſhould be well received or not. The Mafucca replied, "I will write to know His Majeſty's pleaſure, and I adviſe Your Reverence to write likewiſe." I aſked him how many days journey the King was off from thence; he anſwered me, "three by water, and four by land." "If it be ſo," added I, "I will write." Then I conſidered with myſelf, that if I did go I might loſe opportunity of the return of my boat from Loango to tranſport me further, according to my intentions, and therefore I reſolved not to go. To this purpoſe I writ to His Majeſty, humbly ſuppoſing, that he was indifferent whether I came to him or not; and therefore having ſet out from Sogno with no other deſign but to go to the kingdom of Cacongo, I was preparing ſpeedily to go thither. Coming to an anchor not long after in a port of that kingdom, I diſpatched a letter to the King, acquainting him that I was the perſon that had received ſo many favours from his predeceſſor, having been ſent for by him to Sogno to preach the goſpel, and that then being greatly indiſpoſed I could not poſſibly wait upon him according to his commands. This letter was contrived by me to be preſented him by two perſons, the one a White, namely, one Ferdinando Gomez, a Portugueſe, whom I did not care to truſt wholly, by reaſon I knew him to be covetous, and therefore ſent another with him who was a Black, and a relation to the ſaid King. To him I conſigned a preſent to His Majeſty, which was a cryſtal crown, and another of blue glaſs

for the Queen. This preſent was ſo well received by the King, that as a token of his being pleaſed, he took it and put it on his head, which not a little ſurprized the ſtanders-by, they having a law amongſt them that prohibits their King wearing any thing that comes from the Whites, which law they call Chegilla; His Majeſty nevertheleſs diſpenſed with this law, telling the people that this crown had been ſent him by his Capuchin Father, and that therefore he highly prized it, and commanded his Queen to do the like by hers; he then ordered my meſſengers to be treated with all the civility imaginable, and after eight days ſtay diſmiſſed them with a letter to me, wherein he thanked me heartily for my kind intentions towards him, and proffered me, that if I would come and ſee him I ſhould be very honourably received, adviſing me to bring ſome rich Portugueſe merchant along with me to be my conductor, with ſome conſiderable merchandizes to pleaſe the people. This anſwer of his was to the purpoſe, and had three ſerviceable conſequences, firſt to himſelf, ſecondly to me, and thirdly to the Portugueſe.

As to the firſt, it was commonly reported among the miſſioners, and remained freſh in the memories of the Negroes, that ſome years ſince a certain King of this kingdom having been baptized by a religious perſon, and afterwards cauſing a proclamation to be made, that within ſuch a time all wizards ſhould depart his dominions, or ſuffer death for their neglect; theſe wicked wretches incited his ſubjects to a rebellion againſt him, which at length increaſed to that degree, that they ran like madmen to the palace with weapons in their hands to aſſault their prince. The prudent King having timely notice of their motions, retired in great haſte to a ſon's of his, who was at that time governor of an adjoining territory, thinking he could be no where ſo ſafe as under his protection, who was indebted to him for his being. The ſon ſeeing his father hotly purſued by his mutinous ſubjects, I know not whether through fear of death, or out of policy, ſoon diſcovered, and delivered him up to their mercy. What could the afflicted father do upon this occaſion, but have recourſe to the holy crucifix which he always wore about him, and which had been given him at the font by the prieſt that baptized him, kiſſing it over and over, and crying out, "If I muſt die through the treachery of a ſon, ought I not to do the ſame on account of my Saviour, who was betrayed and died for me? yes, if I had a thouſand lives I would lay them down all for his ſake." This ſaid, hugging the crucifix cloſe in his arms and kiſſing it, he yielded down his head to the fatal ſteel, which at one ſtroke deprived him both of head and life. His perfidious ſon did not remain long unpuniſhed, for ſoon after, being firſt deprived of his government, he died miſerably. The ſame happened to that wicked kinſman, and infamous conſpirer againſt the King of Loango, who in like manner by a commendable death reſigned his breath on account of his endeavours to propagate the Chriſtian faith within his dominions.

The cauſe of my going to Cacongo, was principally the ſpiritual comfort of thoſe poor ſouls, and the performance of my duty, but I had likewiſe a deſire to ſee the body of the former of the two before-mentioned Kings, which was not much reverenced by the ſaid people, but highly reſpected by me, and which was not difficult for me to find it, having been the cuſtom there, as with us, to bury their Kings by themſelves. That ſtrange accident having left ſo indelible an impreſſion on the mind of the preſent King, he had good reaſon to deſire a trade with the Portugueſe in expectation of their aſſiſtance both ſpiritual and temporal, which he alſo expected from his good friend and ally the count of Sogno.

To confirm as much as in me lay the good intentions of this King, I had ſignified to him among other things, that to lay the ſurer foundation of the Chriſtian religion in his

his country, I muſt deſire the favour of him, that either all, or at leaſt the chief of the magicians and wizards of this kingdom would meet me to defend their opinions, and oppoſe mine; and if they declined coming on account of ignorance, I deſired I might exerciſe my ſacerdotal power on their charms, and diſprove and annul all their devices, and thereby ſhew that the performances of Chriſt's miniſters are always above thoſe of the devil's.

The ſecond conſequence to me and all true Catholics was, that by the introducing of Chriſtianity into that kingdom, the heretics that traded there would be diſcountenanced and confuted, and not ſuffered for the future to make the port of Capinda their way to the kingdom of Loango.

The third good conſequence was to the Portugueſe, to whom we have been ſo much obliged not only in trade, but likewiſe in matters of religion.

Ferdinand Gomez preſſed me extremely to give the King of Cacongo an anſwer, and therein to ſignify to him that if His Majeſty pleaſed he would wait upon him as a merchant, and had prepared great variety of merchandize for that purpoſe. My anſwer was, that if the King ſpent ſome days in conſidering on his anſwer, I had reaſon to ſtudy mine many more. His deſign, it ſeems, was to vend his commodities aboard, and then ſail away without leaving any thing aſhore. This the Negroes nevertheleſs diſcovered, and thereupon told him, that if he had a mind to trade for ſlaves in their country, he muſt firſt land all his merchandize. This honeſt man hoped to have had his rogueries authorized by me, though he knew it to be my buſineſs to preach nothing but truth and ſincerity. I thought it proper to go and ſpeak with the King, who reſided about eight miles off, to the end he might not think either himſelf or his ſubjects impoſed upon by me or my acquaintance. Gomez would needs accompany me; we found the journey extremely troubleſome, eſpecially I who had been ſick. From the ſea we had a very ſteep aſcent to make, which obliged me to come out of my net, and to walk afoot, but at length through extreme weakneſs I fainted; whereupon I was lifted again into the net, and with much ado dragged up the hill. This fainting was occaſioned by my indiſpoſition, which never left me, and by the ſlender proviſions we had in the ſhip, which conſiſted of nothing but horſe-beans, Indian-wheat, and flower made of the root of an herb; and yet this man told me before our Fathers of Sogno, that his bark was well-provided, eſpecially with ſweet-meats, though indeed I found nothing but big words, and had like to have paid for it with my life.

When we came to the Mafucca's houſe, who was the King's relation, and lived about a mile from court, I called him aſide, and told him what Gomez had deſigned; he ſeemed very angry, but was nevertheleſs ſoon appeaſed by my intermediation. I afterwards aſked him ſeriouſly, if I ſhould go to the Banza where the King reſided, whether he thought His Majeſty would be baptized or not. To which he, though a pagan, civilly anſwered, that he was certain he would, according to his promiſe, provided that trade were ſettled within his dominions with the Whites purſuant to their contract; but if that were neglected, the performance of his promiſe would be accordingly procraſtinated. "Away then," replied I; "go tell your maſter, that by the help of God I would tranſport myſelf to Loanda in the kingdom of Angola, on purpoſe to ſettle that matter with the Portugueſe governor; and afterwards, if not prevented, I will return hither myſelf, but if I cannot, my Father ſuperior ſhall come and baptize your King." Then turning to Ferdinand Gomez, who ſtood by me all the while, I ſpoke to him thus in the preſence of the Mafucca, "You ſee I have ended my buſineſs, go you and make an end of yours, and do not endeavour to put tricks upon

theſe poor people." Hereupon he contented himſelf with ſix ſlaves in exchange for his goods, and ſo prepared for his departure.

I nevertheleſs remained in the Mafucca's houſe, and towards night an ambaſſador, with five others, came to me from the King of Congo. Before their coming I had two meſſengers from the Mafucca of Angoij, to ſignify their maſter's concern for my departure from Capinda without his knowledge. I acquainted them that the reaſon of my ſo doing was, becauſe I had no houſe near the ſea to reſide in, his being above a day's journey off. I afterwards opened the King of Congo's letter, wherein he entreated me for God's ſake to come and comfort him, many years having paſſed ſince he had any Capuchin within his dominions; and his mother Donna Potentiana was deſirous to ſee me, having ſeveral things to communicate to me for the benefit of Chriſtianity. Together with the embaſſy the King ſent a preſent of two ſlaves, one for me, and the other for the Mafucca, for ſervices done him. Mine I refuſed, and yet I never ſaw him; but afterwards conſidering that if I did not accept of him, the Mafucca would have both to ſell to the heretics, I gave him to Ferdinand Gomez, for having given me a flaſk of wine for the ſacrament, and ſome other ſmall things. Then I took leave of the Mafucca of Cacongo, thanking him for his civilities, and bidding him to acquaint the King his maſter that I was gone to Loanda to accompliſh what His Majeſty had commanded. I deſired the captain of the ſhip or ſmack, that if he did not meet with me at Capinda, he ſhould do his beſt to come to the port of Sogni, which he did faithfully, being a Venetian, and my countryman, notwithſtanding both the wind and tide were againſt him. For the civilities I had received from the Mafucca, I preſented him with ſeveral ſmall things, in all to the value of about a ſlave; this I did that he might be the more willing to furniſh me with proviſions for my voyage. I punctually obſerved his orders in ſatisfying the people that were to carry me over the river, which obliged him ſo much, that he procured me ſeveral companions beſides the Congolans, which made us in all thirteen.

On the 7th of March 1688, without any farther delay, we ſet forth towards Congo, and having gone about two days' journey by land, arrived at the Banza of Bomangoij, where, by a correſpondent of the Mafucca, a well-bred man, I was very courteouſly received and welcomed, as I was by the governor, who received me with ſincerity, and procured a boat to carry me farther up the river. This voyage was extremely irkſome to me through the exceſſive heat, the ſun being then in Leo, which is the time of the rains; and I believe I could never have endured it, had I not been particularly aſſiſted by Almighty God. A-nights I was obliged to lie aſhore on the wet ground, continually tormented with a multitude of gnats called Melgos, which rather deſerved the name of horſe-leeches, for they would never quit their holds till they dropped off and burſt, and ſo rather choſe to loſe their lives than baulk their appetites. Or elſe I lay expoſed to the air in the canoe, which was a much greater plague. All this was nothing to what follows. The Mafucca's ſervant having received his money beforehand, would not allow me enough to ſubſiſt for four days, having agreed with the reſt of the Blacks, who took their turns, to go by land and divert themſelves, meeting the boat at the turn of the river, till we came to Boma. As for my interpreter, they gave him now and then a little, but I was fain to owe all my ſupport to a little wine I had by me. The Congheſes ſent to me by the King, bid me to have patience, for it would not be long before I was in their maſter's dominions, and then I might have an opportunity to revenge myſelf on thoſe wicked infidels.

The iſland of Boma is well ſituated, pretty large, extremely populous, and abounds with all manner of ſuſtenance proper for the climate. It is tributary to the King of Congo,

Congo, and has ſeveral ſmall iſlands about it belonging to the count of Sognó. The inhabitants do not uſe circumciſion like ſome pagans their neighbours, whoſe wizards circumciſe them on the eighth day, not out of any regard to the Moſaical law, but for ſome wicked ends and purpoſes of their own. When our miſſioners came to exerciſe their function in the iſlands of Sogno, theſe people carry their children to them to baptize. In this they do well, but as to other matters they obſerve little or no religion, and that I believe chiefly for want of prieſts to inſtruct them. As ſoon as they perceived my arrival, the mothers ran like mad women with their children in their arms to get them baptized. This the Mani would not nevertheleſs permit me to perform, till he had known his lord and maſter's pleaſure therein. As we rowed up the canal, the lord of the iſland ſent to ſpeak with me, being ready to receive me not far off, but firſt let me know that I muſt not pretend to touch him, for that he was a true gentile; his arms were all covered with great numbers of enchanted iron and braſs hoops, and he ſuperſtitiouſly avoided my touching him, for fear they ſhould loſe their virtue. When I came to him, I found him ſitting in a ſort of leathern chair under an umbrella; he had a ſort of linen apron about his middle, and the reſt of his body was wrapped about in a kind of ſcarlet cloak, which having loſt both its colour and nap plainly ſhewed its antiquity. I alſo ſat myſelf down in a little leathern chair, which I carried always about with me to hear confeſſions. After a little diſcourſe I preſented him with ſomething after the cuſtom of his country; for if ſomething of this kind be not done to the prince, a miſſion will not be very like to ſucceed. Afterwards this prince having aſſigned me a houſe near to his, I began to baptize the children.

The prince gave me to underſtand, that he had a mind I ſhould baptize a ſhe-ſlave of his, which I told him I could not do till I had catechized her; and moreover, that after baptiſm there were ſeveral things to be done by her, among which one was, that ſhe muſt be forthwith married according to our law, which we enjoined on all the converted pagans in other parts. I was anſwered by one of the ſtanders-by, that this woman was not only a ſlave, but likewiſe miſtreſs to their lord, and therefore I ought not to inſiſt on the ſame from her as another. I told him her being a miſtreſs was ſo much the worſe, and bid him acquaint his lord, that I could by no means comply with his deſires: the prince ſeemed very much diſpleaſed at my refuſal to baptiſe his ſlave, but I nevertheleſs perſiſted in my reſolutions.

I baptized many at that time, and thereby not only reaped a ſpiritual benefit, but likewiſe a temporal one; for almoſt every one brought me ſomething or other as a preſent. Being ſcarcely able to ſtand on my feet, I turned about to the Mafucca's ſervant, and ſaid to him, "See what difference there is between your religion and ours; for, where yours allows you to be ungrateful, ours enjoins us to give even to thoſe that have uſed us ill: take, therefore, you, all theſe preſents, and leave me only ſufficient to ſupport me to-night." According as I had bid him, ſo he did; what was left for me being only a pot-full of pullet-broth, and a few peaſe. Here the cuſtom is to have the kitchen without doors for fear of firing the houſe, which is but of ſtraw. My interpreter only remained with me, the reſt of my companions being gone, ſome one way, and ſome another. As ſoon as we had prepared my ſupper with an addition of two eggs, I fell to it heartily: my broth I ſupped up, and taſted my peaſe, but I had not ſo done half an hour before I felt thoſe pains that people are wont to do with the twiſting of the guts: I thereupon lighted a candle, and threw myſelf upon the bed, which ſeemed much farther from me by reaſon of my torments than it really was. What I ſuffered is only poſſible for them to expreſs that have experienced the torture. Providence, which ſeldom fails the wretched in extremity, at laſt directed me to a little

baſket I had by my bed-ſide, wherein I had preſerved ſome antidotes, for I now began to think I was poiſoned: amongſt the reſt there was an elk's hoof, which I took and applied, but it did me no good, finding myſelf rather worſe than before; for my teeth began to be ſet, and my ſight to be loſt; then I had recourſe to a ſort of little lemon, which I would willingly have put into my mouth at once, but could not by reaſon of the too ſtrait paſſage: at laſt I found I muſt break it, which I did; the firſt drop that came into my mouth gave me ſome eaſe; but when I had got the reſt of the juice into my ſtomach, I began immediately to grow drowſy, inſomuch that I quickly fell aſleep with the lemon in my mouth, and hand upon my cheek. How long I continued in that condition I cannot tell. My companions coming, and perceiving me to lie in that poſture, thought verily I had been dead, but at length, through the only interceſſion of the Virgin, I came to myſelf. Then turning about to the Congolans, I cried, "God forgive ye," and was going to ſay more, but found my tongue unable to expreſs any thing but broken tones. The occaſion of my breaking forth into that expreſſion, was on account of the poiſoning of ſix of my order near Bamba, as they were travelling through Congo, being the common road from the kingdom of Angola. This way I reſolved to avoid, for fear the like fate might have happened to me. As for my diſtemper, it began to work off by vomits, which continued upon me for eight days and nights together; in four of which, I had little or no reſt, and, beſides, brought up whatever I eat. Being tolerably recovered, ſome ſhort time after I was impatient to be gone: for that purpoſe, I ſent to know if my people were in readineſs, but had for anſwer, that the cheſt wherein the altar and its furniture were kept, was left on the ſhore and the canoe gone. It ſeems the lord of that country had ſent the night before to the watermen, that if they offered to carry me off they ſhould loſe their heads. I hereupon ſent civilly to that prince to ſuffer me to procure another boat: his anſwer was, that if I wanted a boat, he alſo wanted a cloak, my preſent which I formerly made him not having been ſufficient. I happened to have two pieces of cotton-cloth by me, which it ſeems he had been informed of; they were woven in divers colours, and came from Guinea, being a preſent to me from Father Franciſca da Montelione: one of theſe I immediately ſent to this prince to obtain his favour, which I heard he would not nevertheleſs afford me, unleſs I ſent the other alſo: this I was unwilling to do, alleging I kept it for the ſervice of God, to which he replied, that the boat was kept for God's ſervice likewiſe, and, therefore, I ſhould not have it. Finding myſelf thus indiſpenſably obliged to let him have it, I ſent it him, and, three days after, he returned me a boat and men.

Before I continue my voyage on the river, give me leave to acquaint you with ſome other paſſages of this nature which happened in this iſland, and were told me by Father Thomas da Seſtola our ſuperior, which may ſerve to confirm what has been related before. A certain miſſioner coming to this iſland, the Mani or lord ſeized upon ſome of the goods belonging to his miſſion; the friar, hereupon, acquainted the count of Sogno from whence he came therewith, who immediately ſent orders to have the things reſtored again to the Capuchin, or he would proclaim war againſt the Mani: this had ſo good an effect, that the goods were forthwith reſtored, and the miſſioner highly treated and preſented. Nevertheleſs, to prevent any miſunderſtanding between theſe two princes, the before-mentioned black prieſt, called Don Franciſco, was ſent hither, who being of the ſame colour and country with theſe iſlanders, made a good beginning in his holy function. Whilſt he was one day celebrating maſs, the Mani, who was much more devoted to riches than religion, inſtead of aſſiſting at thoſe divine myſteries, did nothing but gaze upon the prieſt's Chaſuble and ſilver patten; of one he had a fancy to make a coat, and of the other a breaſt-plate. As ſoon as maſs was ended, he very boldly

aſked for them: the prudent prieſt hereupon anſwered him, that he would very willingly let him have them, the Capuchins abounding in thoſe things, provided he would let him have them to officiate with during his ſtay there, but he ſtole away that very night. • Whether it was the Mani himſelf, or any other, that deſigned me harm, I am not able to determine; but I am certain, that if I had known the foregoing ſtory, I had walked more warily, and given nobody an opportunity to make me undergo ſo great a danger as I did.

It may not be here amiſs to take notice of two things more relating to the foregoing: firſt, as to the ſmall ſort of lemon which I made uſe of as an antidote, it is to be noted, that the poiſon of theſe parts, which lies chiefly in certain herbs, is not to be expelled any other way than by the juice of this fruit, and this is a ſecret known to very few. As to the poiſon in wood, or the like, nought can prevail againſt it, but the bark of the tree called Mignamigna, as has been hinted at before in the deſcription of the plants and trees of theſe countries.

Over and above the ſix Capuchin miſſionaries that were poiſoned at the time of my being in Congo, I muſt add the like ſad fate which had happened to Father Joſeph Maria da Seſtri, a Genoeſe, who, in his way to Sogno, where I then reſided, being accompanied with about thirty-five perſons ſent with him by the count, he went aſide to a Congheſe city called Incuſſo: at the time of his departure, he told me that ſix had been poiſoned before him, and he ſhould be the ſeventh. Staying at Incuſſo about a year, he took what care he could to get into his hands all the implements that had belonged to the deceaſed miſſioners, and which he was commanded to do by the then Father ſuperior. Whilſt he was doing this, he was earneſtly requeſted by the Vicar-general Don Michael de Caſtro, a Mulatto, to come to him, profeſſing himſelf deſirous to fulfil the Eaſter-duty of receiving the ſacrament and confeſſing, being then an old man, and wanting one to aſſiſt him in adminiſtering the ſacraments. The pious Father went innocently to wait on him according to his requeſt, carrying along with him what things he had recovered, propoſing to ſend them to the ſuperior: about four o'clock he got ſafe to the vicar-general's houſe, but, before night, he was taken with fainting fits, and died not without a reaſonable ſuſpicion of being poiſoned. He was no ſooner dead, but the vicar-general cauſed all the people to depart the room where he lay, and then proceeding to rip up his bundles, took thence, as we are credibly informed, four ſilver chalices, two cenſers, with their boats, and two pixs, all of the ſame metal, with ſeveral other things, part of which he pretended were given him by the dying miſſioner, and the reſt he promiſed he would ſend to our ſuperior at Loanda, but did not.

I report this from the people that were with Father Seſtri, when he died, and who told me moreover, that he took a great quantity of treacle without any relief. This action of the vicar-general hindered his ſon from being admitted into ſacred orders when he ſolicited for it. As ſoon as the old vicar was dead, the chapter of Loanda thundered out one excommunication againſt the ſon, then deacon, and the new biſhop another, to the end that he might thereby be obliged to reſtore what his father had ſo unjuſtly got; all which ſerved to little or no purpoſe. The old vicar had ſix thouſand ſlaves at his command, beſides ſubjects, with which he deſigned to have forced his ſon's promotion to the prieſthood, to the end that he might crown him King of Congo, without conſidering whether he could get himſelf to be elected, and at that time he was decrepit. But I muſt return to give an account of the further progreſs of my journey.

The firſt day after I was got over the river, I had a very ſteep mountain to go up; which being impoſſible to do in my net, I was fain to perform it on foot, being ſupported all the way by two men, by reaſon of my weakneſs. We came at length to a village, where

where I obſerved coleworts planted like ours in Europe, brought thither it may be by ſome miſſioners. There are of them in the kingdom of Angola, but they produce no ſeed, and are multiplied by planting the ſprouts, growing to a great height. This village was called Bungù, where I baptiſed fifteen children.

The morning of my departure hence, thoſe that had the care of me being gone back again, as it is the cuſtom in theſe countries to do, being aſſigned freſh conductors by the Mani of the place, they would not ſtir a foot forwards till they were paid, though it be our privilege to travel always at the charge of the town where we came laſt. In anſwer to their demands I told them, that I was going to wait on their King upon this account, and therefore if he would have me to come, he muſt bear my charges. They replied, in great fury, "We will be paid," clapping their hands, and ſtamping with their feet as if they had been mad. This action I confeſs made me ſmile, whereupon I told them, that if they would repeat the ſame three times over they ſhould be paid. This made them to laugh too, when ſhrugging up their ſhoulders, and performing what I required, they ſtooped and took me up. It ſeems this ridiculous action of theirs was to have frighted me into a compliance; but however they were diſappointed in the manner of procuring it, though they ſucceeded in what they expected.

In my ſecond day's journey I was carried to the city of Norchie, where I baptiſed one hundred and twenty-ſix perſons. This place is the beſt ſituated of any I had hitherto ſeen in Ethiopia. Here the King's ſon met me, being come for that purpoſe, and I ſtaid a day and a half to baptiſe the people.

Here, as I underſtood, had never yet been any prieſt, and that becauſe this town was ſomewhat out of the road, the people having been uſed to carry their children about ſix days journey off, to a place where the miſſioners commonly reſided. The crowd that gathered here about me was very great, and the court of the houſe where I was but very little, ſo that I determined for my greater eaſe, to perform my office in the market. This the Mani obſerving, told me, that if I pleaſed I might go to the church, which was not far off. I was glad to hear there was one, and therefore immediately went to it. When I came near it, I perceived it was a pretty large one, and had a great wooden croſs ſtanding before it, which I was glad to ſee. Fixing my eyes upon the door of the church, I found it was quite different from what others had; whereupon calling to the Mani with a great deal of concern, I deſired him to cauſe it to be opened. But he, inſtead of gratifying me in my requeſt, immediately fled, together with all the reſt of the company, which were very numerous. Being thus left to my reſentments, I clapped my foot againſt the door, and broke it open, when I ſaw what I could never have believed, had it been barely related to me: inſtead of an altar there was a great heap of ſand, wherein was ſtuck a ſtraight horn about five ſpans long, and on one ſide another of a leſſer ſize. On one part of the wall hung two coarſe ſhirts, ſuch as I had before ſeen in the kingdom of Angoij. Being aſtoniſhed at this ſight, my hair ſtood an end, my tongue cleaved to the roof of my mouth, and I began to cry out aloud, enhancing the offence as much as poſſible, "Are theſe the effects of the inſtructions ye have learned from our miſſioners? Is this the fruit of ſo much toil and anguiſh as has been undergone in your converſion?" with ſeveral more expreſſions of the like nature. I deferred adminiſtering the ſacrament of baptiſm for ſome time, giving for reaſon, that it was by no means proper to baptiſe the children of thoſe parents that had rejected the worſhip of the true God, for that of an abominable idol, ſuch as their execrable Cariabemba was, for ſo they called their devil. I afterwards told them that I would not ſtir a foot from their town till they had utterly thrown down and deſtroyed that temple of idolatry.

Retiring

Retiring to recommend myſelf to God, and to pray for the illumination of his Spirit, I ſaid to myſelf, "If I ſhould now clap fire to this building, and burn it down, what damage may it not do to the inhabitants, whoſe houſes are all adjoining, and moreover built with reeds?" I concluded therefore to execute my purpoſe more mildly at my return, after I had been ſecure of the King's favour; for ſhould I now have done it, I might have incurred the ſame damage or danger as others have done. Amongſt the reſt, Father Bernard da Savona, a few days before he came to Sogno, was left with his baggage, by his conductors, in a large foreſt, where, for fear of being torn to pieces by wild beaſts, he was forced to leave his bundles, and wander alone in great haſte; till at laſt coming near the ſea, he was diſcovered by fiſhermen, who giving us at the convent notice of it, we ſent ſpeedily out for him, and had him conducted ſafe to us. He was travelling, on account of his miſſion, to Emcaſſu in Congo.

The like misfortune befel Father John Baptiſt da Malta, as he travelled through Bamba; who perceiving himſelf forſaken by the perſons that were to attend him, had recourſe to the Father of miracles, the glorious St. Anthony of Padua, for aſſiſtance. When he had watched in a tree almoſt a whole night for fear of becoming a prey to the wild beaſts, he heard himſelf all of a ſudden called by his name. The poor Father thinking ſome of his companions had called him, begged for the love of God to be conducted to ſome road. A little while after two gentlemen coming by that way with ſervants, and obſerving the Father alone, and ſo much miſuſed, took him upon their own backs, and carried him to the city of Bamba, not ſuffering any of their ſervants to take turns with them, for fear of being deprived of the entire benefit of ſo charitable an action. The poor Father coming to the vicar of Bamba's houſe, and being kindly entertained by him, after ſome time enquired after his companions; and meeting with them not long after, he demanded of them how they could be ſo cruel as to leave him alone in ſuch a foreſt. Alſo, why they did not come to aſſiſt him when he called to them, and they heard him. Their anſwer was, that as for hearing him they took care not to do that from their firſt leaving him, flying from him as faſt as they could, and had not been near him ſince till then. By their anſwer the Malteſe eaſily perceived that it was the ſaint to whom he had recourſe, that had both called and delivered him. This was told me by the ſaid Father himſelf in our convent at Loanda, in the kingdom of Angola.

I was likewiſe afraid ſuch an accident might have befallen me, as happened to one of our order, Father Philip da Saleſia, a miſſioner into the kingdom of Congo. The ſtory is this:—After the death of the pious Don Alvaro King of Congo, a new King was choſen, who was no leſs zealous and devout than his predeceſſor. This prince putting out a proclamation to have all the wizards that ſhould be found within his dominions burnt, thoſe wicked wretches gathering together in the dukedom of Sundi, ſtill perſiſted to exerciſe their damnable callings in their huts, notwithſtanding the prohibition. To prevent this, the duke's forces marched thither in great haſte, carrying along with them the aforeſaid Father. Being arrived at the place, they began to ſet fire to the huts: as ſoon as the wizards perceived the flames about their ears, they came out in great fury; whereat the duke's people immediately fled, leaving the poor Father to ſhift for himſelf. The wizards perceiving him alone, ſoon ſeized, and murdered, and devoured him, both to ſatisfy their revenge and appetite. The truth of this was atteſted and told us by the perſons that fled, who ſaid, they had obſerved it by the light of the blaze of the houſes. We were then at our convent in the city of St. Salvador.

The young prince of Congo, who was about eighteen years old, perceiving I ſhewed him little reſpect, eſpecially after what I had diſcovered in the church, having drawn

up his men in order, departed. I was told I had not done well, to ſhew ſo little regard to their King's ſon, and was therefore deſired to ſend for him back again. My anſwer was, that ſince his departure was voluntarily, ſo ſhould be his return, for me; but withal, that if he would come back he ſhould be well received. In ſhort, he did come back, and at length both he and his were well ſatisfied, and tarried with me till next day at noon, when we went all away together.

Having travelled another day's journey and a half with the aforeſaid prince, we met with the King's uncle, and a relation of his, who had drums, trumpets, and a great train of followers. When we came within half a mile of the Banza of Lemba, where the King was, I was told I muſt not go any nearer till farther order, and therefore was forced to remain behind alone with my interpreter. At laſt the order came, attended with ſeveral perſons, to bring me to court. When I came near the city, I was ſtopped again to wait for the ſecretary, who was to receive me there. He preſently came and conducted me into the market-place, where the people, almoſt innumerable, and divided into two choirs, were ſinging of the Roſary in the Congheſe tongue. At the upper end ſat the King with a long cloak upon his ſhoulders, a ſatin waiſtcoat ſtriped with ſilver on his back, and his lower parts from the middle were cloathed with a fine veſt after the mode of the country. Being led up into His Majeſty's preſence, he reached out an ivory crucifix a ſpan and a half long, on an ebony croſs of a proportionable length, for me to kiſs. When I had done it, and he had delivered it to a favourite, he would needs kiſs my crucifix; which he did, and afterwards falling on his knees, received benediction. In the mean-time the people were marching in great order towards the church, whilſt the King and I brought up the rear. When I came into the church, after a ſhort prayer, I went up to the altar, and preached a ſermon to them upon theſe words of the apoſtle to the Corinthians, *Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies ſalutis;* declaring, that I came amongſt them for no other end, than to revive in their hearts the love and fear of God, and of his Son Chriſt.

My ſermon being ended, I waited on the King back to his palace, where he entertained me lovingly, and gave me a hearty welcome into his dominions. After we had ſpent ſome time together, I took my leave, but His Majeſty would needs ſee me out of the ſtreet. His nobles had orders to accompany me farther, for they conducted me to a houſe belonging to the King's uncle, where I was to reſide. I muſt needs ſay I was not a little ſurprized to obſerve how punctually thoſe lords would come every morning wrapped up in their long cloaks, and walking two by two, to receive and conduct me to church, and after maſs march back again with me in the ſame order as they came.

After the reciprocal viſits between the King and me were pretty well over, I one day aſked His Majeſty for what reaſon he had ſo earneſtly and ſo often ſent for me from Sogno. He anſwered, that he might have a prieſt and preacher of the holy Goſpel within his dominions. "That I believe," replied I, "but I preſume Your Majeſty had ſome other end." Though he made me no anſwer to this, yet I could eaſily perceive he had ſome thought thereupon that pleaſed him, and that by his ſmiling. "Your Majeſty muſt give me leave to gueſs at it," replied I, "and therefore I fancy you ſent for me to put the crown of Congo upon your head." Theſe words were ſcarce out of my mouth, but I heard a great clapping of hands, and humming (which are tokens of great joy among theſe people), together with a confuſed noiſe of prating among the courtiers, and drums beating, trumpets ſounding, and other noiſy inſtruments playing; all which were only grateful to my ears, as they proceeded from pleaſure conceived at what I had ſaid.

The Kings of Congo have a bull from Pope Urban VIII., which gives them leave to be crowned by the Capuchin miſſioners after the Catholic manner, and which in former times their firſt King was by the ſaid authority. And afterwards the miſſioner, Father Januario da Nola, did the ſame office for Don Garcia Alphonſo, who was crowned in the time of Pope Innocent X. The like were others down to this preſent King. I told His Majeſty that his election having been by votes, and that in writing, by reaſon the electors lived ſo far off, I deſired to ſee them. He readily complied with my requeſt, and among the reſt I found the count of Sogno's name, which I was glad to ſee, there having been ſome difference formerly between thoſe two princes.

Having gone thus far, my next buſineſs was to procure the regal crown of Congo, which had been formerly ſent hither by the aforeſaid Pope Urban, and remained at preſent in the cuſtody of the Portugueſe. It may not be amiſs to tell how they came by it; the manner in ſhort was this: — Don Garcia II. and ſeventeenth Chriſtian King of this country, being deſirous to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of his throne to his children, amongſt other tyrannous actions, extirpated ſeveral of the chief families of his kingdom; and at laſt, to ſhew that he was reſolved to die as wickedly as he had lived, inſtead of invoking the aſſiſtance of heaven in his ſickneſs, he had recourſe only to wizards, necromancers, and ſuch kind of ill-people. Theſe wretches bearing a more than ordinary hatred to the then prince Don Alphonſo, as well knowing and fearing that if they ſuffered him to come to the crown, he would not only perſecute, but baniſh them, poſſeſſed the mind of his ſick father, that to make his way the ſooner to his dominions, he had deſigned to poiſon him.

Garcia thereupon blinded by their ſubtilties, immediately declared his ſon unworthy of his throne, and conſequently got him murdered, recommending for his ſucceſſor Don Antonio I. his ſecond ſon. Not long after Garcia died, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, leaving his ſon Antonio to ſucceed him: but nobody can imagine the wickedneſs of his reign; beſides the murder of his brother, wherein he was not a little concerned, he put to death all his relations. He cauſed his wife to be murdered, giving out, though falſely, that ſhe was guilty of adultery; and afterwards married a near kinſwoman, whom he had formerly been in love with, againſt all law and reaſon. Then he proceeded to extend his cruelty towards her relations, as unjuſtly as he had done towards his own. Thus began the reign of that monſtrous tyrant Don Antonio, who having ſcarce wrapped himſelf in his purple, dyed it in ſcarlet, and became abhorred and hated by the Portugueſe and Whites, who having ſignified their diſlike to his practices, and which coming to his ears, he vowed he would ſpeedily have them beat and whipt out of his dominions.

To effect this, confiding more in his multitudes, than their knowledge in military affairs, he raiſed a prodigious army of nine hundred thouſand men; the truth whereof I know not whether it may be queſtioned by the reader; but beſides my own, I have the authority of Father Cavazzi for it, who in his ſecond book, p. 286, and eighth book, p. 868, affirms the ſame thing. Moreover it may appear credible, if we conſider the exceſſive largeneſs and populouſneſs of theſe countries, as likewiſe that all this King's ſubjects are not only obliged, but accuſtomed voluntarily to follow him to the wars at his leaſt command.

Before this army marched, the King was adviſed by Father Francis de St. Salvador, his chaplain and relation, not to hazard the lives of ſo many poor ſlaves, againſt ſo warlike a people as the Portugueſe. This friar had received the habit of our order from Father Giacinto dâ Vetralla; he was a learned man, and was admitted by order of the ſacred college.

The King not caring to hearken to his chaplain's advice, the army marched againſt the Portugueſe. On the very firſt day of their march, the heavens let down ſuch a deluge, as one would have thought ſufficient to have drowned all Æthiopia, and mourned in thunder for the dreadful ſlaughter that was to enſue. The good friar perceiving the diſpleaſure of heaven, renewed his former petition and advice to the King. "Obſerve," quoth he to the King, "theſe drops are as ſo many tongues, that exhort you not to fight againſt the Whites; and theſe claps of thunder are ſo many groans, that good heaven ſends forth for the woeful effects of your obſtinacy." The haughty King nevertheleſs perſiſted in his reſolution and marched forwards: when at length, ſtepping aſide a little way from his army, with a few followers, to repoſe himſelf, behold a dreadful tiger, as it were for a ſecond warning, leaped ſuddenly out of a foreſt, and ran full drive at him. Father Francis, who never went from the King's ſide, ſeeing this, drew out a ſcymitar he had at his girdle, and oppoſing the furious beaſt, at one ſtroke cleft him in two. The King, little moved at this action of his preſerver, rather attributed his ſafety to magic, than to his kinſman's valour.

The Portugueſe being reſolved to find thoſe mines of gold which the Moci-Congolans had ſo long promiſed, and ſtill delayed to diſcover to them, got together about four hundred brave Europeans, with near two thouſand Blacks their ſlaves, and lodged themſelves in the marquiſate of Pemba, where they not long after were aſſaulted by above eighty thouſand Æthiopians. The Portugueſe, though they ſaw their enemies march as thick as locuſts, and though they themſelves were but a handful in compariſon of them, and had but two pieces of cannon, yet were they not diſheartened, even when they ſaw them encompaſs and ſurround them. The Capuchin placed himſelf in his veſtments between the two armies, endeavouring to make peace, which was approved of by the Portugueſe. But the obſtinate King would not hearken to his mediation, but forthwith gave the ſignal of battle, and ſeeing a woman with a child in her arms, ſuppoſed to be the Virgin Mary, ſtanding by the Portugueſe general, he ſhewed her to his men, aſſuring them of victory, becauſe the Portugueſe had the impediment of their women with them. Then began the ſhot to fly like hail from the Portugueſe guns, eſpecially from two pieces of cannon they had, which made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter among the Blacks, that one part of the army giving way, the other was not long before it followed. In ſhort, the Portugueſe got the victory; which the proud King perceiving, he thought to ſecure himſelf behind a huge rock; which being overthrown by a cannon ball, buried and killed both the King and his chaplain, the good friar. Thoſe few that ſaved themſelves by flight, left nevertheleſs behind them all the baggage, with the King's utenſils of pure gold. Now becauſe this memorable ſlaughter was chiefly occaſioned by gold, the natives have never ſince cared to dig it for fear of loſing their country and becoming ſlaves thereby.

The head of the dead King was immediately lopped off by the conquerors, who carried it to Loanda, together with the crown and ſceptre. There they buried it, the whole chapter aſſiſting at the obſequies. This battle, commonly looked upon to have been miraculous, I myſelf have ſeen painted upon the wall of the church of Our Lady of Nazareth, where the head is buried; and have alſo had it related to me, after the manner as I have told it, by a Portugueſe captain that was preſent at it. He alſo told me, that after the battle, while they were in purſuit of the enemy, he happened to come into a houſe where he ſaw two breaſts of meat roaſting by the fire. Having driven out the people, according to the military cuſtom, and being exceedingly hungry, he fell to taking them off the ſpit, but had no ſooner touched them than he perceived them to be man's fleſh. By this may be ſeen, that though generally ſpeaking there be

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no Anthropophagi (man-eaters) in Congo, yet the neceſſities of war drove the people to great ſhifts in this marquiſate.

The Portugueſe did not pretend to any right to the crown of Congo, having been ſent by the pope, though they had taken it in war, but ſaid, they were ready to reſign it whenever they ſhould be ſo required. Now, becauſe by the death of Don Antonio, ſo many diſorders aroſe, and every one thought it his right to command rather than duty to obey; thence enſued innumerable ſlaughters and great deſtruction. I propoſed to the King to go with his army and take poſſeſſion of St. Salvador, a city where formerly his anceſtors reſided, whence he might ſend an ambaſſador for the crown and ſceptre to the governor of Loanda, without a letter, and through the province of Pemba, for otherwiſe he might be hindered by the duke of Bamba his enemy: and if he happened to be ſtopped by thoſe people, he ſhould have orders not to tell them he was an ambaſſador, leſt they ſhould detain and put him to death, which, inſtead of preventing miſchief, would cauſe more. The King hearkening attentively to all I ſaid, after I had ended my propoſition, turned about to his relations and friends, and ſpoke after this manner: "The Father," ſays he to them, "knows all;" meaning, that I had diſcovered the deſigns of the Æthiopians; and adding moreover, that he approved of my propoſal, but that it could not be well put in execution till the corn was off the ground; but as ſoon as harveſt was in, he promiſed that he would march with his troops to St. Salvador, to grub up the woods, and take poſſeſſion thereof, together with the lands and habitations thereabouts. In times paſt, that city had been the metropolis and capital of Congo, where the King reſided with his court. There alſo lived a biſhop and his chapter, a college of Jeſuits, and a monaſtery of our order, all maintained at the coſt of the King of Portugal. In our convent always reſided the Father-ſuperior of our order in theſe parts. But ſince, through frequent wars, both this city, and the country about it, was become a den of thieves and robbers.

Without this city is the Pombo, or great market, built by the Giaghi, where man's fleſh was accuſtomed to be ſold like to that of ſheep and oxen. The Portugal merchants, who reſided here in great numbers on account of traffic, refuſed to buy this fleſh, and rather choſe to have the ſlaves alive, whereby to fill their purſes with gold, than to have their bellies ſtuffed with ſuch barbarous food; and, on this account, they pretend they have a licence to buy ſlaves, which however they could never produce to this day. The Giaghi above-mentioned are the moſt barbarous people in nature, of whom, or of the converſion of the Queen of Singa, I ſhall not treat, becauſe that ſubject is handled at large by Father Francis Moria Gioja of Naples.

I told the King likewiſe, I would go to Sogno, and expect the return of the ſmack from Loango, and therein tranſport myſelf to Loanda. I adviſed him not to let Auguſt paſs before he diſpatched his ambaſſador, aſſuring him he ſhould no ſooner arrive at Loanda, but have all the reſpect paid him which was due to his miniſter; and the preſent Portugueſe governor being almoſt out of his time, would deliver the crown for a ſmall preſent, which perhaps another would not; and that the Father ſuperior and I would crown him, which being done with the Portugueſe conſent, none would dare to queſtion it.

I then aſked two favours of His Majeſty; firſt, that he would pleaſe to pardon a certain rebel that had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King of Congo, but was now a fugitive in the dominions of Sogno, and that ever ſince his army had been routed by that of His Majeſty; I requeſted him likewiſe not only to forgive him, but alſo to afford him the government of ſome city, paſſing my word that he ſhould prove an obedient and loyal ſubject for the future. The King gave his word preſently that he would do

all I defired; but I not caring to truſt altogether to that, cauſed him to give me his oath upon the crucifix to perform it, to the end the criminal might not afterwards be diſappointed and puniſhed. My other requeſt was, that His Majeſty would reſtore to the count the country of Chiovachianza, to the end that having that prince for his friend, as well as the Portugueſe, he might reign ſecure for many years. This, likewiſe, without any ſcruple, he conſented to.

How little reaſon I had to aſk any favour on behalf of the aforeſaid rebel, may appear by what follows:—This mock-king, Don Garcia (for ſo was his name), coming to viſit a miſſioner of our order, one Francis Michael da Torino, then in the city of Cuſſu in Congo, after he had been very courteouſly received by him, and whilſt the Father and he were talking together, a fire ſuddenly broke out in the church: the mock-king ſoon perceiving it, immediately ordered all his followers to do what they could to extinguiſh it, which yet gained ſo far upon them, that in a ſhort time not only the church was burnt to the ground, but the ſacriſty or veſtry. Don Garcia ſeemed extremely concerned, which nevertheleſs was all but feigned, he having been the contriver of all, as I was afterwards told by Father Michael, who by a ſtratagem got it out of one of the followers, that Don Garcia made the wiſp of ſtraw himſelf, and giving it to one of the Negroes, ordered him to fire the church. This he did to make his zeal appear the more by his endeavours to quench the fire, not thinking the flames would have increaſed as they did. As a reward for this great diligence of his, he was forthwith excommunicated by the ſaid miſſioner, who ſoon after departed that country. Don Garcia not long afterwards coming to Sogno, was abſolved of his fault by my companion F. Benedict, upon his repentance.

Whilſt I continued in Lemba, which was about twenty days, the church was very much frequented: at day-break, the third part of the Roſary was ſung by thoſe that were going journeys, eſpecially by the women who went to work in the fields: three hours after, the ſame was performed by the better ſort of people, adding moreover the ſaints' Litany; and ſometimes, as often as ever I could, I ſaid maſs: at night was ſung the other part of the Roſary, together with the Litany of our Lady. This preſent year they kept Lent fifteen days before ours, by reaſon they regulated it according to the courſe of the moon, but which they did not let me know for fear I ſhould put it off fifteen days longer; they nevertheleſs obſerved the ordinary courſe of forty days. To prevent my coming to know the concluſion of it, the Saturday before they came to me with an amuſement, ſaying, "If Your Reverence hears a great ſhooting and ſhouting to-morrow morning, you muſt know it is on account of ſome new acquiſition added to our King's dominions." I could not but believe them, though I knew what they ſpoke of happened the night I came into the city; for then the Marquis of Mattari entered in triumph for having ſubdued two princes, whoſe dominions bordered on the kingdom of Micocco; and the ſame night the ſaid marquis came to give me welcome, looking upon my arrival as a good omen. The next morning, according to my information, whilſt we were in the ſaints' Litany, I heard a great firing of muſkets, beating of drums, ſounding of trumpets, and other noiſes of various inſtruments. "God forgive you," cried I, "for having thus impoſed upon me: if I had but known that your Lent was at an end, I could have bleſſed the palms laſt Sunday, and all ſhould now have been done that was neceſſary for a preparation for Eaſter: nevertheleſs, I have that charity as to diſpenſe my bleſſings to all ſuch as have obſerved this holy time faithfully."

The mentioning of Micocco puts me in mind of a memorable ſtory told me by the ſuperior Father Thomas de Seſtola, concerning a certain miſſioner who travelled into this

this country, and, after having baptized about fifty thouſand ſouls, died there. His name I have forgot, but the particulars of his labours are known to all.

This perſon would needs go to wait on the King of Micocco, by whom having been courteouſly and kindly received, he began to treat with him about introducing the Chriſtian religion into his dominions. At the very firſt propoſal, the King ſhewed an inclination to believe that was the true faith which the miſſioner propoſed, and, conſequently, offered to be baptized; the prieſt told him, that before he could admit him to the font, he muſt ſubmit to be catechiſed: he ſeemed very willing to comply with what was required, and, after having been well inſtructed, prepared himſelf to receive baptiſm; when all of a ſudden a thought came into his head, ſuggeſted no doubt by the devil, which he delivered after this manner: "Father, before I am baptized, I would beg two favours of you, which you muſt not deny me; and they are, firſt, to grant me half of your beard; and, ſecondly, to afford me a ſucceſſor from your loins, for which purpoſe I will cauſe all my women to be brought before you, to the end you may chooſe her you like beſt: we are all mortal you know," proceeded he, "and, therefore, if you ſhould either die, or take a fancy to leave us, who ſhall ſupport or maintain the new religion which you have planted among us? To what purpoſe ſhould I ſubmit to entertain a new law, if I have no proſpect of its continuance; grant therefore that I may have a ſon of your body, who, poſſeſſing his father's rare qualities, may be a means to tranſmit this doctrine more ſecurely to poſterity. I muſt beg of you not to refuſe me, for I cannot conſent to be baptized, if you do. The modeſt Father was much ſurprized, and ſmiling, anſwered, "That the ſtrangeneſs of his requeſt was ſo extraordinary, that he could neither gratify him in one nor the other of his deſires." The King's reaſon for his firſt requeſt was, only that he might lay up the hair, and ſhew it upon occaſion to have belonged to the introducer of the Chriſtian religion into his country; and who knows but his ſubjects, out of blind zeal, might have worſhipped it? The ſecond needs no explaining. It is certain we have been always exceeding cautious how we let the Negroes have any thing from us, that they might probably pay adoration to. As concerning the before-mentioned bull, called by the Congheſes of the bleſſed ſacrament, and their lighting candles when they open it, the Portugueſe nuncio was acquainted with it, and anſwered, that that venerable effigies being on it, the people might be permitted in their ſimplicity to worſhip it.

When I had been about eight days at Lemba, I was ſeized with a double tertian ague, and moreover broke out from the navel upwards in ſo many boils and ſcabs, that I had not the leaſt reſt either night or day. But my greateſt trouble was, the want of an interpreter to adminiſter the ſacrament of penance, which I had not provided, becauſe the letters ſent me were well writ, and the language good. The ſecretary was old, and a boy I had with me too young to be truſted with confeſſions. Whilſt I was thus ſick, I was not only frequently viſited by the King himſelf, but he would likewiſe ſend every ſix hours to know how I did; the Queen alſo, and the infanta Donna Monica ſent often to enquire after my health, and withal preſented me with ſeveral refreſhments. Having a mind to be let blood, the King's uncle would needs do that office for me, not caring to truſt any body elſe, which he performed with that niceneſs that I ſcarce felt the lance enter my vein; this, with the help of a certain purge I brought from Venice, did me a great deal of good. Being ſomewhat recovered of my indiſpoſition, I forthwith reſolved to be gone, and in order thereto made the King acquainted with my intentions: he ſeemed much diſpleaſed, but notwithſtanding, perceiving my reſolutions, was fain to acquieſce. I told him I did not intend to go by the way of Boma for ſeveral reaſons, but deſigned to go by Sogno, to the end I might meet with the

the ſmack if I could poſſibly; I begged of him he would ſend ſome of his people along with me to conduct me as far as Chiova, a country belonging to Sogno, or to Zariambala, an iſland of the ſame dominions. His anſwer was, that he would willingly comply with any reaſonable requeſt of mine, but much wondered at my ſo ſudden departure, eſpecially if I deſigned to go without taking leave of his mother. I told His Majeſty, that the reaſon I had not hitherto done it, was on account of my indiſpoſition, of which I was but juſt then recovered, but that I deſigned to wait on her, God willing, that very night. Purſuant to my promiſe I went not long after towards Her Majeſty's court, and at my firſt entrance I met two ſervants with torches, in the ſecond room two more with four ſervants, and two in the third with more attendants, it being night; they introduced me into the Queen's preſence, whom I found ſitting wrapped up in a cloak, which was likewiſe thrown under her arm, having nothing but her ſmock under it, and her daughter ſitting on a carpet by her. After having addreſſed myſelf briefly to her by way of taking leave, ſhe ſtarted up in a paſſion, and ſetting her hands to her ſides, ſaid, "What will the world ſay, if, after having obtained a miniſter of the Goſpel with ſo great difficulty, we ſhould part with him ſo eaſily? No, no, it muſt not be; I will ſpeak to the King my ſon, that he by no means ſhall ſuffer you to go." "Madam," replied I ſmilingly, "if Your Majeſty has done me the honour to buy me, I deſire to know in what Pombo or market it was, and what you gave for me, that I may reſtore the price to you, with thanks, for begone I muſt." The hearing of this cauſed no ſmall laughter in the company, eſpecially in the Queen herſelf. I added further, "If I am not ſuffered to tranſport myſelf to Loanda, how can I pretend to bring about what I have promiſed, and you ſo earneſtly deſire?" This ſaid, I was immediately diſmiſſed. The name of this Queen was Donna Potentiana, her nature agreeing therewith, having always endeavoured to be powerful, and a great enemy to the Queen-dowager Donna Anna, and to Donna Agnes another Queen. Theſe three women have often put this poor kingdom into a flame, each having deſired to have her huſband crowned, and for that purpoſe did all ſeparately endeavour to get a Capuchin miſſioner among them, which has occaſioned the death of ſo many prieſts, and made our ſuperior not very ready to let any miſſioners go to Congo.

Being juſt upon ſetting out on my journey, the King offered me a preſent of ſlaves, which I refuſed, telling His Majeſty that we had more than ſufficient in our convent at Sogno; I nevertheleſs accepted one to wait on me during my journey, though I had thirteen at home whom I employed in the ſervice of the church, and in that of thoſe that came to viſit us. His Majeſty ſeeing I had refuſed his offer of ſlaves, reſolved to ſend ſome people to accompany me, which indeed I deſired, among whom were two of his relations, to the end that I might be the better received wherever I came. Over and above the two things formerly mentioned, I requeſted two favours more of the King, and they were, firſt, that I might have leave to level that obſcene and ſacrilegious place before-mentioned, if it were yet in being, where ſo many ſorceries and villainies had been practiſed. And ſecondly, that I might take away the banners from the burial-places in the fields, being both ſuperſtitious and blameable. Having obtained theſe my demands, I took my leave of His Majeſty and departed.

When we were got as far as the river which bounds the kingdom of Congo that way, my companions and followers being many, ſome armed with guns, and others with long pikes, after the manner of the country, by reaſon we had no boats on that ſide, we made ſigns to the inhabitants of the other to come and fetch us over in their canoes. When this was done, our people called three aſſemblies among themſelves, I not being able to gueſs at the concluſions of either, though I partly thought that the reaſon muſt have

have been, either that they were afraid of being rendered ſuſpected by coming armed, or elſe that they did not care to venture themſelves in the dominions of Sogno, out of a diſtruſt they had of the people. At laſt three canoes came over, but not near ſufficient to tranſport all of us; into one of theſe having put me with my interpreter, they promiſed they would ſoon follow, but were worſe than their words; for leaving me to the mercy of the winds and tide, they went their ways; and having reached the other ſide of the river, the Mani of the place propoſed to me to ſtay there all night to baptiſe ſome children, and next morning I ſhould be going as early as I pleaſed onwards of my journey. This propoſal was not at all diſpleaſing to me, eſpecially ſince I had a more than ordinary deſire to ſee whether the Congheſe people would follow me or not; thoſe two that were of the King's relations having promiſed me that they would conduct me as far as our convent in the Banza of Sogno. As ſoon as morning came, the Mani thundered in my ears, that if I would needs be gone I muſt unlooſe my purſe-ſtrings before I entered the boat again. "With all my heart," quoth I, although I had already ſatisfied thoſe watermen that brought me over. "Tell me," ſaid I, "how much you demand, and you ſhall have it." "Fifteen Libonchi," replied he, which are about ten Roman Giulios. When I was about to pay him what he demanded, he cried he muſt have thirty Libonchi, having been miſtaken before. "There are thirty for you," anſwered I, which having laid down, up ſtarts a fellow and cries, "It is a ſign the Mani has not been very converſant in waterage, ſince he takes thirty for what he ſhould have three ſcore." "Be they ten times as much I will pay them," replied I, "ſince once paying goes for all." This ſaid, I laid down the full of what they demanded, and went into the boat. Towards night, when I thought we were got near the land of Sogno, I diſcovered an iſland where the watermen immediately run aſhore. I was not landed when a monſtrous fellow, with a countenance like to a great ugly wizard, came up to me, and told me in a haughty tone, that he had orders from the ſecretary of Congo to bring me aſhore. "How can that be," replied I, "when I left the ſecretary of Congo in Congo myſelf; how then ſhould he come here?" "I ſay," replied he, "the ſecretary of the kingdom of Congo requires your preſence." Now it ſeems the Mani of this place laid claim to that title. I anſwered then this proud meſſenger, "Pray tell the ſecretary your maſter, that I deſire to be excuſed from waiting on him, being not well, and beſides going to Sogno for recovery of my health." He came a ſecond time, and more importunately than before commanded me to come aſhore; whereupon I deſired him with that meekneſs that became me to acquaint his lord that I was a miſſioner, and, though unworthy, ſuperior of the miſſion into Sogno, being juſt come from Congo, where I had three hundred armed men aſſigned me by the King Simantamba for ſafe conduct, all whom I had nevertheleſs ſome time ſince parted with, for the truth whereof I appeal to the watermen that brought me. The Mani or ſecretary hearing this, called for the watermen to inform himſelf of the truth, who atteſting what I ſaid, he then ſent for a Sogneſe to ſee if he knew me, who confirming what he had heard before, he immediately diſpatched away this Muſcilongo or Sogneſe to me, to beg of me for God's ſake that I would come to him; or that if I ſo pleaſed, he would come in perſon to fetch me, excuſing himſelf for having ſent ſo ſaucy and ill-bred a meſſenger at firſt, who having exceeded his orders ſhould be ſurely puniſhed. "This language is ſomething like," quoth I, "and ſince he entreats me for God's ſake, in God's name will I go to him." Then after having recommended myſelf to the protection of the Almighty, I went a-ſhore. The Mani gave me to underſtand that he would come forthwith to pay me a viſit, but I deſired the perſon that brought me the meſſage, to

acquaint his maſter that betimes in the morning I would wait on him without giving him the trouble of incommoding himſelf by a night-viſit to me. He treated me with a goat, fruit, and a pot of the country-wine, together with a flaſk of brandy, mixed like a julep, which I could not imagine how he could get, and for the thirty Libonchis I had paid his ſubjects, he reſtored me ſixty. The ſame hour of my arrival I began to baptize near a houſe where the miſtreſs was a-bed. In the court of this houſe were planted ſeveral gourds with leaves like unto ours, but the fruit was green and pulpy, and of an excellent taſte. This court being not well able to contain the great concourſe of people that thronged thither, they muſt neceſſarily exceedingly trample the woman's ground; ſhe began to bawl out therefore as if ſhe were mad, but the people taking little or no notice of her, crowded rather the cloſer. Whilſt I was adminiſtering the holy ſacrament of baptiſm, this woman cried out with greater vehemence than before, which cauſed me to hold out my ſtaff to her, wherewith I ſupported myſelf, being ſcarce able to ſtand, to make her quiet, not knowing at that time that ſhe was the real miſtreſs of the houſe: when ſhe, either taking that ſign for a threat, a thing always abhorred by me, or elſe moved by ſome other wicked deſign, catched up a ſpade angrily, and fell to digging round her ground where the people were (an action always ſuperſtitiouſly obſerved by them), without any body ſo much as ſpeaking a word againſt it: after ſhe had ſo done, ſhe began to bawl out again as if ſhe had been bewitched. I perceiving her to perſiſt in her obſtinacy, made the ſame ſign to her as before to be quiet, whereupon ſhe immediately run as hard as ſhe could drive to call a witch to bewitch me: as ſhe ran along, ſhe cried to herſelf, "What, ſhall a ſtranger thus abuſe a native? Muſt I be drove out of my own houſe by I know not who? No, no, if I cannot get him away by fair means, I will have his ſoul out of his body by foul." She ſoon after appeared again, bringing along with her a witch and a ſcholar of hers. As ſoon as the people were gone, theſe two laid themſelves down on the ground, leaning againſt a wall. I knew them well enough to be what they were by the faſhion of their clothes: on their heads they had a piece of cloth folded round like a turban, ſo that one eye was only to be ſeen; with this the old witch looked ſtedfaſtly upon me for ſome time, grumbling after a brutiſh manner to herſelf all the while: then with her hand ſhe proceeded to ſcrape a ſmall hole in the ground; at the ſight of this I immediately ordered my interpreter to be gone, being more concerned for him than myſelf; for as a prieſt that had always truſted in God, I doubted not but to render her charms ineffectual as to myſelf. I commanded the devil that he ſhould not come near, but ſhe little regarding what I did, went on with her ſorceries. I ordered the evil ſpirits a ſecond time to be gone, which ſhe perceiving, giving her ſcholar a luſty flap on the face, ſhe bid her begone and leave her alone: at my third command ſhe departed alſo, but returned next morning betimes, practiſing over her deviliſh arts as before. I reſolved not to ſtand long in one place, thereby to avoid the deſign ſhe had upon me to bewitch me to death, that having been the reaſon of her making a hole in the earth. It ſeems their cuſtom is, that when they have a mind to bewitch any one mortally, they put a certain herb or plant into the hole they have ſo dug; which, as it periſhes and decays, ſo the vigour and ſpirits of the perſon they have a deſign upon will fail and decay. I propoſed to myſelf to ſpend my time in baptizing, till the watermen that belonged to my boat returned to me; but it ſo happened that I had done all that I had to do before any one of them came. I then went down to the river-ſide a little way diſtant, whither the witch followed me: when I had gone down thrice, endeavouring all along to avoid her, and finding I could not, I ſat me down by the water-ſide in expectation of the watermen's coming: this the hag perceiving, ſhe likewiſe ſquatted herſelf down over againſt me.

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The people being curious to know what would be the event of this conteſt, had hid themſelves in an adjoining field of millet, which grew about ten or twelve hands high, which I knew nothing of. Whilſt I was thus ſitting, and obſerving that vile wretch ſo near me, it put me in mind of the ſaying of the wiſe man, *Mulier nequam plaga mortis:* a wicked woman is a deadly wound. Then I addreſſed myſelf to God, ſaying, "O Lord, the cauſe is thine, thy honour lies at ſtake, and ſo much the rather by reaſon that the inhabitants of this iſland are but very little acquainted with thee! As for me, I am but a poor worm in reſpect of thy majeſty: do thou work in me, for without thee I can do nothing." This ſaid, I commanded her once more, in the name of the bleſſed Trinity and the holy Virgin, to be gone, and withal blowing gently towards her, ſhe all of a ſudden giving three leaps, and howling thrice, fled away in a trice. The ſwiftneſs of her motions were ſo extraordinary, that they were wondered at by all that ſaw them, and thought impoſſible to be performed by any human power. When the witch began to fly, the people came forth of their holes, and, running after her with ſeveral reproachful exclamations, cried out, "The devil is fled and the prieſt not moved: the devil take all witches and witchcraft." I being ſurpriſed at the hearing of ſo great a number of voices in my favour, gave immediate thanks to the ſupreme Diſpoſer of all things, and more eſpecially when I heard them cry further, "God proſper Chriſtianity! God proſper Chriſtianity!

Soon after the watermen appeared, whom I thought to have hid themſelves likewiſe as the others had done, but it ſeems they had not: I gave them all the good words I could, that they might go off preſently, which they did not long after. The ſecond night after our leaving this place, we came to the iſland of Zariambola belonging to Sogno, where I thought myſelf ſecure: as I went up the canal, before I landed, I met with a nephew of the count's, whom I acquainted that I was juſt come from Congo with good news for the country of Sogno. This was not ſpoken to a deaf perſon, for it was immediately carried to the count's ears. Next morning the Mani of the place pretended that he would provide me another boat to tranſport me farther, but, after a good deal of time loſt, none appeared. It was my good fortune that the aforeſaid relation of the count's happened to return again that way, who perceiving that I had been made a fool of and abuſed by the Mani, fell into a great paſſion, and, kicking againſt the ground, began to reprove him after this manner; "Is it thus that you behave yourſelf in my uncle's buſineſs? I will take care that, as ſoon as I get to Sogno, you ſhall be ſure to be deprived of your government." The Mani began to excuſe himſelf, affirming that he had aſſigned me a ſufficient number of watermen, and that, if I were not gone, it muſt have been their fault. Coming to an anchor afterwards about midnight in the port of Pinda, my boat's crew fled, not giving me an opportunity to return their kindneſs. I then landed, and went ſtraightway to our convent. Next morning the count, with a greater attendance than ordinary, came to ſee and welcome me home. As ſoon as I ſaw him, I broke forth into theſe words, "Did not I tell Your Excellency, that if I could not well accompliſh my miſſion by land, I would do it by water?" When he, without anſwering me a word, fell down immediately on the ground to kiſs my feet, which he would needs do, though I hindered him all I could, and my brethren that were then preſent much wondered at it. Being much aſhamed of what he had done, I preſently lifted him up, and we afterwards ſtepped aſide to diſcourſe of the particulars of my expedition. I acquainted His Excellency with what had paſſed between me and Don John Simantamba, concerning the reſtoring of Chiovachianza. He ſeemed very well pleaſed with the news, and ſaid, that was what he had moſt deſired. I then adviſed him to re-eſtabliſh Don Garcia, who at that time lived within his domi-

nions. Which counſel of mine he readily agreed with, having been all along hitherto forced to maintain him at his own charge, and contrary to his inclinations, only through policy. As ſoon as our private diſcourſe was at an end, Father Andrew da Pavia, one of the two miſſioners that I had left behind me, told me, that there was a Dutch ſhip ready to ſet ſail for Loanda, and that, if I thought fit, I might take that opportunity to carry ſo much good news to our ſuperior there, and the governor. To which I anſwered, that I did not much care to go ſo quickly to ſea again, deſiring rather to repoſe myſelf till the return of the ſmack from Loango, according to my promiſe given the commander thereof. Hereupon Father Andrew undertook himſelf what I refuſed, and in order thereto took leave of the count that very minute. Making this voyage in a Dutch ſhip, which are commonly pretty good ſailors, he returned to us again in leſs than a month's time. Having brought the news to the governor, he ſaid, he embraced him heartily, and told him, he could never have wiſhed for any thing better, ſince the way would probably be now opened to Congo, to the great benefit of the Portugueſe.

In confirmation of this I muſt further add, that when I was going a ſecond time to Sogno from Loanda, as I was taking leave of the governor, he earneſtly recommended to me to procure leave from the count for the Portugueſe to trade with his dominions. When the farmers of the King's revenue that ſtood by, anſwered, "A free trade with Sogno can ſignify little or nothing to us, that country being like a large tree, where nothing is to be met with but branches and leaves; when a voyage to Congo would furniſh us not only with leaves, but fruit.

Lobo, the late governor of Loanda, whilſt he was in office, acquainted the royal chamber, that he deſired to have the crown of Congo in his poſſeſſion; but whatever diligence was made uſe of for that purpoſe, it could by no means be found. Then he commanded a new one to be made of ſilver gilt, to the end that when the Congheſe ambaſſador came for it, he might have it ready to give him. The King of Portugal coming to the knowledge of the crown's being loſt, writ both to the biſhop and governor, that they ſhould make it their buſineſs to find out in whoſe hands it was laſt, and puniſh him as if he had ſtolen it. Father Andrew, through the ſhort warning he had of his journey, was not able to give any account when the Congheſe ambaſſador was to arrive; but afterwards, at the return of the ſmack from Loango, I going to Loanda in it, acquainted the governor that it would be in the month of Auguſt. Auguſt came, yet no ambaſſador appeared, which made us miſſioners not a little concerned, having given out every where that he would certainly come then.

A little after, meeting with ſome Negroes newly come from Congo to this city, they informed us that they had met the ambaſſador on the road with a great retinue. The Sogneſe ambaſſador being likewiſe in this city at that time, to congratulate the biſhop's acceſs to the biſhopric, had information that he was ſtopped by the Duke of Bamba's orders, as he came through his dominions, that prince having been always an enemy to Congo, on account of his pretences to that crown, founded on his deſcent from Donna Anna, one of the before-mentioned rival-queens. The Portugueſe were ſatisfied with his ſending, and all things had taken effect, but for ſome troubles that enſued: for the new governor was about making war on the Queen of Singa, who had deſtroyed a territory belonging to the Portugueſe with fire and ſword, and carried away the Sova, or lord of it, and his wife into ſlavery.

Amongſt other ſervices done the King of Portugal, by Lewis Lobo the former governor of Loanda, one was, that he laid the firſt foundation of a communication with Congo,

Congo, and rendered that kingdom dependent upon Portugal, as likewiſe made a crown for the King thereof at his own proper coſts. The crowning of this King we did not doubt ſhortly to effect, notwithſtanding what had happened, eſpecially ſince Father Andrew da Pavia was negociating earneſtly about it.

Whilſt this was in agitation, the Father ſuperior, with the reſt of us, did all that in us lay to promote the replanting of Chriſtianity in Cacongo, calling in to our aſſiſtance the governor himſelf, and the Royal Chamber, who were ſo well affected to our propoſals, that they told us, that whatever ſmall benefit they could propoſe to themſelves by traffic with this kingdom, yet would they aſſiſt us to their power in the introducing of Chriſtianity there; and that the firſt ſhips they had at liberty ſhould be employed in that miſſion. The new governor was extremely diligent in furthering this affair, and the biſhop rather more than he. I told them that not only Portugueſe but likewiſe Italian prieſts would be neceſſary to alienate the minds of that people from jealouſies and ſuſpicions, To the ſame purpoſe I had formerly writ to the then vice-ſuperior, Father Joſeph Maria da Buſetto, when I was ſent for by the King of Cacongo, and he had ſent my ſaid letter to the ſacred college. Our Father ſuperior likewiſe had diſpatched my ſecond letters to the ſame college, which I ſent to him on the ſame account.

Matters being thus diſpoſed, a certain head of a convent in this city, having been fully informed by Ferdinand Gomez of the King of Cacongo's inclinations to embrace the Chriſtian faith, reſolved to take the taſk of preaching it to him upon himſelf. For this end he gave out, that he had received orders from his ſuperiors to tranſport himſelf to Capinda, well knowing that I could not go by reaſon of an infirmity I then laboured under. He alſo procured letters from our ſuperior, to recommend him to our convent at Sogno where he was conſequently very courteouſly received. Thence he ſent a Portugueſe prieſt, his companion to Cacongo, enjoining him to ſpeak with the King. Without this perſon he could never have had any hopes of the ſucceſs of his miſſion, being not at all ſkilled in the Congheſe language, which this prieſt ſpoke very well. He nevertheleſs could not obtain the ſpeech of the King, which cauſed him to write to him in his ſuperior's name; but getting no anſwer, he began to deſpair: whereupon returning back, they both came again with ſhame to Loanda.

Afterwards Father Andrew da Pavia took upon him to write to the ſaid King, ſignifying to him that he would come and baptize His Majeſty, whenever he ſhould pleaſe to appoint him. It was reported about this time that all foreign miſſioners were to depart by order of the King of Portugal, and that all our convents were to be ſurrendered to thoſe (a bad report for us Capuchins, as you ſhall hear more hereafter) of the aforeſaid order. Whereupon the aforeſaid ſuperior, though he did not well care that Pavia ſhould go, yet that he might prepare the way for him, and build a convent there, he earneſtly preſſed him to it. At Pavia's arrival the King ſent him word, that he could not conſent to ſee him, having formerly given his promiſe to me whom he expected; and that with me he looked not only for an exerciſe of the ſacred miniſtry, but likewiſe for trade and commerce, by means of a merchant I was to bring along with me to ſettle in his dominions for that purpoſe.

Among all the kingdoms which I have ſeen in this part of Ethiopia, none pleaſed me ſo much, either for commodiouſneſs or profit, as this of Cacongo; which good qualities inclined not a few beſides myſelf to be deſirous of going thither. The commodiouſneſs of it conſiſts in its lying between three ports much frequented by ſtrangers. The firſt and moſt famous of theſe is that of Loango, the ſecond that of Capinda, and the third and laſt that of Cacongo itſelf, but which is not very ſecure. This kingdom for the moſt part is flat, with an air indifferently wholeſome, and a ſoil not unfruitful, by reaſon of

of frequent ſhowers, and the mould being generally black, whereas in other parts of Ethiopia it is either ſandy or chalky. The inhabitants of this country, conſidering they have been born pagans, are more courteous and humane than ordinary; and though they are infidels, they cheriſh and reſpect our prieſts. Whilſt the plague was amongſt them, they burnt their idols, ſaying, "If they will not help us in ſuch a misfortune as this, when can we expect they ſhould?" This paſſage I heard whilſt I was in Sogno: and it grieved me extremely that I had not opportunity to go, and further ſuch good motions in them for their ſouls' ſakes. Thus much for Cacongo, and its inhabitants.

I muſt now give ſome ſhort account of the kingdom of Angola, though I have been only perfectly acquainted with the provinces of Dante and Bengo.

Before we proceed, let us ſtop awhile in the city of Loanda, where I have been three times, once upon buſineſs, and the other two times I lay there a great while ſick. To ſpeak only of what I know, Loanda is the metropolis, not only of this, but of all other neighbouring kingdoms that belong to the Portugueſe. Here reſides the biſhop of Congo and Angola, together with a chapter of about eight or nine canons. The governor of this city precedes all others in any of the Portugueſe conqueſts in Ethiopia. Here are three convents of religious perſons, viz. one of Jeſuits, another of bare-foot Carmelites, and a third of friars of the third order of St. Francis. As to theſe two laſt, the Carmelites have a miſſion out of the city in the ſaid kingdom, where at preſent lives a ſecular prieſt, through the great ſcarcity of regulars. Among the Jeſuits there was a famous miſſioner, adorned with many good qualities, and a virtuous life, who travelling about indefatigably into all parts of the kingdom, to throw down and grub up the idols and trees that the pagans worſhipped, was thought to have been made away by ſome of thoſe people. Here is likewiſe a houſe of our order, where our Father ſuperior reſides, who is thence to ſupport the miſſions by the charity of the good people there. Our church here is more than ordinarily frequented on account of its being dedicated to the glorious St. Anthony of Liſbon, ſo called by the Portugueſe; as likewiſe that there are ſeveral martyrs bodies kept in it, which have been tranſported hither from Rome. It is a royal chapel, and has two congregations of the Roſary, allowed by the Dominicans who have no abode here. Here three times a week is ſung a third part of the Roſary, and three times more throughout the year diſcipline is uſed. The brotherhood has built a chapel eight ſquare, with a large cupola of an extraordinary height; which being a thing uncommon here, is extremely admired. Under it there is a vault for burial, which is not cuſtomary in the other churches. This vault was firſt built for the body of Father Francis Licodia, a bare-foot friar of the province of Syracuſe, who died ſome time before my arrival here. A great concourſe of people aſſiſted at his burial, his death having been proclaimed throughout the city by boys. The people's devotion was ſo remarkable at his funeral, that though a prodigious whale was caſt aſhore at that time, yet did it not in the leaſt raiſe their curioſity. The Jeſuits, with whom we entertain an affectionate correſpondence, put him under-ground, and Father Ribera of the ſame convent preached his funeral ſermon. This Father was zealous in breeding up children in the fear of God; for he had got a great company of white boys, whom he habited like Capuchins, teaching them the principles of the Chriſtian religion a-days, which they repeated and ſung over a-nights. Of thoſe in my time I found to the number of ſixty, though Father Francis was dead. While I was here, this good perſon's body was diſcovered on account of burying our ſuperior, Father John da Romano, in his vault. His corpſe was entire in the coffin; on the lid of which his picture was painted to the life. When it was opened, ſome body out of zeal took out two of his

teeth, and the point of his hood. How extremely devout theſe citizens are towards our bleſſed patron St. Francis, is fitter for another pen to expreſs than mine.

All I can ſay is, that without carrying our wallet at our back, which is not here the cuſtom, we rather abound with neceſſaries than want them, in ſuch manner, that he that has a mind to beſtow his charity upon us, muſt ſend it betimes or he will have it back again. Theſe good citizens not only ſupport our convent in this city, but likewiſe ſeveral other miſſions into divers kingdoms, otherwiſe we could not be able to ſubſiſt. True it is, we endeavour to make ſome return of what is rare in thoſe places.

To give farther inſtances of the goodneſs of this people, I will add a word of the governor. When we came hither, we found Don John di Sylva in poſſeſſion of the government of this kingdom, who ſhewed ſo entire an affection towards us, that whatever memorials and petitions we preſented to him, he forthwith granted and ſigned, ſcarce reading them. It happened that a certain prieſt of his own nation coming to aſk a favour of him on account of a friend, the governor would by no means grant it. Whereupon the prieſt broke out into theſe words: "You ſcarce read the petitions of the Capuchins who are ſtrangers, but beſtow favours on them; and to us your countrymen you deny all we aſk." To which Sylva replied, "I do neither open nor read the Capuchins petitions, becauſe I am well aſſured they will aſk nothing but what is fit for me to grant; and beſides, what they require of me on other people's accounts, I know well to be done merely out of charity, and without any expectation of a return from thoſe they oblige." The ſame favour we found with the late biſhop, and the preſent. And to conclude with this matter, I will here tell you a ſtory of the aforeſaid Father Francis: Two fellows going to be hanged, Father Francis moved by mere charity, told the governor, that in caſe he would pardon one of them, he would ſuffer death in his ſtead. The governor anſwered, that if he would be as good as his word, one of them ſhould preſently be unlooſed and ſent away; and if he could find another would do the like good office for the other, they ſhould both be freed though they were great offenders. But though this proffer was made on Father Francis's ſide, none would appear on the other; ſo that one muſt unavoidably die for want of a friar to releaſe them. When they came to the place of execution, the governor ſent to take the halter off from Father Francis's neck, when he was diſpoſed to die, and knew nothing of any mercy deſigned him; and if Father Leonard de Nardo his companion would have done the ſame, they had both eſcaped, but for want of it one was hanged.

Let us now come to the cuſtoms and manners both of the Portugueſe and ſtrangers that live in this city. They are of three ſorts: Firſt, thoſe that come merely on account of God's ſervice, and for no worldly intereſt, though theſe are but few. The ſecond ſort are ſuch as come to command or trade there, who are many. The third kind are likewiſe no ſmall number, though nothing comparable to the foregoing, and they are thoſe condemned perſons that are ſent hither by courts of juſtice, amongſt which the ſpiritual courts ſend ſeveral deſcended from the Jewiſh race, which are named by the citizens New Chriſtians; theſe are kept from coming to the ſacred functions for ſeveral reaſons, amongſt which one is for a crime frequently practiſed by them, which I ſhall forbear to name for fear of offending chaſte ears. Notwithſtanding this, theſe people are the greateſt frequenters of churches, and give the moſt liberally to our convents and poor.

The women being bred among Blacks, ſuffer themſelves to be ſo much perverted, that they ſcarce retain any thing white about them except their ſkins; but be this ſpoken with a reſervation of the good of that ſex, whereof there are ſome few. The worſer ſort take upon them to lord it over their huſbands, inſomuch that if they will not live according

according to their fancies, they do all they can to drive them out of their houſes, or elſe humble them ſo far, as never to go out nor take their pleaſure in their net, and under their umbrella, according to cuſtom. But ſtill the worſt is, that while they are under this confinement, they choke for want of water, this city having none freſh but what comes from an iſland about two days journey diſtant. This makes good the ſaying of the wiſe man, *Melius eſt habitare in deſerto, quam cum muliere rixosâ;* "It is better to live in a deſert than with a ſcolding wife." Likewiſe in eating the wife and the ſhe Black generally ſtarve the huſband; upon which occaſion I hear him, methinks, to cry out with the poet,

O conjux, male grata ſeni, male grata marito,
Sola tuis, conjux, dedita deliciis.

Some of theſe women keep their huſband's clothes from them, out of a pretence that they do not belong to them alone, but to their family in general. The law here is that what comes by the mother deſcends to the daughters, and that becauſe the ſons have wherewithal to maintain them by marriage. When the maids are marriageable, if their mothers carry them to church, they are ſaid to do ſo to ſell them, and therefore for the moſt part they keep them cloſe. When they are married, they alſo generally keep themſelves up for one reaſon or other, either on account of being big with child, heat, wet-weather, or the like. When they come to be old, they do not care for being ſeen for fear of diſcovering their wrinkles. The better ſort go to take the air in their nets, with a carpet thrown over them, and attended at leaſt by twelve perſons: two of theſe carry the net, and two more bear umbrellas on each ſide, and eight Mocamas (Negro waiting-maids), four of which hold each a corner of the carpet, and four walk before to ſpread the carpet to kneel on when their miſtreſs goes into the church. Whenever there is any ſtage-play, or tilting, the women, all without exception, go to it even though they were ſick. On Holy-Thurſday they always walk on foot, and without attendance, which they never do at any other time. To obviate ſuch diſorders, Father Paul da Vereſe, and our ſuperior, obtained of the biſhop that maſs ſhould be ſaid in three different churches, viz. in the cathedral, the pariſh by the ſea-ſide, and thirdly in our church, two hours before day; at which great numbers aſſiſted, which was continued in my time. At laſt a certain perſon happening to be killed coming out of a ſuſpicious houſe, ſome ill people took thence an occaſion to get this pious and good cuſtom ſuppreſſed.

Of the Mulattoes, born of a White and a Black, whereof there are great numbers here, I can never ſay enough. They hate the Negroes mortally, nay even their own mothers that bore them, and do all they can to equal themſelves with the Whites; which is not allowed them, they being not permitted to ſit in their preſence.

The Mulatto women wear no ſmocks nor petticoats, and have only a piece of cloth girt under their arms; but this is nevertheleſs to be meant of ſuch as have no known fathers. The Mulattoes wear ſtockings and breeches, and become commonly either prieſts or ſoldiers, above which condition they never riſe. It was no ſmall trouble to me to obſerve, that wherever theſe Mulattoes were born, they were preſently deſigned for prieſts. There are great numbers of them, who not knowing how they came into the world, or whether they are deſcended from Jews, cannot be expected to be able to inſtruct others. To remedy this diſorder therefore, the new biſhop brought orders from Rome, that none ſhould be diſpenſed with as to their irregularity. Of this theſe Mulattoes believing us Capuchins to have been authors, by reaſon that we had fre-

quently preached againſt theſe abuſes, they bore us a mortal ill-will, nevertheleſs it has never hitherto been in their power to do us any harm.

Thoſe among theſe people that are ſoldiers, and travel about the kingdom, exact as much ſervice and reſpect from the Negroes as the Whites, cauſing themſelves to be carried in nets; and if it ſo happened that the Sova or Mani (governor) be not immediately ready to provide them with people for their ſervice, or do not treat them as they require, they will preſently draw their ſwords, and take whatever they can find in this governor's houſe, though they are going, not about their King's, but their own buſineſs. If perchance they have occaſion to eat on the road, they take whatever eatables they can meet with, without thanking the Negro they have them from; and if he ſhould happen to murmur but in the leaſt at their injuſtice, inſtead of making him ſatisfaction, they will pay him with baſtinadoes and blows.

Others that turn Pomberos (buyers of ſlaves), and go up and down in the country for that purpoſe, commit a great many unjuſtifiable actions, amongſt which this one ſeems to me moſt unpardonable: they will lie with the Negro-women, and get them with child; and ſome years afterwards returning that way, will take thoſe very children they have ſo got from their mothers, under pretence of better educating them in the city of Loanda; but inſtead thereof, at a certain age, do ſell or barter them away for ſuch commodities as ſlaves are wont to be exchanged for, and thereby grow rich by trading in their own fleſh and blood. A barbarous cuſtom in truth, and not ſuffered amongſt Chriſtians, eſpecially where Chriſtianity is in its infancy, as it is in theſe parts. This is the reaſon likewiſe why the pagans do not come in faſter to be converted, becauſe they obſerve how many ill actions the Mulattoes are guilty of, and yet go unpuniſhed.

To prevent in ſome meaſure this bad cuſtom, the governor in my time forbad the Mulattoes to trade any more this way, and ordered, that if they had a mind to travel any whither, they ſhould pay for the carriage, both of themſelves and their baggage, affirming, that if they went on the King's buſineſs, they would infallibly be paid again; but if on their own, they ought to reſt ſatisfied with the expence. By theſe means this miſchief was for a while diſcontinued.

But this abuſe would not have been ſo much if it had lain only among the Mulattoes; the Whites alſo had their ſhare in it, and traded like the others in their own fleſh. This comes to paſs when their black miſtreſs brings them forth a child, and being of that hue it is naturally a ſlave, which coming afterwards accidentally to offend, is forthwith ſold according to cuſtom: but the worſt is, this is done upon the ſmalleſt offence, and without any regard to nature or relation.

A father had two daughters, the one a widow, the other a marriageable Mulatto; having a mind to marry the latter, he took away the other's goods, and all ſhe had to give with this Mulatto: the widow in my hearing ſaid, "I will not diſpleaſe my father, let him do what he pleaſes, I will never oppoſe him; but when he dies I will ſell his daughter, becauſe ſhe is born of my ſlave, and thus without trouble or conteſt will recover what is taken from me," giving her father to underſtand as much in a civil way. In ſhort, unleſs the father declare one of theſe to be his lawful ſon or daughter, they are ever looked upon as ſlaves.

As to the Negroes which inhabit this city and kingdom, except ſome few that are free as being natives, they are all ſlaves to the Whites: ſome are ſent to the Arimi (farms) about one or two days journey off from the city, as to Bengo and Dante, which are well watered with rivers, when the other provinces are almoſt parched up for want of rain, and conſequently not fit for tillage. The way of manuring the ground here is this: they caſt up the earth with ſpades into a ridge, leaving thereby a furrow

on either ſide, into which, when the rivers are well filled by rain from the mountains, they cut their banks and let in the water: after it has remained there ſome time, and the earth is pretty well moiſtened, they let it out again into their canals, and cloſe up their banks. When this is done, after a little while the earth becomes proper for their ſeed, which, when ſown, after three months time is fit to be reaped. Others of theſe ſlaves are ſent to fiſhing, whereby their maſter maintains his family, and ſells what he has more than ſufficient for that purpoſe. It is not to be imagined what a great quantity of fiſh they have in theſe ſeas, and how cheap they are to be bought. A great Providence truly! for otherwiſe it would be almoſt impoſſible to ſubſiſt here, eſpecially in this city. I muſt confeſs in all my travels I never met with the like, though I have read in Peter Cobero's voyages, written in Spaniſh, that he had been in a country bordering upon a river wherein there were ſuch great abundance of fiſh, that the inhabitants dried and made bread of them, bones and all. Upon theſe fiſh the Blacks generally live altogether, whereof the Whites eat ſometimes, eſpecially a-nights, affirming they are much eaſier to be digeſted than fleſh. Although theſe fiſh have not that pleaſant taſte which ours in Italy have, yet are they nevertheleſs well enough liked by the inhabitants for want of knowing better.

Theſe ſlaves are likewiſe employed in building, which is commonly very ſlow. Whenever any of their maſters have a child born, a houſe is begun, and goes on no faſter than that child grows. I ſpeak this of thoſe Whites that are able to build a houſe for every child they have. The plaiſter here is made of ſea-ſhells, whereof there are great quantities on theſe ſhores. They have furnaces of much the ſame make with ours, wherein they burn the ſaid ſhells, which make as white and good lime as ours.

Many of theſe ſlaves do the office of barbers, wherein they are more expert than the Whites, and that not only in the uſe of the ſciſſars and razor, but likewiſe in that of the lancet to open a vein. In ſhort, ſome follow one trade, and ſome another; and when they have no buſineſs to do for their maſters, they are hired out at ſo much a week or month, the profit whereof goes to their maſters; ſo that he that has moſt ſlaves here is always accounted the richeſt man.

The current coins here are the Maccutas, being certain pieces of ſtraw-cloth of about the largeneſs of a ſheet of paſte-board each, and which are equivalent to our braſs money in Europe. Thoſe that correſpond to our ſilver are the Intagas, being pieces of thick cotton-cloth, and of about the bigneſs of two large handkerchiefs, and worth about eighteen-pence of our money. They have another ſort of money called Folingas, of cotton likewiſe, but of a finer ſort, and like that which ſeamen uſe to tie about their waiſts: theſe are worth three ſhillings and ſixpence each. Thoſe coins that are of greater value, and anſwer to our gold, are the Birami, made of fine linen, whereof each parcel goes for ſeven ſhillings and ſixpence or eight ſhillings. No braſs, ſilver or gold coins, are made uſe of either by foreign merchants or others in theſe countries.

From the great variety of ſlaves of different nations in theſe countries muſt needs proceed the like variety and difference in humours and cuſtoms; and, although they are all Chriſtians, yet I obſerved that the law of God was not ſo religiouſly obſerved amongſt them as it ought to be; for that they ſeemed to me to perform the duties of their religion more out of fear of their maſters that had inſtructed them, than out of any value they had for divine worſhip. The ſhe-ſlaves are commonly guilty of a fault, which is partly occaſioned by the white women, who, not caring to be deprived of their Moccamas, will not ſuffer them to marry, and therefore they ſteal from their miſtreſſes to maintain men to ſatisfy their brutal appetites. If they happen to become with child, no ſhame is imputed either to them or their miſtreſſes. For our parts, we do all we can to prevent it, and ſome ladies ſay upon this occaſion, that they cannot

be always a looking after their ſhe-blacks; and if any of them chanced to be now and then with child, they conceived it no great matter of harm: nevertheleſs we often have them chaſtiſed both in public and private for theſe and the like faults, and afterwards force them to marry the perſon that had debauched them. But O what pains do we take to bring them to it, and how many ridiculous arguments and reaſons do they bring to excuſe themſelves from this duty and reſtraint!

There are thoſe among theſe ſlaves that, after they are thus married, will exchange their wives with each other for a certain time, alledging, in caſe of reproof, that they are not able to eat always of the ſame diſh. Thoſe of the women likewiſe, that live out in the country in their maſter's farms, will hire each of them a man, upon condition that he ſhall not leave them till they have a child by him, though they are to maintain him all the while he is with them. It is mighty ridiculous to obſerve that the women here, contrary to the cuſtom of other nations, buy and ſell, and do all other things which the men ought to do, whilſt their huſbands ſtay at home and ſpin or weave cotton, or buſy themſelves in ſuch other effeminate actions. Theſe women alſo are ſo jealous of their huſbands, that if they ſee them but ſpeak to any other women they are preſently in a flame, and make the place ring where they ſo diſcover them. The biſhop ordered, that all maſters of Blacks ſhould oblige them to perform the Eaſter-duty under pain of forfeiting a certain quantity of wax for every one, obliging them to bring the certificate of their receiving and confeſſing to their maſters, and then all together to the curate. Theſe, becauſe they are often involved in the immediate occaſion of ſin, make uſe of a crafty deceit to extort abſolution from their Father-confeſſor: which is, that the firſt day of Lent the men part from the women, leading a chaſte life for the preſent, and then appearing before the prieſt, tell him they have left off their lewd courſes, and promiſe never to return to them. A week or a fortnight after Eaſter they go about till they are provided with one to ſatisfy their luſt all the year, without having any more to do with thoſe they forſook before confeſſion.

Let us come now to the death and burial of theſe people, who being of ſo many different nations, and the remains of the pagans, differ likewiſe in their rites and ceremonies. As to the manner of their deaths, that may be gueſſed at by their lives, according to the proverb, *Qualis vita, finis ita.* As for what relates to their burials, I have been an eye-witneſs, that in the kingdoms of Cacongo and Angoij they do not bury any of their relations, till all the reſt of the kindred be gathered together, though that be ſometimes many days in accompliſhing: being once met, they begin the ceremony with ſeveral ſuperſtitious actions, as killing of hens, with the blood of which they beſprinkle the houſe of the deceaſed both within and without, and afterwards throw the carcaſes of the ſaid fowl upon the top of the houſe, affirming, that thereby they prevent the ſoul of the dead perſon from coming to give the Zumbi to any of the future inhabitants. The word Zumbi, in the language of the country, ſignifies an apparition of the deceaſed perſon, they being of opinion, that to whomſoever it ſhall appear, that perſon will preſently die. This perſuaſion has been ſo deeply rooted in the minds of theſe poor ignorant people, that the imagination alone oftentimes brings them to their ends. We have ſeen ſeveral accidents of this kind, inſomuch that a perſon that was before very well in health, ſhall of a ſudden die miſerably through the impreſſion of theſe vain deluſions. Thoſe that ſurvive affirm, that the dead perſon had ſummoned him that died, eſpecially where there had been any difference betwixt them whilſt both were living.

The ceremony of the hens being ended, they proceed to lamenting over the dead perſon; and if it ſo happens, that any amongſt them be not able to weep naturally, they have recourſe to art by holding Siliquaſtro, or Indian pepper to their noſes, which

cauſes the tears to flow plentifully, which, without weeping, they ſuffer to trickle down their cheeks as faſt as they pleaſe. When they have howled and wept for ſome time, they all of a ſudden paſs from ſorrow to mirth, feaſting heartily at the expence of the perſon that is neareſt akin to the deceaſed, who all that while lies unburied in the houſe. When they have fully ſatisfied their ungodly guts, they ſoon forget their deceaſed friend, and never think of him more: then the drum beats, and they go from the table to dancing, and ſo the ball begins: when one company is weary, another begins, and not only the kindred, but likewiſe any others are admitted to dance. After they have done dancing, they retire into appointed places, where, being locked up together in the dark, they practiſe all manner of abominable pleaſures, alledging, that at ſuch a time it is lawful for them to intermix with each other at liberty. This ſound of the drum ſeems to be the devil's ſummons to aſſiſt at theſe execrable ceremonies, and which theſe people run to with a more than ordinary inclination. It is almoſt impoſſible for the mothers to hinder their daughters, and leſs poſſible for maſters to prevent their ſlaves, who will break down walls, or force iron-bars to come at them. As ſoon as this is done, they apply themſelves to ſuperſtitious and idolatrous practices, and ſo from one to the other for ſome time. When any maſter of a family dies, his principal wife expoſes herſelf to all that have a mind to enjoy her; on this condition nevertheleſs, that none offer to ſpeak the leaſt word in her chamber.

That theſe abominations are practiſed among pagans is not to be wondered at; but would to God that theſe Tumbi (funeral ceremonies) were not uſed among ſome depraved Chriſtians, not only in the kingdom of Angola, but even in Loanda itſelf. At the time of my reſiding here I was told, that not far out of this city ſuch enormities were committed. Our ſuperior, accompanied with one only companion and ſome truſty perſons, immediately ran to prevent them; but being by night (the propereſt time for theſe helliſh practices) he met with the guards, who, well knowing that it was not our cuſtom to go out of the city at that time, unleſs upon account of doing God ſome ſervice, preſently offered themſelves to accompany them, which, being refuſed by our ſuperior, they perſiſted in their reſolutions, alledging that otherwiſe ſome hurt might happen to him, and therefore they went along with him. Being arrived at the place where theſe ceremonies were performing, the ſoldiers, to the end they might the better take the offenders, ranged themſelves about the walls, which conſiſting only of mud and ſtakes, they eaſily broke down, hooping and hollowing like mad while they were doing it. The wicked wretches, that were not few in number, perceiving their walls broke down, and their houſe ſurrounded, immediately betook themſelves to flight, leaving only the wife of the deceaſed behind, who, being obliged by her infernal prieſt not to ſtir nor ſpeak, was eaſily taken, and by the governor afterwards, who very well knew what ſhe and her company had been doing, ordered to be publicly whipped through the city.

In Maſſangano, a garriſon of this kingdom, ſo many ſtones were hurled at a companion of mine for endeavouring to oppoſe theſe people in their wicked ceremonies, that he very narrowly eſcaped having his brains beat out by them.

When any great lord, or conſiderable perſon dies, the pagans are accuſtomed to ſpread the way where the corpſe paſſes with leaves and branches. He muſt likewiſe be carried in a ſtraight line to his grave; and therefore if any houſe or wall happened to hinder his paſſage, it is immediately pulled down. To ſhew themſelves kind to the dead, they are commonly very cruel to the living, ſhutting up both together in a tomb with meat and drink, to the end (ſay they) that the dead lord may want for nothing in his grave: in this they imitate the tyrant Mezentius King of the Tyrrhenians, who in Virgil is ſaid to join dead and living people together, till the ſtench has brought them to one condition.

The

The Giaghi offer up human ſacrifices to the dead, as they do likewiſe oftentimes to the living, when they can ſuppoſe the perſon they intend to honour to have occaſion for aſſiſtance either in war, or any other urgency.

One of our fathers having underſtood that within a certain ſepulchre of a great perſon among theſe pagans, there were two people immured alive, went thither in great haſte to free them from their infernal and noiſome dungeon, but found to his great grief that they had ſome time before periſhed. But the wickedneſs of theſe people ſometimes goes further; for at the death of any of their friends they have been accuſtomed to kill one of their ſlaves, to the end that he may go and ſerve them in the other world: to this ſin they will moreover add a lie; for when we accuſe them and get them corrected for ſo doing, they will excuſe themſelves and pretend innocence, affirming they know nothing of the matter, even though we had never ſo plain proof of it. An inſtance of this follows: — One of our order having been adviſed that a poor Negro was juſt going to be ſacrificed as a victim to his dead maſter, this father immediately ran to the wife of the deceaſed perſon to prevent it, who perceiving her villany was diſcovered, though ſhe at firſt denied it, yet afterwards confeſſed it, and gave orders to have thoſe inhuman proceedings ſtopt. In my time alſo there were ſeveral of theſe wicked actions done, but the perſons concerned in them always found ſo many ſhifts and ſubtle evaſions to conceal their offences, that we could never proceed methodically againſt them in order to bring them to puniſhment. Now if theſe things are practiſed among Chriſtians, how can we expect they ſhould be omitted among thoſe Negroes that have ſcarce heard of the name of Chriſtianity.

The burial-places among the Pagans are for the moſt part in the fields, with ſomething or other placed over them, according to the quality of the perſon that is buried: ſome have a long and ſtraight horn of I know not what beaſt fixed over them; others have a large heap of earth raiſed upon them; ſome have an earthen platter or pipkin, or any other veſſel made of earth, ſet over them; others make harbours over their graves, with a thouſand ſuperſtitious interlacings and interweavings that are performed by their wizards: they do not make uſe of a coffin, cheſt, or any other wooden thing to put the corpſe in, but wrap it up in good cotton linen ſewed cloſe together, and adorned without-ſide with ſeveral ſuperſtitious fooleries, being at an expence ſuitable to the quality of the perſon deceaſed. As for the poorer ſort, they make uſe only of a ſort of ſtraw-mats, after the mode of the country, to wrap their dead bodies in.

Within the dominions of Sogno every city and province has a certain peculiar place with a croſs in the middle, where thoſe that have not ſatisfied the Eaſter-command, or that die before they are confeſſed, are buried by themſelves, without the miſſioners concerning themſelves therein. But as for thoſe who have received all the ſacraments before their deaths, and have been found to have religiouſly obſerved the laſt Lent, they are allowed Chriſtian burial, without its being any manner of charge to them. Alſo during their ſickneſs, and after they are confeſſed, we frequently furniſh them with refreſhments out of charity, ſuch as confections of tamarinds, a fruit of the country, and the like, both cooling and cordial juleps. Beſides this, we have ſeveral ſlaves belonging to our church which are ſkilled in phlebotomy, ſurgery, phyſic, and what not, who all do what lies in their power to recover theſe people when ſick, or out of order: this we take care is done for them gratis, to the end they may have no occaſion to run to the wizards for help. For thoſe that are poor and old, fatherleſs, lame, blind, or the like, there is an hoſpital built near to our convent, where both their ſpiritual and temporal wants are ſupplied by us as often as there is found occaſion,

or that it conſiſts with our abilities. This is a charity which has not a little promoted the increaſe of Chriſtianity in theſe parts.

Let us conclude ſpeaking any farther of the Tambi, or funeral rites among the pagans, with a paſſage that happened ſome years ſince in Benin, a kingdom lying on the back coaſts of Africa, and towards Guinea, being very near the equinoctial line. Father Francis da Romano, ſuperior in the kingdom of Ouueri, and Father Philip da Figuar, being both here on a miſſion, they endeavoured to diſturb a certain abominable ſacrifice accuſtomed to be performed every year to the devil, for the benefit, as they alledged, of their dead anceſtors. This ſacrifice ſometimes conſiſted of above three hundred men, but at preſent there were only five to die, yet thoſe all of the better ſort. Theſe miſſioners, under the conduct of a certain Negro their friend, came to the third incloſure capable of holding many hundreds of people: here perceiving a great multitude gathered together dancing and ſinging to divers inſtruments of their muſic, they clapped themſelves down in a private place, the better to obſerve what they were going to do. This place happened to be that where they kept the knives deſigned to perform ſo inhuman an action. Not being able to conceal themſelves long, they were quickly diſcovered by theſe wicked wretches, who, coming towards them leaping with great indignation, they ſoon drove the poor fathers out of the place they had ſo taken poſſeſſion of. Father Francis hereupon was ſo little diſmayed, that crowding boldly through the thickeſt of the Negroes, he was not afraid to reproach their King of unheard-of cruelty: ſome courtiers hearing this, immediately flew upon him, and beating and uſing him very unmercifully, tore him out of the crowd; when cloſing up their ranks again, they performed their inhuman ſacrifice. Afterwards they gave their fathers to underſtand, that it was their King's pleaſure that they ſhould forthwith depart his kingdom. Which command they being not very ready to comply with, the next morning they ſet upon them again, with intention to have killed them; which they nevertheleſs did not do, by reaſon they were informed by two of the courtiers there preſent, that the King would have them brought alive before him. Going therefore courageouſly to the palace, they were notwithſtanding admitted to no other audience but ſtripes and reproaches in great plenty; and afterwards told, in reviling terms, that it was the King's expreſs order that they ſhould forthwith be gone out of his dominions. Notwithſtanding which, great numbers of theſe inſolent Negroes flew upon them like ſo many hornets, and hurried them away to a noiſome priſon. Here they remained no leſs than three months, being buffetted, ſcoffed, and ſcorned at all the while. At laſt, not contented with this ill uſage, they ſold them for ſlaves to the Hollanders; who, taking more pity upon them than theſe infidels had done, ſet them aſhore not long afterwards, ſafe and ſound, in the Prince's Iſland. Hence they writ to the ſacred college to inform them of what had happened to them; but were anſwered, that the church had already martyrs enóugh, and but two miſſioners in that kingdom, and therefore they ſhould not for the future expoſe themſelves ſo much in its ſervice, but proceed warily among thoſe new converts.

Another perſecution was undergone with cheerful countenances, and undiſturbed ſouls, by two other friars in the iſland of St. Thomas, in their journey to the kingdom of Ouueri, contiguous with that of Benin, in both of which there were new miſſions eſtabliſhed, and the Father-ſuperior, at that time Father Francis da Monteleone, lived in the aforeſaid iſland. The vice-ſuperior, Father Angelo Maria d'Aiaccio, of the province of Corſica, together with Father Bonaventura da Firenze, having but juſt ſet footing in the kingdom of Ouueri, they were very courteouſly received by that King. This prince was better bred than ordinary, having been brought up amongſt the Portugueſe,

tugueſe, whoſe language he was an abſolute maſter of, and could beſides write and read, a qualification unuſual among theſe Ethiopian princes. Almoſt at the firſt ſight of the King, the vice-ſuperior broke out into theſe words: "If Your Majeſty does deſire to have me to continue within your dominions, you muſt lay your injunctions on your ſubjects, that they embrace the holy ſtate of matrimony, according to our rites and ceremonies; and moreover, that whereas now the young men and women go naked till they are marriageable, I deſire Your Majeſty to command that they may all go covered." To which the King anſwered, that as to what related to his ſubjects, he would take care they ſhould comply with his requeſt; but as for himſelf, he could never conſent to do it, unleſs he were married to a White, as ſome of his predeceſſors had been. But what White would care to marry with a Black, even though he were a crowned head, eſpecially among the Portugueſe, who naturally deſpiſe them? Nevertheleſs the pious Father, truſting in God's providence to promote his own glory, gave no repulſe to the obſtinate monarch, but ſeemed to approve of all he ſaid. To bring this good work to effect, he immediately departed, taking his way towards the iſland of St. Thomas, ſituate under the equinoctial line, and reckoned one of the nine countries conquered by the Portugueſe in Africa. There he made it his buſineſs to enquire after a White woman that would marry a Black that was a crowned head. Whereupon he was informed that there was one in that iſland, though of mean condition, whoſe poverty and meanneſs were nevertheleſs ennobled by a virtuous education, and a comely perſonage. Notwithſtanding he was told that this woman was proper for the purpoſe, yet had he not the courage to ſpeak to her uncle about her, under whoſe care and protection ſhe was; but contriving how to bring about his deſign, with a lively faith in God, one day while he was ſaying maſs, he turned himſelf about to the aforeſaid perſon, conjuring him, in the preſence of all the people, in the name and for the ſervice of the moſt high God, not to deny him one requeſt, which was, that he would let his niece marry the King of Ouueri, which would greatly contribute to, if not totally effect, the converſion of that kingdom. At the hearing of this, the good man being wrought upon by the pious miſſioner's reaſons, could not prevent weeping, and bowing down his head, as a token of his conſent.

The young lady, not long afterwards, having firſt taken leave of her relations, ſet out with ſome few Portugueſe, and the miſſioner, for the aforeſaid kingdom.

Being juſt entered the confines, ſhe was joyfully and univerſally ſaluted by the people for their Queen, having triumphal arches raiſed to her, and ſeveral other demonſtrations of joy paid her by the inhabitants.

Being arrived at the King's palace, ſhe was received by that monarch like another Rachel by Jacob, Eſther by Ahaſhuerus, or Artemiſia by Mauſolus; and afterwards married by him, after the Chriſtian manner, thereby giving a good example to his ſubjects, who ſoon forſook their former licentious principles, and ſubmitted to be reſtrained by the rules of the goſpel, that is, were all married according to the rites and ceremonies of the church.

After four years miſſion into theſe parts, the aforeſaid two Fathers tranſported themſelves into the iſland of St. Thomas, partly to proceed further in the duties of their office, and partly to oblige the King, who commanded it. This good intention of theirs, it ſeems, the devil envied, for he raiſed up a certain eccleſiaſtical perſon there againſt them, who extremely envied our two miſſioners. This perſon had been accuſtomed, before their arrival, to go every ſix months to the kingdom of Ouueri to baptize that people, which brought him in the profit of a ſlave a month, and another from the King, in conſideration of his charge and trouble; but now finding himſelf deprived

deprived of this gain for four years, he, together with others not well affected to religion, raiſed the crueleſt perſecution againſt theſe poor Fathers that could poſſibly have been thought on. He accuſed them to the governor of the iſland for enemies to the crown of Portugal, and that they travelled about thoſe countries with falſe paſſes; and moreover, that to his knowledge, and in his hearing, they had debauched the minds of the King and Queen of Ouueri, and beſides held correſpondence with the enemies of the Portugueſe dominions. All this the governor heard patiently, yet did not immediately reſolve to have theſe innocent Fathers ſeized; whereupon one of thoſe that had accompanied the Queen to Ouueri, ſaid to him, "Take care, my lord, of what you do, leſt, apprehending theſe apoſtolical miſſioners, you create a difference between the crown of Portugal and the ſee of Rome. We are much obliged to theſe holy men for raiſing our country-woman to a crown." The governor would not meddle with theſe holy men, but ordered them to be ſent to Loanda, where there were likewiſe great complaints made againſt them by the aforeſaid prieſt and his adherents.

Hence they were ſent to the tribunal at Liſbon, where, being declared innocent, in that they had ſufficient authority from the crown for what they had acted, their accuſers were cited to appear to make good, if they could, their allegations; which not being able to do, the chief calumniator, the eccleſiaſtic, fled to Brazil, and the others to other places for protection.

Father Bonaventura da Firenze, on account of his great indiſpoſitions, returned to Italy; but Father Angelo Maria directed his courſe anew towards the iſland of St. Thomas, where, having performed the part of a good miſſionary, and a good Chriſtian, teaching by his exemplary life what his tongue omitted, he returned after ſome time to Liſbon, and died there. Until our coming into this part of Ethiopia, theſe kingdoms had not ſeen the face of any other miſſioner; and every time any ſhip came to anchor in their harbours, the natives would aſk the ſeamen if they had any Capuchin on board. And if they were anſwered that they had not, then would they fly into a paſſion, and cry out, "Muſt we then always lead our lives thus like beaſts, and never have any prieſts come to teach us better?"

Whilſt I was at Loanda, they writ to our ſuperior, Father John da Romano, to ſend them ſome ſpiritual labourer. He ſent their letter to the ſacred college, who writ back, that for the preſent Father Monteleone ſhould go to the iſland of St. Thomas, and build a convent there, to the end that whenever any miſſioners came thither, they might the eaſier tranſport themſelves into theſe kingdoms. If there were miſſioners ſufficient ſent, eſpecially from the ſacred college, and the apoſtolic ſee, I dare be poſitive they would find the converſion of this part of Ethiopia eaſy enough, the people thereof confeſſing already, that they believe the ſucceſſor of St. Peter to be a moſt holy perſon, and one that cannot err; and conſequently thoſe that are ſent by him are like him, and therefore they have no ſuſpicion of the Italians, which would not be in reſpect of other nations, in regard to their political ſtate. This happineſs, peculiar to our nation, gives us authority to go in our habits into their innermoſt receſſes, which prieſts of other countries would not be permitted to do. Nevertheleſs the devil, the author of all ill, does oftentimes work ſo by his miniſters, that he gives us ſome diſturbance, which, notwithſtanding, ſignifies little or nothing, great numbers having been in few years converted here. If I ſhould ſay myſelf, that I have done that good office for thouſands and thouſands, I am ſure I ſhould not lie; for I can be poſitive, that of men, women, and children, I have baptized no leſs than thirteen thouſand, and cauſed very many to marry. The ſhort time I did this in, will be the leſs wondered at, if the great numbers of people here be conſidered; and that, as I have ſaid

before

before in another place, one of our order alone baptized upwards of fifty thouſand. Alſo, Father Jerom da Monteſarchio, of our province of Naples, (whoſe painful travels and good qualities have already been made known to the world by another hand,) told me himſelf, before his death, that within the ſpace of twenty years continuance in theſe parts, he baptized above one hundred thouſand perſons, and amongſt the reſt, the King, or rather Duke of Congobella, tributary to the King of Micocco, together with his nephew, and ſeveral other perſons of quality.

That theſe ſort of people have been given to idolatry, and the eating of man's fleſh, I cannot deny; but then I muſt affirm, that they readily embrace Chriſtianity, and reap the fruit of it, as may appear by what happened to me. Our interpreter had a certain black ſlave, a very ſtrong fellow, but blind and obſtinate to the good advice was given him by his maſter to abjure paganiſm, and embrace the Chriſtian faith. His anſwer, in defence of his principles, was, That the elephant never eats ſalt, (ſo they call baptizm in their language,) and yet he became fat and large, and lived a long while. It ſeems the holy baptiſm, in their dialect, is called Minemungù, which is as much as to ſay, to ſeaſon the bleſſed ſalt. If any one ſhould aſk, if ſuch a one were a Chriſtian or a Pagan; if a Chriſtian, they would anſwer, He is a Chriſtian, for he has taſted of the ſalt that has been bleſſed by the prieſt. You muſt obſerve, that if any of theſe had been baptized with water alone, he would not have been very well ſatisfied. Now this ſlave ſpoken of before, happening to be grievouſly ſick, I went to viſit him, and uſing a great many ſpiritual arguments to him, found it not difficult to convert him. He yielded to my propoſals, and was baptized, to the great ſatisfaction of his maſter, as well as himſelf, and afterwards married to a Chriſtian woman there preſent. The third day after, he died, changing his ſlavery in this life for a glorious liberty in the other.

To ſay that the Negroes, and eſpecially Giaghi, are always obſtinate and perverſe, and man-eaters, is not to be made an objection againſt them, becauſe our Saviour ſays, "Thoſe that are well do not ſtand in need of a phyſician;" and the worſe the diſtemper, the more need of cure. This will appear by the only inſtance of the converſion of the Queen of Singa: this Queen, with the greateſt part of her people, was converted by the great pains of Father Anthony Laudati da Gaeta of our order; the manner whereof was told me by a Portugueſe captain that was preſent when it was done. He ſaid, the Queen and the aforeſaid Father Anthony were ſtanding together diſcourſing, when all of a ſudden the friar thus beſpoke the Queen: "Madam, when I behold ſo many large and fruitful valleys, enriched and adorned with ſo many cryſtal ſtreams, and defended from the injuries of weather by ſuch high and pleaſant hills, all under Your Majeſty's command, I cannot forbear being ſo bold, as to aſk you who was the author of all theſe? Who fecundated the ground, and afterwards ripens the fruit?" To which the Queen, without the leaſt heſitation, readily anſwered, "My anceſtors." "Then," replied the Capuchin, "does Your Majeſty enjoy the whole power of your anceſtors?" "Yes," anſwered ſhe, "and much more, for over and above what they had, I am abſolute miſtreſs of the kingdom of Matamba." The pious friar hearing this, ſtooped to reach a ſlender ſtraw that lay upon the ground, and having taken it up, cried to the Queen, "Madam, pray do me the favour to cauſe this to hang without holding in the air." The Queen turned away her face, and looked ſcornfully at a requeſt ſo inſignificant and inconſiderable. The friar reinforced his petition, earneſtly entreating Her Majeſty to comply with his deſires; whereupon proffering to put it into her hand, ſhe let it fall. Father Anthony ſtooped again to take it up, but the Queen being the more nimble of the two, got hold of it before him: "The rea-

ſon," quoth the friar, "why the ſtraw fell was, becauſe Your Majeſty did not command it not to fall; but now be pleaſed to order it to hang of itſelf, without help, in the air." She did ſo, but it would not obey. Whereupon the zealous friar broke out into the following expreſſions: "Be it known to Your Majeſty, O Queen, that your anceſtors have no otherwiſe been authors of theſe fair fields and ſprings, than you are of the ſupport of this ſtraw; but that the great Creator of heaven and earth, Chriſt Jeſus, the only Son of God, and the ſecond Perſon of the Trinity, whoſe image you have here upon this crucifix, made thoſe and all things elſe, that is, was the firſt cauſe of all." Then the Queen humbled herſelf, and bowing her royal head, ſubmitted to own the truth, embracing the holy faith, wherein ſhe not long after died; and which ſhe had before received in her younger days, but apoſtatized from it.

The Ethiopians are not ſo dull and ſtupid as is commonly imagined, but rather more ſubtle and cunning than ordinary, as may appear by what happened to a certain French ſea-captain at Mina, on the coaſt of Africa, which he told me himſelf, and was confirmed to me by a Portugueſe of the iſland of St. Thomas, who was an eye-witneſs of it. This captain ſailing along the coaſts where the mines are, and thinking to exchange his merchandize for gold, was unfortunately made a prize by a Hollander, who ſeizing his ſhip, and putting the ſeamen in irons, carried their captain, under a ſtrong guard, aſhore before the governor, who for a welcome ordered him to a cloſe priſon, loaded with irons, and to be looked after by about thirty ſtrong Blacks, where he expected nothing but death. The chief of theſe Negroes perceiving the priſoner to bear ſo manfully what was ſo wrongfully offered him, by an earneſt and ſtedfaſt look on him, diſcovered both his pity and concern for ſo great injuſtice done him. At laſt, being encouraged by the gravity and modeſty of his countenance, which promiſed a great deal of prudence and diſcretion, he approached him, and ſaid to him, "Since you have done nobody any harm, and your enemies have behaved themſelves immoderately rigorous towards you, not only in impriſoning, but likewiſe in depriving you of your goods and life, I offer myſelf, led thereunto by a principle of abhorrence of ſuch actions, to free you." The captain taking heart at this proffer of the Negro's, anſwered him; "If thou haſt courage ſufficient to deliver me from death, and conduct me in ſafety to my ſhip, I will in recompence reward thee with whatever thou canſt aſk. But how," continued he, "is it poſſible for me to have ſo good fortune, when there are ſo many appointed to look after me?" "Leave that to me," replied the Ethiopian, "for I do not doubt but I ſhall be able, by the help of ſix of my companions whom I have already engaged, to carry you off ſafe to your ſhip. The way I have propoſed to do it is, by making the reſt of my companions dead drunk with good wine, which will give us that are your friends a liberty to act as we pleaſe." He was not long afterwards as good as his word, and the ſucceſs of his endeavours anſwered his expectation. The captain looked upon his deliverer to be rather an angel ſent from heaven to his aſſiſtance, than a black Ethiopian. As ſoon as they were got out of the priſon, they made all the haſte they could, directing their ſteps all that night through thick woods and unfrequented paths, till at length they got ſafe to the port. The Negro went aboard the ſhip, where he acquainted the Dutch guard, that the governor had ſet at liberty both the captain and his crew, and, therefore, adviſed them to free their priſoners from their fetters, and ſet them at liberty. The Hollanders immediately obeyed this order, giving credit to what word the Negro had brought them, he having been always looked upon for an honeſt fellow; and, receiving a ſmall reward, departed.

The captain ſeeing himſelf maſter of his ſhip, returned his unfeigned thanks to heaven for his preſervation, and then ſetting open all his cheſts, offered his preſerver what

recompence he would have: all which the Negro refuſed, alledging that what ſervice he had done him, was wholly on account of his being a man of honour, and in commiſeration of his condition, and not out of any intereſt or advantage which he propoſed to himſelf thereby; and further, that if he pleaſed to accept of his and his companions ſervice, they would follow him whereſoever he went. "If that be your intention," replied the obliged Frenchman, "let us ſet ſail and be gone, and I ſhall always endeavour to proportion my gratitude and acknowledgments to your merits." This ſaid, the ſeamen did not weigh their anchors, but cut their cables, and, hoiſting ſail at the ſame time, to avoid falling afreſh into the Hollanders' hands, ſtood their courſe directly for France. The great civilities ſhewed both to this Negro and his companions throughout the whole voyage, are not to be expreſſed: the ſeamen would often compliment them, and eſpecially their chief, calling him their deliverer. When they came to land, the captain's relations and friends ſtrove which ſhould oblige theſe Blacks moſt. When they had been about three months aſhore, the Negroes adviſed the captain to freight his ſhip anew with ſome rich merchandize and curioſities, and to ſail towards a place called Chinea, where they could conduct him to a port not ſubject to the Hollanders, and known to them, where he might gain what profit he pleaſed without any danger. Who now could have miſtruſted the preſervers of their lives? The captain therefore conſidering of the propoſal, and knowing it to be as they had told him, the place they named being below the mines, freighted his ſhip accordingly, and ſet ſail again towards the eaſtern coaſts of Africa. Coming to an anchor in the iſland of St. Thomas to take in freſh proviſions, where the wind and current are always fair for Chinea or Mina, he made what haſte he could to put again to ſea: at his firſt coming out, he had a very gentle gale, but ſtood ready againſt the trade or ſettled wind came up, which the Portugueſe call Viracao, which there riſes and falls every ſix hours with the tide. Then ſpreading their ſails, the mariners, except the pilot, ſteerſman, and another perſon, together with the ſubtle Negroes, who watched for ſome ill purpoſe, fell aſleep. One of theſe Negroes ſet himſelf to cutting of wood, to the end that with the noiſe of the ax he might drown what the others intended to do. The others knocked out the brains of four of the ſeamen, together with the pilot, and their deſigns were to have murdered all; but as Providence would have it, the captain hearing of what had happened by means of a little boy, ſnatching up a cutlaſs and two brace of piſtols, and finding the door bolted without, he was forced to get out at a port-hole: when he came upon deck, and ſaw ſome of his men lying dead, and others defending themſelves, he called out to wake the reſt of the ſeamen, and then falling on, ſoon diſpatched four of the Negroes, amongſt whom was their chief, whoſe head was inſtantly cut off, and his body ſent to feed the ſharks. The three that remained, having firſt confeſſed, that their plot was to have murdered all the ſhip's crew, and afterwards to have run away to their own country with the veſſel, boaſting what a trick they had put upon the Chriſtians of Europe, paid the merit of their folly, for they were immediately hanged up at the yard-arm. This happening in ſight of the iſland of St. Thomas, the people from the ſhore fired upon the ſhip to know the occaſion of it; but the captain hanging out a white flag, ſent his boat aſhore to acquaint them how he had been uſed by the Negroes, which extremely ſurpriſed both the iſlanders and ſome others that heard it; but they more eſpecially wondered how thoſe ſubtle Blacks could harbour ſo ill a deſign ſo long. The captain further told me, that after this he would needs go to Sogno to ſee the river Zaire, and try if he could thereby get into the kingdom of the Abyſſinians belonging to Preſter-John[g] He was informed that that river, by reaſon of the great number of iſlands in it, and the ſeveral canals and rivers that run into it, was not at all ſafe for great ſhips to ſail in: he

nevertheleſs was reſolved to venture to ſatisfy himſelf in what he had propoſed. Being obliged to paſs by the kingdom of Angoij, which lay on the other ſide of the river, the inhabitants thereof, perceiving a ſhip coming along with ſuch people on board as they had never ſeen or heard of before, ſent out a canoe to them to tell them they muſt come and anchor in Capinda, a port of the ſaid kingdom. And likewiſe having further underſtood, that they were going to make diſcoveries up the river, they let them know, that if they would comply with their requeſt, and come to harbour in their port, they ſhould thence be conducted in their diſcovery, and buy as many ſlaves and as much ivory as they pleaſed. But above all things they adviſed them not to touch upon Sogno, affirming that people were enemies to the Whites, and not many years before had made a great ſlaughter among them. The captain, to ſatisfy theſe people, left a boat laden with goods with two mariners in it, and ſailed away. The Negroes carried them up into the country, and divided the merchandize among themſelves. Fifteen days paſt, and no news was heard of the ſaid two ſeamen, nor even of any trade or traffic ſettled by their means, and yet the Negroes gave good words, and went daily aboard the ſhip to preſerve a good correſpondence, drinking and carouſing at the captain's expence. At length the Mani or governor of Capinda coming on board himſelf, accompanied with five or ſix followers, the French captain on a ſudden cauſed them to be ſeized and clapped under hatches in irons, threatening that unleſs the two mariners with their merchandize were ſpeedily reſtored, he would not only carry them away for ſlaves, but likewiſe as many others of that kingdom as he could meet. We Capuchins perſuaded the count of Sogno to do the captain juſtice, who, upon the apprehending the Mani and his companions, recovered the ſeamen and part of the goods. To ſatisfy for the reſt, the Angoij were ordered to pay twelve ſlaves; which not coming, the captain ſet ſail with the ſeven he had got, putting the eighth aſhore to conduct the twelve ſlaves aſſigned to Sogno, where he traded for three hundred ſlaves, whom he carried to ſell in the iſland Hiſpaniola. The captain himſelf told me he was extremely pleaſed that he had got a Negro governor to preſent to his King clothed after the faſhion of that country.

By this relation the reader may perceive that the Negroes are both a malicious and ſubtle people, and I likewiſe muſt allow that they ſpend the moſt part of their time in circumventing and deceiving; yet I cannot allow, that becauſe they are a ſtubborn ſoil, they muſt be left uncultivated; being of ſo perverſe a nature as they generally are, they require the greater application of inſtruction. But this ſtill is to be ſaid for them, that when you come once to eradicate their vicious principles, they ſeldom or never return to their ſtate of damnation again.

Grievous no doubt are the ſufferings of the miſſioners in theſe parts, whether you conſider the length of their travels, their frequent want of neceſſaries, the various climates of the countries they paſs through, the ſuffocating and inſupportable heats, eſpecially to us Europeans, who fry within our woollen clothes, the travelling over rocks and frightful precipices, the often ſleeping upon the bare ground, the being perſecuted by wizards and ſuch ſort of wretches, and ſometimes by bad Chriſtians; and laſtly, the loſing ſo much blood as we are fain to do to preſerve our healths, and a thouſand other inconveniences in life, which cannot be here enumerated; all which are nevertheleſs pleaſing to thoſe who undergo them on account of its being for God's ſake they ſuffer, who being a *remunerator animarum*, both can and will reward them.

As to my return from Africa, it was truly through mere neceſſity, and at which I was not a little concerned, when I conſidered that I muſt leave ſo much work undone behind me, and whereof thoſe poor kingdoms have ſo much need to conduct them in their way to heaven. My departure was principally occaſioned by my illneſs, but had I recovered

recovered my health in Brazil whither I was going, as I propoſed to myſelf, my intentions were to have returned once more to Ethiopia; but my recovery proved ſo very ſlow, and I found myſelf ſo exceedingly weak, that I laid all thoſe thoughts aſide. Arriving not long after at Bahia, the principal city of Brazil, I was for a ſhort time entertained very courteouſly in a French convent of our order, whoſe friars uſed their utmoſt diligence to procure me a good captain to tranſport me ſick as I was to Liſbon. They firſt ſpoke to a countryman of theirs, and who offered to carry and provide me a convenient cabin becauſe I was ſick, but I muſt go as a paſſenger, and not as chaplain, and that becauſe he would not ſubmit to the laws of Portugal, which make it a crime for any ſhip to ſail without one. I told him, as I had formerly done the other captain at the beginning of my voyage to Africa, that if he would needs exclude me from the duties of my function, I muſt neceſſarily refuſe his offer, being willing to earn my diet and paſſage, and ſo we parted. I was afterwards requeſted by the governor of Maſſangano, who came with us from the kingdom of Angola, and from whom I had received ſeveral civilities in our voyage, to go along with him to Portugal; I thankfully accepted his offer, and in three months' time, in company of a fleet of twenty-eight ſhips laden with tobacco and ſugars, by the aſſiſtance of a favourable wind and good weather, we reached the height of Liſbon.

It being almoſt night before we got near the port, but three of our ſhips could get in, viz. that I was in, the Frenchman, and another, the reſt being to keep out at ſea all that night, and the greateſt part of the next day, by reaſon the tide was againſt them. At day-break the phyſician came on board us three, to ſee what ſtate of health we were in; but before he approached, the Frenchman thinking it had been a cuſtom-houſe Felucca, went to hide a certain quantity of tobacco he had in his powder-room, but through a fatal miſcarriage letting a ſpark from the candle fall on one of the barrels, the powder took fire and blew up the poop of the ſhip, whereby the water flowing into the reſt of the ſhattered veſſel, it ſunk in a trice; none of the people that were in her eſcaped, but only ſuch as could ſwim, and they made ſhift to get to ſhore, or elſe were taken up by boats. If this ſhip had not ſunk as ſhe did after ſhe was blown up, what damage might ſhe not have done us that were very near her! Having obſerved the great eſcape I and my fellow-voyagers had, I fell on my knees, and returned my unfeigned thanks to the Moſt High for our preſervation, and eſpecially in that I happened not to go in that unfortunate ſhip. This accident was reported about among the vulgar to have been a judgment on the ſaid ſhip for not having a chaplain on board her.

At length we landed, which we had no ſooner done, but I and Father Francis da Pavia, a chaplain in another ſhip, and my companion all the way from Ethiopia, fell down on our knees again to return heaven thanks for our ſafe arrival in Portugal; we then went immediately to wait on the King, who being gone that day out of the city to viſit the Infanta his daughter, we were fain to defer that intention. At his return His Majeſty being informed of our deſigns, and having ſcarce alighted, ſent preſently for us: but the meſſengers not finding us in the city, came to our convent, where they met us and gave us to underſtand, that we might go to the court whenſoever we pleaſed, the King being very deſirous to ſee us. We loſt no time, but immediately repaired to court, and were admitted to audience.

The King's countenance was extremely pleaſing, and his reception of us very friendly, ſtanding out of reſpect to us with his hat all the while in his hand; he kiſſed our habits, and then began to ſpeak of our order and miſſion, and eſpecially of us Italian miſſioners, for whom he ſaid he had a very particular reſpect, having been often informed how much good we had done, and did daily for God's ſervice; and that although

although it was true that he had forbid any foreign prieſt to exerciſe their function within his conqueſts in thoſe parts, yet he did by no means deſign to exclude his Italian Capuchins thereby. Theſe words he ſpoke not only once, but repeated as often as any opportunity offered in diſcourſe.

I muſt not forget the civilities ſhewed me here by Signior Nicolo Bonacurſi, a gentleman of Florence, who took me from our convent at Liſbon to tranſport me to Leghorn, proffering me withal a neceſſary ſubſiſtence for the whole voyage. Herein nevertheleſs the captain of the ſhip oppoſed him, telling me that I ſhould eat at his table: but Signior Nicolo notwithſtanding would not be refuſed the ſending a ſervant along with me to wait on me, which I muſt own the fellow did with a great deal of obſequiouſneſs and diligence. Signior Nicolo would alſo have hired a Felucca to carry me to Naples; which I refuſing, he recommended me to the Marquis Pucci at Leghorn, to the end that he might ſee me provided with neceſſaries for my farther voyage to Genoa, whither I was bound. We not long after ſet ſail, and arrived at Leghorn in a ſhort time, whence in a few days I went on board a ſhip called the Holy Roſe, and with a proſperous gale ſoon got to Genoa. As we were going to enter the port about midnight, the wind all of a ſudden chopped about full in our teeth, forcing us back to ſea again. About break of day, while we were making for the mouth of the bay to get in, a French man of war was juſt coming out, who perceiving us ſailed, made up to us, keeping to windward; her captain as he came nearer hailed us to ſend our boat on board, but ours taking little or no notice of him ſailed on; whereupon the Frenchman came up to the windward of us again, giving us to underſtand, that being we were a man of war like himſelf, he was obliged by an expreſs order from his King either to force us aboard or to ſink us. At the hearing of this, all our ſhip's company were extremely concerned, and that eſpecially becauſe the day before, at the diſcovery of Genoa, we had diſcharged all our cannon, except thirteen, which we reſerved to ſalute the holy croſs in the ſaid city. Our muſquets likewiſe were all laid up in the gunroom, and our ſeamen had put on their beſt clothes to go aſhore; nevertheleſs, laying aſide all fear or delay, two of our officers got ready what arms they had, and ranged both paſſengers and ſeamen, except only thoſe that were quartered at the aforeſaid great guns, on the decks, in expectation of the enemy's being as good as his word, ſince we had abſolutely refuſed to comply with his commands. What a buz and rumour was to be heard every where then amongſt the armed ſoldiers and ſeamen! For my part I almoſt thought I was in hell, and which put me in mind of that verſe of Virgil's in his ſixth Æneid,

———Stridor ferri, tractæque catenæ.

At length to prevent what inconveniences might have enſued ſo raſh an engagement, the French captain ſent his brother on board us to ſee who we were, who coming near us, and perceiving what preparations we had made for a fight, and moreover hearing from us that we were Genoeſe, cried out, "To what purpoſe are all theſe warlike preparations, ſince there is peace between us and Genoa?" We anſwered him, that at ſea we ought always to be on our guard againſt accidents we might meet with, and for aught we knew his ſhip might be no French man of war, becauſe it was a common thing to put out falſe colours. He then demanded what number of men we had on board, having perceived a great many on the deck; we told him we were four hundred, and in truth we were ſo many. At laſt he acquainted us, that he had orders from his maſter to demand all Frenchmen he could meet with, except merchants, on board any veſſel whatever, and deſired to know if we had any ſuch among us;

ſearch

ſearch was made, and all that were found delivered immediately, except a drummer who hid himſelf, ſo that much time was ſpent before he could be found, but at laſt he went with the reſt. This done, the Frenchman departed peaceably, and left us to purſue our entrance into the port, which we immediately did, and being ſafely got in, caſt anchor before the city.

It might have proved a more than ordinary damage to us, had we engaged this French veſſel, by reaſon that over and above a great quantity of merchandize of different kinds which we had on board, we had likewiſe above a million and a half of money belonging to merchants, as alſo a great deal of uncoined and unwrought ſilver. Our ſhip carried beſides all the money that had been collected that year in Spain by the commiſſary of the croiſade, as likewiſe ſeveral other ſums given in charity towards the canonizing of two ſaints at Rome.

As I obſerved ſome things in my way through the city of Liſbon when I went to Congo, ſo I cannot help taking notice here of another particular which I heard there as I came back: it was about a law made by the King of Portugal concerning exceſs in apparel. It ſeems the French merchants had before been accuſtomed every year to introduce new faſhions in clothes after their own fancies, and dreſſing babies in them, to expoſe them to the view of the people, who preſently bought up thoſe garments, and ſo had a new faſhion every year, whereby the ſellers were enriched, and the buyers impoveriſhed; ſo that moſt of the coin of Portugal fell into the hands of the French; to prevent the exportation whereof, the King raiſed the value of it. But this he was nevertheleſs diſappointed in, for the French merchants obſerving what had been done, raiſed the value of their goods proportionably, and the people were ſo far infatuated, that they were reſolved to have them whatever they coſt them. The King ſeeing this, publiſhed another proclamation to prohibit his ſubjects the wearing of any ſilk, gold or ſilver, and withal commanded them to confine themſelves to bays, or ſuch ſtuffs as were the manufacture of the country, prohibiting alſo foreign hats and ſtockings. And the more to incline his ſubjects to the obſerving of this law, he himſelf firſt ſet them an example. As for what ſilk, gold or ſilver the church required, he ordered certain commiſſioners to procure what was neceſſary for that purpoſe from Venice, and elſewhere, but which was to be ſealed to prevent any greater quantities being imported. By theſe means ſuperfluous expences have been wholly baniſhed this kingdom and its conqueſts; and if other nations would take example by them, luxury would not be ſo rampant, nor vice ſo triumphant. More might be ſaid upon this ſubject, but I fear I have ſufficiently tired my reader already, and therefore ſhall here conclude the relation of my voyage into ſouthern Africa.

AN

AN APPENDIX to the VOYAGE to CONGO, &c.

A LETTER *from the King of Congo to the Author, upon his arrival at the Port of Ango in Weſtern Ethiopia. Written in Portugueſe, and thus in Engliſh.*

The Superſcription.

To the very reverend Father, Father Jerom da Sorento, a Capuchin and Apoſtolic Miſſioner, whom God preſerve.

Moſt reverend Father,

I RECEIVED Your Reverence's kind letter, with a great deal of joy and ſatisfaction for the favour Your Reverence has done me. Having underſtood your ſafe arrival at Capinda, I was very glad of it, and do beſeech God always to preſerve you in the like ſtate of health for the future, to the end that we the unworthy ſervants of God may reap the benefit of it. For my part I ſhall ever be ready to obey all Your Reverence's commands as your ſpiritual ſon, as will likewiſe your ſpiritual daughter Donna Potentiana my mother. We both earneſtly deſire to our power to ſhew our readineſs to ſerve you. Moſt reverend Father, I have comprehended all Your Reverence writ to me, extremely well; but, O my Father, I know not how I ſhall be able to be ſufficiently thankful to God for his mercy, in promiſing me the ſight of your loving countenance! Come then ſpeedily and perſonally to the aſſiſtance and relief of thoſe poor ſouls that deſire to receive benediction from your ſacred hands. It is moſt true what I tell you, for our ſouls are all on fire to ſee Your Reverence as they ought; and therefore, moſt holy Father, haſten Your Reverence's journey, purſuant to your promiſe by your meſſenger, that we may receive you with joy and feſtivals. I conjure you, proſtrate at your holy feet, as an apoſtolic miſſioner and ſon of the bleſſed St. Francis, to hearken to my words. I beſeech you, let me hear from Your Reverence from Loanda, for I have ſeveral important matters to communicate to you, which will extremely contribute towards the increaſe of Chriſtianity. For this purpoſe, I ſent my favourite Garzia Michael to wait upon and conduct Your Reverence to my palace. He will bring a ſlave along with him, whom I beg Your Reverence to accept, though but an inconſiderable preſent. I ſhall trouble Your Reverence with no more; God preſerve you, and I humbly recommend myſelf to your holy ſacrifices.

Your Reverence's Son, the Prince of Congo,
DON JOHN EMANUEL GRITHO,
Who treads on the lion in the kingdom of his mother.

Lemba, Feb. 22. 1688.

I believe I ſhall not greatly diſpleaſe my reader, if I add here the cuſtoms of theſe Ethiopians in their eating and drinking at feaſts, which they commonly celebrate with great numbers, and at night. A great company being got together, they ſit round in a ring upon the green graſs; which having done, a large thick round wooden platter is placed in the midſt of them; this platter is called by them Malonga: the eldeſt of them, whom in their language they call Maculuntù, or Cocolocangi, is to divide and diſpenſe to every one his portion, which he performs with that exactneſs, that if there happen

to

to be a bit better than ordinary, that is likewiſe divided proportionably among the company. By theſe means there are no complaints or murmurs to be heard amongſt them, but every one is contented with what is allotted him. When they drink, they make uſe of neither cups nor glaſſes, to the end that every man may have what is judged ſufficient for him and no more. The judge of this is the Maculuntù, who holds the Moringo, or flaſk, to the perſon's mouth that drinks; and when he thinks he has drank ſufficient, he pulls it away. This is practiſed all along even to the end of the feaſt. That which ſeems ſtrangeſt to me is, that if any perſon whatſoever, man or woman, great or ſmall, though not known to them, happens to paſs by where the gueſts are eating, he or ſhe thruſts into the ring, and has an equal ſhare with the reſt, without the trouble of making any compliment, or ſpeaking a word. If this ſtranger happens to come after the portions are allotted, then is the carver to take ſomething from every man's meſs to make up a ſhare for him. If it ſo chance that 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 travellers perceive the platter empty, they riſe up and go their ways without taking any leave, or returning thanks to the company. And though theſe ſtrangers have never 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 I much wondered at is, that they never aſk theſe intruders any queſtions, as whence they come, whither they go, or the like, but all matters paſs with ſo great ſilence, that one would think that they therein imitated the ancient law among the Lochri, a people of Achaia, reported by Plutarch, which imported that if any one demanded of another what was done, what was ſaid, or the like, the perſon that aſked thoſe queſtions was to pay a fine. *Locrenſium lex quæ ſiquis peregre recurſus rogabat, Nunquid novi, eum mulctâ afficiebat.* Plut. de Curioſit. laudandâ.

It has happened to me, that being about to entertain ſome perſons that had been ſerviceable to me, at dinner-time I obſerved the number of my gueſts greatly increaſed; whereupon aſking who thoſe new-comers were, they anſwered, they did not know; which cauſed me to reply, "Then do ye allow of thoſe to eat with ye, who have had no ſhare in your labour?" To which all the anſwer I could get from them was, that it was the cuſtom ſo to do. This charity of theirs ſeemed to me ſo commendable, that I ordered their commons to be doubled, being not a little pleaſed to find ſo great love and amity even amongſt pagans. If the like good cuſtom were practiſed amongſt us, we ſhould not have ſo many poor indigent wretches die in the ſtreets, and other places, merely for want, as there almoſt daily do in all countries.

If this cuſtom of theirs be ſo well worthy of commendation, another they have no leſs deſerves blame, that relates to their behaviour towards their wives; who being enjoined to work in the fields till noon, whilſt their huſbands enjoy themſelves at home, are obliged at their return to get all things ready for dinner; and if they happen to want any thing, they muſt either buy it out of their own money, or barter clothes for it according to the cuſtom; I ſay out of their own money, or otherwiſe at their expence, by reaſon that the wives here are obliged to find their huſbands with meat, and they are to provide wine and clothes for them. Dinner being got ready, it is firſt ſet before the huſband as maſter of the family, who ſits down alone to table, while the wife and children wait diligently about him to ſerve him in what he wants. When he has eat as much as he can, the remainder comes to the wife and children, who may ſit down if they pleaſe; yet they generally ſtand, looking upon it to be their duty ſo to do. But if after all the huſband has a mind to eat the whole dinner, he may do it, and nobody can call him to account. I having aſked ſeveral of theſe people,

why they did not admit their wives to ſit with them at table; they anſwered me, that women had a portion given them to that purpoſe, and that they were born to ſerve and obey the men: which perhaps they would not have ſaid, if they had known what the poet Claudian affirmed, that women were born to keep up the race of mankind, and not to be ſlaves to men.

Naſcitur ad fructum mulier prolemq; futuram. CLAUD. in EUTROP. l. i. v. 330.

Theſe are good things for travellers, to eat free-coſt at other peoples' tables; but ſometimes it happens that many are eaten and devoured themſelves by a ſort of ſerpent as big as a beam, which they meet in the road in their way to Singa, which by looking on them only kills and conſumes them. A perſon that was aſſaulted by one of theſe prodigious ſerpents, happened by a luſty ſtroke of a ſcymitar, to cut him in two. The monſter having been thus cruelly uſed, and yet not killed, being you may imagine not a little enraged, lay upon the catch among the thick buſhes, to revenge itſelf on its enemies; and ſoon after two travellers happening to come by, it immediately crawled out, wounded as it was, and ſeized upon them, devouring them almoſt whole. The neighbours thereabout hearing what had happened to thoſe two men, reſolved to ſally out in a numerous body upon this maimed monſter; which they not long afterwards did, but could never meet with it. At laſt a Portugueſe captain taking a conſiderable number of men along with him, armed with muſquets, ſet forth in ſearch of the ſerpent; but not diſcovering it, preſently he let all the company march on before, and ſtaid himſelf behind a little. The ſerpent perceiving him alone, confiding in his remaining force, crept out of his hole to leap upon him; the affrighted Portugueſe cried out at the ſight of it, and moſt of the people that were gone before, returning in great haſte, ſent ſo many bullets into the monſter's body, that they ſoon diſpatched it, after it had been the death of ſo many unfortunate paſſengers.

From the death of this monſter, I proceed to ſpeak of the ſufferings of two of our miſſioners, cauſed to be dragged by the count of Sogno, and then expelled his dominions. Theſe two Fathers were, Father Andrew da Buti, and Father Peter da Seſtola. The then count's name was Don Pedro de Caſtro, who ſending for them into his preſence, and they obeying his commands, he thus ſpoke to them: "How comes it to paſs, Fathers, that amongſt the pagans there is rain enough and to ſpare, and we Chriſtians have had not the leaſt drop? What can the cauſe of this be, and whence does it proceed?" The people affirmed that the want of rain proceeded from ſome relicts Father Andrew had by him, and that they could expect none as long as he kept them. The count upon this immediately commanded him to throw them away, and that if, during all the next day there was not ſome rain fell, both he and his companion muſt look to themſelves, and expect to be very ill-uſed. At that time the ſky was extremely clear, and ſo continued till about midnight; when all of a ſudden the heavens began to be overcaſt, and the clouds poured down ſo plentiful a ſhower, as was ſufficient alone to prepare the earth for ſeed. Notwithſtanding this, which had happened through the ſole prayers of the two miſſioners, the count not caring to have them any longer within his dominions, ordered them to undergo the oath of Chilumbo, to prove that they were innocent; but they thinking ſuch a trial the moſt diabolical that could poſſibly be imagined, abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit to it; whereupon they were immediately ſeized, and moſt inhumanly miſuſed, dragged about, and all they had taken from them. He that was handled worſt was Father Buti, who died not long after of his hurt in the kingdom of Binquella the place of his miſſion. This relation is to be found confirmed by Father Cornelius van Wouters, a Dutch Franciſcan friar, who affirms it as an eye-witneſs.

The Explanation of ſome few Congheſe Words inſerted in this Work, and made Engliſh for the Eaſe of the Reader.

ACCALA, a man.
Affua, a dead corpſe.
Agariaria, a ſort of wood and fruit that ſerves to relieve a pain in the ſides.
Alacardo, a ſmaller ſort of crocodile.
Alcatrici, birds each as large as two hens.
Aliconde, a ſort of exceeding large hollow tree.
Almeſega, a tree which diſtils a liquor like unto frankincenſe.
Bada, a kind of unicorn.
Baia, the city of San Salvador, or St. Saviour in Brazil.
Bicoma, a ſort of nutmeg-tree.
Birame, cotton-cloth that goes current for money.
Bolungo, a ſort of oath, or way of trial among the wizards.
Boma, a very large kind of ſerpent.
Bonghi, or Libonghi, a ſort of money.
Bordoni, plants ſomewhat like vines.
Caboccos, children born of a White and a Brazilian.
Cacchio, a bunch of fruit as large as a man can carry.
Cacazumbu, a wizard.
Candoua, a boat.
Capaſſa, a wild cow.
Cappaiva, a tree which yields oil.
Cariabemba, the devil.
Caſciù, a fruit like an apple.
Cazacaza, kidney-beans.
Chegilla, precepts to be obſerved, impoſed on children by parents.
Chicheras, a ſort of tree with leaves of a drying nature.
Chigongo, a ſort of phyſical purging wood.
Chilumbo, another oath or manner of trial among the wizards.
Chinſu, a pot or pipkin.
Chiſecco, wood of a cooling nature.
Cocco, the palm-fruit.
Cocalocangi, the oldeſt of the company that carves at meals.
Colas, a red fruit which is to be eaten before one drinks.
Copras, a ſort of venomous ſerpents.
Coricas, hen-parrots.
Dongo, all ſorts of fleſh or fiſh.
Donno, a ſort of fruit that ſmells like cinnamon.
Evanga, a prieſt.
Eguandi, the mother.
Emba, a ſort of palm-tree that yields oil.
Embambi, a ſerpent which kills with its tail.
Embetta, a ſort of palm-wine exceedingly refreſhing.
Embuchi, a kind of muſical inſtruments.
Engulamaſi, a ſyren or mermaid.
Engulo, a wild-boar.
Enguſſu, a parrot.
Eutaga, cloth girt about the waiſt.
Fuba, millet-flower.
Fumù, tobacco.
Ganga, a ſort of ſuperſtitious oath or trial.
Giaghi, a people who practiſe ſorcery more than ordinary.
Gnam, a great root that is eaten.
Guaiavas, a fruit like a pear.
Guria, eating.
Impallanche, beaſts with long wreathed horns.
Impamguazze, wild-cows.
Incubù, a goat.
Inzangù, a ſpade.
Mabocche, plants like unto orange-trees.
Maccacchos, monkeys or apes.
Maccutas, ſort of ſtraw-cloth which goes current for money.
Macoluntù, the oldeſt in the company that carves to the reſt.
Mafucca, a governor.
Malonga, a wooden platter.
Mamao, a fruit like a melon.
Maneba, a ſort of palm.
Mandioch, a root whereof flower is made for bread.

Mangas, a tree whoſe boughs hang down to the ground, and take root again therein.
Mani, a lord or governor.
Manimuncù, baptiſm.
Maſa, water.
Maſſamambala, the great millet.
Maſſamambuta, Indian wheat.
Mattari, ſtones.
Melaſſo, palm-wine.
Melaſſo Manputo, grape-wine.
Migna-Migna, a tree good againſt poiſon.
Miſangas, glaſs-coral.
Modello, a garment.
Molecches, a general name among the Negroes.
Mondelli, white.
Moringo, a flaſk.
Muana, a ſon or daughter.
Muccacamas, Negro waiting-maids that wait on the Portugueſe women.
Mulatto, one born of a White and Negro woman.
Ncaſſa, a ſort of tree.
Ncocco, a kind of large beaſt.
Neubanzampuni, wild nutmegs.
Ngamba, a ſort of little drum.
Niceſi, a fruit with a crucifix marked in the middle of it.
Nſambi, a kind of wind-muſic.
Oluchuche, an oath among the wizards.
Pompero, a buyer of ſlaves.
Pompo, a market-place.
Quilumbo, a market.
Sagoris, little apes or monkeys.
Somacca, a ſmall ſhip or ſmack.
Soua, lord of any place.
Surſu, the hen.
Tambi, funeral ceremonies for dead relations.
Toto, the earth.
Tubarcos, inhabitants of Brazil.
Tuberone, a fiſh not unlike the ſhark.
Tubia, the fire.
Zabiambunco, God.
Zacre, a large ſpacious river.
Zerba, an animal like unto a wild male.
Zimbo, money of ſhells.

THE

STRANGE ADVENTURES

OF

ANDREW BATTEL, OF LEIGH, IN ESSEX,

SENT BY THE PORTUGUESE PRISONER TO ANGOLA,

WHO LIVED THERE, AND IN THE ADJOINING REGIONS, NEAR EIGHTEEN YEARS.*

Andrew Battel, his Voyage to the River of Plate, who, being taken on the Coaſt of Brazil, was ſent to Angola.

IN the year 1589, Abraham Cocke, of Limehouſe, began his voyage toward the river of Plate, with two pinnaces of fifty tuns each: the one was called the May-morning, the other the Dolphin. We ſailed from the river Thames the 20th of April, and the 26th of the ſame month we put into Plymouth, where we took in ſome proviſion for the voyage. The 7th of May we put to ſea, and with foul weather were beaten back again into Plymouth, where we remained certain days, and then proceeded on our voyage: and running along the coaſt of Spain and Barbary, we put into the road of Sancta Cruz, and there ſet our light-horſe-man together, which we carried in two pieces; Abraham Cocke made great account thereof, thinking that this boat ſhould have made his voyage. This done, we put to ſea, and running along the coaſt of Guinea, we were becalmed, owing to our being ſo near the coaſt.

Here our men fell ſick of the ſcurvy, in ſuch ſort, that there were very few found; and being within three or four degrees of the equinoctial line, we fell in with the Cape de las Palmas, where we had ſome refreſhing, wherewith our men recovered. The people of the Cape de las Palmas made much of us, ſaying they would trade with us; but it was but to betray us, for they were treacherous, and were like to have taken our boat, and hurt ſome of our men. From this cape, we lay ſouth-weſt off, but the current and the calms deceived us; ſo that we were driven down to the iſle of St. Thomas, thinking we were farther off to the ſea than we were; and being in diſtreſs for wood and water, we went in on the ſouth end, between San Tome and the iſlands Das Rolas, where we rode very ſmooth, and with our light-horſe-man went aſhore, thinking to have watered, but we found none in the iſland; here we found great ſtore of plantains and oranges. We found a village of Negroes, which are ſent from San Tome, for the Portugueſe of San Tome to uſe when their ſlaves be ſick or weak, to ſend them thither to get their ſtrength again, for the iſlands are very fruitful;

* From Purchas's Coll.

and

and though there be no freſh water, yet they maintain themſelves with the wine of the palm-trees. Having refreſhed ourſelves with the fruit of this iſland, we burned the village; and running on the eaſt ſide of San Tome, we came before the town, but we durſt not come near, for the caſtle ſhot at us, which hath very good ordnance in it.

Then we lay eaſt by ſouth of the main, and in twenty-four hours we had ſight of the Cape de Lopo Gonſalves: and being within three leagues of the ſaid cape, we caſt about and ſtood again toward the iſland of San Tome, and turned upon the weſt ſide of the iſland; and coming to a little river, which runneth out of the mountains, we went on ſhore with our light-horſe-man, with ſix or ſeven butts to fill with water. But the governor had emboſked one hundred men of the iſland; and when we were on ſhore they came upon us and killed one of our men, and hurt another: wherefore we retired to our boat, and got aboard.

Then Abraham Cocke determined to fetch the coaſt of Brazil, and lay weſt-ſouth-weſt into the ſea: and being ſome fifty leagues off, we fell into a ſcull of dolphins, which greatly relieved us, for they followed our ſhip all the way, till we fell in with the land, which was about thirty days; and running along the coaſt of Brazil, till we came to Illha Grande, which ſtands in five degrees ſouthward of the line: we put in between the iſland and the main, and hauled our ſhips aſhore, and waſhed them and refreſhed ourſelves, and took in freſh water. In this iſland are no inhabitants, but it is very fruitful. After being here about twelve days there came in a little pinnace, which was bound to the river of Plate, which came to water and get ſome refreſhment: and preſently we went aboard, and took the Portugueſe merchant out of the pinnace, who told Abraham Cocke that within two months there ſhould two pinnaces come from the river of Plate, from the town of Buenos Ayres.

From this town there come every year four or five Caravols to Bahia in Brazil, and to Angola in Africa: which bring great treaſure, and which is tranſported over-land out of Peru into the Plate river. Then Abraham Cocke, deſirous to make his voyage, took ſome of the Dolphin's men into his ſhip, and ſent the Dolphin home again, which had not as yet made any voyage. This Portugueſe merchant took us to a place in this iſland where there was a baniſhed man, who had planted a great many plantains, and told us, that we might, with this fruit, go to the Plate river, for our proviſions were almoſt all ſpent.

With this hard allowance we departed from this iſland, and were thirty-ſix days before we came to the Iſle of Lebos Marinos, which lies at the mouth of the river Plate. This iſland is half a mile long, and has no freſh water in it, but abounds in ſeals and ſea-morſes; ſo much that our light-horſe-man could not get aſhore for them, without beating them with our oars. The iſland is covered with them. Upon theſe ſeals we lived about thirty days, lying up and down the river, and were greatly diſtreſſed for want of other food. We then determined to run up to Buenos Ayres, and with our light-horſe-man to take one of the pinnaces that rode at the town. When being ſo high up the river at the town, we had a great ſtorm from the ſouth-weſt, which drove us back again, and forced us to ride under Iſla Verde, that is, the Green Iſland, which lies in the mouth of the river on the north ſide.

Here we were in ſuch a diſtreſſing condition for want of proviſion, that we gave over the voyage, and came to the northward again, to the iſland of St. Sebaſtian, lying under the tropic of Capricorn. There we went aſhore to catch fiſh, and ſome went up into the woods to gather fruit, for we were almoſt all famiſhed. There was at that time a canoe full of Indians, that came from the town of Spiritu Sancto. Theſe Indians landed on the weſt ſide of the iſland, and came through the woods, and took

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five of us, and carried us to the river Janeiro. After this misfortune, our captain Abraham Cocke went to ſea, and was never heard of more.

After we that were taken had remained four months in the river Janeiro, one Torner and I were ſent to Angola in Africa, to the city of St. Paul, ſituated nine degrees to the ſouthward of the equinoctial line. Here I was ſoon taken out of the ſhip, and put in priſon, and afterwards ſent up the river Quanſa, to a garriſon town, a hundred and thirty miles up that river. After having been there two months, the pilot of the governor's pinnace died, and I was commanded to take her down to the city, where I ſoon fell ill, and lay eight months ſo. Here I was much hated, becauſe I was an Engliſhman. But being at length recovered, Don John Hurtado de Mendoça, who was then governor, commanded me to go in a pinnace to a place called Zaire, on the river Congo, to trade for elephants' teeth, wheat, and palm-tree oil. This place is fifty leagues from the city to the northward; at the mouth of the river is an iſland, called iſle Calabes, which had at that time a town in it. Here we laded our pinnace with elephants' teeth, wheat, and palm-tree oil, and then returned again to the city.

His trading on the Coaſt; Offer to eſcape, Impriſonment: his ſending to Elambo, and Bahia Das Vaccas: many ſtrange Occurrences.

THEN I was ſent to Longo, which is fifteen leagues to the northward of Zaire, and carried ſuch commodities as are fit for that place; ſuch as long glaſs-beads, round blue beads, ſeed beads, and looking-glaſſes; red and blue coarſe cloth, and Iriſh rugs. Here we ſold our cloth to great advantage, getting at the rate of three elephants' teeth, which weighed on an average one hundred and twenty pounds, in exchange for one yard of cloth. We bought a great quantity of palm-cloth, and elephants' tails. In a little time we laded our pinnace. With my ſucceſs in this voyage the governor was much pleaſed, and promiſed me my liberty, if I would ſerve him. In this manner I continued trading in his pinnace on the coaſt for two years and a half.

About that time there came a veſſel from Holland to the city, the owner of which promiſed to carry me away; and when they were ready to depart, I went ſecretly on board, but I was betrayed by ſome Portugueſe, who belonged to the veſſel, and fetched on ſhore by the ſergeants of the city, and put in priſon, where I lay in irons two months, expecting the governor would have me put to death; but this expectation was changed into a ſentence of baniſhment for life to the fort of Maſſangano, to ſerve in the conqueſt of thoſe parts. Here I led a wretched life for the ſpace of ſix years, without any hope of ever ſeeing the ſea again.

In this fort were ſome Egyptians and Moors, who like myſelf were baniſhed here. To one of the Egyptians I opened my mind, by telling him it were better to venture our lives to effect our liberty, than to live in ſuch wretchedneſs here; he ſeemed as willing as myſelf to make the trial, and likewiſe told me he would get ten of his companions, three Egyptians, and ſeven Portugueſe, to join us. That night we all met, and having taken the beſt canoe we could find, went down the river Coanza; and having proceeded as far down as Mani Cabech, which is a little lordſhip in the province of Elambo, we went on ſhore with our twelve muſquets, powder, and ſhot. Here we ſunk our canoe that it ſhould not be diſcovered where we went on ſhore. We made a little fire in the wood, and roaſted ſome wheat we had brought from Maſſangano, which was all the proviſion we had.

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As ſoon as it was night we purſued our journey, and travelled the whole night and the next day without any water to quench our thirſt; the ſecond night we were not able to proceed, and were fain to dig and ſcrape up roots of trees and ſuck them to keep life in us. The third day we met with an old Negro, who was travelling to Mani Cabech; we bound his hands behind him, and made him lead us the way to the lake of Caſanſa; and continued to travel the whole day in extreme heat till we came to the Banza, or town of Mani Caſanſa, diſtant about twelve leagues from the city of St. Paulo. Here we were forced to aſk for water, but they would not let us have any; on which we determined to make uſe of our fire-arms to obtain it; which they perceiving, called their lord Mani Caſanſa, who gave us ſome water and fair ſpeeches, deſiring we might ſtay all night, but as this was only to betray us, we immediately departed, and got to the lake of Caſanſa, where we reſted that night.

The fourth night we came to the river which is toward the north, and paſſed it with great danger, for there are ſuch a quantity of crocodiles in this river, as make it dangerous for a man to come to the river ſide where it is deep. The fifth night we came to the river Dande, and had travelled ſo far to the eaſtward that we found ourſelves near the Sorras, or mountains of Mantbangono, where a chief lives who makes war againſt the King of Congo, to whoſe territory we were going. Here we paſſed the river, and reſted half the night: and being about two leagues from the river, we met with ſome Negroes, who aſked us where we were going; we told them to Congo; they ſaid we were going wrong, and that they were Maſſicangos, and would take us to Bamba, where the chief of Bamba lived. We went about three miles with them, but perceiving by the ſun that we were going wrong, would go no farther that way, and turned back to the weſtward, on which they ſtood before us with their bows and arrows ready to ſhoot at us. But we being determined to paſs through them, diſcharged ſix muſquets together on them, which killed four, and ſo ſurpriſed the reſt that they retired very precipitately. Neverthelefs they turned back, and followed us four or five miles, and hurt two of our companions with their arrows. The next day we came to the borders of Bamba, and continued travelling all that day. At night we could hear the ſurge of the ſea. The morning of the ſeventh day, we ſaw the captain of the city purſuing us with horſemen, and a great number of Negroes. Hereupon the ſeven Portugueſe being terrified, hid themſelves. The four Egyptians and myſelf thought to have eſcaped, but they followed us ſo faſt that we were forced to take ſhelter in a little wood, where they ſoon diſcovered us and fired a volley of ſhot at us, which made us diſperſe.

Finding myſelf all alone, I bethought myſelf that if the Negroes ſhould catch me in the woods they would kill me, wherefore thinking to do better with the Portugueſe and Mulattoes, I came out of the wood with my muſquet charged, making little account of my life. The captain knowing we had been twelve, called to me and ſaid, "Fellow-ſoldier, I have the governor's pardon, if you will ſubmit you ſhall receive no hurt." I with my muſquet ready, anſwered him, that I was an Engliſhman, and had ſerved ſix years at Maſſangano in great miſery; and travelled in company with the Egyptians and Portugueſe, but was now alone; "and rather than be hanged, I will die here amongſt you." On which the captain came up to me and ſaid, "Deliver thy muſquet to one of the ſoldiers, and I proteſt, as I am a gentleman and a ſoldier, to ſave thy life, for thy courageous behaviour," whereupon I gave up my muſquet and ſubmitted.

The captain then commanded all the ſoldiers and Negroes to ſearch the woods for the others, with orders to bring them out alive or dead. They ſoon found them, and

brought them out. Then they took us to the city of St. Paulo, where the three Egyptians and I lay three months in priſon, with collars of iron round our necks, and great bolts on our legs, and in other reſpects were very hardly uſed.

About this time the governor ſent four hundred men, that were baniſhed out of Portugal, up into the country of Elambo. About this time I was, by proclamation made through the city, baniſhed for ever to the Wa, and ſent with theſe men to Sowonſo, who is a lord that obeyeth the Duke of Bamba; from thence to Samanibanſa, and afterwards to Namba Calamba, who is a great lord that reſiſted us; but we ſet fire to his town and burned it, after which he not only ſubmitted but brought three thouſand warlike Negroes to us. From thence we went to Lollancango, a little lord who oppoſed us ſtoutly, but was at length obliged to ſubmit; from thence we went to Combrecaianga, where we remained two years, during which time we were often engaged in wars with the neighbouring ſtates, which at length we brought to ſubmit. We were now fifteen thouſand ſtrong, and with this force marched to the Outeiro, or mountain of Ingombe; but firſt we burned all Ingaſia, which was his country, and then we came to the chief town of Ingombe, which is half a day's journey to go up.

This lord came upon us with more than twenty thouſand bows, and did us great damage; but returning their aſſault with our fire-arms, we made great havock amongſt them, whereupon he retired up into the mountain, and ſent one of his captains to our general to ſignify that the next day he would obey him. Accordingly the next day he entered our camp in great pomp with drums, Petes, and Pongoes or Waytes, and was royally received by us. Here he made great preſents, by which he greatly enriched our general, and thoſe with him. On the top of the mountain is a great plain very fruitful in palm-trees, ſugar-canes, potatoes, and other things; beſides great quantities of lemon and orange trees. In this place is a tree called Engeriay, which bears a fruit as big as a Pome-water, and contains a ſtone which is a remedy for the windy cholic, which was not known to the Portugueſe. Here is alſo a river of freſh water that ſprings out of the mountain, and runs through the town. After having ſtaid here five days we marched up the country, continuing to burn and deſtroy for the ſpace of ſix weeks; and then returned to Engombe again with a great quantity of ſlaves, ſheep, and goats, beſides a great many Margarite-ſtones which paſs as current money through the country. Here we pitched our camp, a league from this pleaſant mountain, and remained there twelve months. Here I received a ſhot in my right leg, and many Portugueſe and Mulattoes were carried to the city to be cured.

The governor then ſent a frigate to the ſouthward, with ſixty ſoldiers, among which number I was one, with all kind of commodities. We turned up to the ſouthward, till we came into twelve degrees, where we found a fair ſandy bay. Here the people brought us cows, ſheep, wheat, and beans; but we did not ſtop long here, but went to Babia das Vaccas, that is the Bay of Cows, but which the Portugueſe call Babia de Torre, becauſe it has a rock like a tower. Here we rode on the north ſide of the rocks in a ſandy bay; and during our ſtay, bought a great number of cows and ſheep, which latter are much bigger than our Engliſh ſheep. We likewiſe purchaſed ſome copper; alſo a kind of ſweet wood called Cacongo, which the Portugueſe much eſteem; and alſo a great quantity of wheat and beans. Having laden our bark, we ſent her home, but fifty of us ſtaid on ſhore, where we made a ſmall fort of rafters of wood, as a ſafeguard againſt the treachery of the people, who are not to be truſted. In the courſe of ſeventeen days, we had collected five hundred head of cattle. Soon after, the governor ſent three ſhips to take us and our cargoes to the city.

In this bay many ſhips may ride with ſafety, and refreſh. The Portugueſe carracks have of late ſailed along the coaſt, and come to the bay of this city to water and refreſh themſelves. The people are called Endallanbondos, who being under the reſtraint of no laws, are very treacherous; which makes it very neceſſary for thoſe who deal with them to be very much upon their guard. They are ſuch great cowards, that thirty or forty men may go up the country and drive down whole herds of cattle, without any danger of oppoſition from them. We purchaſed the cattle with blue glaſs-beads of about an inch long, which are called Mopindes, and paid at the rate of about fifteen of them for one cow.

This province is called Dombe, and has a ridge of high Sierras or mountains, that ſtretch from the mountains or Sierras of Cambambe, in which are mines lying along the coaſt, ſouth and by weſt. Here is alſo a great quantity of fine copper, but they work no more than they want for themſelves. The men wear ſkins about their middles, and beads about their necks. They uſe bows and arrows, and darts of iron. They are beaſtly in their manner of living.

Their women wear a ring of copper about their necks, which weighs fifteen pounds at the leaſt, about their arms little rings of copper, that reach to their elbows, about their middles a cloth made of the Infandie tree, which is neither ſpun or wove, and on their legs rings of copper that reach to the calves of their legs.

Diſcovery of the Gagas, their Wars, Man-eating; overrunning Countries: his Trade with them, betraying, eſcape to them, and living with them, with many ſtrange Adventures: and alſo the Rites and Manner of Life obſerved by the Jagges or Gagas, which no Chriſtian but this Author could ever be acquainted with before.

IN our ſecond voyage, turning up along the coaſt, we came to the Morro, or cliff, of Benguela lying in twelve degrees of ſouth latitude. Here we ſaw a mighty cape of men on the ſouth-ſide of the river Coua: and being deſirous of knowing what they were, we went on ſhore in our boat, and preſently there came to the number of five hundred of them to us to the water-ſide. On our aſking them who they were, they told us they were the Gagas, or Gindes, that came from the Sierra de Leon, and paſſed through the city of Congo; and travelled to the eaſtward of the great city of Angola, which is called Dongo. The great Gaga, their general, came down to the water-ſide to ſee us: for he had never ſeen any white man before. He aſked, wherefore we came; we told him we came to trade upon the coaſt: on which he bid us welcome, and invited us to come on ſhore with our merchandize. In the courſe of ſeven days we laded our ſhips with the ſlaves we purchaſed, which did not coſt us more than a rial each, which in the city would be worth twelve millie-reys.

Being ready to go away, the great Gaga requeſted us to lend him our boat to take him and his men acroſs the river Coua, for he was determined to overrun the realm of Benguela which lay at the north-ſide of that river, to which we conſented, and went with him to his camp, which was entrenched with pales of wood. We had houſes and other accommodation provided for our reception.

The next morning, before day, the general had his Gongo, which is an inſtrument of war like a bell, ſounded, and made an oration with a loud voice, accompanied with ſuch courageous and vehement ſpeeches, as could hardly be expected among ſuch heathen people, declaring that he would deſtroy the Benguelas: which ſpeech had ſuch an effect on the people, that they immediately took to their arms and marched with him

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to the river-ſide, where he had provided Gigangos; ſuch was their ardour that the general was obliged to uſe force to reſtrain it and keep them back. We carried over eighty men at a time, and with our muſquets beat off thoſe who attempted to oppoſe our landing, in which attempt ſome were ſlain: and about twelve o'clock all the Gagas had got over.

Then the general commanded all his drums, Tauales, Gongos, and other warlike inſtruments, to ſtrike up, and give the onſet, which was made with ſuch vehemence, that the Benguelas were forced to give way and turn their backs. A great number were ſlain, and the reſt, including women and children, made captives. Their leader the Prince Hombyangymbe, with more than a hundred of his chiefs, were killed, and their heads preſented to the great Gaga. The dead bodies were eaten; for theſe Gagas are great cannibals and man-eaters.

They then took poſſeſſion of the country, and ſettled in it. We traded with them five months, by which we were great gainers. But they were not contented to ſtay in Benguela, though they were in want of nothing but palm-wine, for here there grow no palm-trees.

At the expiration of five months they marched towards the province of Bambala to a great lord who is called Calicanſamba, whoſe territory is five days' journey up the country. In the courſe of theſe five months we made three voyages to the city of St. Paul, but on our return the fourth time we found they had left it.

But being unwilling to reap no benefit from our voyage, we reſolved to go up the country after them. For this purpoſe fifty of us went on ſhore, leaving our ſhip riding in the bay of Benguela to wait for us till our return. After marching two days up the country, we came to a great lord called Mofarigoſat, where we found the firſt town we came to had been burnt by the Gagas, after having plundered it. To this Mofarigoſat we ſent a Negro we had bought of the Gagas to ſay that he was left with us to take us to the camp. He bid us welcome through fear of the great Gaga, but delayed the time till the great Gaga had left his country. He then began to uſe delays to detain us, in hopes of making us uſeful to him in his wars: for never having ſeen any white people before, nor fire arms, he was in hopes from what he had heard, with our aſſiſtance to make himſelf very powerful. Finding ourſelves thus ſituated we conſented, and by our means he overcame all his enemies, and returned to his town again, where we deſired him to let us go away; but this he refuſed except we would promiſe to return, and in the mean-time leave a white man with him as a ſecurity.

The Portugueſe and Mulattoes being deſirous of getting away, it was propoſed to caſt lots who ſhould ſtay; but many of them would not agree to it. At length they concluded to leave me, being a ſingle Engliſhman, which, through neceſſity, I was obliged to comply with. They left me a muſquet, powder, and ſhot; promiſing that in two months they would come back, and bring a hundred men to aſſiſt him in his wars, and to trade with him; but all theſe promiſes were only made to get out of his hands, for they were all afraid of being detained as priſoners. Here I remained till the two months were expired, at the end of which time the others not returning I was very hardly uſed.

The chief men of the town were for putting me to death, but the lord of the town would not conſent to it, ſtill hoping the others would return. Some time after I was given my liberty: for ſome time I went from place to place ſhifting for myſelf as well as I could; but fearing they might at laſt put me to death I ran away, purpoſing to endeavour to find my way to the Gagas camp.

Having ſet out and travelled the whole night, the next morning I came to a large town ſituated in a thicket. I was taken before the Lord Caſhil, followed by a great concourſe of people who had never ſeen a white man before. Here I found ſome of the great Gagas men, whom I was very glad to ſee.

The name of this town is Caſhil; it is ſo overrun with Alicondo, cedar, and palm-trees, that the ſtreets are darkened by them. In the middle of the town ſtands an image the ſize of a man; it ſtands about twelve feet from the ground; and at the feet of this image is a circle of elephants' teeth, pitched into the ground: and upon theſe teeth are placed a great quantity of the ſculls of men which are killed in the wars, and offered to this image: at the feet of it palm-wine and goat's blood are poured as an offering. This image is called Queſango. The people have great belief in it, and ſwear by it; and think, when they are ill, Queſango is offended with them. In many other parts of the town were ſmall images with elephants' teeth piled over them.

The ſtreets of the town were paled with palm-canes in a very orderly manner. The houſes were in the form of a bee-hive, and hung inſide with mats very curiouſly wrought. On the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the town was a Mokeſo, which had more than three tons of elephants' teeth piled over it.

Being in fear of my life here, I left the town in company with the Gagas men, and travelled with them two days, at the end of which we came to Calicanſamba, where the great Gaga lay encamped. He bid me welcome to him. Among theſe cannibals I was willing to ſtay, hoping they might travel ſo far to the weſtward till we ſhould come to the ſea again, and be able to make my eſcape from them by means of ſome veſſel. They remained here four months, having great abundance of cattle, corn, wine, and oil: continually triumphing, drinking, dancing, and eating men's fleſh; this laſt was a ſorrowful ſight to me.

At the end of the four months they marched towards the Sierras or high mountains of Caſhindcabar, which have large mines of copper in them: in their way they plundered and took every thing they liked. From thence they proceeded to the river Longa, which they paſſed, and ſettled themſelves in the town of Calango, where they remained five or ſix months. From thence they went to the province of Tondo, and came to the river Gonſa, and marched on the ſouth-ſide of it to a lord that was called Makellacolonge, not far from the great city of Dongo. Here we paſſed over very high mountains, and found it very cold.

Having now ſpent ſixteen months among theſe cannibals, they marched to the weſtward again, and going along the river Gonſa, or Gunza, we came to a lord called Shillambanſa, uncle to the King of Angola. They burned his chief town, which, according to their manner, was very ſumptuouſly built. This place we found very pleaſant and fruitful, and in it ſaw great quantities of peacocks, flying among the trees as well as other birds. The old Lord Shillambanſa was buried in the middle of the town, and had an hundred tame peacocks kept upon his grave: which peacocks he gave to his Mokeſo, and they were called Angello Mokeſo, that is, the devil's or idol's birds, and were accounted as holy things. There was great quantity of copper, cloth, and many other things laid upon his grave, according to the cuſtom of the country.

From this place we marched to the weſtward, along the river Coanza, and came right to the Sierras or mountains of Cambande, or Sierras de Prata, where there is a perpendicular water-fall, which makes ſuch a noiſe as to be heard at thirty miles diſtance. We then entered the province of Caſama, and came to one of the greateſt lords, who was called Langere. He obeyed the great Gaga, and took us to a lord called Caſoch, who was a great warrior, who had about ſeven years before overcome the Portugueſe,

Portugueſe, and killed eight hundred of them and forty thouſand Negroes who ſided with them. This lord courageouſly withſtood the Gagas in a great battle they fought the firſt day; after which we made a ſconce or fence of trees after the manner of the country. We remained at war four months with theſe people. I was ſo highly eſteemed by the great Gaga on account of the execution I did with my muſquet, that I could have any thing I deſired of him: and when we went out to battle, he would give charge to his people to be as careful of me as poſſible, in conſequence of which orders they would very often carry me in their arms to ſave my life. In this place we were within three days journey of Maſſangona, before-mentioned, where the Portugueſe have a fort.

There were in the Gagas camp twelve captains, the firſt called Imbe Calandola their general, a man of great courage. He makes war by enchantment, and takes the devil's counſel in all his exploits, to whom he is continually making ſacrifices, by which means he knows, or at leaſt pretends to know, what ſhall come to paſs. He believes his death will only happen in battle. They worſhip no images, but make uſe of certain ſuperſtitious ceremonies. He has very ſtrict laws for the government of his ſoldiers, for thoſe who ſhew themſelves cowards by turning their backs to the enemy are put to death, and their fleſh eaten. On the eve of a battle the general, mounted on a ſcaffold, makes a warlike oration which encourages his people very much.

It is the cuſtom of theſe people wherever they pitch their camp, though it be but for one night, to built a fort or barricade with wood, one part of the army being employed in cutting down trees for that purpoſe, which the other carries away and erects the fort with. This fort is erected in a circular form with twelve gates to it, and each gate guarded by one of the twelve captains, with his ſoldiers; and in the middle of the fort is the general's houſe, well entrenched round about. They build their houſes very cloſe together; and their bows, arrows, and darts, ſtand out of doors; and on any alarm they run to their arms. Every company at their gate keep very good watch in the night, beating their drums and Tauales.

They tell of a river lying to the ſouthward of the bay of Vaccas that has great quantities of gold in it, of which they have gathered a great deal from the ſand which the heavy rains waſh down; with ſome of this gold the handles of their hatchets were ornamented, theſe ornaments being carved with copper; they even call the ornaments copper, not ſeeming to make much account of the gold.

They like no country but that which abounds in palm-trees, of the fruit and wine of which they are great lovers. From the palm-trees they alſo have their oil. They take the wine in a different manner from what the Jambandos do, who have a way of getting to the top of the tree without touching it, and draw the wine from thence in bottles. Theſe trees are about ſix or ſeven fathoms high, and have no leaves but at the top. But the Gagas cut the trees down by the roots, which lay ten days in that manner before they yield any wine, at the end of which time they make a ſquare hole in the top and heart of the tree; from whence they draw a quart morning and evening, during the ſpace of twenty-ſix days, when the tree dries up.

When they ſettle in any country, they cut down as many palm-trees as will ſerve them for a month; and then as many more, ſo that in a ſhort time they impoveriſh the country, which they then quit, for they ſtay no longer in a place than it will afford them the means of living; they then leave it and ſeek a freſh place. In harveſt time they ſeek out the moſt fruitful part of the country, reap the corn, and take the cattle; for they will neither ſow nor plant, nor be at the trouble of bringing up cattle for themſelves; depending on war for a ſupply of what they want. When they come to

any

any country they cannot overcome the firſt day, they build their fort, and remain a month or more quiet, the general holding it for a maxim, that by doing ſo he injures the inhabitants as much as if he made war on them, inſomuch that many times the inhabitants of the country will come and attack them at their fort; on which occaſions the Gagas will not only defend themſelves bravely, but egg the others on for the ſpace of two or three days. At length, when the general thinks he has a good opportunity of returning the attack, he will previouſly ſend ſecretly out a thouſand or more of his men to lay in ambuſh; then the Gaga marches out with his remaining force, as it were to attack their town, which the others perceiving march out to attack him; on which the Gaga, by the ſound of drums, &c. orders thoſe in ambuſcade to attack the enemy in the rear, who finding themſelves thus unexpectedly attacked behind, generally become an eaſy prey to the ſuperior addreſs and courage of the other party. The conſequence of which is, the country becoming an eaſy prey to the victors.

The great Gaga Calando has long hair, embroidered with many knots full of Bamba ſhells of a very rich ſort, and about his neck a collar of Maſoes, another ſort of ſhells found upon that coaſt, and which are ſold amongſt them at the rate of twenty ſhillings a ſhell: and about his middle he wears Landes, which are beads made of oſtriches' eggs, beſides a palm-cloth as fine as ſilk. His body is carved and cut in various marks, and every day anointed with the fat of human beings. He wears a piece of copper acroſs his noſe, two inches long; and likewiſe in his ears. His body is always painted red and white. He has twenty or thirty wives who follow him when he goes abroad; one of them carries his bow and arrows, and four others his cups with drink; and when he drinks they all kneel down, clap their hands, and ſing.

The women wear their hair tied, and ſtuck full of Bamba-ſhells; and are anointed with civet. They draw out four of their teeth, two above, and two underneath; this they reckon an addition to their beauty, and thoſe of them who do not do this are loathed by the reſt, and not allowed to eat or drink with them. They wear great quantities of beads about their necks, arms, and legs; and about their middles, ſilk.

The women are very fruitful, but they enjoy none of their children, for as ſoon as a woman is delivered, the child is immediately buried alive; ſo that thoſe people have no children of their own. But when they conquer a town, they take the boys and girls of thirteen or fourteen years of age, and bring them up and adopt them as their own: but the men and women they kill and eat. The boys they train up to war, and hang collars about their necks as a mark, which is not taken off till the wearer has proved himſelf a man by bringing an enemy's head to the general; then the collar is taken off and he becomes free, and is called Gonſa, or ſoldier: this makes them not only courageous but deſperate, in order to become free and reckoned men. In the whole camp there were but twelve natural Gagas, and thoſe were their captains; and fourteen or fifteen women. It is about fifty years or more, ſince they came from Sierra de Leon, their native country. Their camp is compoſed of ſixteen thouſand ſtrong, or more ſometimes.

When the great Gaga Calandola undertakes any great enterprize againſt the inhabitants of any country, he makes a ſacrifice to the devil, in the morning before ſunriſe, in the following manner:—He ſits on a ſtool, with a man witch on each ſide of him, with forty or fifty women ſtanding round him, holding in each hand a Zeueras, or wild-horſe's tail, which they flouriſh, ſinging at the ſame time: behind them are a great number of Petes, Ponges, and drums continually playing. In the midſt of them is a great fire, on which is an earthen pot with white powders in it, with which the men-witches paint the great Gaga's forehead, temples, acroſs the belly, and breaſt,

during

during which operation they make uſe of long ceremonial and enchanting ſpeeches. In this manner they continue till ſun-ſet, when the enchanters or witches bring the great Gaga's Caſengala, which reſembles a hatchet, put it into his hand, and bid him be ſtrong againſt his enemies, for his Mokeſo is with him. Then a male child is brought which the great Gaga kills; then four men are brought before him, two of which, as it happens, he alſo kills; and the other two he orders to be killed outſide the fort.

When they bury the dead, they make a vault in the ground with a ſeat in it; the dead body has his hair ornamented, his body waſhed and anointed with ſweet powders, and his beſt apparel put on, and is brought in this manner between two men, and placed on the ſeat in the vault, as if he were alive. He has two of his wives put with him with their arms broken, and then the vault is covered up. In this manner the inhabitants are buried, and have the greateſt part of their goods buried with them; and every month there is a meeting of the kindred of the dead man, who mourn and ſing doleful ſongs at his grave for the ſpace of three days; they kill goats, and pour the blood, and palm-tree wine, upon the grave. They uſe this ceremony as long as any of the kindred of the deceaſed be alive. Thoſe who have no kindred think themſelves unhappy when alive, becauſe they ſhall have none to mourn for them after their deceaſe. Theſe people are very kind one to another when in health, but in ſickneſs abhor each other, and thoſe in health will have no communication with the ſick.

At length the men-witches ordered me away, becauſe I was a Chriſtian; for the devil had ordered it ſo. On this occaſion, five cows were ordered to be killed within the fort, and five without, with a like number of goats and dogs, and the blood of them ſprinkled on the fire; then the fleſh of them is eaten with great feaſting and triumph. And this ceremony is uſed many times by all the captains of their army.

I found means to get to the afore-mentioned Portugueſe, with ſome merchant-negroes who came to the camp to buy ſlaves.

His Return to the Portugueſe; Invaſions of divers Countries; Abuſe; Flight from them, living in the Woods ſeveral Months; his ſtrange Boat, and coming to Loango.

HAVING left the Gagas, I came to Maſſangano, where the Portugueſe have a garriſoned town. In this town was a new governor, named Sienor Juan Continbo, who had orders to get poſſeſſion of the mountains of Cambamba, in which were mines. To perform this ſervice, the King of Spain had allowed him ſeven years' cuſtom, of all the ſlaves and goods that were carried thence to the Weſt-Indies, Brazil, or elſewhere; on condition that he ſhould build three caſtles; one at Demba where the ſalt-mines are, another in Cambamba, where the ſalt-mines are, and the third in Babia das Vaccas, or the Bay of Cows. This gentleman was ſo bountiful at his arrival, that his fame was ſpread though all Congo, and many Mulattoes and Negroes came voluntarily to ſerve him. After having been about ſix months in the city, he marched to the Outaba of Tombe, and there ſhipped his ſoldiers in pinnaces, and went up the river Conſa or Coanza, and landed at the Outaba of Songo, ſixy miles from the ſea. This lord Songo is next to Demba, where the ſalt-mines are, which contain ſuch quantities of ſalt, that the greateſt part of the country is clear ſalt, free from any earth mixed with it. It lies under the ſurface of the earth about three feet like ice: they cut it out in blocks of about a yard long, and carry it up into the country, and is the beſt commodity that can be taken to traffic with.

Here the governor ſtaid ten days, and ſent a pinnace to Maſſangano, for all the beſt ſoldiers that were there. The captain of the caſtle ſent me down among a hundred ſoldiers. I was taken notice of by the governor, who uſed me very well, and made me a ſerjeant in a Portugueſe company. He then marched to Machimba, from thence to Cauo, and then to Malambe, a great lord. Here we ſtaid four days, and were joined by many lords. From thence we marched to a mighty lord called Auyoykayongo, who ſtood in his defence with an army of more than ſixty thouſand men. The two armies gave battle, and the victory remained with us. We made great ſlaughter among them, and took all the women and children captive, and got poſſeſſion of the town in which we ſettled, finding it very pleaſant, and full of cattle and proviſions. At the end of eight days our governor fell ſick and died, leaving a captain to command in his room.

After having remained here about two months, we marched towards Cambamba, which was three days' journey, and came right againſt the Sierras de Prata, and paſſed the river Coanza, over-ran the country, and built a fort by the river-ſide. Here I ſerved two years. They opened the ſilver-mines, which yielded but a ſmall quantity of ſilver. The new governor was very cruel to his ſoldiers, ſo that all the volunteers left him, which prevented his proceeding any farther. About this time news was brought by ſome Jeſuits that the Queen of England was dead, and that King James had made peace with Spain. On which I preſented a petition to the governor, who conſented I ſhould return to my native country; as he and his train were going to the city of St. Paul, I went with them.

The governor left five hundred ſoldiers in the fort of Cambamba, which they ſtill hold. I then went with a Portugueſe merchant to the province of Bamba, and from thence to the Onteiro or city, ſtanding on a mountain of Congo, from thence to Gongon and Balta; where we ſold our commodities, and after an abſence of ſix months returned to the city again; from whence I purpoſed to have taken ſhip for Spain, and from thence home to England. But the governor retracted his word, and ordered me to be ready in two days to go on another expedition to Auyoykayongo. As this governor had ſerved his three years, and another was expected every day, I determined to abſent myſelf till the new governor's arrival, and then return; as every new governor on his arrival makes proclamation for all deſerters and others to return with free pardon.

That night I left the city with two Negro boys I had, who carried my muſquet, five pounds of powder, a hundred bullets, and what little ſtore of proviſion I could collect. By the morning I had got about twenty miles from the city, by the ſide of the river Bengo. Here I ſtayed ſome days, and then paſſed the river, and came to the river Dande, lying to the northward on the way to St. Paul, with the intention of hearing news from thence, for which purpoſe I ſent one of my Negroes to enquire of thoſe who paſſed about the new governor, who brought me word to a certainty that the new governor ſhould not come this year. I was now put to my ſhifts, whether I would return to the city and be hanged, for I had run away twice, or conceal myſelf in the woods. I determined on the latter, and lived in that manner a month, between the rivers Dande and Bengo; I then went again to Bengo, to Mani Kafwea, paſſed over the river, and went to the lake of Caſanſa, about which is the greateſt quantity of wild beaſts, in any part of Angola. Near this lake I ſtayed ſix months, living upon dried fleſh, ſuch as deer, roebucks, &c. which I killed with my muſquet, and dried the fleſh as the ſavages do, upon a hurdle three feet from the ground, making underneath a great fire, and laying upon the fleſh green boughs which keep the ſmoke and heat of the fire down and dry it. I made my fire with two little ſticks as the ſavages

do. Sometimes my Negro boys procured me ſome Guinea wheat from the inhabitants, in exchange for pieces of dried fiſh. The lake of Caſanza abounds with fiſh of various ſorts; I have taken up a fiſh called Somb, which ſkipped out of the water on ſhore, four feet long. Thus, after having lived ſix months on dried fiſh and fleſh, and ſeeing no likelihood of an end to my ſufferings, I endeavoured to hit upon ſome means of getting away.

In this lake are many iſlands full of trees called Membre, which are as light and as ſoft as cork. Of theſe trees, by the help of a knife I had of the ſavages, I made a Jergado in the faſhion of a boat, nailed it with wooden pegs, and railed it all round to prevent the ſea waſhing me out, and with a blanket I had I made a ſail, I likewiſe made three oars for rowing. Thus equipped, my two Negroes and I ventured ourſelves upon the lake, which is eight miles over, and rowed to the river Bengo, and going down twelve leagues with the current to the bar, which is dangerous to paſs, owing to the roughneſs of the ſea; but having paſſed it ſafely, rowed into the ſea, and ſailed along the coaſt, which I was very well acquainted with, intending to go to the kingdom of Longo lying to the north: paſſing the night at ſea, next day I ſaw a pinnace ſailing before the wind from the city. When we came cloſe together I found the maſter of her to be one of my old friends, and meſſmates. He was bound to San Thome, and out of friendſhip took me in, and ſet me on ſhore at the port of Longo, where I remained three years, and got into great favour with the King, owing to my killing him deer and wild-fowl with my gun.

Of the Province of Engoy, and other Regions of Loango, with the Manners and Cuſtoms of the King and People.

FROM the point of the Palmar, which lies at the north ſide of the river Zaire, is the port of Cabenda five leagues northward, where many ſhips water and refreſh. This place is called Engoy, and is the firſt province of Longo. It is full of woods and thickets. Seven leagues northward of this, is the river Cacongo; a very pleaſant and fruitful place. Here is a great quantity of elephants' teeth: and a boat of ten tuns may go up the river.

The Mombales carry on great trade here, paſſing the river Zaire in the night, it being then calm; and take great quantities of elephants' teeth to the town of Mani Sonna, and ſell them at the port of Pinda to the Portugueſe or other ſtrangers.

Four leagues from Cacongo is the river of Caye, or Longo Leuges. The town of Caye is one of the four ſeats of Longo: and then the Angra, or Gulf das Almadias. In this gulf or bay are a great number of canoes and fiſhermen, owing to the ſea being ſmoother here than on the coaſt. And two leagues northward is the port of Longo, which is a ſandy bay, in which a ſhip may ride within muſquet-ſhot of the ſhore, in four or five fathom water.

The town of Mani Longo is three miles from the water-ſide, and ſtands on a great plain. The houſes of the town are built under palm and plantain trees. The ſtreets are very wide and long, and always kept clean ſwept. The King reſides on the weſt ſide, and in the front is a plain, where he aſſembles his people, on occaſions of feaſting, making war, &c. From this plain runs a very wide ſtreet in which is held a market every day.

Their merchandize conſiſts of palm-cloths of various ſorts; cattle, fiſh, fowls, wine, oil, and corn. Here is alſo very fine logwood for dying, the root of which is reckoned

the beſt for that purpoſe; alſo Molangos or copper. They have likewiſe great ſtore of elephants' teeth, but theſe are not ſold in the market. The King has ten great houſes, but is never ſeen but in one, which he comes to in the afternoon. This houſe is very large, and at twelve o'clock is full of his great men. They ſit upon carpets on the ground. Gembe the laſt King never uſed to ſee or ſpeak to people till night: but the preſent one on the contrary does it by day. He paſſes moſt of his time with his wives. When he has entered the houſe and is ſeated on a ſort of throne, they clap their hands, and ſalute him, ſaying, in their language, "Byane, Pembie, Ampola, Moneya, Queſinge!"

On the ſouth-ſide of the King's dwelling is a row of houſes in a circular form, where his wives live; within this circuit no man dares enter under pain of death. In this place he has a hundred and fifty wives or more. If any man be found within the circuit of this building, even ſpeaking to a woman, they are both brought to the market-place and their heads cut off, their bodies quartered, and lie expoſed one day in the market-place. Gembe the laſt King had four hundred children by his women.

When the King has a mind to drink, he has a cup of wine brought; he that brings it has a bell in his hand, and as ſoon as he has delivered the cup to the King, he turns his face from him and rings the bell, on which all preſent fall down with their faces to the ground, and continue ſo till the King has drank. This would be a dangerous ceremony for any ſtranger, not acquainted with the law, to be preſent at, which law is, that whoever ſee the King drink ſhall die. The King's own ſon, a boy of twelve years old, having inadvertently ſeen the King drink, immediately the King ordered him to be finely apparelled and feaſted, after which he ordered him to be cut in quarters, and carried about the city; with a proclamation that he had ſeen the King drink. His eating is much in the ſame ſtyle, for which he has a houſe on purpoſe, where his victuals are ſet upon a Benſa or table: which he goes to, and ſhuts the door; when he has done, he knocks and comes out. So that none ever ſee the King eat or drink. For it is believed that if any one ſhould, the King ſhall immediately die.

The King is honoured among them as though he were a God: and is called Sambee and Pango, which mean God. They believe he can let them have rain when he likes; and once a year, in December, which is the time they want rain, the people come to beg of him to grant it to them, on this occaſion they make him preſents, and none come empty handed. He then appoints a day, when all the chiefs of his kingdom come to this meeting with all their troops, dreſſed and appointed as they are when they go to war. When they are all come, the King comes forth into a ſpacious place, where a carpet of fine enſacks, wrought like velvet and about fifteen fathoms in circuit, is ſpread; and upon this carpet a ſeat raiſed about a fathom from the ground. Then one of the chiefs comes forward with his bow and arrows, and ſhews his ſkill in the uſe of them, and then has ſome merry conceit or jeſt to play off to the King, kneeling at his feet ſome time; for which the King thanks him. The reſt of the chiefs do the ſame thing. After which the King commands his Dembes or drums, ſome of them ſo heavy that a man can hardly carry one, others not ſo large, to ſtrike up. He has alſo great Pongos, which are his waiters, made of the largeſt elephants' teeth, hollowed and ſcraped thin, which play alſo; and all together make a moſt hideous noiſe. After they have paſſed ſome time in this manner, the King riſes and ſtands upon his throne, taking a bow and arrows, and lets fly up in the air; there is then great rejoicing for the reſt of that day in hopes of having rain, which ſometimes happens. I was preſent once at this ceremony, and as it happened they had abundance of rain the ſame day, which ſerved to confirm the people in their ſuperſtitious belief.

Sometimes there happens, though very rarely, to be born in this country a white child of Negro parents; when this is the caſe, the child is preſented to the King, and is called Dondos: theſe children are brought up and initiated in the myſteries of witchcraft, and are always with the King. Of theſe are compoſed the King's witches. No one dares offend or meddle with theſe Dondos, in ſuch awe do the people ſtand of them; and at market or elſewhere they may take what they pleaſe without payment. The King of Longo has four of them.

The King is alſo a witch, and believes in two idols which are in Longo; the one is called Mokeſo à Longo, and the other Checocke. This laſt is a little black image, and ſtands in a little houſe at a village called Kinga, at the landing-place of Longo. The houſe in which the former is kept ſtands in the high-way, and thoſe who paſs by clap their hands as a mark of adoration or belief in the image. Craftſmen, fiſhermen, and others, make offerings to this idol, that it may be propitious to them in their undertakings. This Checocke comes ſometimes in the night, and haunts ſome even of his beſt friends; ſometimes a man, ſometimes a woman, or a boy, whichever it happens to be, is frantic for ſome hours; and whatever the frantic perſon ſays, is ſuppoſed to be the will of Checocke, and upon this occaſion there is a great feaſting and dancing.

At Kinga there is another Mokeſo called Gomberi, which is a woman's name, and is kept in a houſe where an old witch lives, who is called Ganga Gomberi, which means the prieſt of Gomberi. Here once a year a feaſt is made, and Ganga Gomberi ſpeaks from under-ground. I have aſked the Negroes what it is, who have told me that it is a ſtrong Mokeſo that is come to abide with Checocke.

The children of this country are born white, but change their colour in two days' time to a perfect black. For example, the Portugueſe who dwell in the kingdom of Congo, have ſometimes children by the Negro women, and many times the father is deceived, thinking when the child is born it is his, but within two days it proves the child of a Negro man, which is a great diſappointment to the Portugueſe, for they rejoice very much when their children turn out to be Mulattoes, even though they be baſtards.

The town of Longo ſtands in the middle of the four governments, and is governed by four chiefs, which are ſons of the King's ſiſters; for the King's ſons never come to be Kings. The firſt is Mani Cabango, the ſecond Mani Salag, the third Mani Boek, the fourth Mani Cay, who is to be King, and has his court and train as a prince. Immediately on the death of the King he aſſumes the dignity, when Mani Boek takes his place, Mani Salag that of Boek, and Mani Cabango that of Salag. All theſe wait to be King in their turn. The mother of theſe princes is called Mani Lombo, and looked on as the firſt woman in the kingdom. She chuſes a huſband, and when tired of him puts him away, and takes another. Her children are highly honoured; and people, as they paſs them, clap their hands, which is the higheſt mark of reſpect in the country. Theſe governments conſiſt of fine champain ground, full of corn and fruit. The people make a great quantity of very fine and curious palm-cloth. They are never idle, for even as they go along the ſtreets they make caps of needle-work.

Two leagues from the town of Longo, at a place called Longeri, the Kings are buried. It is encompaſſed round with elephants' teeth pitched in the ground like a paling, and is ten roods in compaſs.

They ſuffer no white man to be buried in the land, and if any Portugueſe or other White who comes here in the courſe of trade, dies, his body is carried in a boat two miles from the ſhore, and thrown into the ſea. There was a Portugueſe gentleman who came to trade with them, and had a houſe on the ſea-ſhore; this gentleman died

and was ſuffered to be buried; at the end of about four months after, which was in December; it not happening to rain, their Mokeſo told them it was owing to the Chriſtian having been buried amongſt them, and ordered his remains to be taken up and thrown into the ſea; and three days after it rained, which circumſtance ſerved to confirm their belief in the devil.

Of the Provinces of Bongo, Calongo, Mayombo, Manikeſocke, Matimbas; of the Apemonſter Pongo, their Hunting, Idolatries; and divers other Obſervations.

TO the eaſtward of Longeri is the province of Bongo, bordering on Mococke, the great Angeca is King of this province. In it is great quantity of iron, palm-cloth, and elephants' teeth, alſo great plenty of corn. To the north-eaſt is the province of Cango, fourteen days' journey from the town of Longo. This province is very mountainous, and rocky; very woody, with a great quantity of copper. The elephants' teeth of this place are of a ſuperior quality, and in ſuch great quantities that the people of Longo fetch a great deal from thence.

Three leagues to the northward of Longo is the river Quelle, on the north ſide of which lies the province Calongo. It is an open champain country, with the greateſt part of it under tillage, and produces great plenty of corn, likewiſe very fine honey. In it are two ſmall villages, which ſerve as marks to diſtinguiſh the port of Longo. Fifteen miles northward lies the river Nombo. This river is ſo ſhallow that there is no navigation on it. This province towards the eaſt borders upon Bongo; and to the north on Mayombo, which is nineteen leagues from Longo, along the coaſt.

The province of Mayombo is ſo overgrown with wood, that one may travel twenty days in the ſhade, without being the leaſt incommoded by ſun or heat. They have no tillage or grain of any ſort, nor any kind of tame cattle or fowls, the people living on the fleſh of elephants, which they very much eſteem, and other wild beaſts; plantains, a great variety of roots, which are very good, and nuts; they are well ſupplied with fiſh. Two leagues to the ſouthward of Cape Negro, which is the port of Mayombo, is a large ſandy bay. Sometimes the Portugueſe lade logwood in this bay: into it runs a large navigable river named Banna; the navigation of which is ſometimes impeded by a bar. In it are many inhabited iſlands. The woods are ſo infeſted with baboons, monkeys, apes, and parrots, that it is dangerous to venture alone among them. Here are alſo two kinds of monſters common to thoſe woods. The largeſt of them is called Pongo in their language, and the other Engeco. The Pongo is in all his proportions like a man (except the legs, which have no calves), but are of a gigantic ſize. Their faces, hands, and ears are without hair. Their bodies are covered, but not very thick, with hair of a dunniſh colour. When they walk on the ground it is upright, with their hands on the nape of the neck. They ſleep in trees and make a covering over their heads to ſhelter them from the rain. They eat no fleſh, but feed on nuts and other fruits; they cannot ſpeak, nor have they any underſtanding beyond inſtinct.

When the people of the country travel through the woods, they make fires in the night, and in the morning when they are gone, the Pongos will come and ſit round it till it goes out, for they do not poſſeſs ſagacity enough to lay more wood on. They go in bodies, and kill many Negroes who travel in the woods. When elephants happen to come and feed where they are, they will fall on them, and ſo beat them with their clubbed fiſts and ſticks, that they are forced to run away roaring. The grown Pongos are never taken alive, owing to their ſtrength, which is ſo great that ten men

cannot

cannot hold one of them. The young Pongos hang upon their mother's belly, with their hands claſped about her. Many of the young ones are taken by means of ſhooting the mothers with poiſoned arrows, and the young ones hanging to their mothers, are eaſily taken.

The Morombes hunt and kill many little beaſts with their dogs; theſe dogs cannot bark, they have wooden clappers about their necks, by the noiſe of which they are followed. The huntſmen have Petes or whiſtles, with which they call their dogs. The dogs in all this country are very ſmall, with pricked ears, and for the moſt part of a red and dun colour. The Portugueſe maſtiff, or any other dog that barks, is greatly eſteemed; I have known one to be ſold for thirty pounds.

In the town of Mani Mayambo is a Fetiſſo called Maramba, which ſtands in a high baſket, ſhaped like a bee-hive, and over it a houſe which they call his religious houſe. In him they believe, and keep his laws, and carry his reliques about with them. He and others of the like ſort are witches, and make uſe of their witchcraft for hunting and killing elephants, recovering ſick and lame people, forecaſting favourable or unfavourable journeys. By this Miramba are all murders and thefts tried, for in this country they ſometimes bewitch one another to death. And when any one dies, his neighbours are brought before Maramba; and ſhould it be a great man that has died, the whole town is ſummoned to appear. When they come before Maramba, they kiſs and claſp him in their arms and ſay; "Emeno eyge bembet, Maramba;" that is, "I come to be tried, O Miramba." And if any one be guilty, he immediately falls down dead; and if any one of them who had ſworn has killed any one, though it had been twenty years back, he immediately falls down dead. And ſo it is in any other matter. From this place to as far as the Cape de Lopo Gonſalves, the people are all alike ſuperſtitious. I was twelve months here and ſaw many die in this way.

Theſe people are circumciſed, as they are through all Angola, except the kingdom of Congo, who are Chriſtians. And thoſe that will be ſworn to Maramba, come to the chief Gangas, which are their prieſts, or men-witches; as well as boys of twelve years of age, and men and women. The Gangas puts them into a dark houſe, and there they remain certain days upon very hard diet; after this they are all let abroad, and commanded not to ſpeak for certain days, what injury ſoever might occur to them; thus they ſuffer great hardſhips before they are ſworn. Laſtly, they are brought before Miramba, and have two marks cut upon both their ſhoulders, like a half-moon; and are ſworn by the blood that drops from them, that they will be true to him. A certain kind of meat, alſo fiſh, and many toys, are forbidden to them. And if they eat any of this forbidden meat, they preſently ſicken and never recover. All of them carry a relique of Maramba in a little box and hang it about their necks, under their left arm. The lord of the province of Mayombo has the enſigns or colours of Maramba carried before him wherever he goes, and on ſitting down it is placed before him; and when drinking his palm-wine, the firſt cup is poured out at the foot of the Mokeſo or idol; and when he eateth any thing whatſoever, the firſt piece he throws towards his left hand with enchanting words.

From Cape Negro northerly, lives a great lord called Mani Seat, who has the largeſt ſtores of elephants' teeth of any lord in the kingdom of Longo; then his people practiſe nothing elſe but how to kill elephants, and two of thoſe Negroes with their darts eaſily kill an elephant. Great ſtores of logwood are found here.

There is another lord towards the eaſt who is called Mani Keſoch; he reſides eight days' journey from Mayambo. Here I was with my two Negro boys, to buy elephants' hair and tails, and in a month I bought twenty thouſand, which I ſold to the Portu-

gueſe

gueſe for thirty ſlaves, and all my charges in the bargain. From this place I ſent one of my Negro boys to Mani Seat with a looking-glaſs; he eſteemed it much, and ſent me four elephants' teeth (very great), by his own men; and deſired me to cauſe the Portugueſe, or any other ſhip, to come to the northward of Cape Negro, and he would by fires appoint a landing-place, for there was never yet any Portugueſe or other ſtranger in that place.

To the north-eaſt of Mani Keſoch, are a kind of little people called Matimbas; who are no bigger than boys twelve years old, but are very thick, and live only upon fleſh, which they kill in the woods with their bows and darts. They pay tribute to Mani Keſoch, and bring all their elephants' teeth and tails to him. They do not enter the houſes of the Marambas, nor ſuffer them to come where they dwell. And if by chance a Maramba, or people of Longo, paſs where they dwell, they forſake that place and go to another. The women carry bows and arrows as well as the men, and walk ſingle in the woods to kill the Pongos with their poiſoned arrows. I have aſked the Marambas, whether the elephant ſheddeth his teeth or not, and they ſaid no. But ſometimes they find thoſe teeth in the woods, but they find bones alſo.

When any man is ſuſpected for an offence, he is carried before the King, or before Mani Bomma, who is a judge under the King. And if he denies matters, not to be proved except by their oath, then this ſuſpected perſon ſwears thus:—They have a kind of root which they call Imbando; this root is very ſtrong, and is ſcraped into water. The virtue of this root is, that if they put too much into the water, the perſon that drinketh it cannot avoid urine: and ſo it ſtrikes up into the brain, as if he was drunk, and he falls down as if he was dead. And thoſe that fall are counted guilty, and are puniſhed.

In this country none on any account dieth, but they kill another for him: for they believe they die not their own natural death, but that ſome other has bewitched them to death. And all thoſe are brought in by the friends of the dead whom they ſuſpect; ſo that there many times come five hundred men and women to take the drink, made of the foreſaid root Imbando. They are brought all to the high-ſtreet or market-place, and there the maſter of the Imbando ſits with his water, and gives every one a cup of water by one meaſure; and they are commanded to walk in a certain place till they make water, and then they are free. But he that cannot urine preſently falls down, and all the people, great and ſmall, fall upon him with their knives, and beat and cut him into pieces. But I think the witch that gives the water is partial, and gives to him whoſe death is deſired the ſtrongeſt water, but no man of the bye-ſtanders can perceive it. This is done in the town of Longo, almoſt every week throughout the year.

Of the Zebra and Hippopotamus.—The Portugueſe Wars in thoſe Parts.—The Fiſhing, Grain, and other things remarkable.

IN this kingdom there is no kind of tame cattle but goats; no other cattle will live here. Oxen and kine have been brought hither, but they preſently die. Hens in this place do ſo abound that one may buy thirty for the worth of ſixpence in beads. Pheaſants, partridges, and wild fowls are plentiful. Here in-land lives a kind of a fowl bigger than a ſwan, and they are like an heron, with long legs and long necks, and is white and black, and has in its breaſt a bare place without feathers, where it ſtrikes with the bill. This is the right pelican, and not thoſe ſea-birds which the Portugueſe

Portugueſe call pelicans, which are white and as big as geeſe, and thoſe abound in this country alſo.

Here is found the Zevera or Zebra, which is like an horſe; but its mane, tail, and ſtreaks of divers colours down its ſides and legs makes a difference. Theſe Zebras are all wild and live in great herds, and ſuffer a man to come within ſhot of them, and let ſhoot three or four times at them before they run away.

Moreover there are great numbers of ſea or river-horſes, which feed always on the land, and live only by graſs, and they are very dangerous in the water. They are the biggeſt creature in this country except the elephant; they have great ſtrength in the claws of their left forefoot, and have four claws on every foot like the claws of an ox. The Portugueſe make rings of them, and they are a good remedy for the flux.

The Portugueſe make war againſt the Negroes in this manner. They have from Congo a nobleman, who is known to be a good Chriſtian and of good behaviour; he brings with him out of Congo ſome hundred Negroes as his followers. This Macicango is made Tandala or general over the black camp; and has authority to kill, to put down lords, and make lords, and has all the chief doings with the Negroes. And when any lord comes to obey; firſt, he appears before the Tandala bringing him preſents, in ſlaves, kine, and goats. Then the Tandala carries him to the Portugueſe governor, and preſents two ſlaves to the governor's page before he goes in. Then he muſt have a great gift for the governor, which is ſometimes thirty or forty ſlaves and cattle beſides. And when he comes before the governor, he kneels down and claps his hands, and falls down with his face on the ground, and then he riſes and ſays: "I have been an enemy, and now I proteſt to be true, and never more to lift my hand againſt you." The governor then calls a ſoldier who has deſerved a reward, and gives the lord to him. This ſoldier ſees that he has no wrongs, and that the lord acknowledges him to be his maſter; and he maintains the ſoldier, and makes him rich. Alſo in war he commands his maſter's houſe to be built before his own; and whatſoever he has taken that day in the war, he ſhares with his maſter. So that there is no Portugueſe ſoldier on any account, but he has his Negro Sova or lord.

They uſe upon this coaſt to fiſh with harping-irons, and wait upon a great fiſh that comes once a day to feed along the ſhore, which is like a Grampus. He runs very near the ſhore, and drives great ſkulls of fiſh before him; and the Negroes run along the ſhore, as faſt as they are able to follow him, and ſtrike their harping-irons round about him, and kill great ſtore of fiſh, and leave them upon the ſand till the fiſh has done feeding; and then they come and gather their fiſh up. This fiſh will many times run himſelf on ground, but they will preſently ſhew him off again, which is as much as four or five men can do. They call him Emboa, which is in their ſpeech a dog, and and will by no means hurt or kill any of them. Alſo they uſe in bays and rivers, where ſhoal water is, to fiſh with mats, which are made of long ruſhes, and they make them of an hundred fathoms long. The mats ſwim upon the water, and have long ruſhes hung upon one edge of the mat, and ſo they draw the mat in compaſs, as we do our nets. The fiſhes, fearing the ruſhes that hang down, ſpring out of the water, and fall upon the mat that lies flat on the water, and ſo they are taken.

There are four ſorts of corn in Longo: the firſt is called Maſanga, and it grows upon a ſtraw as big as a reed, and has an ear a foot long, and is like hemp ſeed. The ſecond is called Maſembala; this is of great increaſe, for of a kernel ſpring four or five ears, which are ten feet high, and they bear half a pint of corn a-piece. This grain is as big as tares and very good. Thirdly, they have another that grows low like graſs, and

and is very like muſtard-ſeed; this is the beſt. They have alſo the great Guinea wheat, which they call Maſ-impota; this is the leaſt eſteemed.

They have very good peaſe, ſomewhat bigger than ours; but they grow not as ours do. For the pods grow on the roots underneath the ground; and by their leaves they know when they are ripe. They have another kind of peaſe, which they call Wandos; this is a little tree; and the firſt year when planted, it bears no fruit, but after it bears fruit three years, and then it is cut down.

Their plantain trees bear fruit but once, and then are cut down; and out of the root thereof ſpring three or four young ones.

They have great ſtores of honey, which hangs in the Elicandy trees. They gather it with an hollow piece of wood or cheſt, which they hang in the top of the tree, and once a year it is full, by ſmoke rewarding the laborious creatures with robbery, exile, and death.

This Alicunde or Elicandy tree is very tall and exceeding great; ſome as big as twelve men can fathom, ſpreading like an oak; ſome of them are hollow, and from the liberal ſkies receive ſuch a plenty of water, that they are hoſpital entertainers of thouſands in that thirſty region. Once have I known three or four thouſand remaining at one of thoſe trees, and thence receiving all their watery proviſions for twenty-four hours, and yet not empty. The Negroes climbed up with pegs of hard wood (which the Elicandy tree being ſofter eaſily received, the ſmoothneſs not admitting other climbing), and I think that ſome one tree holds forty tuns of water. This tree affords no leſs bountiful hoſpitality to the back than belly, yielding (as her belly to their bellies) her back to their backs; excepting that this is better from the younger trees, whoſe tender barks being more ſeaſonable for diſcipline, are ſoundly beaten (for man's fault, whence came the firſt nakedneſs), whereby one fathom cut from the tree, is extended into twenty, and is preſently fit for wearing, though not ſo fine as the Inzanda tree yields. This tree yields excellent cloth from the inner bark thereof, by like beating. Of their palm-trees, which they keep with watering and cutting every year, they make velvets, ſattins, taffatas, damaſks, ſarcenets, and ſuch like; out of the leaves cleanſed and purged, drawing long even threads for that purpoſe. They draw wine, (as it is ſaid) from the palm-tree; there is another kind of palm-tree, which bears a fruit good for the ſtomach, and for the liver moſt admirable.

One crocodile was ſo huge and greedy, that it devoured an Alibamba, that is, a chained company of eight or nine ſlaves. I have ſeen them watch their prey, haling in general man or other creatures into the water.

A

NEW AND ACCURATE DESCRIPTION

OF

THE COAST OF GUINEA,

DIVIDED INTO

THE GOLD, THE SLAVE, AND THE IVORY COASTS.

CONTAINING

A GEOGRAPHICAL, POLITICAL, AND NATURAL HISTORY OF THE KINGDOMS AND COUNTRIES:

WITH A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT CONDITION OF ALL THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS UPON THAT COAST, AND THE JUST MEASURES FOR IMPROVING THE SEVERAL BRANCHES OF THE GUINEA TRADE.

Written originally in Dutch by WILLIAM BOSMAN, Chief Factor for the Dutch at the Caſtle of St. George d'Elmina. And now faithfully done into Engliſh.*

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IT is a common cuſtom among authors, to uſher in their writings with a Preface; which ſome look upon as a mere ornament of no great importance, and others as a neceſſary appendage, both for ſetting forth the ſubject, method, and deſign of the performance, and for giving the reader an opportunity to know the qualifications of his author: and it is the latter of theſe that I here join with.

The world is at preſent ſo overſtocked with books, that it is almoſt impoſſible to bring any new thing to light, unleſs another new world were diſcovered; the countries and people in all parts of the world, being already deſcribed by various authors. But it was an ancient ſaying among the Romans, that Africa always produces ſomething new; and, to this day, the ſaying is very juſt; for the coaſt of Guinea, which is part of Africa, is for the moſt part unknown, not only to the Dutch, but to all Europeans, and no particular deſcription of it is yet come to light; nor, indeed, any thing, but a few ſcraps ſcattered in books written upon other ſubjects, moſt of which are contrary to truth, and afford but a ſorry ſketch of Guinea.

Being a lover, from my youth, of the deſcriptions of travels and voyages, and accounts of foreign countries, I quickly took a diſtaſte at ſuch authors as palmed preca-

* London, 1705.

rious reports upon the world for certain truths; and, having never ſtirred out of their native country, take all for truth that is handed to them from abroad, and recommend it as ſuch to the world: in imitation of Ariſtotle, who, being ordered by Alexander (as the ſtory goes) to write of the nature of animals, grounded and completed his performance upon the report of every traveller he could meet with. In thoſe days, when the world was not ſo well known as it is now, that ſort of writing might go down: but now-a-days a man of ſenſe will ſcarcely venture upon it, conſidering that his advances will be compaſſed by a variety of travellers, and where he departs from what they find to be the real truth, he will be expoſed for a fabulous author. In this country of Holland, we have had particularly two ſuch writers in the laſt century, who ſet forth many books, and are now ſo well known by the bulkineſs of their writings, and the manner of their performances, that it is needleſs to ſay more of them than this, that the world does them juſtice enough if they credit but one half of what they write upon foreign ſubjects, without derogating from what credit is due to their works that relate to our own country; for which ſubject they are very well qualified. I could not forbear oppoſing them upon ſome heads, and publiſhing the truth of what they have miſrepreſented; and, in ſo doing, I reckon I have done ſome ſervice. And if they are ſo touched with my freedom as to take me to taſk (according to their threats), I am well aſſured that at leaſt they ſhall not fix any falſehood upon me. I had always a longing deſire to go and ſee what I read of in books; and, during my fourteen years ſtay upon the coaſt of Guinea, I had an opportunity of ſatisfying my deſire, there being few or ſcarcely any places upon the coaſt, where I have not ſtaid for ſome time, and can now ſpeak of with experience.

And while I thus gratified my own curioſity, I conſidered that man was created not for himſelf alone, but likewiſe to ſerve his neighbour; and that the fineſt things loſe their greateſt ſplendour by being ſmothered in the breaſt of one man: upon this conſideration, I reckoned myſelf bound to impart to my countrymen what I have beheld with pleaſure; and that the rather, that I was deſired ſo to do by my very good friend to whom the enſuing letters are addreſſed. Though my friend's demand was contrary to my inclination, yet I cheerfully complied with it; only I had ſome wandering reflections upon the reaſons alledged in my firſt letter, particularly that of my unpoliſhed way of expreſſing myſelf. But conſidering I do not publiſh this for a piece of conſummate rhetoric, but only to ſatisfy thoſe who are curious in this way, I hope to be excuſed. My ſole deſign is to gratify thoſe who are moved with the ſame curioſity that influenced me, or may hereafter have an opportunity of being concerned on the coaſt of Guinea; to gratify them, I ſay, with a diſtinct account of the diſpoſition and conſtitution of thoſe countries, and the various opinions that prevail there. This is my aim, and I hope I ſhall in ſome meaſure compaſs it. In fine, if what I have here publiſhed can be of the leaſt uſe, I ſhall reckon myſelf richly rewarded for my pains.

At firſt I had contrived this work, ſo as to divide it into five books, treating of ſo many ſeveral ſubjects. The firſt, of the diſpoſition of the Gold Coaſt; its extent, diviſion, fertility, and the employment or livelihood of the inhabitants. The ſecond, of the inhabitants in general; their genius, cuſtoms, manners, religion, government, and habitations, with what relates thereunto. The third, of the trade of the coaſt; how it is carried on by the Dutch Company and the other Europeans, and how the Negroes act their part in it. The fourth, of the animals of the country; whether wild or tame, as quadrupeds, reptiles, inſects, and fowl, beſides the fiſh, the plants, and the fruits. The fifth, of the kingdoms of Ladingcour, Coto, the two Popos, and

the charming country of Fida: with a concluſion, deſcribing a coaſting voyage performed by me in the year 1698.

But ſince, having the opportunity to ſend the whole matter of the above-mentioned five books, in ſeveral letters to my very good friend, I choſe to alter the diviſion, and draw it all up in twenty Letters, including in each as much as the conveniency of time allowed. To theſe twenty letters there are two more annexed, which were wrote to me by two perſons in our ſervice, and relate to the countries where they were employed, and where I had never been. This new diviſion, I hope, will not be unacceptable to the reader, in regard that every letter ſtill preſents him with ſomething that is new. I muſt own it pleaſes me better than the firſt.

For ſome time after I begun this work, I was much troubled that there was not a man on the coaſt that could draw and deſign: but after I had gone a great way in it, there came one to the coaſt that was verſed in that art, upon which I immediately ſet him to work, upon drawing all the forts (Dutch, Engliſh, and Daniſh,) to the eaſt of Elmina; and, for his greater conveniency, I made the journey with him myſelf, being ſent by our general upon affairs relating to our trade. The animals, which upon my order were brought to us, he drew by the life; and the forts he drew with a juſt regard to perſpective. But death, which ſpares no man, viſited my draughtſman, juſt when we were ready to take another journey to the weſt of Elmina. In a few days' time he was well and dead; and ſo left me provided only with the half of what I deſigned, there being no other draughtſman on the coaſt.

I have purpoſely affected brevity, otherwiſe I could have drove out to a bulky volume: but, conſidering that it is tedious and nauſeous to dwell long upon one thing, I preſume the reader will be thereby gratified.

A DESCRIPTION, *&c.* OF GUINEA.

LETTER I. — *Treating of the Gold Coaſt in general, and the Country of Axim in particular, the Settling of the Dutch and Brandenburghers there, the imprudent Conduct of the latter upon this Coaſt; of Rio de Cobre, and the unhappy Accident that happened to a Fort there.*

SIR,

YOUR agreeable of September 1ſt 1700, was ſeaſonably handed to me by Captain N. N., by which I am perfectly ſatisfied, that, through your diligence and conduct, my affairs are brought to a happy iſſue. The leaſt I can do, is to thank you, with aſſurance that I will ſlip no opportunity of making the beſt returns I am capable of in requital of ſuch unuſual ſervices: indeed I am very unfit to do it in the way you oblige me to; you exact from me an accurate deſcription of this country, and though by my long reſidence here, I am, or at leaſt ought to be in ſome meaſure acquainted with it, yet there are ſeveral reaſons which I might alledge in excuſe; among which no ſmall ones are, that my inſufficiency and unpoliſhed way of expreſſing myſelf renders me uncapable to repreſent things in their juſt propriety and connexion; but what I have

yet to offer requires my more ſerious conſideration, whether, being actually in the ſervice of our Weſt India Company, it is conſiſtent with my duty to diſcover the ſtate of their affairs; being very dubious on this head, I could have heartily wiſhed you would have ſpared me this heavy taſk, fearing it was what might contribute to make you, as well as myſelf, uneaſy. But at laſt, reflecting on your friendſhip, and the obligation received, I ſoon ſtepped over theſe and all other difficulties, and am reſolved to endeavour your ſatisfaction, upon promiſe that your uſual good-nature will excuſe my incorrect ſtyle; and reſt aſſured, that, however I ſucceed, a ſincere intention to oblige you to the utmoſt, is never wanting.

Returning to yours, I find your curioſity extends itſelf primarily to that country where your nephew was laſt placed by the general: in anſwer to which, be pleaſed to take the following account.—This country, called Axim, is cultivated and abounds with numerous, large, and beautiful villages, all extraordinarily populous; ſome of which are ſituate on the ſea-ſhore, and others farther on the main land; the moſt conſiderable amongſt the former lie under the Brandenburghian and Dutch forts, of which the latter is by much the beſt.

Our fort here is obliged for its preſent name of St. Anthony to the Portugueſe, who were its firſt maſters; but Anno 1642, were driven from this and ſeveral other places by our countrymen: and indeed, formerly the Portugueſe ſerved for ſetting-dogs to ſpring the game, which, as ſoon as they had done, was ſeized by others. But to return to our fort, which was not great, but neatly and beautifully built as well as ſtrong and conveniently ſituated: it is provided with three good batteries, beſides breaſt-works, out-works, and high walls on the land ſide, as well as a ſufficient quantity of guns; and if it were well ſtored with proviſions, might hold out againſt a ſtrong army of the natives. I am heartily ſorry I cannot ſend you a draught of it, becauſe the main artiſt, who was about it, died before it was half finiſhed; for which reaſon you are not to expect ſo much as a ſketch of any fort weſt of Elmira, but the drawings of thoſe eaſtward are at your ſervice.

You cannot be ignorant that your nephew is made principal factor by Mr. N. N., who is intruſted by the Company as well as the general, with an abſolute power over that whole country; the inhabitants being reduced to that entire ſubjection, that they dare not refuſe, but are firmly bound to ſerve the factor to the utmoſt with what the country affords; nor dare they decide any judiciary caſe without his cognizance, he being a ſort of chief juſtice appointed to puniſh even the chief of the Negroes, according to the cuſtom of the country; but of their laws I intend (if I live long enough) a more particular account. But at preſent, before I proceed any farther, I ſhall preſent you with a ſmall ſketch of the Guinea Coaſt, eſpecially that called the Gold Coaſt, and what is poſſeſſed either by our own countrymen, or other Europeans.

Guinea is a large country, extended ſeveral hundred miles, abounding with innumerable kingdoms, and ſeveral commonwealths.

Several authors have repreſented Guinea as a mighty kingdom, whoſe prince by his victorioufneſs had ſubdued numerous countries, and erected their whole extent of land into one mighty kingdom, which he called Guinea: how great this miſtake is, I hope to evince to you; ſince the very name of Guinea is not ſo much as known to the natives here, nor the imaginary Guinea monarchy yet to be found in the world.

The Gold Coaſt being a part of Guinea, is extended about ſixty miles, beginning with the Gold River three miles weſt of Aſſine, or twelve above Axim, and ending with the village Ponni, ſeven or eight miles eaſt of Acra.

I am unwilling to detain you with a deſcription of the tract of land betwixt Aſſine and Rio, or the river Cobre, about a mile above our fort; ſince the trade of that place is at preſent ſo inconſiderable that it is very little frequented, though nine or ten years ago its commerce was in a flouriſhing ſtate; but ſince the golden country of Aſſine (from whence gold was brought thither) was conquered, and almoſt devaſtated, the Dinckin-raſe traffic has run at a low ebb, and the little gold duſt which is brought thither is either ſophiſticated or of very ſmall value: wherefore I ſhall ſteer my courſe along the Gold Coaſt, and without conſidering the rank of precedence, take them fairly as they lie in my way, and deſcribe them as well as the compaſs of a letter will permit.

The countries from the Ancoberſian River to the village Ponni, are eleven in number, viz. Axim, Ante, Adom, Jabi, Commani, Fetu, Saboe, Fantyn, Acron, Agonna, and Aquamboe; each containing one, two, or three towns or villages, lying upon the ſea-ſhore, as well under, as betwixt the forts of the Europeans; their greateſt and moſt populous towns being generally farther on land. Seven of theſe are kingdoms, governed by their reſpective Kings; and the reſt being governed by ſome of the principal men amongſt them, ſeem to approach nearer to commonwealths: but I ſhall give you a more particular account of them hereafter, and in order thereto at preſent begin with Axim; which, as the notion of power runs here, was formerly a potent monarchy, but the arrival of the Brandenburghers divided the inhabitants, one part of them putting themſelves under the protection of the new comers, in expectation of an eaſier government and looſer reins, in which they were not miſtaken, as the conſequence evinced; but the other part, which were the moſt honeſt and leaſt changeable, ſtaid under our government. But if we take a view of this country before this time, we ſhall find it to be extended ſix miles in length, computing from the mentioned Rio Cobre, (Ancober, or the Serpentine River, ſo called by the Portugueſe, from its intricate winding and inland courſe of twenty miles) to the village Boeſwa, a mile weſt of our fort, near the village of Boutry.

The Negro inhabitants are generally very rich, driving a great trade with the Europeans for gold, which they chiefly vend to the Engliſh and Zealand interlopers, notwithſtanding the ſevere penalty they incur thereby; for if we catch them, their ſo bought goods are not only forfeited, but a heavy fine is laid upon them: not deterred I ſay by this, they all hope to eſcape; to effect which, they bribe our ſlaves (who are ſet as watches and ſpies over them) to let them paſs by night; by which means we are hindered from having much above an hundreth part of the gold of this land. And the plain reaſon why the natives run this riſque of trading with the interlopers, is, that their goods are ſometimes better than ours, and always to be had one third part cheaper; whereby they are encouraged againſt the danger, very well knowing, that a ſucceſsful correſpondence will ſoon enrich them.

Theſe interlopers are ſeveral of them fitted out by private merchants in Holland to drive this trade; which is in effect, to rob the Weſt India Company of the advantage of their Placaat or patent obtained from the States-General, which empowers them to trade on this coaſt, excluſive of all others; and of puniſhing all offenders againſt this right with the loſs of life and goods; all their ſhips, in caſe they ſeize them, being free prize: but though in my time we have taken ſeveral of them, the law has not been rigorouſly put in execution, but we generally content ourſelves with making examples of ſome of the ring-leaders *in terrorem;* and when they are ſeized, ſome one or other of the Company's officers find it their intereſt to let them ſlip through their fingers. But not to accuſe any body, ſince every one hath his frailty, let us return to the inhabitants of Axim, whom we find induſtriouſly employed either in trade, fiſhing, or agriculture,

culture, and that is chiefly exercised in the culture of rice, which grows here above all other places in an incredible abundance, and is transported hence all the Gold Coast over. The inhabitants in lieu returning full fraught with millet, jammes, potatoes, and palm oil; all which are very rare here, for the soil is naturally moist, and though fit to produce rice, and fruit trees, doth not kindly yield other fruits.

But having already hinted something relating to the Brandenburghers, it will not, I hope, be tedious to particularize a little on their present state. Their principal fortress is not above three miles east of our fort St. Anthony, and is called Fredericsburgh; it is situate on the hill Mamfro near the village Pocquesoe, and is handsome and reasonably large, strengthened with four large batteries furnished with forty-six pieces of ordnance, but too slight and small; the gate of this fort is the most beautiful on all the coast, but proportionably much too large for the structure, so that the garrison seems to have an equal right with the burghers of Minde, to the advice that they should keep their gate close shut for fear the fort should run away. On the east side it hath a beautiful out-work, which deprives the fortress of a great part of its strength, wherefore it would be easily gained if attacked on this side; besides which, the greatest fault in this building is, that the breast-works are built no higher than a man's knee, and the men thereby are continually exposed defenceless to the shot from without; which is no small inconvenience in wars with the Blacks, for no person can come upon the batteries, but the Negroes easily reach him with a musquet-shot: for the rest, the building part is not to be objected against, and is provided with a great many fine dwellings within.

The commander-in-chief of this fort, and indeed of all the possessions of the Brandenburghers on this coast, consisting of two forts and a lodge, takes the title of director-general under His Electoral Highness of Brandenburgh and his African company. For some time past their commanders and servants, except common soldiers, have been most part Dutch, who in imitation of our nation have always aimed at an absolute dominion over the Blacks; but never could yet accomplish their end, being hitherto hindered by their intestine dissensions and irregularities, or the villainous nature of their Negroes, who, having mostly fled from us on occasion of crimes committed by them, have taken refuge under them.

In the time of my residence here I can remember seven of their directors; the first, John Nyman, an Embdener, a man of sound judgment, good sense, and great experience, who discharged his office with the greatest fidelity and good conduct, by which means he quitted this country with a great deal of honour, and left a very good name behind him: he was succeeded by John and Jacob Ten-Hooft, the father and son, who both acquired a large share of reputation, and kept their subordinates in due decorum, especially the son, who by good-nature and a civil address gained the affection of the Blacks, and had every body at his devotion: by which means he established the Brandenburghian affairs in a much better condition than any before him; and as they never had a better governor, so it is very much to be doubted, they will repent the time when they removed him, and appointed Gysbrecht van Hoogveldt in his place, who before had been factor in our service 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 incapable of their service. However, being now commander-in-chief, to reconcile himself to the offended Negroes his old enemies, he granted them several franchises and privileges, which served not only to lessen the power of the Brandenburghers, and lay the first foundation of their ruin, but after a short government the Europeans and Blacks jointly rose against him; and after trying him, discharged him

once

once more the government and Coaſt; chooſing in his place one 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 public, 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 therefore incapable of that truſt. Shortly after his elevation, his factor at Acoda was killed by the Negroes, 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, they carried 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 murther was variouſly talked of here: 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 Negroes) his ſucceſſor, is generally charged with the greateſt ſhare in this crime; if he is innocent I hope he will clear himſelf, but if guilty, may heaven avenge it on him and his accomplices: for it hath very perniciouſly weakened the power of all the Europeans on this Coaſt, and filled them with apprehenſions not altogether groundleſs, that if this bloody fact eſcapes unpuniſhed, nobody is here ſecure of life. It hath already ſo enſlaved the Brandenburghers, that I very much doubt whether ever they will regain the maſtery, for the Negroes having once got the upper hand will ſufficiently lord it over them.

I could not help imparting to you this event, equally ſtrange and deteſtable; to which I was indeed the rather induced, becauſe as you are perfectly acquainted with all the European trade of the Embden company, ſo you may take an opportunity of informing them how their affairs have been managed here for ſome years paſt. But taking leave of this fort, let us take a ſtep two miles and a half eaſtwards below Cape Treſpuntos, where we find another Brandenburghian fort at Acoda called Dorothea; which by order of our ſuperiors was amplified and delivered to them about eleven years paſt; ſince which they have very conſiderably ſtrengthened and improved it. It is a houſe covered with a flat roof, on which are two ſmall batteries and half curtains, upon which they have planted ſeveral light pieces of cannon; it is indeed furniſhed with a ſufficient number of rooms and conveniencies, though but ſlightly built and ſomewhat crowded.

Betwixt Maufro and Acoda, the Brandenburghers, in 1674, built another fort-houſe at the village Tacrama, in the middle of Cape Treſpuntos. Their general's deſign was to build a fort here to preſerve and defend the adjacent watering place in their power. Upon the whole, the keeping of this lodge and the two former forts hath been ſo very expenſive to them, that I am of opinion they will not haſtily augment their charge by undertaking any new building.

The Brandenburgh affairs having inſenſibly ſwelled this letter to a larger bulk than I intended, and obliged me to defer my deſigned account of the vegetables of the country of Axim to another opportunity; and that I may not cloy you at once, I ſhall conclude only with a deſcription of the above-mentioned Snake River, or river of Ancober, which laſt name it takes from the country it runs through.

This river is too pleaſant to be ſlightly paſſed over, and as I have already told you, is a mile above our fort St. Anthony; its mouth is very wide, with ſo ſhallow water, that I queſtion whether it is paſſable with a boat, but a little farther it grows deeper and narrower; after which, in ſeveral miles no obſervable alteration appears. How far its inland courſe extends I cannot inform you, though I have travelled above three ſmall days' voyage upon it, and found it as pleaſant as any part of the Guinea coaſt, not excepting

cepting Fida itſelf; each of its banks being adorned with fine lofty trees, which afford the moſt agreeable ſhade in the world, defending the traveller from the ſcorching beams of the ſun. It is not unpleaſant to obſerve the beautiful variegated birds, and the ſportive apes, diverting themſelves on the verdant boughs all the way. To render it yet more charming, having ſailed about a mile up, you are entertained with the view of a fine populous village, extending about a quarter of a mile on its weſtern ſhore; of ſuch villages hereabouts are a great number, which together make up three ſeveral countries, of which, the firſt ſituate next the ſea, is called Ancober (whether the river be obliged to the country, or the country to the river for its name, I ſhall not determine); the ſecond next occurring land is Abocroe, and the laſt Eguira. The firſt I obſerved was a monarchy, and the other two common-wealths. Several years paſt we had a fort in the country of Eguira, and drove a very conſiderable trade there; for beſides the afflux of gold thither from all foreign parts, the country itſelf affords ſome gold mines; and I remember when I had the government of Axim, a very rich one was diſcovered; but we loſt our footing there in a very tragical manner, for the commander-in-chief of the Negroes, being cloſely beſieged by our men (as fame reports), ſhot gold inſtead of bullets, hinting by ſigns that he was ready to treat, and afterwards trade with the beſiegers: but in the midſt of their negociation he blew up himſelf and all his enemies at once, as unfortunately as bravely putting an end to our ſiege and his life, and like Sampſon revenging his death upon his enemies. To compaſs his deſign, he had encouraged a ſlave by promiſing him new clothes, to ſtand ready with a lighted match, with which he was to touch the powder when he ſaw him ſtamp with his foot, which the ſilly wretch but too punctually performed undiſcovered by any but one of our Company's ſlaves, who obſerving it, withdrew as ſilently as timely, being only left alive to bring us the news; and ſince we could get no better account, we were obliged to believe this; it being but too certain that our fort, to the coſt of our director and ſome of our enemies, was blown up. This being enough for the firſt time, be pleaſed to ſuſpend your curioſity till the next opportunity, when you ſhall not fail of a farther account from, yours, &c.

LETTER II. — *Deſcribing the Anteſe Country about Boutry, the Engliſh and Dutch Forts there, and the Engliſh their fraudulently vending falſe Gold; the Beauty of the Anteſe Country and the River Boutry, the Oyſters which are there produced; the Dutch and Engliſh Forts at Zaconde and the Country adjacent; of the Village Chama, and the Dutch fort there, together with the Jabiſe and Adomſe Land, and the River Chama, with a Repreſentation of the Cruelty of the Jabiſe General.*

SIR,

I HOPE that mine of the 15th —— will reach you in due time; but the ſhip which carries it being bound for Fida to take in ſlaves, and after that to touch at Curacao before it ſtands its courſe homewards, I cannot expect that it ſhould reach Holland in leſs than a year; and the ſhip that brings this, ſteering directly to Europe, will arrive much ſooner; wherefore, to take off the uneaſineſs of the delay, I here ſend you a tranſcript of my former, wiſhing the contents may meet your favourable reception.

Having deſcribed Axim in my firſt, I ſhall begin this with an account of Ante, its next adjoining neighbour, to which I ſhall add as much as time and convenience will permit. The country of Ante, or as the natives call it, Hante, begins with the village Boeſwa, two miles below, or eaſtward of Acoda; though we may very well take in, and

and begin with Acoda itſelf, it being at preſent ſubject thereto. For ſeveral years this country was divided into the Upper and Lower Ante, Antim, already deſcribed, being accounted the former, and that we are about to deſcribe eſteemed the latter. It was formerly very potent and populous, being inhabited by a martial and prædatory people, who very much annoyed us with frequent onſets; but with continual wars with thoſe of Adom and their other neighbours, they are ſo enfeebled, that no footſteps of their priſtine glory are left. But of them more particularly hereafter.

At Dikjeſchoftt, properly called Infuma, the Engliſh built a ſmall fort, anno 1691, after they had ſeveral times diſputed the ground with the Brandenburghers, who ſome time before had ſet up their elector's flag there; though at laſt, not finding it turn to any great account, they quietly yielded it 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 Negroes 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 theſe five years paſt they adventured to beſiege them in their fortreſs, 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 about three months paſt 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 ſuffer much leſs, and what moſt ſurpriſed them was, that they received it as well from the Whites as the Negroes. They applied themſelves to the Engliſh chief governor on the coaſt, deſiring they might have their goods returned, or good gold in exchange for the falſe; but to complain to him, was to go to the devil to be confeſſed; for he, participating in the fraud, would by no means help them. This cheat is become ſo common, that it daily happens; but that the Whites have always a hand in it I dare not affirm; however I am very ſure, that 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 here ſo common, that it is publicly ſold, and become a perfect trade: the price current being in my time about a crown in good gold for two pounds ſterling of falſe.

About a mile and a half from this knaviſh place, at the village Boutry, commonly called Boutree, is another ſmall ill-ſhaped fort, ſituate on a very high hill, built in an oblong form, and divided into two parts; ſtrengthened (if I may ſo ſay) with two inoffenſive batteries, upon which are planted eight ſmall guns. This is very improperly called Batenſtein, for it much better deſerves the name of Schadenſtein (Bate ſignifying profit, and Schade loſs), in regard we have for ſeveral years loſt much more than we got by it. At the foot of this hill is the village Boutry, which is indifferently large and populous, inhabited by a people who trade very fair with us, as not participating of the villainous nature of thoſe of Infuma.

Exactly four miles lower we meet with the village Zaconde, where we have a ſmall fort called Orange. A muſquet-ſhot from hence is the remains of an Engliſh fort about as large as ours, of which more hereafter. Upon walking through the country of Ante, reckoning from Acoda to a mile and a half below Zaconde, where it ends, I count it about eight or nine miles long. Its pleaſant ſituation is become ſo famous

by Mr. Focquembourg's deſcription, which adventures to compare it with the country of Cleve, that, leaving the truth of his compariſon to the deciſion of thoſe that have ſeen both, I ſhall only in purſuance of my deſign inform you, that this country, as well as all the gold-coaſt, abounds in hills, all enriched with extraordinarily high and beautiful trees; its valleys betwixt the hills are wide and extenſive, proper for the planting of all ſort of fruits, and if they were as well cultivated as watered, would ſupply half the coaſt with eatables. The earth produceth, in great abundance, very good rice, the richeſt ſort of millet, the grain of which is red, jambs, potatoes, and other fruits, all good in their kind; nor is the ſoil in the leaſt deficient in fruit-trees. The ſugar-canes grow here more and larger than any where elſe; ſo that I am not without hopes that a ſucceſsful plantation may in time be here ſet on foot. For wine and oil, the palm affords what excels in quantity as well as quality. In ſhort, it is a land which yields its manurers as plentiful a crop as they can wiſh, being beſides very well furniſhed with all ſorts of tame as well as wild beaſts; but the laſt fatal war betwixt the Anteans and Adomians hath reduceth it to a miſerable condition, and ſtript it of moſt of its inhabitants: beſides which, the miſerable few left behind are ſo diſpirited, that they ſhelter themſelves under our fort near Boutry, leaving the greateſt part of the land wild and uncultivated. It is, indeed, deplorable to ſee it at preſent, and reflect on its former flouriſhing condition in the years 1690 and 1691. Before the war, I being then an aſſiſtant, had an opportunity of walking to Boutry and through this country, when it regaled the eyes with the pleaſant proſpect of numerous villages well peopled, a plentiful harveſt and abundance of cattle; inſomuch that a ſoldier who could very hardly live on his ſubſiſtence-money in other places could fare deliciouſly here on the half: and if there be any difference in places, with reſpect to their healthfulneſs, I ſhould prefer Boutry before all the reſt: for during my ſtay there, it was obſervable that fewer died there in proportion to the number of people and time than any where: and I dare affirm, that if the ſame care was taken upon the whole coaſt as there, Guinea would ſoon loſe its dreadful mortal name.

I had almoſt paſſed over the moſt charming part of the whole Anteſe land, betwixt Acoda and Boutry, being watered by a freſh river which runs by our fort to the inner part of the land, planted with high trees on both ſides; which, wide as it is, is overſhadowed by the leaves. I have by frequent experience found this river navigable three miles from the ſea-ſhore; but though it reacheth farther, the violent water-falls, which pour down from the rocks into the river, render it unpaſſable beyond. It affords great plenty of fiſh, notwithſtanding the incredible number of crocodiles it is peſtered with, which muſt neceſſarily devour vaſt quantities.

In my deſcription of Rio Cobre I mentioned the great multitude of apes there; but this country is ſo full of theſe unlucky animals, whoſe only talent is miſchief, that one would be apt to think that this was properly their kingdom, or grand rendezvous.

If my memory doth not deceive me, you are a very great lover of river-oyſters; be pleaſed therefore to make a trip hither, and I will engage you ſhall be ſatisfied with them at the expence only of the trouble of gathering them, and in leſs than an hour's time I will undertake to ſhew you one hundred thouſand growing on the trees: pray do not be ſurprized, you have before now heard of Soland geeſe, and Chineſe fiſh which change into fowl; perhaps you will tell me you believe neither, and perhaps I am of your mind, yet all this ſhall not prevent my account how oyſters grow here. On each ſide of the river grows a ſort of trees, great and ſmall intermixed, whoſe branches ſhoot directly into the water (thoſe which remain above its ſurface being withered and dry), while the former become immediately leaved with ſmall

oyſters, at firſt about the bigneſs of ſhell-ſnails, but in a very ſhort time grown to their mature ſize.

I remember to have mentioned the Engliſh and Dutch forts at Zaconde: they were, indeed, about ſix years paſt in being, but the trade at ſo low an ebb, and the officers of each fort ſo jealous of the other, that they both lived in miſerable poverty, at the expence of both the Engliſh and Dutch Companies. Not long after, the Engliſh fortreſs was burnt and deſtroyed by the Antean Negroes; its chief commander and ſome of the Engliſh being killed, and the reſt being plundered of all their own and the Company's goods; and at preſent the out-walls only are left ſtanding, by which, though very little to our advantage, we are left the maſters of this place. Indeed, laſt year, we traded conſiderably here for a large quantity of gold, which the Engliſh underſtanding, made ſeveral attempts to rebuild their fort, but were always obſtructed by the Antean Negroes.

Before the war, betwixt Adom and Ante, this Zaconde was one of the fineſt and richeſt villages, as well in money as people, upon the whole coaſt: but the Adomeſe conquerors entirely burnt and deſtroyed it. The few ſlight dwellings which are here at preſent were built ſince, and others are daily building, ſo that ere-long, it may grow to be an indifferent village; but to re-inſtate it in its flouriſhing condition requires ſeveral years.

I have formerly mentioned the pleaſantneſs of the Anteſe country, but then came no farther than a little below Boutry. But the land for two or three miles round about theſe forts is not leſs agreeable than the former; beſides that, here and behind Tocorary, a mile weſt of Zaconde, the valleys are ſo much finer, that it is impoſſible for imagination to conceive any thing more charming. I have here ſeen a large plain ſo plentifully and properly adorned with lofty trees and woods, as if dame Nature had deſigned to ſhew her maſter-piece here; and between the rows of trees the paths were all covered with white ſand, in which were obſervable the foot-ſteps of thouſands of harts, elephants, tigers, wild-cats, and other ſorts of beaſts. In ſhort, this place is ſo very plentiful that it is impoſſible to walk here without raptures.

The village or town of Tocorary, or rather the fort which was there, hath from time to time had ſeveral European maſters: but it is now ſo ruined, that no viſible remnants of it are left. The Engliſh, Dutch, Brandenburghers, Swedes, and Danes, have all had their turns in poſſeſſion of it. In 1665, the Engliſh were drove from thence by De Ruyter, they having before got poſſeſſion by clandeſtine means: but of this you may be further informed in Brand's life of De Ruyter. Since that time it hath yet once changed maſters, but fell at laſt into our hands; and ſince I came hither, our traffic was tranſacted in a Negro's houſe; but that not meeting with its deſired ſucceſs, we abſolutely quitted the whole: and the town was ſo deſtroyed and burnt in the war by the Adomeſe, that it is at preſent inhabited by a few inconſiderable people only. But taking leave of the Anteſe country for the preſent, let us turn towards the town Chama, in the way to which, is Aboary a village, near which we had a lodge for ſeveral years; but it being found to conduce more to the advantage of thoſe who were placed there than the Company's, it was quitted as an unneceſſary charge. The town Chama is moderately large and well peopled, but its inhabitants ſo miſerably poor, that I do not believe they have any like them on the Gold Coaſt. Our fort here is about the ſize of that of Boutry; very ſmall, but a little longer: it hath four ſmall batteries, and juſt as many guns as the forenamed place, and was called (as it is at preſent) St. Sebaſtian's by the Portugueſe, from whom we took it. In our wars with England, it was in a manner levelled with the ground, being only encompaſſed with paliſadoes, which

the Engliſh perceiving, thought it would be no difficult matter to drive us from thence; and accordingly, in conjunction with the Jabiſhians, attacked us: but found ſo vigorous and unexpected a reſiſtance, that they were obliged to loſe their labour, and return to the place from whence they came, ever ſince which we have enjoyed it without the leaſt interruption.

A little behind our fort the Jabiſh land begins, and extends itſelf a few miles towards the inland part of the country: but I ſhall only deſcribe that part ſituate on the coaſt. It is at preſent but a ſmall diſtrict, and not very potent, though the firſt kingdom which occurs in our deſcent from the higher country. Its King is ſo great a prince, that I ſhould conſider very ſeriouſly before I ſhould give him credit for the value of ten pounds ſterling in goods, for fear he ſhould not be able to pay me; it is, indeed, true, that he, and his ſubjects, if I may ſo call them, make ſo conſiderable an advantage of the planting and ſelling of millet yearly, that they would ſoon become rich if their too potent neighbours did not continually fleece and keep them under, which they are not able to prevent.

The Chamaſcian River, or Rio de St. Juan, called by the Negroes, Boſſum Pra, which they adore as a God (as the word Boſſum ſignifies), takes its courſe from our fort, paſſing by the Jabiſhian and Adomeſe country, as well as that of Juffer, and thence (if we may credit the Negroes), extending itſelf about one hundred miles in land. It is a ſmall matter leſs than the river of Ancober, but wide enough, and hath the advantage of being ſo laid, that loaden boats may conveniently come into it from the ſea, if the pilot be but ſo careful as to avoid a rock near its mouth, which the ſailors call the Sugar; for elſe they are liable to be ſplit, as it hath ſeveral times happened during my reſidence there, and ſome have been loſt, eſpecially if the ſea happened to turn, or was rough. This river is very advantageous to us: for beſides the freſh water with which our ſhips ſtore themſelves, it furniſhes the caſtle with fuel for the kitchens and ovens, as alſo with wood neceſſary for ſmall ſhipping; ſo that, indeed, the river is really more uſeful to us than the fort itſelf; and without the former I do not believe we ſhould long keep the latter. For beſides that the commerce here is not conſiderable, and the keeping the fortreſs very expenſive, we are continually plagued with a villainous ſort of Negroes, amongſt which thoſe of Adom are none of the beſt; whoſe country I have before told you, ſtretcheth itſelf along by the river, and contains ſeveral iſlands in the midſt of the ſaid river, adorned with fine towns and villages: and, indeed, what hath ſurprized me moſt in this country, is the wonderful ſituation of the Adomeſe territories; for we find they are extended along both the rivers Chama and Ancober, which are reckoned above ſixteen miles diſtant from each other on the ſtrand; ſo that this land muſt be very large, and ſeems to go up the river Chama in a ſtraight line, and then turns with a narrow ſlip of land to Rio Cobre. But to proceed, it is governed by five or ſix of the principal men, there being here no King. One of theſe is ſo potent, that he can, as it is ſaid, carry the King of Jabi upon his horns. This republic, or commonwealth, or rather common plague to mankind (as being an aſſembly of thieves and villains), if it could be unanimous, would be able to raiſe a powerful army to the terror of their neighbours. Anno 1690, they jointly began a war againſt the Anteſe, which continued three or four years, till they had almoſt ruined the country and people; who yet will not ſubmit to them, but continue to bid them defiance.

They alſo were at war with the three nations on the river Ancober a few years paſt; whom they obliged to buy a peace at the price of a large ſum of gold.

In theſe expeditions they had a Negro for their general, who was of a nature ſo violent for war that he could not live in peace; but as greedy of wars as he was, no engagement ſcarcely happened with thoſe of Ante and the river, in which he was not obliged to his heels for his ſafety; ſo that if his companions had been no better ſoldiers than himſelf, he had ſoon been ſtopped in his career: and yet the other governors dare not diſpleaſe him, he being the richeſt of them all in money and men.

This Anqua, for ſo he is called, is more deteſtably bloody and barbarous than any Negro I have met with on the whole coaſt, nor is his name ever mentioned without horror.

This barbarous monſter having in an engagement taken five of his principal Anteſe enemies, anno 1691, he wounded them all over; after which, with a more than brutal fury, he ſatiated, though not tired himſelf, by ſucking their blood at their gaping wounds; but bearing a more than ordinary grudge againſt one of them, and not contented with the mentioned ſavage cruelty, he cauſed him to be laid bound at his feet, and his body to be pierced with hot-irons, gathering the blood that iſſued from him in a veſſel, one half of which he drank, and offered up the reſt unto his god. In this manner doth this mercileſs bloody wretch treat his conquered enemies; and no wonder, for if opportunity be wanting to exerciſe his cruelty on them, his own ſubjects always ſupply their place; for his inſatiable thirſt after blood muſt one way or other be ſatisfied. In the year 1692, when he took the field the ſecond time againſt the Anteſe, I went to give him a viſit in his camp, near Chama; he received me very civilly, and treated me very well, according to the cuſtom of the country: but whilſt he and I were diverting ourſelves together, a freſh opportunity offered itſelf for the exerciſe of his brutiſh cruelty; which was only a Negro obſerving that one of his wives had a new-faſhioned coral on, and taking a part of it in his hand to look on, without taking it off her neck; which ſhe, not thinking any hurt, freely permitted him to do. I ſhould here inform you by the way, that theſe Negroes allow their wives all honeſt liberty of converſation, even with their ſlaves. But Anqua ſo reſented this innocent freedom, that as ſoon as I was 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. For ſuch another trivial crime, a little before, he had cauſed the hands of one of his wives to be cut off; after which, in deriſion, he uſed to command her to look his head for vermin, which being impoſſible with her ſtumps, afforded him no ſmall diverſion. I might, indeed, have ſpared this account of his fell brutality till I come to treat of the nature of the Negroes; but his inhuman barbarity being unparalleled among all the Guineans, and being upon the deſcription of his country, I thought this place as proper; and that the rather, becauſe I am not at preſent furniſhed with other matter. But to return to our deſcription. The natives here are very powerful and rich; as being ſituate in the paſs which the inland-dealers muſt come through in order to traffic; by which means they have a very good opportunity of enriching themſelves by trade. Beſides, they have ſeveral gold-mines in their country, one whereof was diſcovered about three years paſt. The riches of theſe countries conſiſting in gold, and the great numbers of people have ſo puft them up, that thoſe who deal with them ought to be endowed with a more than ordinary diſcretion.

The ſoil is very good and fruitful in corn and other productions of the earth; which it affords in ſuch plenty, that, beſides what ſerves their own neceſſities, they always expoſe large quantities to ſale. Here are competent numbers of cattle both tame and wild, and the river abundantly ſtores them with fiſh, ſo that nothing is indeed here wanting that is neceſſary to human ſubſiſtence.

This

This, Sir, is all I can inform you of relating to the countries of Jabi and Adom, with which I ſhall conclude this letter, and always remain with reſpect, yours, &c.

LETTER III. — *Containing a Deſcription of the Country of Commany: of our, and the Engliſh Fort there. — A Relation of the War betwixt our Company and the Kingdom of Commany, and its original Cauſe. — A Deſcription of the Caſtle of Elmina; and, to conclude this Letter, of the Town of that Name.*

SIR,

OUR deſcription of the Gold Coaſt leads us at preſent to the kingdom of Commany, which borders upon Adom and Jabi; but as I am juſt beginning according to my former method, I ſeaſonably recollect a letter of yours, wherein you ſeem ſurprized at the war betwixt our Company and thoſe of Commany. I find you are miſinformed, you deſire I ſhould ſet you right. This part of your letter I formerly purpoſely omitted, anſwering, that at that time it was not convenient to reveal ſome ſecret intrigues; and I am ſtill ſo far of the ſame mind, that I had much rather you would excuſe me, than oblige me to diſguſt ſome men whoſe good name and reputation I ſhall always handle very tenderly. But ſince you have my word that I will conceal nothing from you, I ſhall repreſent the whole affair, as it appears to me and others here upon the ſpot, who I think ought to be well acquainted with it; if we have a wrong notion of it, a proper time will diſcover it.

Before I begin my intended relation I ſhall inform you, that the country of Commany extends itſelf five miles long by the ſea-ſide, reckoning from the river of Chama to the town of Mina; and it is about as broad as long. In the middle of it, on the ſtrand at little Commany or Ekke-Tokki as the Negroes call it, we have an indifferent large fort, built by Mr. Swerts in the year 1688, called Vrendenburgh; and a muſquet-ſhot or two from thence the Engliſh have a very large fort, of which more hereafter. Our fort is a ſquare building, ſtrengthened with good batteries, on which thirty-two guns may be conveniently placed, there being ſo many ports in the breaſt-work for them. It is large enough for ſixty men to live in; though at preſent there are not near ſo many, and but twenty guns; notwithſtanding all which it is ſufficient, not only to defend itſelf againſt, but to repulſe a great number of Negroes; as was found by experience, anno 1695, when I commanded there. Our enemies attacked us by night; I had but a very ſorry garriſon, not full twenty men, half of which were not capable of ſervice: and yet I forced them to retire with loſs, after a fight of five hours. It was 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 Negroes 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 faſtened on, though it took up ſo little room, did not eſcape ſhot-free. You may imagine what caſe we were in, when one of them began to hack our very doors with an axe: but this undertaker being killed, the reſt ſheered off. The general to whom I had repreſented my weak condition, adviſed two ſhips to anchor before out fort, in order to ſupply me with men and ammunition: Peter Hinken, the captain of one of theſe veſſels, endeavouring to execute the general's order, the day before I was attacked, ſent his boat full of men with orders to come to me; but they were no ſooner on land than the Negroes fell upon them ſo furiouſly, even under our cannon, that they killed ſeveral of them, which though I ſaw I could not prevent;

for

for attempting to fire upon the enemy with our cannon, I found them all nailed: of which piece of treacherous villainy, 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, he ſoon after not only ſet him at liberty, but preferred him to a gunner's place of greater importance.

For this reaſon I was forced to be an idle ſpectator of the miſerable ſlaughter of our men, not being able to lend them the leaſt aſſiſtance; and if the Negroes had at that inſtant ſtormed 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 help relating a comical accident which happened: going to viſit the poſts of our fort, to ſee whether every body was at their duty, one of the ſoldiers quitting his poſt told me, that the Negroes, 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 grenadoes. I had no ſooner ordered him two, than he called out to the Negroes from the breaſt-work in their own language, telling them he would preſent them with ſomething to eat; and kindling his grenadoes, immediately threw them down amongſt them; they obſerving them to burn, crowded about them, and were at firſt very agreeably diverted; but when they burſt, they ſo galled them, that they had no great ſtomach to ſuch another meal.

But now to come to the Commanian war, upon which, ſince our whole welfare ſeems to depend, you muſt not think me tedious if I am very particular; it being impoſſible for you to comprehend or form any notion of it without you are thoroughly informed of its original ſource. Wherefore I ſhall look back as far as the government of your very good friend —— (deſiring you not to be diſpleaſed, if I mention ſome diſagreeable particulars; for I aſſure you that I will not tranſgreſs the leaſt tittle beyond the naked truth). He found this place in a flouriſhing condition and in peace, though not firmly eſtabliſhed therein. But long-ſighted obſervers could eaſily diſcern the coals of diſcord kindling amongſt the Commanians, which was ready to burſt out into an open war upon the leaſt occaſion, as indeed they had done in Mr. ——'s time, if not prevented by his ſervant, who was brother to the King of Commany. But Mr. —— being gone, and the mentioned ſervant not only excluded out of all negociations, but ill-treated beſides; the Commanians only wanted a pretext of breaking with us to put their deſigns in execution. The year 1694 afforded them their wiſhed opportunity: for ſome miners being ſent to us from Europe, they were ordered to make an eſſay at a hill ſituate in Commany about half a mile above our fort Vrendenburg, that mountain ſeeming to be well placed for their purpoſe, and withal promiſing to reward their pains.

This hill was at that time dedicated to one of their gods, though there was ſcarcely ever any talk of any ſuch thing before; but this was only a pretence that they made uſe of to declare war againſt us. The miners began their work, but in a few days, apprehending nothing, they were aſſaulted, miſerably abuſed, robbed of all they had, and thoſe who were not nimble enough, kept priſoners for ſome time. We immediately complained of this ill-uſage to the King of Commany, who was villainous enough to remove the blame from his own door, and fix it upon one John Kabes, a Negro, who lived near our fort, and with whom we always traded very conſiderably; urging that he had done it in revenge for the ill-treatment he had met with from our former governor or chief commander. That this was only a feigned excuſe was very evident; for the mentioned Negro was ſo arrant a coward, that he durſt not have

ventured

ventured on an attempt ſo dangerous without the King's expreſs command. But the King was reſolved to break with us, and becauſe he could find no better excuſe made uſe of this.

Mr. ——, without any farther enquiry, reſolved to go to Commany in perſon, in order to take ſatisfaction of John Kabes for the injury; to which purpoſe he took ſome of the forces of Elmina along with him; and being come to Commany, he immediately detached a party to John Kabes' village, who came out to meet them, leading a ſheep to preſent to Mr. ——, and clear himſelf of what he was accuſed: but ſeeing the Elmina 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 reſolved 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 run at random. It ſhewed the King of Commany our private, and John Kabes our profeſſed enemy; who, to revenge the injury done him, invited the Engliſh into Commany, giving them a dwelling-place about a mile from our fort in one of his ſalt villages; reſolving to ſettle them with the firſt opportunity in the old ruined fort that they formerly poſſeſſed, which ſoon after ſucceeded according to his wiſh. For the Engliſh are ſo well fortified there, that it will be impoſſible to remove them unleſs in time of war: for their fort is as large, and hath four batteries as well as ours; beſides which, it hath alſo a turret fit to be planted with guns, from which 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 hath already done our trade, every one knows who is acquainted with this coaſt; as alſo 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 deſired nothing ſo much as war, and the honour he hoped to get thereby, vainly promiſing himſelf that he ſhould ſucced as well as Mr. Swerts in 1687, who intirely conquered and ſubjected the Commanians, after they had in the war loſt their King and ſeveral of the greateſt men in their kingdom. The gentleman I am ſpeaking of deſigned the ſame, not conſidering the difference between the fortune and ſucceſs of the one and the other: notwithſtanding all which I dare aver that he might have ſucceeded if he had not been deluded by the too great opinion he had conceived of himſelf and his followers, and his too contemptible thoughts of his enemies; for he hired an army of Jufferians and Cabeſterians for leſs than 5000l. ſterling, which were twice as ſtrong as that of Commany, and conſequently might have ſubdued 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 threatened the Fantyneſe and Saboeſe, that after he had corrected the Commanians, he would give them a diſagreeable viſit. Theſe two nations, well knowing how conſiderably they were indebted to us, which, if they endeavoured to pay otherwiſe than by their continual villainies, was not owing to their want of will, but power; they ſoon embraced this favourable opportunity in joining their forces with thoſe of Commany; to ſupport which, they believed it 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 our auxiliaries, and the money they coſt us. This fight was much more bloody than the wars of the natives uſually are; for the greateſt part of the men we miſſed were killed, and the reſt taken priſoners, by which we were reduced to a miſerable eſtate, 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 have made any freſh

freſh attempt, if the enemies themſelves had not ſeaſonably played an opportunity into our hands by their inteſtine diviſions. The King's brother Tecki-Ankan (the preſent King of Commany) came over to our ſide, and was in a ſhort time ſtrengthened by the Adomians and other auxiliaries; which occaſioned a ſecond engagement, ſo warm on both ſides, that the victory was long dubious, till at laſt it ſeemed to incline on our ſide ſo far, that our army fell greedily to plunder; which being obſerved by Abe-Tecky the Commanian King (who excelled all his contemporary Negroes in valour and conduct, and had hitherto kept himſelf out of the fight and laid us this bait), he unexpectedly marched towards us with freſh forces, who had their muſquets turned the wrong way in order to deceive us; which took ſo good effect, that we, taking them for our friends, continued our greedy courſe of plunder, till the King came upon us, and his men turning their muſquets fired ſo briſkly at us, that they diverted us from the prey, and obliged every body to ſave his life as well as he could: thus leaving the Commanians a ſecond complete 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 Saboans; and, inſtead of irritating them, gained them by a bribe, as he afterwards was obliged to do, though in vain, I do not believe they would have concerned themſelves for the Commanians; by which means, after he had (which was very feaſible) extirpated the Commanians, he might with the ſame force have reduced the Fantyneans and Saboans to reaſon.

Our affairs 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 advice of thoſe whom the Company had entruſted, prudently reſolved, if poſſible, to put an end to the war, 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 advanced our trade, and ſpared the large ſums we were obliged to diſburſe in the following war. But the Engliſh here envying our happy concluſion of the war, and fearing it would not much conduce to their advantage, contrived methods to break the peace. The means which they chiefly hit upon, and practiſed, were to poſſeſs the King, that, conſidering his two victories, he ought rather to aſk than give ſatisfaction, which they reinforced 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 entreat, but to buy a peace of him, 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 liſtened 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: upon which, he renewed his old courſe, and did as much miſchief as ever. This we patiently ſuffered for ſome time, vainly expecting relief from fair means; but the longer we depended on them, they ſerved only to augment his outrages, and oblige us to have recourſe to forcible means, which were now become abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve our character amongſt the reſt of the nations of this country; and accordingly we began to think of warmer meaſures. And, in conjunction with other perſons pro-

per to be conſulted, it was reſolved to bring a conſiderable force into the field, which ſhould, to make ſhort work at once, be able to chaſtiſe the Commanians; for this end, we were of opinion, that as the Fantyneans lived now 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 on occaſion. We treated with them accordingly, and at laſt, in conſideration of the value of nine hundred pounds ſterling, to be paid to them, they obliged 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 quaſhed 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 Cabocors to Fantyn, and prevailed with that people, for exactly the ſame ſum as we had before given them, to ſtand neuter; which being only oppoſed by the Braffo, they ſoon diſpatched him out of the way, ſubſtituting immediately another in his room. To one who knoweth how common and trivial a crime perjury is amongſt the Negroes, it will not appear incredible, that they ſhould rather ſtand ſtill for one thouſand eight hundred pounds than for nine hundred. Thus our hopeful negotiation ended with the irrecoverable loſs of our money.

The Commanians, for this reaſon, growing more arrogant, began to inſult us more 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 Acaniſtians and Cabeſterchians (who were alſo by contract obliged to our aſſiſtance), agreed only not to ſtir one foot from home. Being thus diſappointed, we caſt our laſt anchor, and agreed with the Dinkiraſchians 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 obliged 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 ourſelves, though 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 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 offered itſelf. The before-mentioned brother of the King of Commany, who, for ſome piece of villainy (as it is reported), had, together with his wife and children, been ſent as ſlaves to Suriname by Mr. ——, but, declared free by the Company, were brought hither again. Upon his arrival, we employed him to ſound whether his brother was moſt inclined to war or peace, by which means we found, that he being tired with the former, would be very willing to accept the latter: making uſe of this opportunity to our entire ſatisfaction, we concluded a peace upon very honourable and good terms; neither ſide deſiring 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 begun to reliſh the pleaſure of our new tranquillity, and learned to prefer a proſperous eaſe before a pernicious war; when the Engliſh here being diſguſted at it, or growing jealous that the King would adhere too cloſely to us, we being his old friends, and ſhake them off, or for ſome other unknown reaſon, they murdered him, in a manner eſteemed barbarous by all Europeans, when he came to divert himſelf amongſt them, 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: Tecki-Ankan, on the contrary, became their greatest friend; and, having a hand in his brother's murder, he fled from us and sheltered himself amongst 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 obliged to enter into a war on their account, and having too long found how fatal a war is to our commerce. They, however, went on with their design, hiring the Negroes of Saboe-Acany and Cabes-Terra, with which auxiliaries Tecki-Ankan came into the field, and engaged the Commanians with such ill success, that, notwithstanding the number of his men was quadruple to theirs, yet he was totally routed. The Commanians owed this signal victory to their general, Amo-Tecki, a Negro, who in valour equalled, if not exceeded, their murdered King.

Notwithstanding we had been hitherto perfectly neuter, the Negro general sent a civil message to our governor, together with several of the skulls of his vanquished enemies, in token that he had resolved to live and die in the service of the Hollanders; his messenger was civilly received, and after thanks and presents to the general, dismissed. Were I obliged to determine concerning this action, I must own that we had then the fairest opportunity in the world to obstruct the English, and resent their former injuries, if we had quitted Tecki-Ankan as he deserted us, and joined with the Commanians against them. But here was a Remora in the way: for one of the greatest villains of this country being then broker to the Campany here, had so gained the ear of Mr. —— our governor, 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 his carriage, where it was likely to end, were not afraid to offer us some injuries; by which means Akim (so the broker was called) gained his end; so he had now 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 alledged, that these of Fetu were justly punished, because they murdered some women of Elmina as they were passing by them; though it is very improbable, because the Fetuans protested themselves innocent of this 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 villainy, or that, after that, 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 affirmed, that the above-mentioned murder of the women was committed by the contrivance and command of Akim himself and Tecky-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,

though they reſented it as an abominable action, were not willing to diſcover their ſentiments when paſt, becauſe the blame muſt neceſſarily fall upon Akim, whom they knew to be villain enough to revenge himſelf at the expence of their lives: for which reaſon, they paſſed over it in ſilence.

By theſe unwarrantable practices our trade at Elmina was immediately ſtifled, and the Commanians and Fetuans were become our profeſſed enemies; which ſo animated the Engliſh, that inſtead of making peace with the Saboans, the ſtrongeſt of the two, they ſtrengthened 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 had not been obliged to retire out of the army by a wound he received; which ſo confounded them, that after they had began to put their enemies to flight, upon miſſing their commander, they betook themſelves to their heels in the utmoſt diſorder, leaving Tecki-Ankan and his followers an entire victory; their general and ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable amongſt them being killed and taken priſoners. By this ſucceſs Tecki-Ankan became King of Commany, and we, as well as the Engliſh, had a ſhare of advantage by it; though we might, if other meaſures had been taken, have done ourſelves much more conſiderable ſervices; 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 frailties as well as others. Thus I have ſaid enough of the Commanian war, and its true ſource, by which you may be the better enabled to ſpeak of it on occaſion, and though 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 aſcribed to his miſtaken opinion of his favourite Akim, than to any ill intention; but if you aſk how he became ſo fond of him, it is reported, that before he was preferred to the government, this wretch ſerved him with a fidelity uncommon amongſt the Negroes, which tinctured him with ſuch a ſettled good opinion of him, that he never could believe any thing againſt him. However it was, it is certain, that his fond affection to this 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 injured who repoſeth too much confidence in any one man, and deſpiſeth the good intentions of others to ſerve him.

I ſhall ſubmit this relation to your impartial judgment, and return to the end of Commany. Three little miles below our fort Vredenburg, at the village or town of Mina, is ſituate the caſtle of St. George d'Elmina, ſo famous throughout the world; it takes its name from the town, but why the Portugueſe, who were its baptizers, gave it this name, I cannot determine, for no gold mines are found for ſeveral miles about it; but if I may gueſs, I am apt to think it was becauſe here they found a great affluence of gold from all parts; which ſeeming juſt as if it came immediately from the mines, might probably induce them to give it this name, which it hath ever ſince kept. I cannot pretend to inform you exactly when they began to build the caſtle, but can only tell you, that we took it from them in 1638, and it is indeed juſtly become famous; for to ſpeak but the bare truth of it, for beauty and ſtrength it hath not its equal upon the whole coaſt. It is built ſquare, with very high walls, four good batteries within, and another on the outwork of the caſtle; on the ſide towards the land it is adorned with two canals, cut in the rock on which it ſtands, which are always furniſhed with rain or freſh water, ſufficient for the uſe of our garriſon and ſhips: beſides which, we have within the caſtle three very fine ciſterns, holding ſeveral hundred tuns, to preſerve rain-water, ſo that we are in no great danger of wanting that neceſſary element. Upon

the caſtle are placed —— heavy braſs-guns; beſides, the lower battery is filled with iron pieces, which are daily fired by way of ſalutation to ſhips, and on ſuch like occaſions. There is room for a garriſon of above two hundred men in this caſtle, as well as for ſeveral officers beſides, all which may be ſo conveniently lodged, that they would have no reaſon to complain.

Under, or before this caſtle, is the town of Mina, called by the natives Oddena; it is very long and indifferently broad; the houſes are built with rock-ſtone, in which it differs from all other places, they being uſually only compoſed of clay and wood. About fifteen or ſixteen years paſt it was very populous, and eight times as ſtrong as at preſent, the inhabitants being then very terrible to all the Negroes on the coaſt, and ſuch as could, under a good general, ſucceed in great undertakings; but about fifteen years paſt, 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 impoveriſhed, that it is hardly to be believed how weak it is at preſent, it not being able to furniſh out fifty armed men without the help of the ſervants of the Europeans; and there is no place upon the whole Gold Coaſt without ſome of the Negroes of Elmina, 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 ſcarcely 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 quickly be 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 hath, at our coſt, made himſelf ſo many friends, that he would certainly do more miſchief. This is what I am of opinion would ſucceed well if put in practice, and I heartily wiſh it for the good of our company, and all the poor people of the village; in which hope and expectation I conclude, &c.

LETTER IV. — *Containing a Deſcription of Fetu, and our Fort, together with the chief Place of Reſidence of the Engliſh, and another Fort there ſituated.—A Deſcription of Saboe, and Fort Naſſaw there; of Fantyn and the Places poſſeſſed by us, and the Engliſh.—The great Power and perverſe Nature of the Fantynean Negroes, by which we, as well as the Engliſh, ſuffer very much.*

SIR,

I WROTE to you —— my laſt, which, though it met with a tedious paſſage, I hope did not prove diſagreeable when it reached your hands, and ſince I ſent that, I am honoured with yours of the 24th, brought to the coaſt by a Zealand interloper. I cannot help obſerving, that, puſhed on by a very inquiſitive genius, you not only make uſe of all opportunities of writing to me, continually urging me to purſue my deſcription of the coaſt; but are always putting me in mind of anſwering by the ſame ſhip. But my very good friend, do not you know that I am forbidden the receiving of any letters from, or delivery of any to ſuch ſhips. I dare ſay you think there is no difference what ſhip brings the letter, if it be right delivered; well, to tell you the truth, I do not think the difference very great, and provided our company be not injured, I cannot ſee any crime in it; wherefore you may be aſſured that I ſhall ſlip no opportunity, and if you

pleaſe

pleaſe to continue the ſame care, the opportunities here, and in Europe, are ſo frequent, that we may be enabled, by the continual interchange of letters, to be always informed of each other's welfare.

From my former three, which in all probability you have received before now, you found that I am free enough, and conſequently need not be aſked twice: but to gratify your deſire as effectually as I can, I ſhall begin where I broke off my laſt, at the caſtle of Elmina, and ſo continue my deſcription.

Below, or next our caſtle, and by the village Mina, runs a ſmall river inwards towards the country, for about half a mile, the water of which, according to Monſieur Focquenbrog, is ten times ſalter than the ſalteſt brine or pickle: though I have, in the months of May and June, found it as freſh as rain-water: perhaps becauſe in theſe months the rains are ſo great, and the waters fall off the circumjacent hills into this river, as ſwiftly as a tide from the ſea, ſo that this place is very convenient for water-mills, the ſtream ſo running, that it would eaſily turn a mill. But what Mr. Focquenbrog affirms of the ſaltneſs of this river, muſt be underſtood in very dry ſeaſons: for the ſoil hereabouts being very nitrous, and the river very ſhallow, it is probable enough that the ſea-water in this river may be ſooner congealed into ſalt by the ſun, than in the main ſea, which the inhabitants have alſo obſerved: for they boil this water into ſalt, by which they gain conſiderably. This river ſeparates the country of Commany from that of Fetu. Near this, and in Fetu, is ſituate upon a high hill, called St. Jago, our fortreſs of Conraadsburg, which is a beautiful quadrangular fort, ſtrengthened, as moſt of ours are, with four good batteries, beſides four leſſer, which it hath in the outwall that encompaſſes it. In ſhort, here is cannon enough, and the fort is ſo ſtrong, that if it were well ſtored with proviſions, and well garriſoned, it would do very good ſervice: it has an indifferent high tower in the middle, which only adorns the building, but from the top affords a moſt beautiful proſpect of the circumjacent land and ocean, as well as uſefully ſerves to diſcover ſhips ſeven or eight miles diſtant at ſea.

Before any fort was built upon St. Jago, that hill was of great ſervice; it was from thence we chiefly obliged the caſtle of St. George to ſurrender, for our cannon planted there perfectly commanded the caſtle; wherefore we ought to be nearly concerned for the defence and preſervation of this fort and hill; for theſe once loſt, the caſtle of St. George could not hold out long, and accordingly therefore as much care is always taken of this as the caſtle itſelf, there being always an enſign left there with a good garriſon under his command. St. Jago being in Fetu, I ſhall here acquaint you that that land is forty miles long, and about as broad: it begins, as I have told you above, with the hill St. Jago, or the Salt River, and ends below the Daniſh Mount, paſſing by Cabocors. This country was formerly ſo powerful and populous that it ſtruck terror into all its neighbour-nations, eſpecially that of Commany, which it ſubjected to its government. But it is at preſent ſo drained by continual wars, that it is entirely ruined, and almoſt owns the Commanians its maſters, the King of Fetu nor his nobles not daring to ſtir without the permiſſion of the King of Commany; the greateſt cauſe of which is, that in the Commanian wars Fetu was divided, part of it adhering to the Commanians, and part to our ſide, and ſome of each being killed they ſuffered a double loſs, and were very much diminiſhed in the laſt battle, ſo that you may very well conjecture they cannot be very numerous; nor indeed are there enough to give this fine country its proper tillage, though it is ſo fruitful and pleaſant that it may be compared to Ante. Frequently upon walking through it before the laſt war, I have ſeen it abound with fine well-built and populous towns, ſo agreeably enriched with vaſt quantities of corn and cattle, palm-wine and oil, that it was not a little pleaſant to obſerve;

but

but what was moſt charming was, that it was ſo covered with ſmooth ſtraight paths, and trees ſtanding ſo thick together, from Elmina to Simbe (a village about a mile and a half up the Fetuan country), that I have been ſheltered both from ſun and rain. The beautiful lofty trees on the hills, and freſh rivers in this country, do not a little adorn it. In ſhort, this land very well deſerves its ſituation ſo near our chief place of reſidence.

The inhabitants all apply themſelves without any diſtinction to agriculture; ſome ſow corn, others preſs oil and draw wine from the palm-tree, with both which it is plentifully ſtored. About three miles on foot, or two long ones by ſea from this place, at the town of Ooegwa, or according to others, Cabacors, which is a cape bearing out at ſea, is the Engliſh chief fort, which next to that of St. George d'Elmina is the largeſt and moſt beautiful on the whole coaſt; within, it is well furniſhed with fine and well-built dwelling-places; before it they have alſo built a high turret to ſecure the lives of the people of the town, in caſe of an invaſion of hoſtile Negroes. The fort is ſtrengthened with four very large batteries, beſides a fifth, on which are planted thirteen pieces of heavy cannon, and theſe being pointed at the water-paſſage, can eaſily prevent any ſhips of their enemies' anchoring in that road; beſides which, a great rock lies juſt before the fort, ſo that it is impoſſible to ſhoot at it from the ſea.

The worſt of all is, that here is generally but a very weak garriſon; one part of which (I mean the ſoldiers) conſiſts of ſuch miſerable poor wretches, that the very ſight of them excites pity. They look as awkward and as wriſled as an old company of Spaniards; the reaſon of which is, partly, that they greedily entertain thoſe who quit or deſert our ſervice; which they will never deliver over to us out of a miſtaken mercy, thereby freeing them from their deſerved puniſhment. And though by firm promiſes and mutual agreement, we have frequently and interchangeably obliged ourſelves not to countenance or entertain any deſerters from each other, but on the contrary to ſend them home in irons, yet they have once more broken the articles; and notwithſtanding that thoſe who run away from us are chiefly ſottiſh wretches, yet they are very welcome to them; the Engliſh never being better pleaſed than when the ſoldier ſpends his money in drink, eſpecially in punch; a liquor made of brandy, water, lime-juice and ſugar, which make altogether an unwholeſome mixture. Some of the agents make a conſiderable advantage of ſelling this liquor by their emiſſaries under-hand; for the ſoldier pays double its value, and thoſe who ſpend but a little money that way, are ſure to be very well beaten, they taking no care whether the ſoldier at pay-day ſaves gold enough to buy victuals, for it is ſufficient if he have but ſpent it in punch; by which exceſſive tipling and ſorry feeding, moſt of the garriſon look as if they were hag-ridden. This is a fault which ſome greedy agents will not correct, becauſe they would loſe too much by an alteration.

It is very well known that you are a learned phyſician, but I cannot tell whether you are of Mr. Bontekoe's opinion, who ventures to ſay that moſt men ſhorten their days by an irregular way of living, but this muſt be candidly interpreted: however, you underſtanding this beſt, I ſhall leave it to you to determine; but if our mentioned author means ſuch irregular lives as the Engliſh live here, I ſhould make no difficulty to declare for his doctrine. It is incredible how many are conſumed by this damnable liquor (pardon the expreſſion), which is not only confined to the ſoldiery, but ſome of the principal people are ſo bigotted to it, that I really believe for all the time I was upon the coaſt, that at leaſt one of their agents, and factors innumerable, died yearly. So that if the ſtate of health in Guinea be computed by the number of Engliſh which die here, certainly this country muſt have a much more unhealthful name in England, than

than with us; and to tell an Engliſhman that their illneſs proceeds from their debauches in this liquor, would ſignify juſt as much as to inform them that the exceſſive eating of fleſh (of which they are ſuch great lovers) is very prejudicial to human bodies. But enough of this.

Under the Engliſh fort is the before-mentioned town, which was formerly well peopled; but this, as well as all the others, has ſuffered very much in the Cammanian war; beſides that the multiplicity of Engliſh interlopers hath continually ſtript it of its inhabitants; for when they come hither, they always take ſome of them with them to Fida, to aſſiſt them in buying of ſlaves; after which, they liking the place, live there, and ſeldom remember to come home again, ſo that at preſent the village is half waſted, and the houſes are in a ruinated condition.

Behind this town the Engliſh have a large tower, upon which are planted ſix pieces of cannon, and garriſoned I believe with about as many men. This doth, or ſhould ſerve, as they ſay, to keep the Negroes of the town in awe, as well as defend them from all other Negroes their enemies, that come from the in-land country; but in my opinion, it is a perfect unneceſſary charge, their caſtle being ſo high that it will eaſily perform that office alone.

Under the Engliſh fort is a houſe, not unlike a ſmall fort, with a flag on it and ſome cannon; this is inhabited by an Engliſh Mulatto, by name Edward Barter, who hath 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 large number of armed men, ſome whereof are his own ſlaves, and the reſt freemen that adhere to him; ſo that his intereſt is at preſent ſo great that he is very much reſpected, honoured and ſerved 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 hath acquired by the advantage he hath of reading and writing, might very well paſs for one; but his courſe of life is utterly contradictory, for though he is lawfully married in England, he hath above eight wives and as many miſtreſſes. But this the Engliſh muſt not take for diſhoneſt or irreligious, ſince moſt of their chief officers or governors follow the Mulatto's example pretty cloſely, for I believe that two of the preſent agents have about ſix.

Upon the Daniſh Mount (ſo called becauſe the Danes poſſeſſed it before the Engliſh), is another Engliſh fort, of which they boaſt as much as we do of ours of St. Jago, but without the leaſt reaſon, for it lay four years more like a deſolate country cottage than a fortreſs, its ſhattered walls being mended with clay, and its houſe within covered with reeds, as thoſe of the Negroes; and if I were an utter ſtranger to the ſlovenlineſs of the Engliſh, I ſhould admire why they are ſo careleſs of a place of ſo great an importance; for if an enemy becomes maſter of this hill, and plants but ſix pieces of cannon there, he is conſequently maſter of Cabacors alſo, it lying ſo far at his mercy that he may from hence level it with the ground; and yet it continued in this ridiculous condition all the laſt war, and might eaſily have been taken by twelve men; and really we cannot help wondering here to ſee the Engliſh regard nothing ſo much as enriching themſelves at the expence of their maſters.

But at laſt, it ſeems, ſome well-meaning officer has informed the gentlemen of the African Company in England, of the wretched ſtate of this fortreſs; for in the year 1699 expreſs orders came to repair and put it in a poſture of defence; and ever ſince they

they have been rebuilding of it, having entirely pulled down the old one. The agents obliged me with a ſight of the model, purſuant to which that already finiſhed is built, as the whole is intended; and by this I perceive they do not deſign to take up a large compaſs of ground; but when finiſhed it will be ſo ſtrong that no fort on the coaſt will be comparable to it. The form of it, and the natural ſtrength of the hill, which they intend to cut ſteep, ſo that but one acceſs to it ſhall be left, will render it ſo ſtrong, that if well ſtored with proviſions, and well garriſoned, it cannot be taken without great difficulty; which will be yet augmented if we conſider that the enemies, being unaccuſtomed 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 finiſhed the Engliſh may ſafely depend on it: but the building advances ſo ſlowly, that heaven knows when that will be. But to leave the Engliſh to ſhift for themſelves, and to come to our deſcription of Saboe, which begins at the bottom of this hill, and ends about half a mile below Mouree, being in its whole extent along the ſhore hardly two miles long, and about twice as broad. From the Daniſh Mount it is about a little half mile to Congo, where we formerly had a fine ſtone houſe, divided and ſituated upon two hillocks, where our flag was planted, of which there is only a ſmall remainder left, ſufficient to prove our propriety; and indeed we cannot expect any other advantage by building in this place than to keep out other Europeans; for if any of them ſhould ſettle here, they might very much prejudice our trade at Mouree.

Saboe is about equal in power with Commany, and its inhabitants exactly as great villains, we being obliged to blame their King, next the Engliſh, for the miſcarriage of our deſign againſt Commany. For this ignominious wretch, under pretence of being moderator betwixt the Commanians and us, abuſed us ſeveral times by dilatory and fraudulent means, which, though we plainly ſaw, yet we were afraid to reſent, leaſt, inſtead of a feigned friend, we ſhould make him our profeſſed enemy; and for this reaſon, we were obliged, not only to paſs by his mean-ſpirited frauds unobſerved, but ſometimes alſo to make him a preſent.

The kingdom of Saboe produceth, in great abundance, corn, jammes, potatoes, and other fruits of the earth; with which, and palm-oil, about an hundred Canoas are daily laden at Mouree, bound for Axim and Acra.

At Mouree, about half a mile below Congo, ſtands our fort Naſſaw, built by ourſelves, which was our chief place of reſidence when the Portugueſe had Elmina; and really if Elmina were not in being, we needed not to be aſhamed to own this for our chief fort. It is almoſt ſquare, the front being ſomewhat the broadeſt; it is provided with four batteries and eighteen pieces of cannon; the walls are higher than thoſe of any fort, except Elmina, upon the whole coaſt; the curtain takes in the two ſea-batteries, and is ſo ſpacious and convenient, that we might eaſily make ſuch a battery as the Engliſh have at Cabocors: but its greateſt ornaments and conveniences are the four towers placed at its four corners. To be ſhort, this fort is next Elmina, which is our beſt. It was formerly garriſoned by ſeventy or eighty men; whoſe number at preſent is very much diminiſhed, though there are enough ſtill left to defend it againſt the Negroes.

The village Mouree, lying under it, is not ſo large as Elmina, but more populous; the greateſt part of its inhabitants are fiſhermen, who go out every morning four or five hundred Canoas to fiſh, and, upon their return, are obliged to pay the fifth fiſh as a toll to our factor, who governs this town. This ſort of toll we yet reſerve at three places beſides, viz. at Axim, Chama, and Elmina, by reaſon we have conquered theſe places, though I dare not affirm that of Mouree. No other Europeans have this pe-

culiar prerogative, nor do any of them exercise such a sovereign authority over their Negro subjects as we; which is indeed chiefly their own fault, and, by their means, we have also lost some of our former power.

Before I leave Saboe, I must inform you, that its natives have been longest known to our Company, whose directors have seen two of their ambassadors at Amsterdam, though so long ago, that I know nothing of their reception or their errand to Holland; of both which the present King is as ignorant as myself.

I designed to have ended this letter with the Saboan county, but having time enough on my hands to describe the Fantynean land, I shall take this opportunity to do it. This country borders on the west of Saboe, the Iron Mount, half a mile below Mouree, being its extremity: this hill is about a quarter of a mile long, and hath on its highest part a charming walk so thickly shaded with trees, that the light is obscured at noon-day. From the foot of this hill Fantyn extends itself about nine or ten miles along the sea-side, being also some miles broad.

The English have a fort in this country, besides three lodges, as we have a fort here also. The first English flag which offers itself to our view in our descent, is at Ingenisian, where the entire garrison consists of *one whole* English-*man*, who lies here: Is it possible for him to preserve the honour of the flag?

Half a mile below this, at Annamabo, the English have a small, but very neat, compact fort; near which, the road is always full of English ships. This place would afford a considerable gold and slave-trade, if the English interlopers did not carry it very near all, and the Zeland interlopers are sure to make use of what opportunity the others leave.

The English here are so horribly plagued by the Fantynean Negroes, that they are sometimes even confined to their fort, not being permitted to stir out. And if the Negroes dislike the governor of the fort, they usually send him in a Canoa in contempt to Cabocors; nor are the English able to oppose or prevent it, but are obliged to make their peace by a present. The town Annamabo may very well pass for the strongest on the whole coast, affording as many armed men as the whole kingdom of Saboe or Commany; and yet in proportion but a fifth part of Fantyn.

If the Fantyneans were not in perpetual civil divisions, the circumjacent countries would soon find their power by the irruptions into their territories. Besides that this land is so populous, it is very rich in gold, slaves, and all sorts of necessaries of life; but more especially corn, which they sell in large quantities to the English ships. This great opulency has rendered them so arrogant and haughty, that an European who would traffic with them is obliged to stand bare to them.

Here is no king, the government being in the hands of a chief commander, whom they call their Braffo, a word importing leader. He is a sort of chief governor, and has the greatest power of any in the whole land, but is somewhat closely restrained by the old men, who are a sort of national counsellors, not unlike some European parliament, acting perfectly according to their inclinations, without consulting the Braffo; besides these, every part of Fantyn hath also its particular chief, who will sometimes scarce own himself subject to the Braffo, who hath the ineffectual name of supreme power.

The inland inhabitants, besides trading, are employed in tillage and drawing of palm-wine: of which they have a sort here called Quaker (which signifies the same as in English), from its extraordinary exhilarating qualities, which are experienced by those who take large draughts of it; it is sold at double the price of the common sort, and so greedily bought up, that there is seldom enough for the demand.

The

The Negroes of Fantyn drive a very great trade with all ſorts of interlopers, and that freely and boldly in the ſight of both nations; I mean the Engliſh and Dutch, neither of them daring to hinder it: for if they ſhould attempt it, it would ruin them there, we not having the leaſt power over this nation. There are, I believe, four thouſand fiſhermen in this country.

But to proceed on our journey; about half a mile farther, we come to Adja, a village, where, as well as formerly at Annamabo, we had a fort, till by treachery we were forced out of it by the Engliſh, who being jointly engarriſoned with our men, treated them in a barbarous and cruel manner. The Engliſh have planted their flag upon a Negro's houſe here, and their Company hath one factor here to buy millet of the Fantyneans for their ſlave-ſhips; but he finding greater profit in trading with the interlopers, can ſpare his maſter's ſhips but a ſmall ſhare.

A little lower, juſt at the village, juſtly called Little Cormantyn, ſtand sour fortreſs Amſterdam, the chief reſidence of the Engliſh, till they were driven from thence by Admiral De Ruyter, anno 1665. This fort being ſufficiently large, is ſtrengthened by three ſmall and a fine large battery, containing twenty pieces of cannon. The governor ſet over this fort is a chief factor, as that of Mouree. A moderate charge would very much improve this fortreſs; but the commerce of the place not being ſufficient to bear the expence, it is better to let it alone. This village is ſo ſmall and wretchedly poor, it is not worth our thoughts. But Great Cormantyn, a town which lies a cannon-ſhot below our fort upon a high hill, is ſo large and populous, that it very well deſerves the name of great: all the inhabitants, beſides mercantile traders, are fiſhermen, amounting to the number of ſeven or eight hundred, and ſometimes one thouſand. From this place the country of Fantyn reaches ſeven or eight miles on the ſhore, being all the way repleniſhed with ſmall villages, very pleaſant to obſerve in paſſing by in a Canoa.

At the end of Fantyn, the Engliſh, two years paſt, planted another flag, and began to build a fort; whether their expectations were not ſatisfied, or they could not agree with the Negroes, is uncertain, but at preſent they are endeavouring to remove all the materials from thence, which the Negro commander-in-chief hath hitherto hindered; and how it will end, time muſt diſcover.

From what I have ſaid, you may be informed what places the Engliſh and we poſſeſs in Fantyn, both of us having an equal power, that is, none at all. For when theſe people are inclined to it, they ſhut up all the paſſes ſo cloſe that not one merchant can poſſibly come from the in-land country to trade with us, and ſometimes, not content with this, they prevent the bringing proviſions to us, till we have made peace with them. They have a hank upon us, we having formerly contracted to give them a good ſum of ready money, beſides 300 guilders for every one of the Company's ſhips which for the future ſhould bring any goods hither, in conſideration of their aid in the taking Fort Amſterdam, and other auxiliary aſſiſtance: but in this contract it was particularly ſtipulated, that ſlave-ſhips ſhould be excepted from paying any thing; notwithſtanding which they are now become ſo unreaſonable, that they will make no difference between ſlave-ſhips and others, obliging us equally to pay for all; and all our remonſtrances that it is contrary to the treaty are wholly ineffectual, for if we will live at quiet, we are always obliged to humour them. They alſo extort a good ſum from the Engliſh yearly; in ſhort, they treat us both alike. But having ſaid enough for this time, I deſire you to accept the repeated aſſurances of my ſervice, &c.

LETTER V. — *Deſcribing the Country of Acron, and our Fort there; Agonna, and the Engliſh Fort there; and laſtly, the great Kingdom of Aquamboe, and the Engliſh, Daniſh, and Dutch Forts in it; together with ſome remarkable Events in that Country.*

SIR,

MY laſt of the 27th —— concluded with Fantyn. The yet undeſcribed remainder of the Gold Coaſt contains the three following kingdoms, viz. Acron, Agonna, and Aquamboe. The firſt whereof borders on the Fantynean country; and in the middle of it, at the village Apam, in the year 1697, we began to build a ſmall fort, or rather houſe, now fortified with two batteries: to this we have given the name of Fort Leydſaamheyd, i. e. Patience, becauſe we met with ſufficient opportunity of exerciſing that virtue in building it, by the frequent oppoſitions of the Negroes. Our chief factor there, by the deadneſs of trade, and the depraved nature of the inhabitants, is ſo perplexed, that he hath enough to do to keep his temper. I never was ſo deceived in my expectation as by theſe Natives; they appeared ſo well at firſt, that by my advice the building of this fort was very much expedited, but I ſoon enough repented of it. Upon the two batteries are eight pieces of cannon, but its greateſt ſtrength and ornament is derived from a fine turret before it.

The village which lies under it is very little, and formerly, as well as now, only inhabited by fiſhermen. But this place, as well as all Acron, is very conveniently ſituated for trade; and if the natives were more tractable, might in few years become a populous town. Acron, as I told you, is a kingdom; but its King under the protection of his principal ſubjects, eſpecially his nephew and general: this is a moſt pernicious villain, whoſe ſavage humour occaſioned all the differences we have had, and the oppoſition we have met with here. I have ſeveral times diſcourſed with him, and though I could not diſcover any capacity in him that he was a man of the leaſt judgment, yet the whole council turns upon and centers in him. The reſt of the chiefs are all very good men, and are not for puſhing on war. The King, who is about ſeventy years of age, is an extraordinary good-natured man, with whom I have often been very merry: he is thought to be the richeſt prince in ready-money on the whole coaſt (except the King of Aquamboe), and yet I have obſerved him ſo meanly robed, that all he had about him was not worth half a crown.

The people of Acron ſeldom or never enter into war; for having choſen the Fantyneans for their protectors, none dare injure or attack them; by which they have a very good opportunity of tilling their land in quiet; and they accordingly huſband their time and ground ſo well, that every year produceth a plentiful harveſt, a great part of which crop they diſpoſe of to other countries. Harts, hares, partridges, pheaſants, and other wild-fowl and quadrupeds are here in great abundance, and very good. About three or four months paſt, three or four friends and myſelf had the diverſion of taking a hare in a manner not very common. Behind our fort, which is built on a hill, is a vale about a mile ſquare, where there were abundance of hay-cocks; here, about twilight we met a young hare, that, being purſued by my dog, took refuge in a hay-cock; in which, though we made a diligent ſearch, we could not find him, till at laſt burning the hay-cock, to our mighty ſurprize, we found the hare ſitting under the aſhes of the hay unhurt, and carried her alive with us to Elmina. From this accident, and the vaſt quantities of hares, I queſtion not but a good pack of exquiſite hunters would have very good ſport here.

Acron is divided into Little and Great Acron. Little Acron is that which we have deſcribed: Great Acron is further in-land, and its government is a ſort of republic, if not anarchy; and though theſe are two countries, and have no dependance on each other, yet they live in perfect amity.

A little below our fort a ſalt river takes its courſe in-land about a mile, which abounds both in fiſh and fowl, and is conſequently very pleaſant.

About a mile further eaſtward, in the country of Agonna, is a very high hill, called Monte de Diable, or Devil's Mount; to whom it is often preſented by the ſeamen, becauſe being very high, they often ſee it at a diſtance, long before they can reach it, when the wind is contrary. This hill is reported to be enriched with vaſt quantities of gold; of which it is alſo affirmed, that the Agonnaſian Negroes, after violent ſhowers, gathered it to a conſiderable value, the rain having waſhed it off with the ſand. This year one Mr. Baggs died at Cabocors, who was agent for the Engliſh, and entruſted with a more ample commiſſion than any of his predeceſſors, or the three together who uſed to govern, had been charged with 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 informed them of, and promiſed 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 purſued his deſign effectually, the Agonnaſians would have treated him and his men as ill as the Commanians did us; which, I believe, his ſucceſſors will wiſely conſider.

Agonna begins with or about this hill, and is at preſent, as it hath for ſome time paſt, been governed by a woman, with as much courage and conduct as other countries are ruled by men. I do not remember any other kingdom among the Negroes where the ſupremacy deſcends to females as well as males. This governeſs is ſo wiſe, that to keep the government entirely in her own hands, ſhe lives unmarried. But that ſhe may not remain a perfect ſtranger to the ſoft paſſion, ſhe generally buys a briſk jolly ſlave, with whom ſhe diverts herſelf; prohibiting him, on forfeiture of his head, to intrigue with any other woman: and when the youth has loſt his charms, or her paſſion palls, he is exchanged for another, though ſome will not allow her ſo honourable as to be ſatisfied with one at a time; if ſhe ſhould, it would diſcover a natural chaſtity and virtue, ſince, checked by no religion or law, ſhe is ſo perfectly miſtreſs of her favours, that ſhe may confer them on whom ſhe pleaſeth without fear or ſcandal.

About the middle of Agonna the Engliſh built a ſmall fort in the year 1694; it is covered with a flat roof, and hath four batteries, 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 Dickjeſchoof, a fort which wants another to defend it. The adjacent village, by ſome called Wimba and others Simpa, is about as large as other villages commonly are, chiefly inhabited by fiſhermen, and very agreeably ſituated amongſt trees. Trade is here at as low an ebb as at Apam; but when the wars in the in-land country come to an end, both places will be found well ſituate for commerce.

Agonna ſurpaſſes Acron in largeneſs, power, and riches; though in fertility and pleaſantneſs they are very near equal, only the former is adorned with a beautiful large freſh river, which both the Engliſh and Negroes affirm to abound as plentifully with oyſters and other fiſh, and all ſorts of apes, as any on the whole coaſt. Having not obſerved it myſelf, I am obliged to relate this on report.

We

We come next to the laſt country on the Gold Coaſt, namely, that of Aquamboe; the greateſt part of which is ſituated in-land; but I ſhall deſcribe it among the kingdoms of the coaſt, becauſe we have a daily and conſiderable traffic with them; and their King extends his power over the Negroes of the coaſt above twenty miles; and notwithſtanding theſe are governed by ſeveral Kings, I ſhall venture to add them to his territories, he equally exerciſing an unlimited ſovereignty over them and his own ſubjects. His arbitrary deſpotic power occaſions the proverbial ſaying, that there are only two ſorts of men in Aquamboe, of which the King and his friends are one, and their ſlaves the other; ſo that he wants no other attendants than thoſe of his own houſe.

The Aquamboe Negroes are very haughty, arrogant, and warlike; their power is alſo very terrible to all their neighbouring countries, except Akim: the nations under their power are miſerably tormented with the daily plundering, or rather robbing viſits, the Aquamboan ſoldiers make them, they not daring to oppoſe them in the leaſt, for fear the King, who never fails ſeverely to revenge his ſoldiers' quarrels, ſhould hear of it. Some time paſt the Aquamboan government was adminiſtered by two, viz. the old and young King, though the latter is excluded on pretence of his minority, by his father's brother, aſſiſted by his own mother, ſo that the uncle reigned in conjunction with his father. This double hierarchy was found extremely prejudicial to the ſubjects, who were ſure to ſuffer from the one as well as the other tyrant; till the year 1699, when the old King dying, the young one eſtabliſhed himſelf ſolely on the throne, utterly excluding the other, and reigning at preſent. The old King was a man of a wicked abject temper, and an inveterate enemy to the Europeans; and though he received from the Engliſh, Danes, and us, an ounce of gold, in recognition of the liberty given us by his predeceſſors 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 injured him, he was ſure to oblige us all three to ſatisfaction, by ſhutting up the paſſes ſo cloſely, that not ſo much as a ſingle merchant could get to us: ſo that it is not to be doubted but his death hath, and will contribute to the advancement of the European trade here; the preſent King being a more intelligent and rational Negro, as well as a friend to the Europeans, eſpecially the Hollanders; which plainly appeared in his dangerous illneſs, that 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 for ſome time, being roughly enough handled by our barber, but luckily almoſt cured: 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 hath a large number.

Exceſſive venery in his youth occaſioned his indiſpoſition; his wives who endeavoured to reſtrain him he rewarded with broken heads, though he hath too late ſufficiently repented of it; and it is indeed a pity, for he is a clean well-ſhaped Negroe, and in the flower of his age.

In the time of the old King, 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 informed 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 ourſelves to unneceſſary expence, 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 do not believe that a fort will ever be built there.

I have

I have before hinted to you, that we, as well as the Engliſh and Danes, have a fort at Acra; all which three may be reckoned amongſt the beſt forts on the coaſt. Steering our courſe eaſtwards, the firſt we meet with in our way is that of the Engliſh, which is a well-built ſquare fort, with four batteries; its walls high and thick, eſpecially on that ſide towards us ſomewhat thicker than ordinary: it is furniſhed with twenty-five pieces, the greateſt part of which are ſo ſmall and ſlight, that if they ſhould be attacked they would do very well to exchange them for twelve good heavy guns. This, like all the Engliſh forts, is very meanly garriſoned, as if it were ſufficient to build forts, furniſh them with cannon and neceſſary proviſions, without men, in which the Engliſh are every where deficient; and it were well if others did not follow too cloſely their example. But of that no more at preſent, not doubting but thoſe whom it concerns will in time amend that fault.

Within cannon-ſhot below this, lies our fort Creveceur; how proper it is for the reſidence of a chief governor, the trade thereabouts will decide. This fort ſurpaſſes the Engliſh in largeneſs and good guns, though about equal in ſtrength, except only that our walls are thinner than theirs, and conſequently cannot endure ſo great a ſhock; and indeed it is to be wiſhed that we may live in peace with that nation, for if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, both have here a convenient opportunity of continually exchanging very rough and warm ſalutations.

Exactly a cannon-ſhot below ours ſtands the Daniſh fort Chriſtiaanſburg; the only one they have on this coaſt, which was taken from them by the Negroes, anno 1693, when they entirely ſtript it and kept it for ſome time. This misfortune of the Danes was occaſioned by the death of ſeveral of their garriſon; and though we could not but bemoan their hard fate, yet it was really diverting to obſerve what work the Negroes made with the fortreſs; their commander Aſſammeni dreſſed himſelf in the Daniſh governor's habit, and cauſed himſelf to be complimented by that name; in acting which part he occaſioned ſeveral very comical ſcenes; he thundered at all the Engliſh and Zealandiſh interlopers by way of ſalute with his cannon, as if there would never be an end of the powder, and remained in poſſeſſion of the fort till two Daniſh ſhips arrived on the coaſt, when, by means of a very conſiderable preſent to the King of Aquamboe, but more eſpecially by our interceſſion, it was re-delivered to them; which ſervice they afterwards as baſely as ungratefully rewarded, but they were no great gainers by it; for to garriſon their fort, they were obliged to leave their ſhips ſo poorly manned, that they became a prey to the pirates in the ſight of Guinea.

This fort would be too ſtrong for the united force of the Engliſh fort and ours. It is a ſquare building, ſtrengthened 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.

It is now time to proceed to the more in-land part of Aquamboe. Though the Engliſh, Danes, and we have forts here, yet our authority is very ſmall, and confined within our own walls, ſo that the forts only ſerve to defend ourſelves; for if we ſhould make any attempts on the Negroes, they would certainly end in our deſtruction.

Each fort hath its adjacent village, diſtinguiſhed by its particular name, though the general one is Acra, the name of this country, which was formerly a kingdom, whoſe inhabitants were conquered by the Aquamboans, and driven to a place called Little Popo, which at preſent contains the remainder of the great kingdom of Acra.

It might be reaſonably conjectured, that the three ſeveral companies trading here, might be apt ſo to claſh with one another that it might be fatal to the whole commerce; but

but experience proves the contrary; for here is ſuch great plenty of gold and ſlaves, that no one is in danger of wanting his ſhare, and each is ſtocked with commodities which the other hath not, which very often tends to the promotion of trade.

At this place alone ſometimes more gold is received than on the whole coaſt beſides; and its traffic would be yet enlarged, if the Negroes of Aquamboe and Akim could agree, as they generally are at difference, the latter pretending a feudal right over the former, and ſubſequent thereto, demanding an annual tribute of them, which the Aquamboans will by no means ſubmit to; as knowing very well that a conceſſion of that nature may in time coſt them their whole country. But the King is ſubtle enough to know how by fair words and preſents to ſow diſſenſions betwixt the governing men of Akim, and thereby preſerve his dominions in peace and a proſperous trade.

Having formerly hinted the extent of this country, I ſhall now add, that the King and his nobles, or rather favourites, are ſo very rich in gold and ſlaves, that I am of opinion this country ſingly poſſeſſeth greater treaſures than all thoſe we have hitherto deſcribed taken together: the chief employments of the inhabitants are merchandize, agriculture and war; to which laſt they are particularly addicted.

Though the ſoil is ſufficiently fertile, yet they commonly fall ſhort of proviſions towards the latter end of the year, and are accordingly obliged to fetch them from other places.

They do not trouble themſelves with fiſhing, nor with the boiling of ſalt, though this country affords a vaſt plenty of it; that they leave to the Coaſt Negroes, who are either born here, or come from other places hither to live, and are very numerous and ſerve to people ſeveral fine towns; theſe, not content with fiſhing and the preparation of ſalt, drive as conſiderable trade with foreign ſhips as thoſe of Axim and Fantyn. The number of ſlaves ſold here at leaſt equals what are diſpoſed of on the whole coaſt (Annamabo not excepted); this country being continually in war with ſome of the circumjacent nations, who are very populous, and from whom they take a vaſt number of priſoners; moſt of which they ſell to the Europeans.

If I have before talked of Negroes who followed the wars, you muſt not from thence infer that they make that their whole employment: no, it is but one part I aſſure you, and all the Negroes in general are ſoldiers as long as the war continues, if at leaſt they are but able to buy arms, or their maſters beſtow any on them; and the war ended, each applies himſelf to his particular calling: but if there happens to be any of ſuch a turbulent nature that they cannot live out of the camp, they go to ſerve in the neighbouring wars; and theſe are in a ſtricter ſenſe called ſoldiers. Amongſt the fiſhermen there are very few ſoldiers, for they living upon the ſhore and under our protection, are not frequently attacked by enemies, and therefore are ſeldom furniſhed with arms.

Having run through the whole Gold Coaſt; I ſhall now, ſir, allow you time to entertain yourſelf with its deſcription, deſigning in my next to inform you of the in-land countries whence the gold is brought to the coaſt, as far as they have fallen under my cogniſance: in the mean-time, I hope what I have already done hath afforded you ſome ſatisfaction; in which expectation I remain, ſir, yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER VI. — *Treating of the Countries where the gold is digged; the cruel Wars and utter Deſtruction of ſome of them. — The Negroes Manner of ſearching for Gold. — The ſeveral ſorts of Gold. — How falſe Gold is bought, and how detected. — Of Gold Weights: and, laſtly, a Reflection concerning the digging of Gold; that it is feaſible to be done more ſucceſsfully and to a better Advantage by the Europeans.*

SIR,

BE pleaſed to accept this as a performance of my promiſe to deſcribe thoſe countries from whence the gold is brought: to which I ſhall add, the manner how gold is found or digged; the ſeveral ſpecies of it, and the weights it is weighed by: an account of the falſe gold, and whatever elſe falls under that head.

The firſt country which produceth gold is Dinkira, ſituate ſo far in-land that our ſervants are commonly five days in going from Elmina to it, and from Axim it is above ten days journey; not ſo much on account of its real diſtance from either place, as becauſe of the badneſs of the roads, to a degree which frequently obliges them to go double the compaſs of ground, that would otherwiſe be neceſſary; and that the Negroes either cannot or will not help.

This country, formerly reſtrained to a ſmall compaſs of land, and containing but an inconſiderable number of inhabitants, is, by their valour, ſo improved in power, that they are reſpected and honoured by all their neighbouring nations; all which they have taught to fear them, except Aſiante and Akim, who are yet ſtronger than they.

They are poſſeſſed of vaſt treaſures of gold, beſides what their own mines ſupply them with; either by plunder from others, or their own commerce; in which they are abundantly more expert than any other Negro: beſides which they have three countries in ſubjection to them; each of which produces ſome, though not ſo much gold, viz. Waſſa, Encaſſe, and Juffer; each of theſe borders upon one 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 Zaconde, about three years paſt, 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, Elmina, and Cabocors: wherefore the higher coaſt is not extraordinarily ſupplied with gold; for though there are ſome countries betwixt Dinkira and them which have gold mines; to inſtance, in Eguira 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 mixed with Fetiches, which are a ſort of artificial gold, compoſed of ſeveral ingredients; among which ſome of them are very oddly ſhaped: theſe Fetiches they caſt, in moulds made of a ſort of black and heavy earth, into what form they pleaſe; and this artificial gold is frequently mixed with a third part, and ſometimes with half ſilver and copper, and conſequently leſs worth, and yet we are peſtered with it on all parts of the Coaſt; and if we refuſe to receive it, ſome Negroes are ſo unreaſonable that they will undeniably take back all their pure gold: ſo that we are obliged ſometimes to ſuffer 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 obliged to it by neceſſity, or they are filled with the mentioned black heavy earth; with which the unſkilful are liable to be baſely cheated, receiving inſtead of gold frequently half the weight in this ſort of earth.

By what hath been ſaid, you may imagine how rich and potent the kingdom of Dinkira was. But a few months paſt it was ſo entirely deſtroyed, 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 obliged to take from the report of ſome of the Negroes; and the event hath 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 Negroes with a contemptible eye, eſteeming them no more than its ſlaves; which rendered it the object of their common hatred, each impatiently wiſhing its downfall; though no nation was ſo hardy as to attack it, till the King of Aſiante, injured and affronted by its governor, adventured to revenge himſelf on this nation in a ſignal manner.

The occaſion of which was this: Boſiante, the King of Dinkira, a young prince, whoſe valour was become the admiration of all the Negroes of the Coaſt, ſent ſome of his wives to compliment Zay, the King of Aſiante; who not only received and entertained them very civilly, but ſent them back charged with ſeveral very conſiderable preſents to expreſs his obliging reſentment of the grateful embaſſy: and being reſolved to return his obligation, he ſome time after ſent ſome of his wives to compliment the King of Dinkira, and aſſure him of the great eſteem he had for his perſon. Theſe Ambaſſadreſſes were not 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 ſuffered her, together with the reſt, to return to their country, and their injured 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. After he was made ſenſible of the King of Aſiante's reſolution, knowing very well whom he had to deal with, he heartily wiſhed he had not been guilty of the crime; but ſince it was done, he offered him ſeveral hundred marks of gold to put up the injury. The enraged Prince, deaf to all ſuch offers, prepared himſelf for a vigorous war, by raiſing a ſtrong army, in order to make a deſcent on Dinkira; and not being ſufficiently ſtored with gunpowder, he bought up great quantities on the Coaſt. The Dinkirans 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 he 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 this year, being completely ready, he came with a terrible army into the field; and engaging the Dinkirans, who expected him, he beat them; but fighting them a ſecond time, he entirely defeated them. The Negroes report, that in theſe two battles above a hundred thouſand men were killed: of the Negroes of Akim only, who came to the aſſiſtance of the Dinkirans, there were about thirty thouſand killed; beſides that a great Caboceer of Akim, with all his men, were cut

off. What think you, Sir? Theſe are other ſorts of battles than are uſually fought betwixt the Kings here; who, if they ſhould oblige all their ſubjects, even the lame, decrepit and blind to come into the field, could not raiſe ſuch a number. The plunder after this victory took up the Aſiantines fifteen days time, as is ſaid, but perhaps largely enough; that 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 had ſeveral times ſeen the treaſure. This meſſenger of ours, who is now in the Aſiantean camp, hath orders to take an exact account of what he hears and ſees there; of which I wiſh I had a tranſcript, which I doubt not would furniſh ſome extraordinary matter: but to defer this to another time. Thus you ſee the towering pride of Dinkira in aſhes, they being forced to fly before thoſe, whom they not long before thought no better than their ſlaves, and themſelves being now ſold for ſlaves. We have not yet received the particulars of this whole affair; but this account of it coming to hand, I thought fit to impart it to you.

Next Dinkira, we come in order to the deſcription of Acanny, whoſe inhabitants, long before the Dinkirans, were famed for great traders; and brought the gold of Aſiante and Akim, together with ſome of their own, hither to market: and that which they vended was always ſo pure and fine, that to this day the beſt gold is called by the Negroes, Acanni Sica, or Acanny gold. They uſually came in company with the inhabitants of Cabeſterra, a country between them and Saboe, with their goods to Elmina, Cabocors, Mouree, Annamabo, Cormantim, and as far as the Engliſh village Simpa. Their gold was never mixed with Fetiches, like that of Dinkira, and therefore much more valuable; but they were very troubleſome to deal withal, though not ſo peeviſh and poſitive as thoſe of Dinkira, and always obliged us to comply with their own humour: but for three years paſt we have not much reaſon to complain of them, they not having traded for much: for they, on what account I am ignorant, 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 which out of ſlavery, they were obliged to ſtrip themſelves of all they were poſſeſſed 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 Aſiante, perhaps theſe may recover ſome of their ancient luſtre.

Akim is the next in our way, which furniſhes as large quantities of gold as any land that I know; and that alſo the moſt valuable and pure of any that is carried from this Coaſt: it is eaſily diſtinguiſhed by its deep colour. Acra at preſent carries away the greateſt part of this metal from hence; and from the Acrians alſo we have it very good and pure, without Fetiches or Kakeraas. Having ſeveral times heard that Akim was an extraordinary large country, I once took the opportunity of aſking ſome of the Akimeſe how many days journey their country was; they replied, that very few natives knew how far it extended in-land towards the Barbary Coaſt; which, according to what they told me, was incredible. This country, for as far as it is known to us, was formerly under a monarchical government; but the preſent ſucceſſor being yet but young, and betraying but too palpable ſigns of a cruel nature, hath 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: ſo that it is a ſort of commonwealth, which proves very well for Acanny and Aquamboe; for if the govern-

ment became monarchical, no diviſions would ariſe amonſt them, and they would be at leiſure to prey on their neighbours.

We have always eſteemed the three mentioned countries the richeſt in gold, but that there certainly are ſeveral more is undeniable. Aſiante is a convincing proof of this, which being but lately known to us, we find to afford more gold than Dinkira; alſo Ananſe, a country ſituate betwixt Aſiante and Dinkira, as there are undoubtedly many more, with which we are yet utterly unacquainted.

Awine muſt not here be forgotten. I take it to be the very firſt on the Gold Coaſt, and to lie far above Axim. From the inhabitants of this country we formerly uſed to receive large quantities of fine and pure gold; and they being the civileſt and faireſt dealers of all the Negroes, we traded with them with a great deal of pleaſure, but the Dinkirans, who would lord it over all their neighbouring nations, ſubdued this; ſince which time we have not received much gold of them. In the conqueſt of this land, the Dinkirans made a brave and obſtinate reſiſtance, and had no doubt been ſubdued themſelves if the natives of Awine could have been unanimous; for the Dinkirans in one battle with a governor of theirs loſt above two thouſand men, and left the mentioned governor ſuch an abſolute victory, that there was not a ſingle perſon left to carry the news to Dinkira, they being all killed with poiſoned arrows, which the Awineſe know very well how to uſe. Upon this defeat the Dinkirans got together a large army, which the victorious Awineſe underſtanding, ſent to his country-men for farther aſſiſtance; inſtead of which he met with nothing but deriſion, they accuſing him of cowardice; and replying, that he was able to beat the Dinkirans, but if he was beaten then it was their turn to come and fight them man by man. Thus fighting one againſt one they loſt their country and themſelves entirely, almoſt in the ſame manner that the Chineſe were conquered by the Tartars, whereas if they would have united they might eaſily have beaten the Dinkirans.

From what I have ſaid you may collect, that the gold is brought to us on the coaſt from in-land countries; and from the little that hath been hinted, you may alſo imagine how they are ſituated. I cannot inform you better, becauſe the Negroes cannot give any certain account of them, nor do any of our people go ſo far: wherefore, I muſt beg of you, my good friend, to be contented, and turn your eyes to what I ſhall preſent you concerning the gold itſelf.

There is no ſmall number of men in Europe who believe that the gold-mines are in our power; that we, like the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, have no more to do but to work them by our ſlaves: though you perfectly know we have no manner of acceſs to theſe treaſures, nor do I believe that any of our people have ever ſeen one of them: which you will eaſily credit, when you are informed that the Negroes eſteem them ſacred, and conſequently take all poſſible care to keep us from them. But to come nearer the ſubject: this illuſtrious metal is generally found in three ſorts of places: firſt, the beſt is found in or betwixt particular hills, and the Negroes apprehending where the gold is, dig pits, and ſeparate it from the earth which comes out with it.

The ſecond place is in, at, and about ſome rivers and water-falls, whoſe violence waſheth down great quantities of earth, which carry the gold with it.

The third is on the ſea-ſhore, where (as at Elmina and Axim), there are little branches or rivulets into which the gold is driven from mountainous places, as well as to the rivers; and after violent ſhowers of rain in the night, next morning theſe places are ſure to be viſited by hundreds of Negro-women naked, except a cloth wrapped about them to hide what modeſty obligeth. Each of theſe women is furniſhed with large and ſmall troughs or tray, which they firſt fill full of earth and ſand, which they

waſh with repeated freſh water, till they have cleanſed it from all its earth; and if there be any gold, its ponderoſity forces it to the bottom of the trough; which if they find, it is thrown into the ſmall tray, and ſo they go to waſhing it again, which operation generally holds them till noon: ſome of them not getting above the value of ſixpence, ſome of them find pieces of ſix or ſeven ſhillings, though not frequently, and often they entirely loſe their labour. Thus the digging of pits, the gathering it at or about the rivers, and this laſt mentioned manner, are all the ways they know to come at gold.

The gold thus digged or found, is of two ſorts, one is called Duſt-gold or Gold-duſt; which is almoſt as fine as flower, and is the beſt, bearing alſo the greateſt price in Europe: the other ſort is in pieces of different ſizes, ſome being hardly the weight of a farthing, others weighing as heavy as twenty or thirty guineas, though of the laſt ſort not many occur. The Negroes indeed tell us, that in the country, pieces as heavy as one or two hundred guineas are found. Theſe lumps or pieces are called Mountain-gold, which being melted, touch better than duſt-gold; but the multitude of ſmall ſtones which always adhere to them, occaſion a great loſs in the melting, for which reaſon gold-duſt is moſt eſteemed. Thus much of the good and pure gold, and now to touch upon the falſe. The firſt ſort is that mixed with ſilver or copper, and caſt into fetiches, of which I have before hinted: theſe fetiches are cut into ſmall bits by the Negroes, about the worth of one, two or three farthings. It is a common proverb, "That you cannot buy much gold for a farthing," yet even with that value in gold you may here go to market and buy bread or fruit for your neceſſities. The Negro-women know the exact value of theſe bits ſo well at ſight, that they never are miſtaken; and accordingly they tell them to each other without weighing, as we do coined money. They are here called Kakeraas, the word expreſſing ſomething of very little value, and the gold itſelf is indeed very little worth: for we cannot ſell it in Europe for above forty ſhillings the ounce, and yet it paſſes current all over the coaſt; and our garriſons are paid their ſubſiſtence-money in it. And for this they may buy all ſorts of edibles of the Negroes, who, mixing it with other gold, bring it to us again; and as ſoon as received, the clerks are ordered to pick it out of the other with which it is mixed; ſo that this ſtuff ſeems to paſs backward and forward without the leaſt diminution, notwithſtanding large quantities of it are annually ſent to Europe by the French and Portugueſe, beſides what we ourſelves ſpend: but the Negroes making them faſter than we export them, they are like to continue long enough.

The Negroes are very ſubtle artiſts in the ſophiſticating of gold: they can ſo neatly falſify and counterfeit the gold-duſt and the mountain-gold, that ſeveral unexperienced traders are frequently cheated, and by bought experience are taught how to know gold. Some pieces are caſt by them ſo artificially, that quite round for the thickneſs of a knife they are very fine gold, and the vacancy filled up with copper, or perhaps iron. This is a new-invented cheat of theirs; but the common falſe mountain-gold is a mixture of ſilver, copper, and a proportion of gold, extremely high-coloured, which very much facilitates the cheat: for being obliged to receive one or two pounds at a time, wherein the pieces happen to be very numerous, we cannot touch every one, and it looking ſo well, cauſeth it to paſs unſuſpected. Another ſort of falſe gold is alſo frequent amongſt them, which is nothing elſe than a certain powder of coral, which they caſt and tinge ſo artificially, that it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh it by any other difference than that of the weight. Of this powder they alſo make gold-duſt, but chiefly of the filings of copper, to which they give a very good tincture; though all the falſe tinged gold in a month or two entirely loſes its luſtre, and then we begin

to

to find that it is falſe: in which we are happier than in thoſe pieces covered over with gold; for they remain as we receive them, without any alteration, and conſequently that cheat is the moſt dangerous.

If you are deſirous to know how it is poſſible to avoid the reception of falſe gold, eſpecially if offered at night or morning, the methods we take are, firſt, if it is in large pieces, to cut them clear through with a knife, which immediately diſcovers what it is: if the piece be ſmall, like mountain gold, lay them upon a ſtone, and beat them with a hammer; and if made of coral, they will crumble into ſmall parts; but ſuppoſing it ſtand beating, you may afterwards try them with your knife; but in the ſmalleſt bits and duſt gold, this method is not practicable, though we have a tolerable way of diſtinguiſhing the coarſe from the fine; which is done by putting it into a copper baſon, and winnowing it with the fingers, and blowing it very ſtrongly; by which means the falſe gold will fly away, and the true fall into and continue in the baſon: upon repeating this trial three or four times, the falſe is eaſily ſeparated from the good.

It affords us matter of diverſion to obſerve, that moſt of the raw inexpert people (eſpecially ſea-faring men) who come hither, always bring aqua-fortis along with them to prove gold; but if theſe men remembered the common proverb, that there is no gold without droſs, they would ſoon grow weary of their weak proof, and follow the methods above-mentioned.

The ſign by which they pretend to diſtinguiſh the falſe from the true gold is, that after they have put it into a glaſs or earthen veſſel, they pour aqua-fortis upon it; which, if it be falſe, diſcovers it by its ebullition; and if mixed with falſe gold, by turning green. A miſerable trial indeed! which they will ſoon be convinced of: for example, if they take the value of four pounds in gold, a ſeventh, eighth, or tenth part of which is falſe, and pour their aqua-fortis upon it, let them, I ſay, obſerve whether their aqua-fortis doth not produce the ſame effect, though in leſs degree, as it would if the whole maſs were falſe; for which reaſon their proof is very uncertain, and the more impracticable, becauſe the operation is too tedious, and beſides very prejudicial to trade, to refuſe the good gold on account of an eighth or tenth part being falſe. I can aſſure you, that the preſent times will not admit of ſuch uſeleſs niceneſs. Wherefore the mentioned proof, by winnowing with the copper baſon, being ſufficient to defend us againſt falſe gold, is much to be preferred before melting it with aqua-fortis, and being at the trouble of drying it again; which the Negroes that have good gold would ſcarce ſuffer.

Having treated of gold at large, I am now obliged to ſay ſomething concerning the gold weights, which are either pounds, marks, ounces, or angels. In Europe, twenty angels make one ounce, though here but ſixteen go to an ounce: here are alſo Peſoes and Bendoes; the former of which contain four angels, and the latter two ounces; as four Bendoes make one mark, and two marks one pound of gold, computed according to the common value, exactly ſix hundred and ſixty gilders; though this at ſeveral times differs in proportion, its worth depending on its goodneſs, and its riſing and falling in Europe. Notwithſtanding all this, we conſtantly here reckon three marks of pure or good gold worth one thouſand gilders, and conſequently judge of the other weights in the proportion which they bear to this quantity. We uſe here another kind of weights, which are a ſort of beans, the leaſt of which are red, ſpotted with black, and are called Dambas; twenty-four of them amounting to an angel, and each of them reckoned two ſtiver weights: the white beans, with black ſpots, or thoſe entirely black, are heavier, and accounted four ſtiver weights; theſe they uſually call Tacoes; but there are ſome which weigh half or a whole gilder; but theſe are not eſteemed certain weights,

weights, but uſed at pleaſure, and often become inſtruments of fraud. Several have believed that the Negroes only uſed wooden weights, but it is a miſtake, all of them having caſt weights, either of copper or tin, which, though divided or adjuſted in a manner quite different to ours, yet upon reduction agree exactly with them.

My thoughts being taken up in deſcribing the weights, I forget to inform you how the gold is digged or found. I would refer to any intelligent metalliſt, whether a vaſt deal of ore muſt not of neceſſity be loſt here, from which a great deal of gold might be ſeparated, for want of ſkill in the metallic art; and not only ſo, but I firmly believe that large quantities of pure gold are left behind; for the Negroes only ignorantly dig at random, without the leaſt knowledge of the veins of the mine. And I doubt not, but if this country belonged to the Europeans, they would ſoon find it to produce much richer treaſures than the Negroes obtain from it; but it is not probable we ſhall ever poſſeſs that liberty here, wherefore we muſt be content with being ſo far maſters of it as we are at preſent: which, if very well and prudently managed, would turn to a very great account, of which I wiſh you no ſmall ſhare, and myſelf a long continuance of life to ſpend in your ſervice, &c.

LETTER VII. — *Containing a Computation how much Gold is annually exported from this Country; to what Places it is tranſported; and the Diviſion of the Trade with the Negroes.—What Officers are appointed in our Service; and the Names of other Employments: together with a general Liſt of the whole: and, laſtly, by way of Concluſion, a Deſcription of the Government of the Coaſt, and of the Council or Aſſembly of Counſellors.*

SIR,

MY laſt treated of the in-land countries from whence the gold was brought; how it was digged; its ſeveral ſorts; the falſe gold, &c. To purſue our ſubject yet farther, as I have told you whence it is brought, it is but neceſſary I ſhould inform you whither it is carried, and how much is yearly brought to the coaſt. As for the laſt, I dare affirm it as a real truth, that they not only can, but do yearly, in time of peace, deliver the quantity of ſeven thouſand marks of gold. This is a large ſum; but it is divided amongſt ſo many, each being ſure to get ſome, that the whole is ſoon diſpoſed of. The moſt juſt calculation of the diviſion that I can poſſibly make, is as follows: viz.

	Marks.
Our Weſt India Company yearly exports - - - - - - -	1500
The Engliſh African Company - - - - - - - -	1200

But this is to be underſtood of ſuch years in which the commerce of both Companies happens to be very briſk; and I do not believe our Company hath, for ſeveral years paſt, carried off above the half of this quantity.

The Zealand interlopers are ſure to carry off as much yearly as our Company: Namely,	1500
The Engliſh interlopers about - - - - - - - - -	1000

But the laſt have, for two or three years paſt, purſued this trade ſo vigorouſly, that they have exported above twice that quantity.

The Brandenburghers and Danes, in time of peace, both together, about	1000
The Portugueſe and French together, at leaſt, about - - - -	800
Which makes	7000

I ſay of the laſt at leaſt eight hundred marks, and it is really true; for the Portugueſe come on this coaſt, on pretence of ſelling their American commodities, viz. Brazil tobacco, brandy, and rum, and are beſides as richly laden as the interlopers themſelves, which is not to be wondered at; for they buy their lading, take their men on board, and fit out their ſhips in Holland: nay, to be ſhort, they are frequently fitted out at the expence of Dutch merchants, wherein the Jews have no ſmall hand, they knowing how to obtain a Portugueſe paſs: and theſe ſhips, when they come here to this coaſt, paſs for downright Portugueſe. How uneaſy this muſt needs be to an honeſt officer in the Company's ſervice you may eaſily imagine, when a factor, who commands one of our forts, ſhall receive certain advice, that ſeveral of the Negroe merchants are coming down, well-ſtored with gold, in order to lay it out with him, and that ere he arrives, is met by a Portugueſe or interloper; who, by ſelling cheap, ſweeps a great part, if not all their gold, whilſt we ſit ſtill with our goods on our hands, as if they were viſited by the plague. I do not tell you more than I have, to my ſorrow, experienced.

Thus I have made a rough calculation of the quantity of gold, which thoſe who underſtand the affairs of the coaſt will, I doubt not, be pleaſed with; but thoſe unacquainted with this trade, may, perhaps, think I have computed wrong: if I happen to ſee theſe gentlemen, I ſhall civilly deſire them to correct my computation; which no one having yet attempted, it is imparted to you for your ſatisfaction, and to the beſt of my knowledge as near the truth as I could bring it.

According to our reckoning then, there is brought hither and carried off exactly twenty three tun of gold, reckoning three marks to one thouſand gilders. But, as I told you, above all, this account ſuppoſeth a proſperous time when the paſſes are all open, and the merchants can paſs ſafe and uninterrupted; but when the Negroes are at war with one another, I do not believe that half this quantity is ſhipped off; and of this ſmall quantity the interlopers know very well how to come by their ſhare. And ſuppoſing our Company hath one fifth of the whole, yet when trade is low they cannot get by it, but muſt make up the deficiency by trading to other coaſts: but I hope, ere long, a way will be diſcovered of proſperouſly advancing our trade here, to the diſadvantage of the interlopers, which I cannot think very difficult; it conſiſting only in fixing a good government on the coaſt, and taking care in Holland that their ſhips be laden with good commodities, and proper for this place. However, I deſire you would not from hence expect a particular of what merchandizes are moſt vendable here; or that I ſhould acquaint you with the ſtate of trade here; that would be utterly incompatible with the faithful ſervice I owe our Company, I not knowing whether this Letter, by ſome unaccountable miſcarriage, may not light into the hands of the interlopers, who know very well how to uſe it to their advantage: and indeed they ſufficiently rob the Company of the right which the ſtates have given them on this coaſt; ſo that none of us ought to help them to further opportunities. Wherefore be pleaſed to ſatisfy yourſelf with an account in general, that to trade on this coaſt, about a hundred and fifty ſeveral ſorts of commodities are neceſſary.

In my third letter you have been informed that the caſtle of St. George d'Elmina is our chief place on this coaſt, and that the general, principal governor, chief factor, and chief fiſcal reſide there; before this caſtle alſo do all our ſhips which come from Europe caſt anchor and unlade; and we have accordingly very fine warehouſes fitted for their reception. This great ſtorehouſe is entruſted to the charge of our chief factor, and is ſometimes worth a very conſiderable ſum; and from hence all our other forts are ſupplied with their deſired commodities. I would not have you conceive that we

we ſet up a market with our wares, or ſend any of them to be ſold without our forts: no, that is not our buſineſs; but the Negroes come daily to our caſtle, or fort, with their gold; for which, after it is weighed, eſſayed and purified, they receive our commodities; none of which ever go out of our warehouſes before they are paid for, and if the factor will give any credit, it is on his own account, and he is conſequently liable for the value to the Company, that they may not thereby ſuffer; nor can he charge the preſents made to the Negro merchant to their accompt: but they, indeed, ſuperadd a certain advance to all their factors; from which they are not only enabled to make preſents to the Negroes, but may be beſides conſiderable annual gainers thereby, and this is done to encourage them to the more diligent ſervice. Beſides, the Negroes having neither carts, waggons, horſes, nor any other way to carry the bought commodities to their in-land dwellings than by men, for about two or three hundred pounds value in iron, copper, or tin, have occaſion for the aſſiſtance of fifty men: now whether there be not an advantage to be made of this by our men I leave you to judge, though the money got thereby is hardly enough earned, they being obliged for it to climb over hills and paſs very bad ways. Thoſe who come from the inward part of the country to traffic with us are chiefly ſlaves: one of which, on whom the maſter repoſes the greateſt truſt, is appointed the chief of this caravan: but when he comes to us, he is not treated as a ſlave, but as a very great merchant, whom we take all poſſible care to oblige, as very well knowing that he being a peculiar favourite of his maſter, may at pleaſure go to the Engliſh, Danes, and Brandenburghers, as well as come to us; for which reaſon we pay him double the reſpect we ſhould give his maſter.

Having heard what Negro chapmen we have to deal with, now let us conſider what officers and ſervants are by the Company appointed on the other ſide; and how many degrees of riſing we have on the coaſt. I flatter myſelf that this will not prove diſagreeable to you, becauſe it will afford a proſpect of what preferment your nephew may arrive to if he deport himſelf well.

Firſt of all, here are the ſoldiers with their commanders; out of which formerly the beſt qualified for merchandize and the pen were choſen to ſerve the Company as aſſiſtants; by which means one with whom you and I are very well acquainted, hath found opportunity to advance himſelf to almoſt the higheſt poſt here. But for ten or eleven years laſt paſt this hath not happened; becauſe the gentlemen of the Company finding that not only thoſe qualified, but ſuch as were utterly incapable and idle drunkards, were promoted, have ordered for the future no ſoldiers ſhould be preferred to the aſſiſtants places; they may become corporals, ſerjeants, or officers, and ſtand fair for all offices amongſt the train of workmen or in the ſea-ſervice; but an aſſiſtant may, in proceſs of time, be promoted to the government of the whole coaſt.

The office of aſſiſtant is the loweſt among thoſe concerned in trade or writing; the ſalary appointed for this ſervice is ſixteen guilders per month, and twenty guilders more for board-wages: his firſt ſtep to preferment is that of under-commiſſary or under-factor, with a ſalary of twenty-four guilders per month. By theſe ſub-factors moſt of the gold is received; for which they are accountable to the factor, or chief factor, or him to whom the trade of the place is entruſted in chief, who is alſo accountable to the Company; the general accompts of the whole coaſt being kept at Elmina, where there is alſo a warehouſe-keeper, who hath all moiſt goods, as wine, beer, and brandy, &c. all edibles, as fleſh, peaſe, beans, oats, &c. under his keeping, and is entruſted with the ſale of them: ſo that when a chief-factor or factor obſerves that his ſub-factor or warehouſe-keeper is inclined to extravagance, he is obliged to watch him very narrowly;

narrowly; for all that the Company ſuffer by him, the factor is obliged to make good: of which in leſs than four years paſt we have a freſh example, that one of my brethren, not unknown to you, in ſuch a caſe was obliged to make good about ſeven or eight hundred pounds, which he had not in the leaſt ſquandered. Thus a factor who hath ſuch ſort of men under him ought to look after them very carefully, or he may be ruined at once: it is true, indeed, that he hath his remedy againſt the guilty perſon; but what can that avail if he hath neither effects or money; which it rarely happens that any of theſe men have, for I do not believe that thoſe who can live on their means in Holland will ever come to ſuch a country as this; nor is it very probable that their friends in Europe will make ſatisfaction for their follies: ſo that the factor's laſt refuge is to bring the offender to condign corporal puniſhment, which will not in the leaſt contribute to his re-imburſement. Wherefore, as I ſaid before, his beſt way is to look cloſe after them, and ſtop them in the beginning of their extravagancies.

Out of the above-mentioned under-commiſſaries, the oldeſt in ſervice, or the beſt qualified, are choſen commiſſaries or factors to reſide at and command our out-forts, and take care of the trade there; with a ſalary of thirty-ſix guilders, beſides an allowance of ten guilders for a ſervant or two, and twenty guilders board-wages per month, beſides the certain before-mentioned advance on the trade.

The oldeſt and moſt experienced of theſe factors is promoted to Mouree and Cormantyn, his ſalary being raiſed to eighty guilders per month; ſuppoſing that upon being choſen by the council here, he be confirmed by the Company: who, not without good reaſon, have retained the ſupplying theſe important poſts to themſelves; as they have alſo that of the chief factor of Elmina, or the ſecond perſon upon the coaſt, who hath a ſalary of one hundred guilders per month. Theſe chief factors have alſo the ſame advance on merchandizes and board-wages, as the other factors; beſides which the ſecond perſon hath ten guilders per month allowed for a ſervant, and the general's or governor-general's table is at his ſervice. The choice or confirmation of theſe chief factors being reſerved to the Company, that upon the death of the governor, or ſecond perſon, they may have others ready, of whoſe fidelity they are very well ſatisfied, to ſupply their places; and the chief factor of Elmina having ſatisfactorily diſcharged that office three years, he may, if favoured by fortune, happen to be advanced (if it falls vacant) to the higheſt poſt of governor-general, who is entruſted with the Company's authority over the whole coaſt; of which he is director-general, with a ſalary of three hundred guilders per month, and a large perquiſite advantage in whatever is traded on account of the Company on the whole coaſt: ſo that when commerce is in a flouriſhing condition here, his poſt is very advantageous.

Till within theſe two laſt years, the chief factors of Mouree and Cormantyn had alſo the advantage of the ſlave trade of Fida and Ardra, which turned to ſome account, and was indeed more advantageous to them than the gold trade; the commerce there being at ſo low an ebb, that without the mentioned ſlave-traffic they could not live up to the port which the dignity of their poſts required, without ſuffering by it. But ſince ſome ill-meaning men have prepoſſeſſed the directors of the Company in prejudice of them, by urging that by this means they became too rich; for which reaſon they have thought fit to entruſt the ſlave-trade to the maſters of the ſhips which they ſend hither: the conſequence of which time will diſcover; but for my part I do not expect they will find it conduce much to their intereſt, for the commanders of ſhips, though very expert in all ſea-affairs, yet being unacquainted with the Negroes, will not be able to ſucceed very well: beſides that ſome of them are of ſuch a booriſh nature, that they hardly know how to preſerve the honour of the Company amongſt the Negroes. I would not

here be underſtood to ſpeak of them all, for there are ſeveral men of very good parts amongſt them: but the difference occaſioned by this new practice will clearly appear with reſpect to the other Europeans trading hither; and I cannot believe it will turn to the advantage of the Company. But of this enough: beſides the officers employed in the trade on this coaſt, there are the following offices:

Firſt, the chief fiſcal, whoſe ſalary is fifty guilders, and ten guilders per month for a ſervant, beſides the liberty of the general's table. Though the fiſcal's ſalary ſeems very ſmall, yet his perquiſite profits, if he is diligent, are very large; for all the gold or commodities unlawfully traded for on the coaſt is forfeit; of which his ſhare is one third part, whether the goods in queſtion belong to Europeans or Negroes; beſides a third part of the fines ſet upon the latter, and the forfeiture of wages inflicted on any offending officers or ſervants by the governor and council: all which put together amount to a conſiderable ſum. Next the fiſcal, the book-keeper-general takes place, whoſe province is to keep the great books, and the counter-parts of the accounts of all our forts or lodges on the coaſt; or in ſhort, to take care of all the Company's accompts in this country: his ſalary is ſeventy guilders, beſides ten guilders per month for his ſervants, and for a free table is allowed twenty-five guilders more. He is generally aſſiſted by an under-book-keeper, whoſe ſalary is thirty guilders per month, and two aſſiſtants. Next him is the book-keeper or accomptant of the garriſon, whoſe title ſufficiently explains his office, and his ſalary, equal to a ſub-factor's, is twenty-four guilders, though factors have thirty-ſix guilders; ſo to make amends he hath the power of ſelling by auction the effects of all perſons who die upon the coaſt, for which he is allowed five per cent. *ad valorem;* he is alſo commonly helped by an aſſiſtant. Sometimes here is alſo a ſecretary, whoſe ſalary is fifty guilders per month, and under him he hath three or four aſſiſtants, but in my time we contented ourſelves with an under-ſecretary, and the above-mentioned number of aſſiſtants.

The laſt and moſt contemptible office is that of under-fiſcal, commonly called by us auditor, though in his walks, informer, as he really is no better; his ſalary is twenty guilders per month, and to his ſhare falls alſo a tenth of all forfeitures; his perſon is had in utmoſt contempt by all, yet to honour him as much as poſſible he takes place of all the ſub-factors, as the fiſcal (who alſo is not the more loved on account of his office) doth of all the chief-factors, nay, even the ſecond perſon on the coaſt, though by the governor's leave that place not only belongs to the chief-factor of Elmina, but to thoſe of Mouree and Cormantyn.

Having run through our temporal ſtate, we now come to our ſpiritual preferments, which are but two, the firſt a miniſter, with a ſalary of one hundred, the ſecond a clerk, with that of twenty guilders per month, beſides which, the firſt hath ten guilders per month allowed for a ſervant, and a place at the governor's table. What do you think, ſir, do not we pay our clergyman pretty well? I will aſſure you if you think we live licentious lives, you are in the wrong, for we are very religious; we are obliged to go to church every day, on forfeiture of twenty-five ſtivers, except on Sundays and Thurſdays, when the forfeiture for omiſſion is doubled. But I know you will reply, this is a forced ſervice of God, and conſequently not always accompanied with the moſt ſincere intentions; and to confeſs the truth it is not much better, for were not the reſtraint laid upon us, ſome would rather pay a viſit elſewhere than to the church.

Theſe being all the officers and ſervants we have on the Coaſt, beſides workmen or labourers and ſoldiers, they are commonly ranked as follows:

The director-general: — The preacher always next the director: — The fiſcal: — The chief-factor: — Two or three chief-factors beſides.

Seven or eight factors: — Nine or ten ſub-factors: — Eighteen or twenty aſſiſtants: — (The number of theſe varies daily, ſo that there are ſometimes more, and ſeveral times leſs of each.)

A Warehouſe-keeper: — Accomptant or book-keeper-general: — Under-book-keeper: — Accomptant or book-keeper to the garriſon: — Clerk of the Church: — An auditor or informer.

There not being in all upon the whole coaſt ſixty perſons, one third of which are aſſiſtants, you may eaſily conclude that any perſon who comes hither in the ſaid aſſiſtanant's place, and behaves himſelf well, upon the death of ſome of his ſuperiors, cannot miſs being preferred to a good poſt; but how the greateſt part behave themſelves, and what ſort of lives they lead, will perhaps be more proper for another place. And therefore to conclude this letter, I ſhall only inform you how, and by whom this coaſt is governed.

The government or direction of the coaſt is principally veſted in the director-general as the ſupreme ruler, from whom all governors of the out-forts receive their commands, and ſubordinate to whom they are obliged to act, they not being empowered to tranſact any important affairs without his knowledge and entire conſent; but difficult affairs, or thoſe of greater importance, are cognizable to, and ought to be laid before the aſſembly of counſellors, or council compoſed of the director-general; the fiſcal, in other things beſides criminal caſes; the chief-factors; the enſign or banner-bearer, and ſometimes the accomptant-general, who jointly make up the council: to which are added the factors of the out-forts as occaſional or extraordinary counſellors. In this council every member is freely permitted to offer his thoughts on what is in debate; but a wary man will be apt to obſerve which ſide the governor is inclined to, and not eaſily be perſuaded to thwart him, whatever he thinks, leſt he ſhould fall under his diſpleaſure: this was ſo well obſerved during my ſtay here, that I believe there were very few reſolutions of the council, which were contrary to the governor's opinion: it is no very hard matter to believe this, ſince ſome reſpect is due to him, and beſides, many have found their accompt by this ſort of compliance, not thinking themſelves obliged to enquire whether it agreed with the intereſt of the Company or not; it was ſufficient that they ſerved themſelves; the ſhirt being nearer than the coat (according to the proverb), they could not ſee any great harm in it. But though this is their opinion, I have always had other ſentiments, though I have been ſometimes reſtrained from expreſſing them for reaſons which I ſhall hereafter give you. I have often ſmiled at the glittering title of the "Council of the North and South Coaſt of Africa," which you and others frequently give us, eſpecially when I conſider that we are nothing leſs, and though we have all the name have none of the power. I doubt not but you and moſt in Europe take us for a regular and well-managed council, and that nothing is tranſacted without our conſent. Alas! my good friend, how are you miſtaken! but if you would be informed how far the name and real thing agree, it is neceſſary you be firſt informed that a director-general is a perſon who governs all others from the higheſt to the loweſt on the coaſt with an arbitrary power; who may at pleaſure oblige his inferiors to ſubmit to his will, contrary to all reaſon: and to go yet farther, he can diſcharge them their offices and ſend them off the coaſt, without giving the leaſt reaſon for ſo doing. Such a director as I have deſcribed, coming into the council, and firmly reſolved to carry the thing to be debated; I would fain know who dare take the liberty to oppoſe him, knowing how dear it may coſt him, unleſs he be backed by others, which he hath no great reaſon to expect: wherefore every man

rather chooſeth to comply with a yea brother, than by contradicting the governor, to incur his diſpleaſure, and do the Company no manner of ſervice.

But if you aſk me why a director, reſolved to take no advice, but abſolutely follow his own inclinations, doth ever ſummon a council; I anſwer, firſt, that the directors of the Company may be informed that he did ſo, not knowing the uſe he made of that aſſembly. Secondly, when offenders are to be puniſhed with capital or corporeal puniſhments; that not being otherwiſe to be done than in form of law, And thirdly, for the government of the coaſt, which is reſolved and ſettled in the council, and leſt when any thing happens wrong the governor ſhould want an excuſe, he now being able confidently to alledge that he acted by the advice of the whole council, by whom it was alſo ſo reſolved, though their real opinions were at the ſame time as different from their ſuffrages as eaſt and weſt.

In ſhort, the council is of no other real uſe than to participate of the governor's faults, and to ſhelter him from being anſwerable for them. Thus it clearly appears that it is impoſſible for the Company's affairs to ſucceed under an an ill governor: wherefore, for the intereſt of the Company, I hope that its directors will for the future diminiſh the governor's power, charging him expreſsly to regulate himſelf more by the advice of the council; which, when the directors pleaſe to do, I cannot doubt of ſeeing a more regular government on the coaſt, and all affairs managed with more juſtice and diſcretion.

Now you are juſtly informed of the nature of our council, would you deſire to be a member? I believe not; and for my part I aſſure you, that I would rather quit the honour to obtain a liberty of being in reality a counſellor, inſtead of bearing the name only. Yours, &c.

LETTER VIII. — *The Inſalubrity of the Coaſt, the Author's Opinion from whence it proceeds. — The Difference betwixt the preſent and former Seaſons. — Some Inſtances of violent Thunders, and the Damage occaſioned by them.*

SIR,

YESTERDAY I ſealed my laſt to you, on ſuſpicion that the ſhip would ſail laſt night: but they being ſtaid by an unavoidable obſtacle one day longer, and I at preſent at leiſure, I have dedicated this day to your ſervice in committing the following lines to paper, which pleaſe to honour with your peruſal.

The Guinea Gold Coaſt is ſituate about the fifth degree of nothern latitude, from which you may eaſily infer that we live in a ſcorching air, though not ſo bad as is reported: for it is become too cuſtomary for men in their relations rather to add than to diminiſh. Several who have lived ſome years here with me, muſt own, as well as I, that in the months October, November, December, January, February and March, the heat is very violent here, but it is not ſo hot in the ſix remaining months, but that it can be eaſily borne without the leaſt inconvenience: I have known the time when we could as well have endured a fire, if we had not been aſhamed, as in Europe about September; beſides, the whole year is here refreſhed with cool evenings, ſo that he that hath lived here ten years, and conſequently his body become opener than in Holland, will not be apt to complain very much of the heat.

The unwholeſomeneſs of this coaſt, in my opinion, ſeems chiefly owing to the heat of the day, and coolneſs of the night; which ſudden change I am induced to believe occaſions ſeveral contrary effects in our bodies, eſpecially in thoſe who are not accuſtomed

tomed to bear more heat than cold, by too haſtily throwing off their cloaths to cool too faſt.

The ſecond and greateſt cauſe which I can find is, that the Gold Coaſt, from one end to the other, ſo greatly abounds with high mountains, in the valleys betwixt which, every morning, a thick, ſtinking, and ſulphurous damp or miſt riſeth, eſpecially near rivers or watry places; which miſt ſo ſpreads itſelf, and falls ſo thick on the earth, that it is almoſt impoſſible to eſcape the infection while we are faſting, and our bodies more ſuſceptible of it than the natives. This fog happeneth moſt frequently in the ill ſeaſon of the ſix months, which we here call winter, but more eſpecially in July and Auguſt; wherefore we are more ſeized with ſickneſs in that time than in the good ſeaſon, or ſummer. The ſtench of this unwholeſome miſt is very much augmented by the Negroes' pernicious cuſtom of laying their fiſh, for five or ſix days, to putrify before they eat it; and their eaſing their bodies round their houſes, and all over their towns; and if this odious mixture of noiſome ſtenches very much affects the ſtate of health here, it is not to be wondered, ſince it is next to impoſſibility, not only for new comers, but thoſe who have long continued here, to preſerve themſelves entirely from its malign effects. The great difference betwixt the European air and this, is ſo obſervable, that few come hither who are not at firſt ſeized by a ſickneſs which carries off a great many, and that chiefly becauſe we are ſo wretchedly unprovided with what ſhould comfort and nouriſh theſe poor men; for we have no help to have recourſe to but corrupted medicines, and unſkilful phyſicians, they being only ignorant barbers, who bring ſeveral into the utmoſt danger of their lives: whereas, nature is ſtrong enough, by the aſſiſtance of good nouriſhing diet and reſtoratives, it might probably recover the patient. But, alas! how ſhould he be able to get them? For our medicines, as I have before told you, are moſt of them ſpoiled; and for food, what is here to be gotten for the common people, beſides fiſh and a dry lean hen? And, indeed, were he able to pay for better, here is nothing proper for a weak ſtomach; for all the oxen or cows, ſheep and hens, are dry, lean, and tough: ſo that a ſound man, not to mention an infirm one, hath enough to do to eat them. So that the beſt, beſide proper phyſic, that the poor ſick can get here, are culinary vegetables and ſpoon-meats; the director and the chief factor are abundantly furniſhed with the former, but they are not in every-body's reach.

There are ſeveral who would fain perſuade us, that our men's ſickneſs here is owing to their own miſmanagement; urging that they might very eaſily prevent it by a regular life, and carefully avoiding all exceſſes in eating and drinking; but experience convinces us of their miſtake, for we daily ſee the moſt temperate and regular men ſeized with dangerous and too often mortal diſeaſes.

But it is indeed to be owned, that ſome people here occaſion their own ſickneſs, though that cannot be ſaid of all. If theſe men were more careful of their healths, it is more than probable that ſo many would not ſicken and die here yearly as now do; but theſe raſh and inconſiderate wretches no ſooner receive their pay, than (if not already indebted that ſum) they laviſh it out in palm-wine and brandy; both which, taken in exceſs, are very pernicious: which is not the only inconvenience, for ſpending their money thus idly, they do not allow themſelves ſufficient to buy neceſſary food; the defect of which they are then forced to ſupply with bread, oil, and ſalt, or at beſt with a little fiſh; ſo that it is hardly to be expected that theſe men ſhould be healthful. This is the common courſe of life which the ordinary people here lead; and it were to be wiſhed that their example was not followed by their ſuperiors; exceſſive drinking being here too much in vogue; and the larger their ſalary is, the greater

greater their thirſt appears to be, and conſequently the leſs regard had to the kitchen. Some are alſo very lucky if their pay be not attached, and they entered into bonds as deep as their preſent and future ſalary will ſatisfy; or what is worſe yet beyond all this, in hopes only that their relations will ſatisfy it: all which eats like a canker; and yet they are by uſe ſo bigotted to drinking, that it would be impoſſible to keep them from it by blows: and to make the quicker work, they are as zealous votaries to Venus as to Bacchus, and ſo waſte the ſmall portion of ſtrength left them from tippling and the ill air, and then adieu health, and ſoon after life itſelf. But it is, indeed, convenient it ſhould be ſo; another wants his place. If men lived here as long as in Europe, it would be leſs worth while to come hither, and a man would be obliged to wait too long before he got a good poſt, without which nobody will eaſily return rich from Guinea, the chief perſons there being the only people who can lay up any thing, and they not near ſo much as is reported of them. However the money we get here is indeed hardly enough acquired: if you conſider we ſtake our beſt pledge, that is, our lives, in order to it.

But to return to the unhealthfulneſs of this country: — Some here diſtinguiſh betwixt one place and another, and I am ſomewhat inclined to their opinion: if they chooſe thoſe places where the wind blows continually and very freſh, and where the Negroes occaſion the leaſt ſtench, they are undoubtedly the moſt healthful; and as ſuch, I ſhould prefer Boutry and Zacondee in the firſt place.

How unwholeſome ſoever this country is, yet we find very few of the natives afflicted with any diſtemper; which yet is not much to be wondered at, ſince their being born in this air, and bred up in the ſtench, are not liable to be infected with the one or the other. The national diſeaſes here are the ſmall-pox and worms; by the former of which, in theſe thirteen or fourteen years time, thouſands of men have been ſwept away; and with the latter, they are miſerably afflicted in all parts of their bodies, but chiefly in their legs, which occaſions a grievous pain, which they are forced to bear till they can get the worm quite out, that being ſometimes a month. The manner which the artiſts take to get it out is this: as ſoon as the worm is broken through the tumour, his head commonly firſt making its way, after they have drawn it out a little way, they make it faſt to a ſtick, about which they every day wind a ſmall part of it, till continuing this tedious method they have entirely wound out the whole, and the patient is freed from his pain. But if the worm happens to break, they are put to a double torture, the remainder part of the worm either rotting in the body, or breaking out at ſome other place. The Negroes are moſt afflicted with theſe worms; but though the Europeans are but ſeldom troubled with them, yet they do not eſcape them entirely. I have ſeen ſome Negroes who had nine or ten of them at once, with which they were inexpreſſibly tormented. This worm-diſeaſe is frequent all the coaſt over; but our men are moſt tormented with it at Cormantyn and Apam, which perhaps may be occaſioned by the foul water which they are obliged to drink there. If you would know the length of theſe worms, Monſieur Focquenbrog obligeth you with a pathetical deſcription, by which you are informed that they are ſome of them an ell long, and ſome as long as pikes, and have not the patience to ſtay till the man is dead, but ſeize him alive.

In the country of Ante ſeveral Negroes are afflicted with ravenous appetites, which is thought to proceed from their drinking a ſort of palm-wine called Criſia.

The natives are very much to be pitied, that being ſhot, cut, or otherwiſe wounded in their wars, they neither know nor have any other way of cure than by green plants, which they boil in water and foment the part with that decoction, which proves effectual

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in ſome caſes; theſe vegetables being endowed with a wonderful ſanative virtue. But others either not knowing the ſimples, or being ignorant how to prepare them aright, apply their fomentations in vain: whilſt the wound gangrenes, and at beſt turns to a running, which continues the whole life. Thoſe ſeized by the venereal diſtemper are alſo incurable, except they happening to be near our fort fall into our barbers' hands; who, for a good large ſum of money, cure them.

Beſides the above-mentioned diſtempers, moſt of the Negroes live healthful lives, but ſeldom arrive to a great age: the reaſon of which, owing to my ignorance, I dare not pretend to aſſign. It is obſervable that there are ſeveral grey-headed people, who look as if they were old, but indeed are not ſo; this, perhaps, may be owing to their too early and exceſſive venery, by which they ſo enfeeble themſelves, that a man of fifty (a good old age here), ſeized by any ſickneſs, generally leaves this world. Nature's dictates are very early underſtood here; and children of eight or nine years know very well how the world is propagated, and before twelve they generally reduce their knowledge into practice: ſo that it is next to an impoſſibility to meet with a maid at marriageable years. The inhabitants for that reaſon, to ſecure a maidenhead, marry young, and perhaps then have it juſt as ſecure as a handful of flies; for the young children hearing daily ſuch diſcourſe as is not very proper for their ears, and which is the common converſation of the Negroes, ſeldom have patience till they come to years of maturity.

It will not be labour loſt to ſay ſomething concerning the winter and ſummer, or the good and bad time, as it is called here; and the great alteration of weather, which I have obſerved here in the ſpace of ten years. The ſummer is accounted to begin with September, and continue the five ſubſequent months, and the winter takes up the remaining ſix months in the year, and is ſub-divided into two rainy, two miſty, and two windy months: but the ſeaſon alters ſo much from year to year that we have in a manner left off reckoning them; the ſummer comes ſometimes a whole month earlier one year than another, and the ſame is alſo obſerved of the miſt and rain. In ſhort, they come ſo confuſed and uncertain, that it is impoſſible to make any calculation of them.

Formerly, when I firſt came to the coaſt, ſummer and winter ſucceeded alternately, exactly at a certain time, and the latter was much ſeverer than at preſent. The rains were ſo violent, continuing for ſeveral days ſucceſſively as if the country were to be drowned, and we expected a ſecond deluge; but at preſent are not either ſo violent or ſo frequent. Axim, which is but twenty miles from Elmina, is generally more moiſtened with rains than any place upon the whole coaſt: and I did not a little wonder when I was firſt placed there, that the rains continued ſo long; for aſking one of our military officers how long it commonly laſted, he told me above eleven months and twenty-eight days in a year, and conſequently every leap-year was bleſſed with one whole day of fair weather: but though the officer ſtretched a little, yet it is undeniably true, that it rains here at leaſt half the year; for which reaſon only rice and trees can grow, the other fruits being deſtroyed by too much wet.

It is ſurprizing to obſerve that the ſtorms or travadoes, as they are here called, are in a few years ſo very much leſſened; and ſince I am to ſpeak of the winds and thunder here, I ſhall firſt take notice how violent the wind uſed to blow here. You may be informed by Monſieur Focquenbrog, that when he was here, ſuch a great and ſudden ſtorm aroſe, that the ſhips at ſea durſt not ſail with full ſail, for fear of being overturned or ſplit againſt the rocks or ſhores: but at preſent here is not the leaſt reaſon to be afraid; for though we are ſometimes attacked by violent travadoes, or

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ſtorms of thunder, lightning, and wind, yet they do not come upon us either ſo ſuddenly or forcibly as to occaſion any very remarkable damage.

In ſome old papers of the director Valkenburg concerning the coaſt, I found that at Elmina, in the year 1651, there was ſuch a terrible thunder, which ſo affrighted every body that they thought the world was at an end: the gold and ſilver was melted in the bags, which remained untouched; and their ſwords broken in the ſcabbards, without the latter being perceivably ſinged, as well as ſeveral ſtrange accidents which then happened: but the paper being worm-eaten I could not diſtinctly read it, only I perceived that they were in diſmal apprehenſions for their gunpowder, the thunder ſeeming moſt violent where that was.

About 1691, when I was at Boutry, there was ſuch a fierce and boiſterous ſtorm in the country of Ante, that hundreds or rather thouſands of trees were either thrown down to the ground, or blaſted by lightning. The ſtake which ſupported our flag was ſhattered into ſplinters from top to bottom, and yet remained ſtanding, but ſo torn aſunder, as if one or two hundred chiſſels had been driven into it in order to ſplit it. The Negroes, in the ſame terrified condition with us, being of opinion that the force of the thunder is contained in a certain ſtone, after the ſtorm was over, brought one, which they ridiculouſly believed had ſo ſhattered our flag-pole: but no wonder they were of that opinion, for in Europe, where we think we are better informed, ſeveral people do not much differ from them. But what I have obſerved of the effects of thunder, is ſufficient to convince me that it is impoſſible they ſhould be cauſed by a ſtone; nor is there any natural reaſon for it, and with ſupernatural things I have nothing to do, but had rather believe it the effects of a violent compreſſion of air; but the manner of its operation I leave the naturaliſts to determine.

Not long after, a like accident happened to one of our ſhips cruizing before Axim, very much injuring its main-maſt and boltſprit.

In 1693 or 1694, the thunder broke all the drinking-glaſſes of the factor's chamber, and raiſed up his child with the bed under it; both which it threw ſome feet diſtant, without the leaſt hurt done. What do you think, ſir? was it poſſible for a ſtone to do this? I believe not.

Not long after this, the Engliſh fort at Acra was ſo roughly handled by the thunder, that its walls were left ſhattered with holes even to the powder-room, and ſome pewter-porrengers were melted into a lump: it is eaſy to imagine with what terror they were ſtruck when they found it come ſo near their powder.

When I had the government of Mouree, one of the turrets was rent ſeveral feet by a clap of thunder; and my conſtable being lodged there, affirmed in the morning he had received a violent ſhock on his arm without any farther injury: however, I was in great danger; for having the day before removed my powder, I had cauſed two or three thouſand pounds of it to be brought into the garret, where it lay when the ſtorm began; but I could not be eaſy till it was carried to a ſafer place, however before that could be done I was in no ſmall confuſion.

From what I have related, you may collect what ſort of weather we were formerly accuſtomed to; which ſo ſeldom happens at preſent, that in the ſpace of three or four years we have not obſerved any thing extraordinary of that nature to happen.

The difference betwixt the heat and cold formerly and at preſent, is alſo very great; for the heat has been here ſo exceſſive in ſummer-time, that we ſeemed to have dog-days as well as in Europe; but now it is become more moderate and ſupportable: the cold was alſo then ſo fierce in the nights, that we were perſuaded it froze, and in reality we were not much in the wrong, for the earth, which uſually is very moiſt by reaſon

of the dew, was on the contrary dry and appeared whitiſh. Some of my predeceſſors affirmed, that coming into their accompting-houſe in the morning, they found their ink frozen: the truth of which I will not determine, but only hand it to you as I received it.

But this I aſſure you, that we have felt nights ſo cold about September, that they made us ſhake, as I told you before. The preſent winters are indeed cold, but not ſo ſevere as formerly, though they continue longer; for we have two thirds, or at leaſt half of the year winter: which while I am writing I believe you begin to think of, and I wiſh it may happen to you in due ſeaſon, and be ſo mild as not to give you the leaſt uneaſineſs, but afford you as much pleaſure as is poſſible to be wiſhed by, Yours, &c.

LETTER IX. — *Of the natural Diſpoſition and Manners of the Negroes on the Gold Coaſt; that they are very fraudulent and crafty, idle, and careleſs: — Of their Clothing, Education of Children, and Compliments: — Their courteous Reception of Viſitants; and their Manner of viſiting amongſt the great Men: — Of their manual Arts; Navigation, Fiſhing, and Agriculture: — The Difference of Languages on the Gold Coaſt: — Their Nobility; how many Degrees of Preference amongſt them: — Their careleſs ill-contrived way of Building, and making their Roads: — Their muſical Inſtruments: — They have no Beggars amongſt them, only thoſe ſhameleſs ones who do not want. — A Deſcription of the Mulattoes.*

SIR,

YOURS of the 24th, reached me in very good time. But my preſent intended ſubject is likely ſo to over-charge this, that for want of room I ſhall be obliged to defer anſwering yours till the next opportunity, when I promiſe not to fail.

I deſign to treat of the natural temper of the natives; and if this letter doth not ſwell to an unuſual bulk, I ſhall be at a loſs to do juſtice to my ſubject: wherefore I muſt beg your excuſe for crowding ſo many things into one letter ſo immethodically, for you are preſented with them as they occur to me; and ſo, ſir, be pleaſed to accept them.

To begin. The Negroes are all without exception, crafty, villainous and fraudulent, and very ſeldom to be truſted, being ſure to ſlip no opportunity of cheating an European, nor indeed one another. A man of integrity is as rare among them as a white falcon, and their fidelity ſeldom extends farther than to their maſters: and it would be very ſurpriſing, if, upon a ſcrutiny into their lives, we ſhould find any of them whoſe perverſe nature would not break out ſometimes, for they indeed ſeem to be born and bred villains; all ſorts of baſeneſs having got ſuch ſure footing in them, that it is impoſſible to lie concealed, and herein they agree very well with what authors tell us of the Muſcovites. Theſe degenerate vices are accompanied with their ſiſters, ſloth and idleneſs, to which they are ſo prone that nothing but the utmoſt neceſſity can force them to labour: they are beſides ſo incredibly careleſs and ſtupid, and are ſo little concerned at their misfortunes, that it is hardly to be obſerved by any change in them whether they have met with any good or ill ſucceſs. An inſtance of which is, that when they have obtained a victory over their enemies, they return home diverting themſelves with leaping and dancing: but if on their ſide they are beaten out of the field, and utterly routed, they yet feaſt and are merry, and dance, and can cheerfully ſport around a grave. In ſhort, proſperity and adverſity are no otherwiſe diſtinguiſhable in them than in the cloathing and ſhaving of their head, of which more hereafter. Monſieur Focquenbrog's deſcription of them is undeniably true, when he informs us that they feaſt at graves, and if they ſhould ſee their country in flames, would cry out "let

it burn," and not ſuffer it in the leaſt to interrupt their ſinging, dancing and drinking: that they are equally inſenſible of grief or neceſſity, ſing till they die, and dance into the grave.

This deſcription is ſo pertinent, I believe it cannot be mended in ſo few words. It is true indeed, that they very greedily heap up money and goods, to which their minds are ſtrongly inclined: but after that they ſet ſo ſmall a value upon them, that if they meet with a very great loſs, you can never perceive it by their carriage, it never robs them of an hour's repoſe; and they are no ſooner at their reſting place, but like the beaſts, they ſleep perfectly undiſturbed by any melancholy reflections: ſo that the advice, not to take care for the morrow, ſeems deſigned more peculiarly for the practiſe of theſe men.

Their young are extraordinarily vain, and deſirous to paſs for perſons of quality, though perhaps but ſlaves; notwithſtanding which they mighty carefully adorn their bodies, and are very fine in their way.

But now let us ſee how they manage the affairs of dreſs. The faſhions of adorning their heads are very various; 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, moiſtening them with oil and a ſort of die, and then adjuſt them in the ſhape of roſes; between which they wear gold Fetiches, or a ſort of coral here called Conte de Terra, which is ſometimes of a quadruple value to gold, as alſo a ſort of blue coral, which we call Agrie, and the Negroes Accorri, which being moderately large, is ſo much valued that it is generally weighed againſt gold. They are very fond of our hats, never thinking they pay too much for them. Their arms, legs and waiſt are adorned with gold, and the above-mentioned ſorts of coral. Their common habit is made of three or four ells of either velvet, ſilk, cloth, Perpetuana, or ſome ſort of ſtuff; and ſeveral have this ſort of habit or Paan, as they call it, made of fifty ſorts of ſtuff. This they throw about the body and roll it up into a ſmall compaſs, and make it faſt; ſo that it hangs from the navel downwards, covering the legs half way: about their arms they alſo wear ornamental rings made of ivory, gold, ſilver, &c. and about their necks, ſtrings or chains of gold, and coral amongſt their above-mentioned dreſs; and I remember to have ſeen ſeveral of theſe ſtrings or chains worth above one hundred pounds ſterling. But theſe are the jewels, and they who want them are no company for thoſe who have them.

The Manceroes, or youth, do not dreſs themſelves ſo pompouſly; but the Coboceros or chief people are as meanly and plainly habited, chooſing rather to paſs for poor than rich men. They wear only a good Paan, a cap make of hart's ſkin upon their heads, and a ſtaff in their hands, like the old Iſraelites, and a ſtring or chain of coral about their heads: and this is the dreſs they daily appear in.

The commonalty, ſuch as wine-drawers, fiſhermen, and ſuch like, are very poorly habited; ſome with an ell or two of ſorry ſtuff, others with a ſort of girdle only drawn through between their legs, and wrapped about them juſt to hide their nakedneſs; to which the fiſhermen add a cap made of harts' ſkins or ruſhes, though moſt of them endeavour to get an old hat of the ſailors, which ſerves them in hot as well as cold weather. The men here are not ſo very much addicted to ſumptuous attire; but pride even amongſt the ſavage, as well as in the Netherlands and all Europe over, ſeems to have eſtabliſhed its throne amongſt the female ſex: and accordingly the women's dreſs is richer than the men's. Ladies plat their hair very artfully, and place their Fetiches, coral and ivory with a judicious air, and go much finer than the men. About their necks they wear gold chains and ſtrings of coral, beſides ten or twelve ſmall white ſtrings

of Conte de Terra and gold; about their arms and legs alſo they are plentifully ſtored therewith, and they wear them ſo thick about their waiſt, that their nakedneſs would be ſufficiently covered thereby if they wore no clothes; and the rather becauſe they always have a garter or rather girdle. Perhaps Mr. Conſtantyn Huygens thought of our black miſtreſſes, when he adviſeth the men to two, and ſome women to three garters; and if ſtockings were in faſhion here, three garters would be ſoon thought as neceſſary as one is now: but this by the by. To return to our Negro ladies: on the lower part of their bodies they wear a Paan, which often is three or four times as long as that of the men: this they wind around their waiſt, and bind it on with a fillet of red cloth, or ſomething elſe about half an ell broad and two ells long, to make it fit cloſe to the body, both ends of the fillet hanging out on their Paan, which in ladies of quality is adorned with gold and ſilver lace: on the upper part of their body they caſt a veil of ſilk or ſome other fine ſort of ſtuff, whilſt their arms are beautified with rings of gold, ſilver and ivory. Theſe female Negroes, I can aſſure you, are ſo well ſkilled in their faſhions, that they know how to dreſs themſelves up ſufficiently tempting to allure ſeveral Europeans; but their greateſt power is over thoſe who make no difference betwixt white and black, eſpecially when the former colour is not to be found.

Having done with their clothes, let us ſee how they educate their children, with which the men never trouble themſelves in the leaſt, nor the women much indeed: the mother gives the infant ſuck for two or three years; which over, and they able to go, then it is, Turn out, brutes: if it be hungry ſhe gives it a piece of dry bread, and ſends it abroad wherever it pleaſes, either to the market, or to the ſea-ſide to learn to ſwim, or any where elſe: nobody looks after it, nor is it any body's buſineſs to hinder its progreſs. Theſe children are as well contented with dry bread, as ours with all manner of delicacies; they neither think of nor know any delicacies, nor are their mothers troubled with them, but do their buſineſs undiſturbed: when, on the other ſide, if our children can but go alone, we are continually perplexed with thouſands of fears of ſome or other ill accidents befalling them.

Child-bearing is here as little troubleſome as the men can wiſh; here is no long lying-in, nor expenſive goſſiping or groaning-feaſts. I once happened to be near the place where a Negro woman was delivered of two children in the ſpace of one quarter of an hour; and when ſhe ſeemed moſt uneaſy, I found it was not ſufficient to urge any ſhrieks or cries from her, but the very ſame day I ſaw her go to the ſea-ſide to waſh herſelf without ever thinking of returning to her bed: and indeed moſt women are here equally eaſy in this particular, though it happens (but that is very ſeldom) that a woman is obliged by illneſs to keep her bed ſome days. Here is no proviſions made for linen or any neceſſaries for the new-born infant, and yet all its limbs grow vigorous and proportionate as in Holland, except only that they have larger navels than ordinary with us; but this is the mother's fault. If child-bearing were in all particulars ſo eaſy in our country, —— but no more of this, leſt you ſhould tell your lady, and ſhe bring the Dutch women about my ears, and it is not very adviſeable to anger them. But to return to our ſubject; the child is no ſooner born than the prieſt (here called Feticheer or Confoe) is ſent for, who binds a parcel of ropes and coral and other traſh about the head, body, arms and legs of the infant; after which he exorciſes, according to their accuſtomed manner, by which they believe it is armed againſt all ſickneſs and ill accidents; and doubtleſs this is as effectual as if done by the Pope himſelf. By this you may obſerve what power the prieſts have over evil ſpirits; but when I come to deſcribe the marriage and married lives of the Negroes, I ſhall preſent you with ſomething more

concerning child-bearing; and at preſent proceed, only informing you that theſe ropes and traſh ſerve the children inſtead of clothes, commonly till they are ſeven or eight years of age; at which period they pride themſelves in a neceſſary lappet of half an ell of ſtuffs.

If the father is a fiſherman or huſbandman, and the child a male, he breeds him up to his avocation very early; and the child now beginning to find that he muſt ſoon ſhift for himſelf, he is ſure to ſecure all that a convenient opportunity will give him leave againſt that time, which his parents never contradict.

I have hinted with what ſorry and how little food the Negroes content their children; which would hardly be poſſible if they fared deliciouſly themſelves. But they are not guilty of this ſort of intemperance, but live rather too ſoberly, two-pence a day being ſufficient to diet one of them. Their common food is a pot full of millet boiled to the conſiſtence of bread, or inſtead of that, jambs and potatoes; over which they pour a little palm-oil, with a few boiled herbs, to which they add a ſtinking fiſh. This they eſteem a nice diſh, for it is but ſeldom they can get the fiſh and herbs: as for oxen, ſheep, hens, or other fleſh, they only buy that for holidays; of which more in another place. The Negroes are not ſo ſparing in their diet becauſe they do not deſire better food, of which we have ſufficient proof when they eat with us, for they are then ſure to ſatiate themſelves with the beſt at the table, at that rate, as if they were laying in for three days. Nor is it for want of money that they live thus, but only out of pure ſordid covetouſneſs.

I have been ſometimes of opinion that they thought all dear things unwholeſome. The diet I have deſcribed, is that of the commonalty; nor do the rich fare much better: they allow themſelves a little more fiſh, and a few more herbs. But for an extraordinary diſh they take fiſh, a handful of corn, as much dough, and ſome palm-oil, which they boil together in water, and this they call Mallaget; and is, I can aſſure you, a lordly entertainment amongſt them; and, to ſpeak truth, it is no very diſagreeable food to thoſe who are uſed to it, and is very wholeſome in this country.

Though the Negroes eat ſo poorly and ſo little, they drink the more, being great lovers of ſtrong liquor; and let the world go how it will, they muſt have brandy in the morning, and palm-wine in the afternoon; and he that hath one penny in money, thirſteth after three pennyworth of drink, which is welcome to them night and day; and we are forced to give ſtrict orders to our men to watch our cellars at night, for they know too well how to get at them. They are ſo beſotted to ſtrong liquors and tobacco, that you may equally entruſt bacon to a cat, as either of them within their power. The women are as guilty of this vice as the men; and, as if it were a virtue, their children are taught it at the age of three or four years.

The ſalutations and civilities of the Negroes claim a place here, as being remarkably peculiar. Upon accidentally meeting each other, the ſalutation is pulling off the hat or cap, or uncovering the head, amongſt thoſe Negroes who converſe with us; but the in-land people do not eſteem the uncovering of the head for any ſign of reſpect. Next, they aſk after each other's welfare, but not like our manner, by enquiring after one another's health; but the firſt queſtion is, "How did you ſleep?" to which the reply is, "Very well:" and the other returns the queſtion to the firſt, who, if he hath ſlept well, tells him ſo. From whence we may obſerve, that the Negroes conceive good ſound ſleep to be the moſt neceſſary preſervative of health. When one Negro is viſited by another, he takes his gueſt by the hand, and nipping his two middle fingers together, he bids him welcome: this is the ceremony in uſe, if this be his firſt viſit: but if he hath been there before, and is returned again, he expreſſeth his welcome by telling

telling him, "You went out and are returned," intimating they wiſh him good fortune; to which he anſwers, "I am come again:" and this paſſeth current on both ſides for refined civility. They are very obligingly civil, when they receive viſits from a perſon who lives in another country. As ſoon as the compliments are paſſed, the wife, or a ſhe-ſlave, brings water, greaſe or ointment, to waſh and anoint the ſtranger, herein agreeing with the ancient times, who were accuſtomed to waſh and anoint the feet of their gueſts.

The viſits of kings, and thoſe of the beſt rank, are accompanied with ſeveral odd ceremonies: for inſtance, when a lord or king of a town is advanced very near to, or reaches that king's town he intends the honour of a viſit to, he diſpatches one of his attendants to compliment and adviſe him of his coming; who, on the other ſide, is ſure to ſend back a meſſenger of his own, with his ambaſſador, to compliment and aſſure him of a hearty welcome. While they are on their way, the king or general ranges all his ſoldiers in battle-array, in the market-place, or before his palace; theſe being frequently about three or four hundred men, who ſit down, expecting the approach of their gueſt; who, to expreſs his ſtate and grandeur the moſt effectually, takes care to advance but ſlowly, and is attended by a great number of armed men, who, leaping and dancing, alſo make a diſmal military noiſe,

Having at laſt reached the place where the other ſits expecting him, he doth not make directly towards him, but detaches all his unarmed people of faſhion to preſent their hands, by way of ſalutation, to the other's men, that are next or around him, as well as to himſelf: after all which, at laſt, the two kings or generals, armed with ſhields, make their mutual approaches; and if the viſitant be of higher rank than himſelf, or he deſigns to honour him with an extraordinary reception, he embraces and bids him welcome three times ſucceſſively: but if his viſitant be below him, he welcomes him by barely thrice preſenting his hand to him, and filliping his middle finger, which is done in three ſucceſſive advances; which being ended, the gueſt and his attendance ſit down oppoſite to the other, expecting him to come and welcome him and his followers, which is alſo ſoon after done, with three circular advances; after which he returns to his place and ſits down, ſending perſons to ſalute and welcome the reſt of his viſitant's troop, to aſk after their health and the intent of their coming, which the chief generally anſwers by meſſengers of his own. Theſe mutual ceremonies frequently laſt an hour or two, or till the entertainer riſes and obliges his gueſt to go into his houſe, where he is preſented by the king and the great men of the town with ſheep, fowl, jammes, or whatever is agreeable; and thus ended this tedious ſalutation, which I have ſpent too much time in deſcribing; but I hope you will not be tired with it, for in order to abridge it I have omitted ſeveral circumſtances.

In the beginning of this letter, I told you the Negroes were very idle, and not eaſily prevailed on to work, as well as that they had very few manual arts; all which, indeed, are employed chiefly in the making of wooden or earthen cups, troughs, matting of chairs, making of copper ointment-boxes, and arm-rings of gold, ſilver, or ivory, with ſome other traſh. Their chief handicraft, with which they are beſt acquainted, being the ſmithery; for with their ſorry tools they can make all ſorts of war-arms that they want, guns only excepted, as well as whatever is required in their agriculture and houſe-keeping. They have no notion of ſteel, and yet they make their ſables and all cutting inſtruments. Their principal tools are a kind of hard ſtone, inſtead of an anvil, a pair of tongues, and a ſmall pair of bellows, with three or more pipes, which blow very ſtrong, and are an invention of their own. Theſe are moſt of their arts, beſides that of making of Fetiches, which I have before informed you of; but their moſt

moſt artful works are the fine gold and ſilver hat-bands, which they make for us, the thread and contexture of which is ſo fine, that I queſtion whether our European artiſts would not be put to it to imitate them: and indeed if they could, and were no better paid than the Negroes, they would be obliged to live on dry bread.

You muſt not take it ill that this letter is filled up with a medley of all ſorts of ſubjects; that, according to our proverb, "I jump from the ox to the aſs;" for I uſually write what firſt occurs to my memory. Having once mentioned their navigation, which is not very conſiderable, I ſhall acquaint you they uſe a ſort of boats called Canoas, the largeſt of which are about thirty foot long, and ſix broad: from this ſize they go down to the ſmalleſt ſort, which are about thirteen or fourteen foot long and three or four broad; the biggeſt of theſe being capable of carrying a reaſonable merchant-man's boat lading; we generally uſe them in the tranſportation of our goods from place to place: they are rowed in proportion to their ſize, by two, three, five, ſeven, nine, eleven, or fifteen rowers; which, when they exceed two, muſt always be an odd number, becauſe they are obliged to ſit in couples, and an odd one is requiſite to ſteer. Inſtead of oars they uſe a ſort of paddle, made like a ſpade, having a handle about the ſame length; with which paddling the water, with an underhand ſtroke, they keep the Canoa in a very ſwift courſe. With the leaſt ſort of Canoas, with two or three men in each, they generally go a fiſhing, which leads me to their fiſhing-tackling, conſiſting of great and ſmall hooks, alſo harping-irons, which they uſe when they have hooked a great fiſh: they are beſides furniſhed with caſting as well as other large nets, which laſt they plant in the ſea over-night, and draw them in the morning, when they are frequently full of all ſorts of fiſh; but if a ſword-fiſh, or any other ſuch rough gueſt happens to get in the net, it is ſure to be torn in pieces with the ſword's ſnout; but this damage is eaſily prevented, if the Negroes are timely informed of it; for they go two or three Canoas in company, well furniſhed with harping-irons; and conſidering they greedily eat this ſort of fiſh, if they can but take him, he makes amends for two or three broken nets.

I ſhall here ſay nothing of their agriculture, not only becauſe I have already touched upon it, but by reaſon I hope for a better opportunity of treating that ſubject.

Though the Gold Coaſt is not extended above ſixty miles in length, yet we find there ſeven or eight ſeveral languages, ſo different that three or four of them are interchangeably unintelligible to any but the reſpective natives. The Negroes of Junmore, ten miles above Axim, cannot underſtand thoſe of Egira, Abocroe, Ancober, and Axim: there is indeed a vaſt difference in their languages. That of Axim is a very diſagreeable brutal ſound; that of Ante very different from it, though not much more beautiful; but more ſhocking is that of Acra, not having the leaſt ſimilitude with any of the reſt. The other Coaſt Negroes, thoſe of Aquamboe only excepted, generally underſtand one another; but the in-land Negroes is by much the pleaſanteſt and moſt agreeable; I mean thoſe of Dinkira, Akim, Acanny, and Adom; this difference is eaſily diſcernible to a perſon but the leaſt acquainted with their languages, and appears as that betwixt Brabanders and foreigners: and if the Negroes, whom we daily converſe with, who live about our forts, expreſſed themſelves as agreeably as the others, it would be no difficult matter to learn their language in two or three years, which we find at preſent we can ſcarce do in ten, at leaſt not in any ſort of perfection. Some of us, amongſt which I dare reckon myſelf, have made ſuch a progreſs, that we underſtand the greateſt part of it, though we can hardly hit the pronunciation. The ſound of ſome words is ſo ſtrange, that though we have often endeavoured to expreſs them with our European letters, yet we have never been able to do it; and the

Negroes

Negroes can neither write nor read, and conſequently have no uſe of letters, which renders it impoſſible for us to trace their faults. Dr. Dapper, who never was here, hath adventured to expreſs their words; which, though I may pretend to ſome knowledge of their languages, I dare not attempt, being aſſured I ſhall not ſucceed much better than he.

Could the Negroes, as I have ſaid, either read or write, we ſhould be able to learn their tongues ſpeedily, by obſerving the letters which expreſſed each thing; but having no other aſſiſtance than the bare ſound, I think it is folly to attempt farther. Wherefore, ſir, I hope you will expect no more on this head.

I remember to have met with ſome hints in a certain author tending to a deſcription of ſeveral noble families; but in all the time of my reſidence here, I have not been able to diſcover what ſort of people theſe were who put any value upon the nobility of families: I ſhall not take up much of your time in enquiries what difference there is betwixt one Negro and another, or why one is more eſteemed than another; for if I ſhould dwell ever ſo long on this ſubject, the reſult is, only the richeſt man is the moſt honoured, without the leaſt regard to nobility.

I have obſerved five degrees of men amongſt the Negroes; the firſt of which are their kings or captains, for the word is here ſynonymous.

The ſecond, their Caboceros, or chief men; which reducing to our manner of expreſſion, we ſhould be apt to call them Civil fathers; whoſe province is only to take care of the welfare of the city or village, and to appeaſe any tumult.

The third ſort are thoſe who have acquired a great reputation by their riches, either devolved on them by inheritance or gotten by trade. And theſe are the perſons which ſome authors have repreſented as noblemen; but whether they are in the right or not, ſhall hereafter plainly appear.

The fourth are the common people employed in the tillage of wines, agriculture and fiſhing.

The fifth and laſt are the ſlaves, either ſold by their relations, taken in war, or come ſo by poverty.

Theſe five being the only degrees which are to be found amongſt the Negroes; let us enquire by what means they arrive at any of the three firſt.

Firſt, the dignity of king or captain in moſt of theſe countries, deſcends hereditarily from father to ſon, and in defect of iſſue to the next male-heir; though ſometimes ſo much regard is had to his riches in ſlaves and money, that he who is plentifully ſtored with theſe, is often preferred to the right heir.

The inauguration of a king is not clogged with many pompous ceremonies; for coronations and coronation-oaths being here equally unknown, the new king is ſhewn to the people, and ſometimes carried through his territories; and the whole affair terminates in one merry day: but in caſe of competitorſhip, when two pretend to that dignity at the ſame time; for confirmation of the loyalty of their followers, each pretender obliges his reſpective party to an oath of allegiance; without this happens all things run very ſmoothly, ſome offerings only made, as uſual here on all ſolemn occaſions. The principal men or Caboceros are commonly limited to a ſet number; but ſome of them dying, and the vacancies not filling, when upon aſſembling together they find their number too ſmall, they choſe out of the commonalty perſons well advanced in years to compleat their number (for young men are ſeldom admitted into this honourable aſſembly), who are obliged to expreſs their gratitude to their electing brethren by a preſent of a cow and ſome drink; after which they are lawfully admitted and confirmed. The cuſtom of Axim obliges the candidate for this dignity to be a native

native of that country living at Axim, at leaſt keeping a houſe there, inhabited by one of his wives, or ſome of his family, and ſometimes reſiding there himſelf; which is ſomewhat like our being obliged to keep fire and light to preſerve our right of citizens in Holland. If there be one alone, or ſeveral, he or they are all brought to our fort and preſented to our factor, with a requeſt that they may be admitted into their ſociety; who, if he hath nothing to object againſt him, adminiſters an oath to him on the Bible, obliging him to be and remain true to the Netherlanders, and to aid and aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his power againſt all their enemy's whatſoever, whether Europeans or Negroes, and deport himſelf on all occaſions as a loyal ſubject: after which he takes an oath, not unlike the former, reſpecting his own nation; both which oaths are confirmed by an imprecation, "That God would ſtrike him dead if he ſwore contrary to his intentions, or doth not keep his oath;" in farther confirmation of which the Bible is held to his breaſt and laid on his head, which are the ceremonies uſed to render the oath obligatory: this done, the factor having regiſtered his name, acknowledges him a member of their aſſembly, and admits him to all the rights, privileges, and advantages appendant thereto; and having made the due preſents to his brethren, he is a Caboceer during his life. In other places on the coaſt the election of a Caboceer is ſomewhat different; but it being ſo well regulated at Axim, I ſhall content myſelf with deſcribing that only.

The third ſort of Negroes are thoſe enriched either by inheritance or trade; who, to acquire a reputation and great name amongſt their fellow-citizens, buy about ſeven ſmall elephants' teeth, which they make into blowing-horns; upon which they cauſe their family to be taught all ſort of tunes uſual, according to the extravagant courſe of the country: which, when they have learned, they inform all their relations and acquaintance that they intend to ſhew their blowing-horns publicly, that they may come and make merry with them for ſeveral days together; whilſt they, their wives, and ſlaves appear with as much pomp and ſplendour as is poſſible, borrowing gold and coral of their friends to make the greater ſhow, and diſtributing preſents amongſt them: ſo that this extravagant ceremony becomes very expenſive. This initiatory feſtival being over they are free to blow upon their horns at pleaſure, which none are permitted who have not thus aggrandized themſelves; but if they are inclined to divert themſelves are obliged to borrow them. How contradictory is the courſe of things in this world! in ſome places men are obliged to beg hard and make intereſt for horns, whilſt they come home to the houſes of others as unexpected as undeſired.

A Negro thus far advanced in honour, uſually makes himſelf maſter of firſt one and then another ſhield: of which he makes a ſhew as public and pompous as that of the horns; and is obliged to lie the firſt night with all his family in battle array in the open air, intimating that he will not be afraid of any danger or hardſhip in defence of his people. After which he paſſes the next and the remaining days of the feaſt, which are generally about eight, in ſhooting and martial exerciſes, as well as dancing and all ſorts of mirth; himſelf, his wives, and family being as richly dreſt as they poſſibly can; and all that he hath in the world expoſed to public view, and removed from place to place. But this feſtival is not ſo expenſive as the former; for inſtead of making preſents, as uſual in that, he here on the contrary receives very valuable preſents; and when he deſigns to divert himſelf, or go to the war, he is permitted to carry two ſhields: a favour not allowed to any who hath not thus qualified himſelf.

Theſe are the nobility which authors boaſt of on this coaſt; but that in reality they are not ſo is plain, becauſe no perſon can ennoble himſelf, but muſt be ſo by birth, or by creation of another: in which they are both deficient; for by birth they are only

ſlaves, and conſequently widely diſtant from nobles, and they owe their advance only to themſelves and their money; their port of honour here being always open to him who is rich enough to bear the expence. Beſides, in other places nobility engages thoſe honoured with it firmly in the public ſervice of their King or country; which theſe are not the leaſt concerned for, applying themſelves to nothing but trade: but if any are foud of having them gentlemen and noblemen, I ſhall let them remain ſo. And it will not a little redound to my honour, that I have for ſeveral years ſucceſſively been waited on by one of theſe noblemen in the capacity of a footman, without having the leaſt reſpect to his nobility.

The fourth and fifth ſort need no other account to be given of them, than that they are common people and ſlaves.

Theſe blowing-horns naturally lead me to a deſcription of the muſical inſtruments with which they divert themſelves. But I ſhall firſt inform you that the Negroes, in building their villages, have not the leaſt regard to the pleaſantneſs of the ſituation. With us, indeed, it is uſual, and is doubtleſs very reaſonable to put a high value upon a fine proſpect and pleaſant walks; but theſe lumpiſh wretches frequently chooſe a dry and diſagreeable place to build on; neglecting at the ſame time well-planted hills, charming valleys, and beautiful rivers; which they have in great abundance, and ſerve them for no uſe nor afford them any diverſion. They are full as indifferent and negligent in the making of their roads, they being generally as rough and perverſe as the people themſelves: a road which need not to be above two miles in length, frequently becomes three by its crookedneſs and unevenneſs; and though they have been often made ſenſible of this inconvenience by us, and a very little trouble would mend them, yet they will not alter them; the way once made muſt ſtill remain, though it leads them twice as far out of the way.

Their muſical inſtruments are various, and very numerous; but all of them yield a horrid and barbarous ſhocking ſound; the chief of them are the mentioned horns, made, as I have already told you, of ſmall elephants' teeth; though not ſo very ſmall but ſome of them weigh betwixt twenty and thirty pounds, and others more: to adorn theſe they cut in them ſeveral images of men and beaſts; and that ſo finely that it ſeems to be done literally in obedience to the ſecond commandment: for, indeed, it is difficult to diſcern whether they are moſt like men or beaſts; at the lower end of theſe horns is a piece of rope coloured black with hen's or ſheep's blood, and at the ſmall end is a ſquare hole; at which by blowing they produce a ſort of extravagant noiſe; which they reduce to a ſort of tone and meaſure, and vary as they pleaſe: ſometimes they blow upon theſe horns ſo well, that though it is not agreeable, yet it is not ſo horrid as to require a whole bale of cotton annually to ſtop one's ears, as Focquenbrog has it.

Their ſecond ſort of inſtruments are their drums, of which there are about ten ſeveral ſorts, but moſt of them are excavated trees, covered at one end with a ſheep-ſkin, and left open at the other, which they ſet on the ground like a kettle-drum, and when they remove it they hang it by a ſtring about their necks: they beat on theſe drums with two long ſticks, made hammer-faſhion, and ſometimes with a ſtraight ſtick or their bare hands, all which ways they produce a diſmal and horrid noiſe; the drums being generally in conſort with the blowing of the horns, which afford the moſt charming aſſes' muſic that can be imagined: to help out this they always ſet a little boy to ſtrike upon a hollow piece of iron, with a piece of wood, which alone makes a noiſe more deteſtable than the drums and horns together.

Of

Of late they have invented a ſort of ſmall drums, covered on both ſides with a ſkin, and extended to the ſhape of an hour-glaſs: the noiſe they afford is very like that our boys make with their pots they play with on holidays, with this difference only, that theſe have iron rings, which makes ſome alteration in the ſound. It would be ridiculous to tire you with all the inſtruments of the Negroes; I ſhall therefore take leave of this ſubject, by deſcribing the beſt they have, which is a hollow piece of wood, of two hands-breadth long, and one broad; from the hinder-part of this a ſtick comes croſs to the fore-part, and upon the inſtrument are five or ſix extended ſtrings; ſo that it bears ſome ſort of ſimilitude to a ſmall harp, or, if you will, is not very unlike the modern Greek muſical inſtruments, and affords by much the moſt agreeable ſound of any they have here. Having ſaid enough on this ſubject, let us turn ourſelves to another.

What is moſt commendable among the Negroes, is, that we find no poor amongſt them who beg; for though they are never ſo wretchedly poor, they never beg; the reaſon of which is, that when a Negroe finds he cannot ſubſiſt, he binds himſelf for a certain ſum of money, or his friends do it for him; and the maſter to whom he hath obliged himſelf, keeps him in all neceſſaries, ſetting him a ſort of taſk, which is not in the leaſt flaviſh, being chiefly to defend his maſter on occaſion, and in ſowing time to work as much as he himſelf pleaſes. So that, as I have before told you, here are no beggars obliged to be ſo by poverty; but ſhameleſs beggars, without the leaſt neceſſity, are ſo plentiful, that they all undiſtinguiſhably deſerve that name: a king himſelf is not aſhamed to beg, and that for ſuch mean things as he might buy for one penny or two-pence; they are ſo ſcandalouſly importunate, that it is impoſſible to get from them without giving them ſomething.

Though I have been tedious in this, I hope you will pardon it; for I muſt own my itch of ſcribbling is not yet over, and I cannot help giving you an account of a wonderful and extraordinary ſort of people, I mean the Tapœyers or Mulattoes, a race begotten by Europeans upon the Negro or Mulatto women. This baſtard ſtrain is made up of a parcel of profligate villains, neither true to the Negroes nor us, nor indeed dare they truſt one another; ſo that you very rarely ſee them agree together. They aſſume the name of Chriſtians, but are as great idolaters as the Negroes themſelves. Moſt of the women are public whores to the Europeans, and private ones to the Negroes; ſo that I can hardly give them a character ſo bad as they deſerve. I can only tell you, whatever is in its own nature worſt in the European and Negroes, is united in them; ſo that they are the ſink of both. The men, moſt of which are ſoldiers in our ſervice, are cloathed as we are, but the women prink up themſelves in a particular manner: thoſe of any faſhion wear a fine ſhift, and over that a ſhort jacket of ſilk or ſtuff, without ſleeves, which reaches from under the arms to their hips, faſtened only at the ſhoulders: upon their heads they wear ſeveral caps, one upon the other; the uppermoſt of which is of ſilk, plated before and round at the top, to make it ſit faſt; upon all which they have a ſort of fillet, which comes twice or thrice around the head. Thus dreſſed, they make no ſmall ſhew: on the lower part of their body they are cloathed as the Negro-women are; and thoſe who are poor are only diſtinguiſhable by their dreſs, they going naked in the upper part of their body.

The whole brood, when young, are far from handſome, and when old, are only fit to fright children in their beds. If a painter were obliged to paint envy, I could wiſh him no better original to draw after than an old Mulatto-woman. In proceſs of time their bodies become ſpeckled with white, brown, and yellow ſpots, like the tigers, which they alſo reſemble in their barbarous nature; but I ſhall here leave them, for

fear it may be thought that I am prejudiced by hatred againſt them; but ſo far from that, that there is not a ſingle perſon who hath any thing to do with them, but he muſt own they are not worth ſpeaking to. Well, as diſagreeable as it is to be obliged to ſuch company, I have this ſatisfaction, that it cannot be ſo irkſome to me here, as it will be agreeable to me to tell you in a few months, *viva voce*, how much I am yours, &c.

LETTER X. — *Deſcribing the ſeveral Religions of the Negroes; their Opinions of a Deity, and different Sentiments concerning the Creation of Man. — Manner of ſolemn ſwearing on ſeveral Occaſions; the Manner of aſking Queſtions of their Idol, how it is managed, and the Frauds of their Prieſts on that Account; how, and on what Occaſions, public and ſolemn Exerciſes of Religion are here enjoined; every private Perſon hath his particular falſe God, and Holidays which he appoints in honour of that; the Offerings to it. — Which would be the moſt effectual Way to convert the Negroes to Chriſtianity. — Of their forbidden Meats. — Their Opinions concerning their falſe Gods; the Reward of Good and Evil. — Of Murder and Adultery, &c. wherefore amongſt them. — Various Opinions of a future Life. — Miraculous Prieſts living in the in-land Country. — What the Negroes think of Devils, Conjurors and Apparitions; how they eject Devils. — Only two Feſtivals among them. — The Difference betwixt fortunate and unfortunate Days. — They are very ſuperſtitious; an Inſtance thereof.*

SIR,

MY laſt was very long, and if I treat the ſubject largely, this will not be much ſhorter. For the religion of the Negroes, of which I deſign to ſpeak, will afford matter enough for a book alone, by reaſon of the numerous and different ſorts of it; for there is no village or town, nay, I had almoſt ſaid no private family which doth not differ from another on this head; but not thinking it worth while to recount all the various opinions, I ſhall therefore paſs them over, and only ſpeak of their public religion and worſhip, in which they almoſt all agree.

Almoſt all the Coaſt Negroes believe in one true God, to whom they attribute the creation of the world and all things in it, though in a crude indigeſted manner, they not being able to form a juſt idea of a Deity. They are not obliged to themſelves nor the tradition of their anceſtors for their opinion, rude as it is, but to their daily converſation with the Europeans, who from time to time have endeavoured to implant this notion in them. There are two reaſons which confirm me in this ſentiment; firſt, that they never make any offerings to God, nor call upon him in time of need; but in all their difficulties they apply themſelves to their Fetiche (of which more hereafter), and pray to him for ſucceſs in their undertakings: the ſecond is, the different opinions of ſome of them concerning the creation; for a great part of the Negroes believe that man was made by Ananſie, that is, a great ſpider: the reſt attribute the creation of man to God, which they aſſert to have happened in the following manner: they tell us that in the beginning God created black as well as white men; thereby not only hinting, but endeavouring to prove, that their race was as ſoon in the world as ours; and to beſtow a yet greater honour on themſelves, they tell us that God having created theſe two ſorts of men, offered two ſorts of gifts, viz. gold, and the knowledge or arts of reading and writing, giving the Blacks the firſt election, who choſe gold, and left the knowledge

knowledge of letters to the White*. God granted their requeſt, but being incenſed at their avarice, reſolved that the Whites ſhould for ever be their maſters, and they obliged to wait on them as their ſlaves. Others again affirm, that man at his firſt creation was not ſhaped as at preſent; but that thoſe parts which ſerve for the diſtinction of ſexes in men and women, were placed more in view, for the convenience of propagation: What think you, ſir, is not this a ridiculous notion? Would it not be very obliging to the Turks to ſometimes gratify their beſtial appetites with women in an unnatural manner, not to mention their Sodomy with men.

I have found very few Negroes of this ſentiment; but having aſked thoſe who are its aſſertors, when the ſhape of men was altered to its preſent ſtate; they replied, that God had done it out of reſpect to modeſty, when the world became ſo well peopled that the preſent ſhape was ſufficient to preſerve the race of mankind. Others on the Gold Coaſt would perſuade us that the firſt men came out of holes and pits, like that at preſent in a great rock on the ſea, near our fort of Acra. But it is time to ſtop my hand, for if I ſhould particularize all their notions concerning the creation, the moon and ſtars, inſtead of being ſhort I ſhould grow inſupportably tedious. I ſhall only tell you, that Father Kirchen would not find it very difficult to perſuade them that the planets are peopled, or at leaſt the moon; for they have already diſcovered a fellow beating a drum in her.

I promiſed juſt now to explain the word Fetiche, which is uſed in various ſenſes. Fetiche or Boſſum in the Negro language, derives itſelf from their falſe God, which they call Boſſum. Are they inclined to make offerings to their idols, or deſire to be informed of ſomething by them, they cry out, Let us make Fetiche; by which they expreſs as much as "let us perform our religious worſhip, and ſee or hear what our God ſaith." In like manner, if they are injured by another, they make Fetiche to deſtroy him in the following manner: they cauſe ſome victuals and drink to be exorciſed by their Feticheer or prieſt, and ſcatter it in ſome place which their enemy is accuſtomed to paſs; firmly believing, that he who comes to touch this conjured ſtuff ſhall certainly die ſoon after. Thoſe who are afraid of this, coming to ſuch places, cauſe themſelves to be carried over them, for it is the wonderful nature of this exorciſed traſh, that then it does not in the leaſt affect the perſon, nor can it at all affect thoſe who carry him, or any body elſe beſides him. So that though the art of poiſoning is a favourite peculiar to the Italians, yet they have always found themſelves obliged to endanger the innocent to come at the guilty, and never yet could hit on ſo diſtinguiſhing and diſcreet a poiſon as this of our Negroes; though I muſt confeſs I like that of the Italians ſo little, that I had rather walk over all that the Negroes can lay for me, than have any thing to do with theirs.

If they are robbed, they make uſe of much the ſame means for the diſcovery and condign puniſhment of the thief: they are ſo obſtinately bigotted to this opinion, that if you ſhould produce a hundred inſtances of its impotence, it would be impoſſible to alter their ſentiments, they having always ſomething ready on which to charge its contrary ſucceſs. If any perſon be caught throwing this poiſon, he is very ſeverely puniſhed, nay, ſometimes with death, though it be on the laſt account of thieving, which is here freely allowed. Obligatory ſwearing they alſo call making of Fetiches; is any obligation to be confirmed, their phraſe is, "let us as a farther confirmation make Fetiches."

* The Negroes believe that there is no gold in any other countries beſides their own; and that no Blacks have any knowledge of the art of letters; nor have they any notion of the extent of the world but what they recollect from our informations.

When

When they drink the oath-draught, it is uſually accompanied by an imprecation, that the Fetiche may kill them if they do not perform the contents of their obligation. Every perſon entering into any obligation is obliged to drink this ſwearing liquor. When any nation is hired to the aſſiſtance of another, all the chief ones are obliged to drink this liquor, with an imprecation, that their Fetiche may puniſh them with death, if they do not aſſiſt them with utmoſt vigour to extirpate their enemy. But oaths on this occaſion are ſo frequently taken and broken, that they themſelves have no great opinion of them; beſides, they have found out a way to abſolve themſelves from their oaths, take the money of thoſe who have hired them to the aſſiſtance, and act directly contrary to their obligation; for having entered into this ſolemn engagement or oath, in the preſence of their prieſt, they doubt not in the leaſt but that it is in his power to free them of the obligation. This, you will be apt to ſay, looks a little like the papacy; but I will aſſure you it is in reality, as I have repreſented it. But of late years ſome Negroes are ſo refined, that before they take their contractory oaths, they oblige the prieſt to ſwear firſt, and drink the oath-draught, with an imprecation, that the Fetiche ſhould puniſh him with death, if he ever abſolved any perſon from their oath without the unanimous conſent of all intereſted in that contract. Oaths taken in this manner are generally kept unviolated and punctually performed. If you aſk what opinion the Negroes have of thoſe who falſify their obligations confirmed by the oath-drink, they believe the perjured perſon ſhall be ſwelled by that liquor till he burſts; or if that doth not happen, that he ſhall ſhortly die of a languiſhing ſickneſs: the firſt puniſhment they imagine more peculiar to women, who take this draught to acquit themſelves of any accuſation of adultery; and if I may be allowed to make a compariſon, this drink ſeems very like the bitter water adminiſtered to the women in the Old Teſtament by way of purgation from the charge of adultery. Thus, in the deſcription of the religion of the Negroes, I find myſelf inſenſibly fallen upon their oaths; but ſince even that is a part of religious worſhip, I have ſome excuſe for purſuing that ſubject yet a little farther. If any perſon is ſuſpected of thievery and the indictment is not clearly made out, he is obliged to clear himſelf by drinking the oath-draught, and to uſe the imprecation, that the Fetiche may kill him if he be guilty of thievery. The ſeveral ways of taking oaths are ſo numerous, that I ſhould tire you as well as myſelf with a repetition of them: wherefore I ſhall content myſelf with adding only one eſteemed the moſt ſolemn and obligatory, which is only uſed on important occaſions, and is in the following manner:

Each prieſt or Feticheer hath his peculiar idol, prepared and adjuſted in a particular and different manner, but moſt of them like the following deſcription: — They have a great wooden pipe filled with earth, oil, blood, the bones of dead men and beaſts, feathers, hair, and, to be ſhort, all ſorts of excrementitious and filthy traſh, which they do not endeavour to mould into any ſhape, but lay it in a confuſed heap in the pipe. The Negro who is to take an oath before this idol, is placed directly oppoſite to it, and aſks the prieſt the name of his idol (each having a particular one), of which being informed, he calls the Fetiche by its name, and recites at large the contents of what he deſigns to bind by an oath, and makes it his petitionary requeſt that the idol may puniſh him with death if he ſwears falſely; then he goes round the pipe, and ſtands ſtill and ſwears a ſecond time in the ſame place and manner as before, and ſo a third time likewiſe: after which the prieſt takes ſome of the mentioned ingredients out of the pipe, with which he touches the ſwearer's head, arms, belly and legs, and holding it above his head, turns it three times round; then he cuts off a bit of the nail of one finger in each hand, of one toe of each foot, and ſome of the hair of his head, which he throws

into the pipe where the idol is lodged: all which done, the oath is firmly obligatory. But to turn to another ſubject.

When the Negroes deſign to begin a war, to drive a bargain, to travel, or attempt any think of importance, their firſt buſineſs is to conſult their falſe god by their prieſt, concerning the event of their undertaking, who very ſeldom propheſies ill, but generally encourages them to hope for proſperous ſucceſs; which they take on his word, not doubting the iſſue in the leaſt, and obſequiouſly perform all the prieſt's commands, which generally oblige them to offer up ſheep, hogs, fowls, dogs and cats to their idol; or at other times perhaps, cloaths, wine and gold; by which the prieſt is ſure to be the greateſt gainer, for he ſweeps all to himſelf, only preſenting garbage and the excrements of the ſlaughtered ſacrifice to his god to divert himſelf withal: and thus, beſides the money given him, he makes a ſhift to pay himſelf very well out of the offerings for his ſmall trouble.

If the prieſt is inclined to oblige the querent, the queſtions are put to the idol in his preſence, and generally in one of the two following methods: — The firſt way is by a bundle of about twenty ſmall bits of leather, in the middle of which they bind ſome traſh of the ſame nature with that they fill the mentioned pipe; ſome of theſe ingredients promiſe good ſucceſs, and others threaten the contrary. This bundle the prieſt ſhuffles together ſeveral times, and if thoſe which preſage a good iſſue happen to come frequently together, he aſſures the querent that his undertaking ſhall end well. But it is here to be obſerved that the dexterous prieſt can, by ſlight, make which he pleaſes of the leathers come together; and that if he ever gives them an unlucky or diſcouraging anſwer, it is only to extort more offerings from them, on pretence of appeaſing the incenſed god, but in reality to redouble his own perquiſites.

The ſecond way of conſulting their idols, is by a ſort of wild-nuts; which they pretend to take up by gueſs and let fall again: after which they tell them, and form their predictions from the numbers falling even or odd. In ſhort, the prieſts, who are generally ſly and crafty, encouraged by the ſtupid credulity of the people, have all the opportunity in the world to impoſe the groſſeſt abſurdities and fleece their purſes; as they indeed do effectually. For if the event confutes their preſage, they never want an excuſe; the ſacred rites were not carefully performed, this or that part of it was ſlubbered over or omitted, the God is therefore enraged, and it is for that reaſon the affair hath ſucceeded ſo croſsly. This is glibly ſwallowed. The prieſt is never accuſed of falſehood; if the whole land be ruined, his reputation remains ſecure and untouched: but if by chance his auguries come to paſs, there is not in the world a wiſer or holier man, and he is ſure not to want his reward.

Public general religious exerciſes of a whole nation or town are cuſtomary on account of unſeaſonableneſs or unfruitful weather in floods, or a great drought: when the chief of the town or nation aſſemble and adviſe with the prieſt what courſe is moſt proper to remove the preſent public calamity; and what they order is immediately ridiculouſly commanded or forbidden through the land by a public crier; and whoever dares preſume to act contrary to this order, is ſure to incur a large pecuniary penalty. When their fiſhery is at low ebb, they make offerings to the ſea: but this generally happens about Auguſt or September, when experience tells them that a vaſt quantity of fiſh is commonly taken, and yet this is always believed an effect of the offering.

Almoſt every village hath a ſmall appropriated grove, where the governors and chief people frequently repair to make their offerings; either for the public good, or for themſelves. Theſe groves are eſteemed ſacred, no perſon preſuming to defile them,

pluck,

pluck, cut, or break off any branches of trees; who, beſides the accuſtomed puniſhment, is not willing to lay himſelf under an univerſal malediction.

Each particular perſon hath his peculiar falſe god, which he or ſhe worſhips after their manner, on that day of the week on which he was born. This they call their Boſſum, or in their Portugueſe Sancte-Day, on which they drink no palm-wine before ſun-ſet: they are habited all in white, and as a ſign of purity ſmeared with white earth. Moſt of the Negroes, eſpecially the principal, have beſides this another weekly day ſanctified to their Fetiches. On theſe days they kill a cock, and ſometimes, if they are rich, a ſheep, which they offer up to their God in words alone; for they immediately fall upon it and tear it to pieces with their fingers; taking it for granted, that it is ſufficient to ſay it was killed for him: and as he hath none of it, ſo the owner, when a ſheep is killed, on this account, hath the leaſt ſhare of it; for his friends and acquaintance fall like a dog upon a ſick cow, each as greedly as narrowly watching his opportunity of ſeizing a piece, which goes immediately to the fire, foul or clean it is no great matter, they are not very nice: the guts they cut into ſmall pieces, and ſqueezing out the excrement with their fingers, they boil it together with the lungs, liver, and hearts, with a little ſalt and Malaget, or Guinea-pepper, without waſhing it from the blood. This they call Eyntjeba, and it is eſteemed the greateſt delicacy that can be dreſſed up.

If it was poſſible to convert the Negroes to the Chriſtian religion, the Roman Catholics would ſucceed better than we ſhould, becauſe they already agree in ſeveral particulars, eſpecially in their ridiculous ceremonies; for do the Romaniſts abſtain one or two days weekly from fleſh; theſe have alſo their days when they forbear wine; which, conſidering they are very great lovers of it, is ſomewhat ſevere. The Romaniſts have their allotted times for eating peculiar ſorts of food, or perhaps wholly abſtaining from it, in which the Negroes out-do them; for each perſon here is forbidden the eating of one ſort of fleſh or other; one eats no mutton, another no goat's-fleſh, beef, ſwines-fleſh, wild-fowl, cocks with white feathers, &c. This reſtraint is not laid upon them for a limited time, but for their whole lives: and if the Romaniſts brag of the antiquities of their eccleſiaſtical commands; ſo if you aſk the Negroes why they do this, they will readily tell you, becauſe their anceſtors did ſo from the beginning of the world, and it hath been handed down from one age to another by tradition. The ſon never eats what the father is reſtrained from, as the daughter herein follows the mother's example; and this rule is ſo ſtrictly obſerved amongſt them, that it is impoſſible to perſuade them to the contrary.

I have already informed you of the ſignification of the word Fetiche, that it is chiefly uſed in a religious ſenſe, or at leaſt is derived from thence: before I proceed to inform you how they repreſent their gods, I ſhall only hint that all things made in honour of their falſe gods, never ſo mean, are called Fetiche: and hence alſo the artificial gold mentioned in my ſixth letter derives its name.

How their gods are repreſented to them, or what idea they form of them, I never yet could learn, becauſe, indeed, they do not know themſelves: what we are able to obſerve is, that they have a great number of falſe gods; that each man, or at leaſt each houſe-keeper, hath one; which they are perſuaded narrowly inſpects their courſe of life, and rewards good, and puniſhes wicked men; but their rewards conſiſt in the multiplicity of wives and ſlaves, and their puniſhments in the want of them; though the moſt terrible puniſhment they can imagine is death, of which they are terribly afraid: and, indeed, it is this which inflames their zeal in religious affairs, and occaſions their abſtinence from forbidden meats and drinks, fearing they ſhould die if they

but once taſted it. Murther, adultery, thievery, and all other ſuch like crimes, are here accounted no ſins, becauſe they can expiate them with money; which they cannot do in any other miſdeeds, which ſtill remain charged to their account. Mr. Frederic Cojet, deſcribing the opinions of the inhabitants of Formoſa, relates the ſame concerning them.

Their notions of a future ſtate are different; moſt of them believe that immediately after the death of any perſon he goes to another world, where he lives in the ſame character as here, and makes uſe of all the offerings of his friends and relations made here after his death: but they have no idea of future rewards or puniſhments, for the good or ill actions of their paſt life; except ſome of them, who take it for granted, that the deceaſed are immediately conveyed to a famous river, ſituate in the in-land country, called Boſmanque: (ſuppoſing this to be taken in a ſpiritual ſenſe, becauſe it viſibly appears that the body is left with them). It is here their god inquires what ſort of life they have lived: have they religiouſly obſerved the holy-days, dedicated to their god, abſtained from all forbidden meats, and inviolably kept their oaths; they are gently wafted over the river, to a land abounding in all kinds of happineſs, not unlike Mahomet's Paradiſe: but if, on the contrary, the departed hath ſinned againſt any of the mentioned rules, his god plunges him into the river, where he is drowned and buried in eternal oblivion.

Others are perſuaded, that, after death, they are tranſported to the land of the Blacks or Whites, and changed into white men: this is ſomewhat like the metempſychoſis of Pythagoras, and ſerves to hint how much more honourable they account the white men beyond themſelves.

The in-land Negroes inform thoſe Blacks who live amongſt us, that a great Feticheer or prieſt lives in a very fine houſe far in-land; of which they relate nothing but miracles: they affirm, that the winds and weather are at his command, and that he can change them at pleaſure; that though his houſe is without any roof, yet it is always ſheltered from rain; that he not only knows all things paſt, but can as accurately foretel all future events as if they were preſent before his eyes, and cures all ſorts of diſtempers: in ſhort, he knows ſo much, and does ſuch wonderful things, that Father Marcus Avianus would be obliged to ſtand bare, and was indeed nothing compared with him. His countrymen aſſert, that all thoſe near his abode muſt appear before and be examined by him; upon which, if they are found to have led a good life, he ſends them away in peace to a happy place: but if on the contrary, he kills them a ſecond time with a club made on purpoſe for that uſe, and placed before his dwelling-place, that it may always be ready at hand. From hence you may eaſily infer, whether this Negro is not incredibly reverenced and eſteemed by his countrymen; and, indeed, they look upon him as a ſort of demi-god: ſo ſlily hath this arch-cheat inſinuated this great opinion of himſelf into the minds of his neighbours, that (this being no old ſtory, he at preſent living) they every day relate freſh miracles of him.

By this you may ſee, that the conjurors and miracle-mongers are no ſtrange things amongſt the Negroes; they firmly believe in them, but in a different manner from our European ridiculous opinioniſts; who are perſuaded no conjuror can do any feats without the help of the devil: for, on the contrary, the Negroes do not doubt but that it is a gift of God, and though it is in reality a down-right cheat, yet they, ignorant of the fraud, ſwallow it as a miracle, and above human power; but that the devil may not in the leaſt participate of the honour, they aſcribe it all to God: and, for my

part, if there were any men endowed with ſuch ſupernatural qualities, I ſhould certainly agree with the Negroes in aſcribing it to God, and not to the devil.

Since we are got on this ſubject, I muſt not forget to inform you that the Negroes believe that there is a devil, and that he frequently does them a great deal of miſchief: but what authors write, that they pray and make offerings to him, is utterly falſe. If I miſtake not, I have read in Oliver Dapper, that the Negroes never eat or drink, without throwing ſome portion of it to the earth for the devil; but this is a great miſtake; it is true, indeed, that before they eat or drink, they are accuſtomed to throw away ſome, but this is not for the devil, they won't oblige him ſo far; it is for their falſe god, or ſometimes for their deceaſed friend.

The devil is annually baniſhed all their towns with abundance of ceremony, at an appointed time ſet apart for that end. I have twice ſeen it at Axim, where they make the greateſt ſtir about it. This proceſſion is preceded by a feaſt of eight days, accompanied with all manner of ſinging, ſkipping, dancing, mirth, and jollity: in which time a perfect lampooning liberty is allowed, and ſcandal ſo highly exalted, that they may freely ſing of all the faults, villanies, and frauds of their ſuperiors as well as inferiors, without puniſhment, or ſo much as the leaſt interruption; and the only way to ſtop their mouths is to ply them luſtily with drink, which alters their tone immediately, and turns their ſatirical ballads into commendatory ſongs on the good qualities of him who hath ſo nobly treated them.

On the eighth day, in the morning, they hunt out the devil with a diſmal cry, all running one after another, throwing of excrements, ſtones, wood, or any thing they can come at, as thick as hail, at Satan's poſteriors. When they have driven him far enough out of town, they all return; and thus conclude their eight days divine or rather diabolical ſervice. From hence we may obſerve, that they believe there are more devils than one, becauſe he is driven out of above one hundred towns at the ſame time. And to make ſure that he doth not return to their houſes, the women waſh and ſcour all their wooden and earthen veſſels very neat, to free them from all uncleanneſs and the devil.

The Negroes of Ante alſo drive out the devil in the ſame manner: but theſe poor wretches are tormented with a worſe devil, though they call him a god. This is a giant, one ſide of his body being ſound, the other rotten, which if any perſon do but touch he dies immediately (which I believe without the leaſt ſcruple). This overgrown devil, or god (for the difference is not very great), they endeavour to appeaſe with eatables; to which purpoſe thouſands of pots or troughs of victuals are continually found ſtanding throughout the whole Anteſe country; ſo that he muſt have a worſe than canine appetite if he hath not his belly full.

They ſtedfaſtly believe the apparition of ſpirits and ghoſts, and that they frequently diſturb and terrify ſome people: ſo that when any, but more eſpecially any conſiderable perſon dies, they perplex one another with horrid fears, proceeding from an opinion that he appears for ſeveral nights ſucceſſively near his late dwelling.

They have no other ſolemn times or feſtivals, beſides that when their harveſt is compleated, which we call their Fair, and that of baniſhing the devil.

Excepting what the Negroes have learned of the Europeans, they have no notion of the diviſions of the year into months and weeks; but reckon their time by the ſhining of the moon; whence they likewiſe collect when it is proper to ſow: but that they have long been acquainted with the diviſion of months into weeks and days, ſeems very probable to me, by reaſon each day of the week has its proper name in their language. Their ſabbath falls on our Tueſday, but in Ante, like that of the Mahometans,

metans, on Friday; and differs from other days no otherwiſe, than that no perſon is then permitted to fiſh: but all other works are allowed without the leaſt interruption as freely as on other days.

The in-land Negroes divide time in a very ſtrange manner, into lucky and unlucky: in ſome countries the great fortunate time laſts nineteen, and the leſſer (which is different from the other) ſeven days; and betwixt theſe are ſeven ill or unfortunate days, which is a ſort of vacation to them, for then they do not travel, till their land, or undertake any thing of conſequence, but remain altogether idle. The inhabitants of Aquamboe are more bigotted in this particular than any of the reſt: for beſides that they will not reſolve concerning any affairs on theſe days, they will not willingly accept any preſents made them, but ſend them back again, or at leaſt cauſe them to be kept in a certain place apart until the lucky days come.

Who firſt ſettled this diſtinction of good and bad days, I cannot determine; nor do I believe any perſon can: all that I can conjecture of the reaſon of them is, that, perhaps, ſome leading man amongſt them might have been fortunate on the one, and unfortunate on the other; upon an obſervation of which he might reſolve to form it into a rule, to which he would adjuſt the remainder of his life, and that others conſequently following his example, it grew firſt into a cuſtom, and afterwards into a law.

The inhabitants of one country differ very much from thoſe of another in this particular: this nation accounting their happy days at one time, and that fixing them at another; whilſt the Coaſt Negroes do not trouble themſelves therewith in the leaſt, but believe all times alike.

On the Gold Coaſt the natives are not in the leaſt acquainted with image-worſhip, but at Arbra there are thouſands of idols.

Believing I have ſufficiently enlarged on the religion of the Guineans, I ſhall take leave of that ſubject; and to fill up a ſmall vacancy in this letter, juſt hint ſomething of their ſtrange ſuperſtition, nothing uncommon ever happening which is not attributed to ſome miracle or another: of which I could tire you and myſelf with inſtances, that happened ſince I have been here; but to avoid that, I ſhall content myſelf with one inſtance of a thouſand.

In November 1698, the King of Commany, formerly our utter enemy, was killed at Cabocors by the Engliſh; a few days after which our chief factor at Elmina happened to die, to the great grief of the Negroes, who all unanimouſly agreed, that the before-mentioned King of Commany had called him to the Eliſian fields; and that ſince he had no opportunity when alive to ſend any of our chief men thither, he had taken this opportunity after his death of obliging one to follow him, out of revenge, and that we might have the leſs reaſon to triumph, on occaſion of his death. Thus far and farther extends their horrid ſuperſtition; but we ſhall leave them and it as impoſſible to be ſeparated, and conclude this with my hearty reſpect to yourſelf and lady, &c.

LETTER XI. — *Of the Government of the Negroes, which by reaſon of the ſmall Power veſted in the Caboceroes is very looſely and irregularly managed. — The Difference between monarchical and republican Government — What ſort of Government that of Axim is; how their Courts of Juſtice are held, and how Juſtice is diſtributed; what Credit is to be given to Evidences. — The extenſive Authority of our Factor at Axim. — Puniſhments of Murther and Thievery. — Reſpect of Perſons thought no Injuſtice, and wherefore. — Stealing of Men and Cattle ſeverely puniſhed. — The Office of Judge redounds very much to the Advantage of our Factor at Axim, as appears by a farther Explanation. — The unjuſt Way of recovering Debts, which is two or threefold; Wars ariſe from hence; the Reaſons which ſometimes engage them in a War, which is very cheap; The military Force of the Negroes living on the Coaſt near the Sea is very inconſiderable: their Cowardice in Battle; their Manner of fighting; of their plundering; the Authority of their Prieſts in War; their uſual Arms; Power and Prerogative of their Kings; they live in no great State, nor are in the leaſt reverenced; their Revenue; the Poverty of ſome of them; Education of their Children very mean. — The Office of a King or chief Perſon.*

SIR,

YOUR obliging letter, dated the 4th of October, was very welcome, and ſo ſpeedily brought to me by the ſhip the Flying Dragon, that from hence only ſhe might very well deſerve that name; though I could wiſh on other occaſions ſhe were not found ſo ſwift; for when our Company's ſhips are juſt at her heels, inſtead of the two wings the painter has beſtowed on her, ſhe ſeems rather to have four by her expedition, ſhe being no ſooner diſcovered but ſhe gets out of ſight; well, however, if we cannot catch her, may God grant her a ſafe paſſage rather than ſhe fall into the enemy's hands.

It is with a great deal of ſatisfaction I am informed that you have received and are ſo well pleaſed with my letters, treating of this Coaſt, and that you like that part deſcribing the Commanian wars ſo well as to thank me for my trouble, and earneſtly deſire that I will impart what is yet wanting to complete the deſign, to excite me to which you all along praiſe my endeavours. This is what indeed might prevail upon a perſon of a humour different from mine; but I am too conſcious of my own imperfections to be ignorant how far the complimental commendations your civility beſtows, belong to me, and am not in the leaſt moved by them; but if you would urge me to proceed, you ought to uſe no other arguments than that it is your deſire, and the obligations I have to you are the moſt prevalent which can be offered. This I am writing, as a proof of my zealous inclinations to ſerve you, ſince I am not in haſte likely to obtain another opportunity, is like to take in as much matter as would fill one and a half or two letters.

Our preſent ſubjects are, the government, adminiſtration of government, and wars of the Negroes; each of which I ſhall but imperfectly touch upon, becauſe the two former will naturally fall in on ſome future occaſions, and the laſt you have already had a ſpecimen of in the relation of Commany; and to conclude this letter, I deſign to ſhow you the Guinea Kings in their brighteſt luſtre and glory.

The government of the Negroes is very licentious and irregular, which only proceeds from the ſmall authority of their chief men or Caboceroes, and frequent wars are occaſioned by their remiſs government and abſurd cuſtoms.

The difference betwixt the adminiſtration of the government of monarchies and commonwealths is here very great. Of the former, the power and juriſdiction being veſted in a ſingle perſon, I ſhall not ſay much at preſent; but ſhall only ſpeak of the republics; amongſt which that of Axim and Ante ſeeming the moſt like regular, I ſhall repreſent them as inſtances of the reſt; though indeed the beſt of their governments and methods of adminiſtration of juſtice are ſo confuſed and perplexed, that they are hardly to be comprehended, much leſs, then, are they to be expreſſed with any manner of connexion on paper.

The government of Axim conſiſts of two parts, the firſt whereof is the body of Caboceros, or chief men; the other the Manceros or young men. All civil or public affairs which commonly occur are under their adminiſtration; but what concerns the whole land, and are properly national affairs, as making of peace and war, the raiſing tributary impoſitions to be paid to foreign nations (which ſeldom happens), that falls under the cogniſance of both parts or members of the government: and on theſe occaſions the Manceros often manage with a ſuperior hand, eſpecially if the Caboceros are not very rich in gold and ſlaves, and conſequently able by their aſſiſtance to bring over the other to their ſide.

Their diſtribution of juſtice is in the following manner: — If one of the Negroes hath any pretenſion upon another, he doth not go empty-handed, but loaded with preſents of gold and brandy (the latter of which is here of a magnetic virtue), and applies himſelf to the Caboceros; after the delivery of which he ſtates his caſe to them, deſiring they will diſpatch his cauſe with the firſt opportunity, and oblige his adverſary to an ample ſatisfaction. If they are reſolved to favour him highly, a full council is called immediately, or at fartheſt within two or three days, according as it is moſt convenient; and after having maturely conſulted, judgment is given in his favour, and that frequently as directly oppoſite to juſtice as to any other reaſon than the received bribe,

But on the contrary, inſtead of favouring, are they incenſed againſt the plaintiff, or have they received a larger bribe from his adverſary, the juſteſt cauſe in the world cannot protect him from judgment againſt him; or if right appear too plainly on his ſide, to avoid an enſuing ſcandal, they will delay and keep off a trial, obliging the injured perſon, after tedious and vain ſolicitations, to wait in hopes of finding juſter judges hereafter, which perhaps does not happen in the courſe of his life, and ſo of conſequence the ſuit devolves upon his heirs as an inheritance; who, whenever an opportunity offers, though thirty years after, know very well how to make uſe of it; as I myſelf have ſeveral times had ſuch cauſes come before me, that one would be apt to think it were impoſſible they ſhould remember ſo long, conſidering they want the aſſiſtance of reading and writing.

It ſometimes falls out that the plaintiff, or perhaps the defendant, finding the cauſe given againſt him contrary to reaſon, is too impatient to wait to have juſtice done him, but makes uſe of the firſt favourable one of ſeizing ſuch a quantity of gold or goods as is likely to repair his damage, not only from his adverſary or debtor, but the firſt which falls in his way, if at leaſt he does but live in the ſame city or village; and what he poſſeſſed himſelf of, he will not re-deliver till he receive plenary ſatisfaction, and is at peace with his adverſary, or is obliged to it by force. If he be ſtrong enough to defend himſelf and his capture, he is ſure to keep it, and thereby engage a third perſon in the ſuit on account of the ſeizure of his effects for ſecurity, who hath his remedy on the perſon on whoſe account he hath ſuffered this damage; ſo that hence proceed frequent murders, and ſometimes wars are thereby occaſioned, but of this more hereafter.

But

But if the ſentence of the Caboceros be juſt, or the cauſe come to our fort to be decided in preſence of our factor, the diſpute is amicably concluded by adjuging it againſt him who the evidence prove is in the wrong, and it is found has not a ſufficient plea to offer in his defence to clear himſelf of it: but if on the other ſide he can clear himſelf by witneſſes, he is diſcharged; and if neither of the parties have any evidence, the accuſed clearing himſelf upon oath is diſcharged; which, if he cannot do, he is liable to have judgment paſſed againſt him to pay what is charged on him, provided that the plaintiff has given in his charge upon oath, which he is always obliged to do.

The oath of purgation is preferred before the oath of accuſation; for if the plaintiff prove his complaint by two, or but one witneſs, the defendant is not allowed to ſwear.

This frequently occaſions ſome very ill accidents, perjury being no new thing among the Negroes; and he that is injured this way, is ſure to watch all opportunities of revenge. But this injuſtice very ſeldom or never occurs any where but at diſtant and far in-land places, where our factors can take no cognizance of it: but all ſuits ariſing amongſt or near our forts, are determined by the ſentence of the factor and the Caboceros, and ſo remain decided for ever, their judgment being ſtrictly obligatory, and admitting of no appeal but to the director-general, in caſe the factor and Caboceros have been miſinformed in the cauſe, which ſcarcely ever happens; ſo the Negroes pay the fine they are condemned in with the utmoſt willingneſs. What theſe fines are, and how proportioned to crimes, I ſhall immediately inform you.

Thus you ſee, when a law-ſuit is begun, we can end it without the aſſiſtance of attornies or counſellors, in a much ſhorter time, and perhaps with as much juſtice, as where thoſe gentlemen are moſt employed; though I muſt own that the cauſes here are ſeldom ſo difficult and puzzling as to require the advice or aſſiſtance of council; for the cauſes, plantiffs, defendants, and judges, are equally ſimple, and upon a level; ſo I leave to your judgment whether this is to be commended or blamed.

As to the uſual penalties: firſt, murder is puniſhed two ſeveral ways; one is by the death of the murderers, and the other by a pecuniary mulct, which again is of two ſorts, with reſpect to the free, and thoſe who are not ſo; that is, the free-born and the ſlaves.

It is very ſeldom that any perſon is here executed for murder, if he either hath any effects himſelf, or hath any rich friends to pay the appointed fine.

If anybody kill a free-born Negro of Axim, and the murder is to be remitted by a fine, the old uſual ſum of five hundred crowns is demanded of him, though the whole demand is ſeldom paid, the murderers generally getting ſome abatement, according as the relations of the murdered perſon ſtand affected, for it is at their choice to be contented with as little as they pleaſe, and them only he is obliged to agree with; quite contrary to what a certain writer affirms, viz. that the fines accrue to the King, which is ſo falſe, that he has no pretence to the leaſt ſhare, unleſs he hath been aſſiſtant in the getting of them, when, indeed, he is paid for his trouble only.

The mentioned five hundred crowns is to be underſtood of a common free Negro, but on account of a conſiderable perſon I have known the fine augmented to ten times that ſum; which, indeed, ſhould not ſuffice, there being too many that would willingly give five hundred crowns to remove a chief man out of the way; wherefore the fine, in this caſe, is left to the diſcretion of the judges.

The murder of a ſlave is uſually fined ſix-and-thirty crowns, but it is in this caſe as in the firſt, if the murderer ſtand hard he obtains an abatement of the injured perſon, who ſeldom gets above a chain or ſtring of gold of above thirty-two crowns.

But if a murderer cannot pay his fine, he is obliged to give blood for blood, and is accordingly executed in a miſerable and cruel manner; for they do in a ſort kill him a thouſand times, by cutting, hacking, pricking, or running him through the body, and ſhooting him, or whatever elſe they can invent to torture him, unleſs our factor ſends for him out of their hands, and orders his crime to be puniſhed by ſtriking off his guilty head. Next to murder, thievery and adultery is moſt ſeverely puniſhed, but at preſent we ſhall only touch on the former, reſerving the latter for another place.

Robbery is commonly puniſhed by the reſtoration of the ſtolen goods, and paying a fine; in the adjudging of which, particular regard is had to the value of the ſtolen goods, the place where and by whom the fact is committed: for example, one is fined twenty crowns, beſides what he hath ſtolen, and another for robbery, every way equal, ſhall be fined one hundred or more, and that without the leaſt injuſtice, I mean according to their ancient municipal cuſtoms, of which a factor, who ſits in judgment, ought not to be ignorant, leſt, according to his own opinion only, he pronounces an improper ſentence. Reſpect of perſons in the adminiſtration of juſtice, is not here looked upon as the leaſt injuſtice, though the beſt effect of this is, that the rich are commonly more ſeverely handled than the poor, which they think reaſonable on two accounts: firſt, the rich were not urged to it by neceſſity; and, ſecondly, they can better ſpare the money; for nobody is here fined above his ability, unleſs, by an accumulation of crimes, he hath given occaſion thereto, and then he is ſent into ſlavery. This is the true reaſon why a diſcreet Negro, though he is rich, will always pretend poverty, leſt he or ſome of his relations, falling into the hands of the judges, ſhould be too hardly uſed on that account.

The ſtealing of men is puniſhed with rigid ſeverity, and ſometimes with death itſelf; and they are equally ſevere againſt the ſtealers of cattle, as hogs, ſheep, &c. And herein they agree with our opinion, for the dumb beaſt cannot defend itſelf, nor call any to its aſſiſtance. They will rather put a man to death for ſtealing a ſheep, than killing a man, more eſpecially in thoſe places where they are free from any ſubjection to the Europeans, who generally puniſh it by a pecuniary mulct only; whether it be that they are not fond of blood, or that they love the profit which accrues to them thereby, that I leave to you to determine, ſince I have before informed you that the Negroes under our government had rather it ſhould be atoned by a fine, but not extorted by avarice inſtead of juſtice. And, according to this rule, I ſquared my conduct in my judge's office, of which I ſhall hereafter give you an inſtance.

All fines which occur at Axim are paid into the factor's hands, who diſtributes them to the injured perſons, firſt deducting his fee, which not many years paſt was very conſiderable, but not long ſince was diminiſhed by a certain gentleman, and the factor ſtrictly ordered not to demand more than eight crowns for the deciſion of the moſt important ſuit which ſhould come before him; and not only that, but if offered, he was commanded to refuſe it; an order really too ſevere, to hinder another's doing good, and not permit him to receive and uſe his juſt perquiſites at pleaſure. This gentleman pretended thereby to ſhew his tenderneſs to the Blacks, but myſelf and ſeveral others were of another opinion: its true ſource was pure envy, which would not ſuffer him to let any of the officers of the Company, his fellow-ſervants, to get any thing, nor indeed any but himſelf, of which his continual management with the Blacks was but too convincing a proof: for if he himſelf decided any cauſe for them, or fined them for any crime, he was not content to be paid eight crowns only, but, on the other hand, ſometimes enhanced the price to ſome hundreds; and I believe the Axim factors, finding this law ſo exorbitantly broken by its maker, have not the leaſt

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regard to it: nor are they in the wrong, for it directly clashes with the old municipal customs of the country; and for my part, if it had been made before my coming into that office, I should not have taken much notice of it; but by acting consonant to their ancient usages, have gained the affection of the Blacks more than by following any innovation; and this very law-giver, on the contrary, by unjust management and his exorbitant avarice, was only exposed to their implacable hatred and inveterate curses. But enough on this head: I shall next shew what are the perquisites which accrue to the factor at Axim, by the exercise of his judicial office.

For instance, if a Negro be fined one hundred crowns for a crime, the factor's share is two-thirds, and the assembly of Caboceros have the remaining third. But on account of murder, robbery, or the forcing the payment of debts, three-fourths of the whole are the complainant's, and the remainder belonging to the factor and the Caboceros, is divided according to the mentioned proportion of one-third to the Caboceros, and two-thirds to the factor, which render it much more advantageous for the factor to be judge here than in our own country, supposing our European judges to act honestly; what they get by unlawful means, as I am ignorant, I do not desire to be better informed. These judicial fees are, or at least before this order were, paid very freely, without the least scruple by the Negroes; even those for whom the factor had got in a debt, were very well contented to pay one-fourth part of the whole receipt, and this was as firmly settled as the price of bread at Amsterdam.

I shall, according to my promise, by way of digression, insert a relation of a cause depending when I was factor at Axim. In the country of Ancober, which hath long been subject to Axim, lived two Caboceros, both considerable men, who for several years had been engaged in a dispute, each pretending that the other was born his slave, and by inheritance he had an inviolable right over him; this was a very perplexed cause, each of them seemed to back his pretence with reason, and a proof deduced from many years past; insomuch, that the Caboceros of Ancober found themselves puzzled how to decide it; and both parties being agreed to plead the cause before me, and expect my determination; not that they thought me wiser than their countrymen and honourable council, but only that it might be ended by my power; accordingly it came before my judgment-seat, and though I patiently spent one whole day in hearing the cause, yet I assure you, at the end, I was just as wise as at the beginning, each of them confirming his pretension by so many witnesses, and seeming to have so much right of his side, that I could not tell whom to give it for. But, however, to put an end to this litigious suit, I asked them if they were both contented to submit to my decision; to which he freely consenting, I spoke to them in reconciling terms, assuring them that all which they pretended, on each side, seemed reasonable; wherefore it was impossible to decide which of them was in the right, the proper witnesses of this cause being all long since dead, and that all the evidence they had brought was not valid, it being only by hear-say, and the merits of the cause consequently forgotten: having thus prepared them as cautiously as I could, and observed that they both seemed to agree to it, I made difficulties of deciding the dispute, by telling them that before they went out of my fort it was my request they should be perfectly reconciled, and own each other for free-men; and that he who should ever pretend that the other was his slave, should be liable to a severe fine.

They both seemed very well satisfied with this determination, embracing each other, and vowing an eternal friendship: and the more effectually to convince me of their satisfaction, they each of them made me a very good present for putting an end to their quarrel: and, indeed, I really believed all was forgotten and forgiven. But two

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or three months afterwards one of them hired two ruffians to murther the other in his own houſe, which they did by ſhooting him through the head: at which I being very much incenſed, conſidering it as a thing of dangerous conſequence by no means to be ſuffered in a well-governed commonwealth, as we ſay, but to be exemplarily puniſhed in order to deter others from ſuch practices, ſent ſome of my principal officers to Ancober with orders to have the murtherers delivered over to me, that I might bring them to condign puniſhment: but they boldly anſwered them, that they were not ſubject to their maſter, and that he might exerciſe his authority where he had juriſdiction. This angered me yet worſe, for by this not only myſelf but the authority of the Company was affronted and diminiſhed; to keep up which nothing ought to be neglected. Upon which I ſoon reſolved to go to that country, accompanied with ſome of our people, and being gotten about three miles from our fort, I found about five hundred armed Negroes, imagining, I ſuppoſe, the ſight of them would terrify me: but on the contrary, as ſoon as the mutual ſalutations were paſſed, I aſked them why they denied and affronted the authority of the Company, and did not conſider what miſchief it would pull down on their heads: to which they anſwered, that they were belied, for they never pretended to forfeit the protection of the Hollanders, or withdraw their obedience, ſince the former was ſo advantageous to their country. Having thus far received ſatisfaction, I demanded the murtherers to be delivered to me in order to their puniſhment; but this they poſitively denied, but told me, perhaps they would puniſh them themſelves. Upon this I took my leave of them and was going away, but threatened them withal, that from this time forward I ſhould believe they all had a hand in the murther, and that I would certainly ſecure all of their countrymen I could get into my power, and puniſh them as murtherers: this had ſuch a good effect, that they immediately conſulted together, and ſent ſome of their people to deſire me to give them a little time to conſider of my demand, upon which they would bring me an anſwer. I ſtaid about a quarter of an hour; after which they brought me the malefactors fettered, only deſired me that I would not be too haſty in puniſhing them, but only ſtay till they were all preſent, which I promiſed them; and returned with the criminals, very well ſatisfied with my expedition.

Scarce three days after, all the chief men of Ancober came and ſhewed themſelves before my fort, requeſting that I would acquaint them how I intended to puniſh the murtherers; they were anſwered, by beheading them. And to ſtrike a great terror, I cauſed the executioner with his inſtruments to appear. Upon which they ſet up a diſmal lamentation, and begged that I would, in compliance with the cuſtom of their country, ſuffer the crime to be atoned with money: though I deſired nothing more, yet I ſtood off as though I was not to be perſuaded to that until the relations of the murthered perſons, who were already appeaſed, came and deſired me, and what was moſt perſuaſive, offered me the whole fine: this was what I aimed at; but, however, to ſhew myſelf as generous as they, I was ſatisfied with half the ſum, and ſo we were both very well contented, and the criminals, who were the children of conſiderable people, were ſet at liberty. This I have related at large, to ſhew you how we manage ourſelves here to keep up our authority and reſpect; which is ſo conſiderable, that no Negro is permitted, without leave of the factor, to decide any cauſe, upon forfeiture of all that is thereby gained. In my time a Negro came to deſire me to get him a debt, which I promiſed, and performed accordingly; but the debtor, who was no very good friend of his, informed me that this debt was contracted by lying with the other's wife, and appointed to be paid by the Caboceros. The plaintiff coming for his money, I aſked him if he did not know that it was all forfeit, he having ended the

affair without my knowledge; he frankly confeſſed that it was, and begged I would give him but one fourth part of it; but finding him ſo moderate, I gave him half; for which he very ſubmiſſively thanked me, and went away very joyful.

This is intended to prevent the Negroes having any opportunity of forming any deſigns in oppoſition to us, or to our diſadvantage.

But to return to where I left off: at ſeveral places on the Coaſt, debts are recovered in a very unjuſt and villainous manner, eſpecially in thoſe places where we have little or no power, or in ſome of the kingdoms. A raſcally creditor in thoſe places, inſtead of aſking his money of his debtor, and ſummoning him before the judges in caſe of refuſal, ſeizes the firſt thing he can meet with, though of 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 nobody can hinder, ſo he goes immediately to aſk the other for money for his goods. This is very extravagant juſtice, the firſt creditor has ſix times the value of his debt, and if the ſecond is as unreaſonable as the firſt, and affirms that he would not part with his goods for a leſs price, the creditor is obliged to give him full ſatisfaction, in imitation of an old Roman law; by which, if any perſon was injured in his honour and reputation, the injurer was obliged to pay ſuch a ſum as the injured ſhould ſwear he would not ſuffer the damages for leſs, if left to his choice. It is true, indeed, this courſe is generally taken in caſe of ſmall debts: but, however, the poor wretch that is the debtor, is ſometimes obliged to pay a ſhilling for a debt of one penny in proportion. This is not to be oppoſed, for the creditor is more potent than he, and is upheld in it, perhaps by the King, or the great ones: this happens daily; and ſeveral men are thereby enriched upon a poor eſtate; and this here bears the name of juſtice; but in my opinion it is abominably diſtorted. Some Negroes have yet another way to force money out of people: which is, that one of theſe inſolent fellows goes to a perſon, and tells him that he hath received ſuch damage by his ſon, nephew, ſlave, or ſomebody elſe depending on him; for which he comes to aſk ſatisfaction of him, threatening him that elſe he will murther or ſorely wound him or ſhoot ſomebody elſe at his coſt; and if this villain have courage enough to put it into execution, as I have twice ſeen it happen, the other muſt ſuffer the ſame as if he had done it.

Beſides their accuſtomed diſtribution of juſtice above deſcribed, they have yet a very odd ſort of juſtice, which is under the direction and adminiſtration of the Manceros, who have erected a ſort of judicial ſociety in every conſiderable village, whoſe province it is to adjudge all trivial crimes that ſhall appear before them, and of theſe the Negroes are very frequently guilty; I mean beating, curſing, or reviling one another: upon which the perſon who thinks himſelf injured, applies to the Manceros much in the following terms, viz. ſuch a perſon hath injured me, I ſell or ſurrender him to you; puniſh him according to his deſert. Upon which theſe gentlemen with utmoſt diligence take him into cuſtody, and after a very ſuperficial enquiry into his crime, lay a fine of ſome crowns upon him; which if he ſeems unwilling to pay, as being unjuſtly impoſed on him, they not having heard what he had to ſay in his defence, the Manceros not at all concerned hereat only go to the market, where they take up as much goods on his account as the amount of the fine; which he is, though unwilling, forced to pay; and they have no ſooner received this money, but it is ſpent in palm-wine and brandy.

The offences which theſe Manceros uſually fine are ſo various and ridiculous, that I have not patience enough to particularize any of them; it is enough that I inform you that

that if theſe idle judges have nothing to do the whole day, and conſequently get no money to make them drink; their time is only ſpent in contriving to bring in ſomebody on one pretence or another in order to furniſh them with liquor.

The conſultations with the Caboceros in conjunction with the Manceros principally relating to war, we ſhall at preſent touch upon.

When they are deſirous of entering into a war, on account of ambition, plunder, or to aſſiſt other countries already engaged in a war, theſe two councils conſult together: but otherwiſe the greateſt part of their wars are chiefly occaſioned by the recovery of debts, and the diſputes of ſome of the chief people among them. I have formerly hinted ſomething on this ſubject, with promiſe to proceed farther on it.

The firmeſt peace of neighbouring nations is frequently broken in the following manner:—One of the leading men in one country hath money owing him from a perſon in an adjacent country, which is not ſo ſpeedily paid as he deſires; on which he cauſes as many goods, freemen, or ſlaves to be ſeized by violence and rapine in the country where his debtor lives, as will richly pay him: the men ſo ſeized he claps in irons, and if not redeemed ſells them, in order to raiſe money for the payment of the debt: if the debtor be an honeſt man and the debt juſt, he immediately endeavours by the ſatisfaction of his creditors to free his country-men: or if their relations are powerful enough they will force him to it: but when the debt is diſputable, or the debtor unwilling to pay it, he is ſure to repreſent the creditor amongſt his own countrymen as an unjuſt man, who hath treated him in this manner contrary to all right, and that he is not at all indebted to him: if he ſo far prevails on his countrymen that they believe him, he endeavours to make ſome of the other land priſoners by way of reprizal; after which they conſequently arm on each ſide, and watch all opportunities of ſurprizing each other. They firſt endeavour to bring the Caboceros over to their party, becauſe they have always ſome men at their devoir; next the ſoldiers: and thus from a trifle a war is occaſioned betwixt two countries, who before lived in amity, and continues till one of them be ſubdued; or, if their force be equal, till the principal men are obliged to make peace at the requeſt of the ſoldiers; which frequently happens, eſpecially about ſowing time, when all the warriors deſire to return to till the ground; for in ſerving in the war without pay, and defraying all expences out of their private fortunes, they quickly grow tired; eſpecially if they get no advantage of, and conſequently no plunder by the enemy.

When the governors of one country are inclined to make war with thoſe of another, perhaps on account that they make a better figure in their manner of living, or that they are richer; ſo that theſe have a mind to ſome of their effects: then they aſſemble together, in conjunction with the Manceros, who alſo give their advice, and being young, and puft up with hopes of plunder, are eaſily induced by the perſuaſions of the Caboceros; and the joint reſolution is no ſooner formed than every one prepares for war; and being got ready, make an irruption into the deſigned country, without giving the leaſt notice or declaring war, urging much the ſame reaſons with a preſent European potentate, "It is My royal will and pleaſure, and for My glory." And thus they kill and pillage each other. The injured nation, to revenge this perfidious breach of peace, if not powerful enough of itſelf, hires another to aſſiſt it for leſs than 2,000l. ſterling; for which price the beſt are here to be had, well armed and appointed for an engagement: ſo that, indeed, war is not here very dear, though at this cheap rate you cannot imagine the armies ſo formidable that are hired for ſuch trivial wages: but plunder is their chief aim, inſtead of which they often get good ſtore of blows, which prove all the perquiſites to their mentioned wages. Theſe wages they

divide amongſt the Caboceros and the Manceros; but the former manage the affair ſo cunningly, that the latter have not above four or five ſhillings each, or perhaps half that ſum; for the leading men are ſure to adjuſt the account ſo well in favour of themſelves, that a mighty reſidue is not likely to be left to make a future dividend. But as for the plunder, though particularly appropriated to defray the expence of the war in the firſt place, and the remainder to be divided, yet every man ſeizes the firſt part thereof he can lay hold on, without any regard to the public: but if no booty is to be come at, the Manceros, like cats that have wet their feet, make the beſt of their way home, not being obliged to ſtay longer than they themſelves pleaſe. Each is under a particular chieftain in a ſort, though he can command only his ſlaves; a free Negro not owning his authority, or ſubmitting even to their kings, unleſs compelled by their exorbitant power, without which they live entirely at their own pleaſure: but if their leader is diſpoſed to march up firſt towards the enemy, he may, but will not, be followed by many.

War, as I have twice before told you, is not ſo expenſive as in Europe; our four years war with the Commanyſchians (except the damage done to our trade) did not coſt us in all ſix thouſand pounds ſterling: for which ſum we had ſucceſſively five nations in our pay. But I have formerly treated this ſubject ſo largely, that I need not ſay any more of it at preſent.

A national offenſive war may very well be managed here with four thouſand men in the field; but a defenſive requires more. Sometimes the number of what they call an army does not amount to more than two thouſand. From whence you may infer of what force the monarchies and republics on the coaſt are, Fantyn and Aquamboe only excepted; the firſt of which is able to bring an army of twenty-five thouſand men, and the latter a much larger. But the inland potentates, ſuch as Akim, Aſiante, &c. are not to be reckoned amongſt theſe, they being able to overrun a country by their numerous armies; though I cannot inform you any otherwiſe concerning thoſe people, than what by hints we learn from the Negroes, who are not always to be believed. But as for the monarchies ſituate near us, I dare affirm, that though each of the two contending armies were compoſed of five or ſix ſeveral nations, they would not together make twenty-five thouſand men; upon which account, joined to their cowardice, very few men are killed in a battle; and that engagement is very warm which leaves one thouſand men upon the place; for they are ſo timorous, that as ſoon as they ſee a man fall by them, they run for it, and only think of getting ſafe home. In the laſt battle between the Commanyſchians and thoſe of Saboe, Acanni, Cabes-Terra, and two or three other countries, I do not believe that one hundred men were killed, and yet the Commanyſchians drove their enemies out of the field, and obtained a complete victory.

They are very irregular in their engagements, not obſerving the leaſt ſhadow of order; but each commander hath his men cloſe together in a ſort of crowd, in the midſt of which he is generally to be found; ſo that they attack the enemy man for man, or one heap of men againſt another; and ſome of their commanders ſeeing their brother-officer furiouſly attacked, and ſomewhat put to it, chooſe rather to run with the hare than hold with the hounds, and that frequently before they had ſtruck one ſtroke, or ſtood ſo much as one bruſh; and their friends whom they left engaged certainly follow them, if in the leaſt preſſed, unleſs ſo entangled with the enemy that it is not for want of good will if they do not; but if no opportunity offers, though againſt their will, they get the reputation of good ſoldiers.

In fight, the Negroes do not ſtand upright againſt one another, but run ſtooping and liſtening, that the bullets may fly over their heads. Others creep towards the enemy, and,

and, being come close, let fly at them; after which they run away as fast as they can, and, as if the devil were sure of the hindmost, get to their own army as soon as possible, in order to load their arms and fall on again. In short, their ridiculous gestures, stooping, creeping, and crying, make their fight more like monkeys playing together than a battle.

The booty which the commonalty chiefly aim at are the prisoners and ornaments of gold, and Conte de Terra; for some, especially the in-land Negroes, are so simple as to dress themselves in the richest manner possible on these occasions; wherefore they are frequently so loaded with gold and Conte de Terra, that they can scarcely march.

Common prisoners who cannot raise their ransom, are kept or sold for slaves at pleasure: if they take any considerable person, he is very well guarded, and a very high ransom put upon him; but if the person who occasioned the beginning of the war be taken, they will not easily admit him to ransom, though his weight in gold were offered, for fear he should in future form some new design against their repose.

The most potent Negro cannot pretend to be insured from slavery, for if he ever ventures himself in the wars, it may easily become his lot; he is consequently obliged to remain in that state till the sum demanded for his redemption is fully paid, which withal is frequently set so high, that he, his friends, and all his interest, are not sufficient to raise it; on which account, he is forced to a perpetual slavery, and the most contemptible offices. Some amongst them are so barbarous, that finding their hopes of a high ransom frustrated, they pay themselves by cruelly murdering the wretched prisoner.

Wars betwixt two despotical Kings, who have their subjects entirely at their command, are of a long duration, and frequently last several years successively, or till the utter ruin of one of them ends the dispute. They frequently lie a whole year encamped against each other without attempting any thing, a few diverting skirmishes excepted: only against rainy weather they each return home without molesting one another.

Though this is chiefly owing to their priests, without whose suffrage they are not easily induced to attempt a battle; they advise them against it, under pretence that their gods have not yet declared in favour of them; and if they will attempt it notwithstanding, they threaten an ill issue: but if these crafty villains observe that their army is much stronger than the enemies, and the soldiers well inclined to fighting, they always advise to attempt it; though with such a cautious reserve, that if it succeeds contrary to expectation, they never want an excuse to bring themselves off: the commanders or soldiers have done this or that thing, which they ought not to have done; for which reason the whole army is punished. In short, let the event prove how it will, the priest is infallibly innocent, and his character always maintains its own reputation.

I doubt not but I have sufficiently enlarged on their ridiculous wars, if I have not dwelt longer on them than they deserve; wherefore I shall relate the events which happened in my time, and apply myself to the description of their military arms.

The chief of these are musquets or carabins, in the management of which they are wonderfully dextrous. It is not unpleasant to see them exercise their army; they handle their arms so cleverly, discharging them several ways, one sitting, the second creeping, or lying, &c. that it is really to be admired they never hurt one another. Perhaps you wonder how the Negroes come to be furnished with fire-arms, but you will have no reason when you know we sell them incredible quantities, thereby obliging them with a knife to cut our own throats. But we are forced to it; for if we would not, they might be sufficiently stored with that commodity by the English, Danes, and Brandenburghers;

and could we all agree together not to ſell them any, the Engliſh and Zealand interlopers would abundantly furniſh them: and ſince that and gun-powder for ſome time have been the chief vendible merchandiſe here, we ſhould have found but an indifferent trade without our ſhare in it. It were, indeed, to be wiſhed that theſe dangerous commodities had never been brought hither, or at leaſt, that the Negroes might be in a ſhort time brought to be content with ſomewhat elſe in their room: but this in all appearance is never likely.

Next their guns, in the ſecond place are their ſwords, ſhaped like a ſort of chopping-knives, being about two or three hands broad at the extremity, and about one at the handle, and about three or four ſpans long at moſt; and a little crooked at the top. Theſe ſabres are very ſtrong, but commonly ſo blunt that ſeveral ſtrokes are neceſſary to cut off a-head: they have a wooden guard, adorned on one ſide, and ſometimes on both, with ſmall globular knobs, covered with a ſort of ſkin, whilſt others content themſelves with bits of rope ſinged black with the blood of ſheep or other cattle, with the additional ornament of a bunch of horſe-hair, amongſt people of condition thin gold plates are uſual: to this weapon belongs a leather-ſheath almoſt open on one ſide; to which, by way of ornament, a tiger's head, or a large red ſhell is hung; both which are valuable here. Theſe ſabres they wear when they go out at their left hip, hanging in a belt, which is girt about their waiſts for that end, or ſtuck in their Paan, which is round about their bodies, and comes betwixt their legs, that they may run the ſwifter; beſides which, they are begirt with a bandalier belt, with about twenty bandaliers. They have a cap on their heads made of a crocodile's ſkin, adorned on each ſide with a red ſhell, and behind with a bunch of horſe-hair, and a heavy iron-chain, or ſomething elſe inſtead of it, girt round their head. Thus appointed, with their bodies coloured white, our heroes look liker devils than men.

Their other weapons are firſt a bow and arrow; but theſe are not much in vogue amongſt the Coaſt Negroes, thoſe of Aquamboe alone excepted, who are ſo nicely dextrous in ſhooting, that in hare-hunting they will lodge their ſmall fine arrows in what part of the hare's body is deſired. Theſe arrows have feathers at their head, and are pointed with iron. The Negroes of Awinee uſually poiſon them; but on the Coaſt that pernicious cuſtom is not practiſed, nor do they ſo much as know what poiſon is.

Next follow the Aſſagay or Haſſagay, as ſome call them, which are of two ſorts; the ſmaller ſorts are about a Flemiſh ell, or perhaps half an ell longer, and very ſlender, and theſe they caſt as darts; the ſecond, or larger ſort, are about twice as long and large as the former, the upper part pointed with iron like a pike; ſome of them are covered for the length of one ſpan or two, though in all manner of ſhapes. The Aſſagay ſerves them inſtead of a ſabre, that having their ſhield in the left hand, they may the more conveniently dart the Aſſagay with the right, for they have always ſomebody or other to carry them after them.

Laſt of all are their ſhields, which ſerve only as a defenſive covering of the body, and not to the offending any perſon. I have ſeen Negroes wonderouſly dextrous in the management of theſe ſhields, which they hold in their left hand, and a ſabre in the right; and playing with both, they put their body into very ſtrange poſtures, and ſo artificially cover themſelves with the ſhield, that it is impoſſible to come at them. Theſe ſhields, which are about four or five foot long, and three broad, are made of oſiers; ſome of which are covered with gold leather, tigers' ſkins, or ſome other materials; ſome of them alſo have at each corner and in the middle broad thin copper-plates faſtened on, to ward off the arrows and the light Aſſagayes, as well as the blows of the ſabre, if they are good, though they are not proof againſt a muſquet-ball.

I think theſe are all the weapons uſed amongſt the Negroes, without I ſhould tell you that ſome of them alſo are poſſeſſed of a few cannon; it is indeed true, but they uſe them in a very ſlovenly manner. The King of Saboe hath a very ſmall number, with which he has been in the field, but he never made uſe of them. Some of them, after once firing them, have ſuffered the enemy to take them, as it happened to the Commanyſchians; after which, thoſe who took them were ignorant of the uſe of them; ſo that theſe monarchs' cannon only ſerves to ſhoot by way of compliment and ſalutation, of which the Blacks are very fond.

Promiſes create a debt; and at the beginning of this letter you have my word that it ſhould conclude with the grandeur of their Kings; in purſuance of which, let us ſee wherein it conſiſts.

The extent of their territories is ſo ſmall, that ſome of them have not more land under their juriſdiction than a ſingle captain or bailiff of a village, and bear the ſame name accordingly amongſt the Negroes: for before the arrival of the Europeans in this country, no higher title was known amongſt them than that of captain or colonel, with this only difference, that the one was appropriated to a country, but the other to a village. But ſince their converſation with us, they, or rather we, make a diſtinction betwixt a king and a captain. The firſt word by which it was expreſſed, was Obin or Abin, which ſignifies captain in our language, but they always underſtood by it a commander of a country, town, or nation, for our maſters of ſhips generally aſſume the ſame title; and by the ſame appellation would alſo be applied, without any diſtinction, to our director-general and chief of forts, if we did not better inform the natives of the difference. Kings are obliged in this country to preſerve their power by dint of force; wherefore the richer they are in gold and ſlaves, the more they are honoured and eſteemed; and without thoſe, they have not the leaſt command over their ſubjects; but on the contrary, would not only be obliged to pray, but pay their underlings to execute their commands. But if the goddeſs Fortune has endowed them with a rich ſhare of treaſure, they are naturally cruel enough to govern their people tyrannically, and puniſh them ſo ſeverely in their purſes for trivial crimes, that they cannot forget it all the remainder of their lives; and this is done with a ſeeming colour of juſtice; for the King, having any thing to charge on another, delivers the matter into the hands of the Caboceros, and ſubmits it to their deciſion; who, knowing his mind, are ſure to aggravate the crime as much as poſſible, and take care that their judgment be conſonant to his royal will and pleaſure.

The Kings in their dwellings, or, if I may ſo call them, courts, do not diſtinguiſh themſelves by keeping any ſtate. There is no guard at their palace-gates, nor anybody to wait on them; and when they ſtir abroad in their town, it is very ſeldom they are attended by any more company than two boys, one of which carries the ſabre, the other the ſtool or chair; and if they are met in the ſtreets, they are about as much complimented as a cobler amongſt us, whom we hardly beſtow a hat upon, if we know him to be ſuch. The meaneſt ſlave never ſtirs one ſtep out of the way on their account. But on the contrary, if they are going to pay a viſit to any perſon in another town, or are to be viſited by ſome conſiderable man, they always take care to ſhew their grandeur, and on ſuch occaſions are always accompanied with armed men; ſeveral ſhields are then carried for their uſe, and an umbrella above their heads, that the gentleman's ſkin be not darkened by the ſun: their wives are then finely dreſſed with gold and other rich ornaments, and have a long ſtring of gold and Conte de Terra, or coral, hung about them; though in their towns they and all their wives are ſo wretchedly habited,

habited, that their cloaths are ſometimes not worth one ſhilling, nor ſufficient to diſtinguiſh them from the meaneſt ſlave.

Theſe great Princes are ſo miſerably covetous, that there is not one of their ſubjects ſo poor, from whom they would not catch at a preſent. Hence it is, that Their Majeſties' kitchens are not much better furniſhed than thoſe of the common Negroes; bread, oil, and a little ſtinking fiſh makes up their bill of fare, and water is their drink for the greateſt part of the day; in the morning, if they have it, they drink brandy; and in the afternoon, palm-wine: in one word, their manner of living is indiſtinguiſhable from the meaneſt amongſt them.

At the time when the palm-wine comes from the in-land country, they go in the afternoons altogether, viz. ſlaves and all as companions, to the public market-place, where they ſit down and drink very ſociably; every one that pleaſes, bringing his own ſtool, adds himſelf to the croud: here they tipple till they have even burſt the lice on their head; but when they are a little warmed, and their thirſt ſomewhat ſlacked, they drink like Caboceros, whole bumpers and pints; for the calabaſh, out of which they drink, holds a pint, quart, or ſometimes a pottle, which, when they come to be merry, is half or perhaps quite filled, which they ſet to their mouths to drink, ſtraining to about two-thirds through their beards in order to fall to the ground, making by that means a ſort of rivulet of wine on the place where they ſit, and this is eſteemed a great piece of magnanimity. The Europeans (amongſt whom I do not pretend to be ſingular) are very good at this ſport; but it is well for them it is not Rhiniſh or French wine, for that would be too expenſive; and here, for four or five ſhillings, they may get drunk and throw away large quantities.

When theſe drunken brethren come together, they are as impertinent and noiſy as the Smouſe or German jews at their ſynagogue at Amſterdam; but you muſt not imagine the diſcourſe to turn on ſerious ſubjects or ſtate affairs, not in the leaſt, it is generally rank bawdy, of which they are ſo full, that it continually runs over; and though the women come amongſt them, this is no reaſon for interrupting the diſcourſe, for they are always ready to bear their part, being very richly furniſhed on this head; nor is it ever thought ſcandalous for them to diſplay this ſort of talent. In ſhort, this is a perfect babbling and ſcolding-ſchool, where each perſon freely gives his neighbour his own, as they call it; but in a much better manner than in Europe, where railing is the buſineſs of the private entertaining rooms, for here the perſons exclaimed againſt are preſent, and conſequently may vindicate themſelves: but hold, I ſhall run too far; it is fit, I tell you, that though the Kings live thus in common with their ſlaves, yet on very ſlight occaſions they frequently give them broken heads, from which thoſe only are excepted who have acquired a reputation amongſt the people; and indeed I have obſerved that ſome of theſe ſlaves had more authority than their maſters; for having long exerciſed a command over their maſters' dependents, by their own trading, they are become poſſeſſors of ſome ſlaves themſelves, and in proceſs of time are grown ſo powerful, that their patrons are obliged to ſee with their eyes only; and what is yet more, it is not ſeldom that they ſo obſtinately oppoſe their maſters, that they will not be appeaſed by any other means than a preſent.

A King here is always very ready to be hired to the aſſiſtance of any of his neighbours in their wars, becauſe the greateſt part of the money agreed for falls to his ſhare; after the receipt of which, he is not much concerned whether the promiſed aſſiſtance be punctually ready at the appointed time or not; if he has received the gold it is enough, he always knows how to ſatisfy his cuſtomers with one lie or other; in which they are ſo ſubtle, that they will, unobſerved, defraud even thoſe who are very well upon

upon their guard. Though this is an advantageous ſort of trade, they are yet more fond of being mediators betwixt diſagreeing nations; for on this account they get money from both parties, and keep the breach open as long as poſſibly they can, in order to get the more money from each. It is upon theſe incomes that they chiefly ſubſiſt, for their revenue is very inconſiderable. It is indeed true, that they impoſe a toll on all goods paſſing through their country; but the collectors being always ſome of the principal men amongſt them, make ſure of the largeſt ſhare of it, and collect ſo well for themſelves, that the King has very little of it. In a word, he is obliged to ſubſiſt on exorbitant fines, fraudulently extorted from his ſubjects, or on the manual labour of himſelf and ſlaves: wherefore thoſe Kings are unfortunate who have but few ſlaves, and conſequently are not very rich or potent. I have known ſome of theſe ſo poor, that they had neither money nor credit to command a bottle of palm-wine to treat their viſitants. Hence you may collect how rich and potent theſe wrens of ſtate are (as Monſieur Doudyn calls them in his Mercury). But perhaps being already tired with this account of the pomp and grandeur of their wives, ſlaves, and houſehold, as well as themſelves, you would gladly be informed how the illuſtrious princes and princeſſes, their royal offspring, are educated. I have formerly given you ſome general hints concerning the Negro children; it is then ſufficient to aſſure you, that I never could obſerve the leaſt difference in this particular betwixt the royal and common education. The princes being arrived at years of maturity, to get an honeſt livelihood, either plough the land or draw palm-wine, which I can aſſure you they are not aſhamed to carry to the market themſelves in order to ſell it; but if they are not employed in theſe occupations, it is in ſomething elſe equally conſiſtent with their character; from whence, in proceſs of time, they aſcend the royal throne of their anceſtors. If you reflect on this, it will ſomewhat abate your wonder, how huſbandmen, ſhepherds, or potters, as Agathocles was, ſhould ever wear royal crowns, as hiſtories inform us: it daily occurs here; nay, what is yet more, the throne is often filled with thoſe who, when young, have ſerved us as foot-boys, or in a meaner capacity; wherefore you may imagine we cannot be brought to have a very great eſteem for theſe potentates: no, I can aſſure you the meaneſt of our factors thinks better of himſelf than one of theſe kings: and indeed his authority is much more conſiderable, if we conſider him to exerciſe that of the director-general and council, in whoſe name he acts; but leaving that as it is, I had rather refer you to Monſieur Focquenbrog than ſay any more of our grandeur.

As for the ladies, the princeſſes, perhaps you will be apt to think them too tender for the fatigues of agriculture; no, not in the leaſt, they muſt alſo lay their hands to the plough; but if it happens that one of theſe illuſtrious ladies is too haughty to ſtain her high birth by working like a ſlave, ſhe generally takes up a trade more likely to maintain her genteelly, which requires no more than what madam Nature has liberally beſtowed on her; and if ſhe does not get ſo much as the ladies of her profeſſion in Europe, ſhe has not ſuch extravagant wants as they, and is conſequently very well ſatisfied. Several of theſe are married in their young days, without the leaſt regard to high birth or family, every body pleaſing themſelves in their choice; for a marriage between a King's daughter and a ſlave is not at all thought diſproportionate, but is indeed ſomewhat better than for a King's ſon to marry a ſlave, which daily happens; ſince the common proverb, that the children follow the mother, is here paſſed into an unalterable rule, and conſequently the iſſue of the former (viz. the princeſs married to a ſlave) are free, and thoſe proceeding from the latter, ſlaves. Thus you have a view of the whole royal family: it remains now that I ſhould give you ſome account of the

great officers under the King, which conſiſt of Braffoos or enſigns, Sabre-bearers, Tie-ties, that is, public criers or proclaimers, attendants on their wives, horn-blowers or trumpeters and drummers: which offices the following lines will elucidate. That of Braffoo I have already explained to be a ſort of marſhal, who is to charge firſt in battle, which if he have but courage enough he always does. The ſecond are the ſabre or ſword-bearers, of which theſe monarchs have generally about four. Whether theſe agree with the antient armour-bearers, I cannot certainly tell, though I believe them very near alike. This, whatever you may think of it, is no mean poſt; for the gentlemen to whom it is entruſted, ſometimes become honoured with the character of ambaſſadors to foreign courts; though, to do juſtice, that more properly belongs to the Tie-ties or public criers, who are alſo made uſe of on this occaſion, and ſent by their maſters on national errands to friends or enemies, their caps being an effectual free-paſs every where, ſuppoſing them to be ſent by their maſter, but otherwiſe they cannot protect them; they being in effect not unlike our European trumpeters in time of war. Each town hath one or two of theſe officers to cry what is ſtrayed, loſt or ſtolen; and to proclaim the orders made by the governors or Kings: beſides all which, when ſitting in council, they are obliged when the voices run too high and confuſed, to cry out, Tie-tie, or Hearken, from whence the name of their office is borrowed. They wear a cap made of a black ape's ſkin, whoſe hair is about one finger's length, and in their hands they have a bunch made of the hair of an elephant's tail, and ſmall ruſhes; with which they defend their maſter from the flies. The fourth and laſt as well as moſt conſiderable officers, are the attendants on the King's wives; their chief province is to take care that no ſtrangers pluck the fruit of their maſter's orchard: though I am apt to think when theſe happen to be tolerably handſome fellows, that they make better uſe of their poſts, than their maſter of his propriety. They are alſo entruſted with all the King's treaſury; of which they carry the keys, for they are not truſted to any beſides them, and conſequently they are the only perſons who after the King's deceaſe are able and obliged to give an account of his treaſury. Beſides theſe, our monarchs have no other officers. But I ought alſo to inform you that they are not Kings alone who are thus ſerved, but every principal man has the ſame ſort of officers to attend him, being herein equal with the King; or if he is very rich, perhaps he will out-vie him.

I dare ſay you will not complain that this is too ſhort; if its lengh is not tireſome it is well; I have only the importance of the ſubject to plead: in ſhort, that it prove agreeable, is the wiſh of yours, &c.

LETTER XII. — *Of the Negroes' Manner of marrying; the Bride brings no Fortune, and the Bridegroom but a very ſmall one; Wedding-Charges very eaſy; how many Wives they have; what Work they do, and the Idleneſs of the Men; Merchants' Wives live the beſt; ſome drive a Trade with their Wives; the particular Subtlety of the Women; Fines for lying with another Man's Wife, and how the Cauſe is tried. — Married People have no mutual Propriety in Money or Goods, nor does the one inherit any Effects of the other, nor do the Children inherit their Parents' Goods. — How the Right of Inheritance devolves. — Adultery is ſeverely puniſhed in the in-land Country, each Perſon there being chiefly his own Judge; Wives not permitted to puniſh their Huſbands for Adultery; fruitful Women honoured and reſpected; ridiculous Ceremonies on a young Woman's being with Child the firſt time; what Name they give their Children; wonderful Separation of the Women of Ante when they have borne ten Children; menſtruous Women unclean. — Circumciſion uſual amongſt them; a Conjecture from whence they derived*

derived that Cuſtom; of the unmarried; early Marriages; why Women remain longeſt unmarried; Multitude of Women; common Proſtitutes initiated to Trade; how highly they are valued, if found; unmarried Women are Whores, though not called ſo; a Deſcription of the common Whores of Ardra.

SIR,

MY former treated of wars and the arts of deſtruction, and in this I ſhall touch upon a ſubject which ſupplies the devaſtations the other makes; that is, I ſhall inform you in the firſt place how the marriages go here, and of every thing naturally falling under that head. Marriage here is not overloaded with ceremonies, nor have they any notion of a previous courtſhip to bring on a match; here are no tedious diſputes on account of marriage-ſettlements, but if a Negro fixes his eye upon a young woman (virgin I ſcarcely dare ſay), nothing is more requiſite than to apply to her father, mother or neareſt relations, and aſk her of them, who very ſeldom deny a requeſt of that reaſonable nature, if it be but the leaſt agreeable only to the daughter.

If the young woman is marriageable, he takes her home with him, but if yet too young, he leaves her ſome time with her parents, which ſome are not very willing to, for reaſons hereafter to be told. The bride brings no other fortune than her body, nor does the man want much; it is ſufficient if he has enough to defray the expence of the wedding-day, which conſiſts of a little gold, wine, brandy, a ſheep for the relations, and new cloaths for the bride, which are proportioned to the circumſtances of the bridegroom, who keeps a very exact account of every thing he beſtows on the bride or her friends, that if ſhe ever comes to be ſo far diſguſted at him as to leave him, he may demand all again, which ſhe or her friends muſt pay to the utmoſt exactneſs, together with the wedding charges. But if he puts her away, the account is ſettled, and he has no pretence to demand any thing of her or her relations, unleſs he produce very good reaſons why he left her: in which caſe the mentioned diſburſements muſt be refunded.

The wedding-day is not accompanied with feaſting and jollity; the bride is ſomewhat extraordinarily dreſſed for ſeveral days ſucceſſively with fine cloaths, gold and other ornaments, which are frequently borrowed or hired on theſe occaſions; not unlike thoſe in Holland, who, to render their funeral feaſts the more ſplendid, adorn themſelves with other's feathers. Each man marries as many wives as he pleaſes or is conſiſtent with his circumſtances, though they ſeldom exceed twenty, but are commonly contented with a number betwixt three and ten, and thoſe who would appear very great, complete the mentioned number of twenty. Moſt of theſe wives are obliged to till the ground, plant Milhio or Jummes, or otherwiſe work for their huſbands, and to take care that he finds ſomething to eat when he comes home; the beſt of which is, that they can very cheaply ſatisfy him: whilſt the man only idly ſpends his time in impertinent tattling (the women's buſineſs in our country) and drinking of palm-wine, which the poor wives are frequently obliged to raiſe money to pay for, and by their hard labour maintain and ſatisfy theſe lazy wretches their greedy thirſt after wine. Though others are not quite ſo beaſtly, particularly the traders in palm-wine, and fiſhermen; the former of which ſell palm-wine, and the latter either go out to fiſh, or hire themſelves to us to row according as opportunity offers; and theſe keep houſe the moſt peaceably and paſs the moſt reputably through the world.

Thoſe who are rich, have two wives perpetually exempted from labour; the firſt of which is the oldeſt and principal wife, here called La Muliere Grande, or the chief woman; to whom the houſe-keeping and command over all the reſt is entruſted. The

ſecond is ſhe who is conſecrated to his god, and thence called Boſſum, of whom he is very jealous, and ſo much enraged if any man kiſſes her, that if he could do it privately, he would ſo ſeverely puniſh her that ſhe would not be able to ſerve him ſo again; but as for the remainder of his wives, he doth not watch them ſo narrowly, eſpecially if he can get any money by them.

Theſe Boſſums are ſlaves, bought with deſign to be conſecrated to their god, and therefore generally none of the moſt diſagreeable. With theſe they lie on their birth-day or night, and that day of the week dedicated to their god; it is on this account that they eſteem their fortune better than that of other women.

The principal merchants' or traders' wives are the happieſt, becauſe not obliged to much labour out of the houſe, and they are well provided for by their huſbands.

Several Negroes are ſo brutal that they marry many wives only to get a good living by them, and to wear gilt horns. Theſe give their wives full order to entice other men to lie with them; which done, theſe ſhe-brutes immediately tell their huſband, who knows very well how to fleece the amorous ſpark. It is inexpreſſible what ſubtleties theſe Phædras uſe to draw men, but eſpecially ſtrangers, into the net; to thoſe they will pretend they have no huſband, and are yet unmarried and free.

Others, whoſe admirers very well know they are married, the better to allure them to their embraces, will promiſe, and if required, ſwear eternal ſecrecy; but moſt of them keep their words like women, and are ſure not to tell their huſband before they ſee him; and indeed it would fall very hard upon them if their huſband came to the knowledge thereof by any other means, which is ſome excuſe for their diſcloſing their lover; it being highly reaſonable and a natural law, that a woman ſhould further the intereſt of her huſband; ſince by this means they avoid the danger of puniſhment, which they ought to expect from their huſbands for concealment.

The fine for lying with another man's wife amongſt the common people is about four, five or ſix pounds ſterling; but the rich muſt bleed a greater ſum, eſpecially if he has lain with a conſiderable man's wife; on which occaſion it coſts a hundred pounds or two.

Theſe cauſes are very accurately pleaded and defended before the courts of judicature. I, during my reſidence, acted the part of a chief judge on this occaſion above one hundred times. You know that to deny is the firſt rule in law, and the Negroes are ſo well ſkilled in this, that they commonly deny the accuſation the firſt thing they do, and oblige their accuſers to confirm it by evidence, which the woman being moſt capable of, is obliged to appear in full aſſembly, and diſplay the whole action in its moſt natural broad terms and colours, with all its attending circumſtances of time, place, how the criminal deported himſelf, and what he gave her: in a word, without forgetting the leaſt particular. What think you, ſir, is not this a rare trial, and very proper for the ears of thoſe old gentlemen of which this aſſembly or court is compoſed? Eſpecially conſidering that beſides all this, ſometimes the accuſed urges in his defence, that it is true that he was indeed juſt ready to perpetrate the charged crime, but timely thinking of the conſequences, withdrew without reducing his intentions into action. In anſwer to which, the lady is obliged to declare all particulars, and to give all poſſible proofs of his completing the fact, inſomuch that both ſtick ſo cloſe to their aſſertion, which they back with ſo much probability, that the old men are perplexed what ſentence to give without putting the man to his oath, and if he forſwears it, he is clear; but if he refuſes that, ſentence paſſes againſt him, ſince on theſe occaſions there are not many witneſſes.

Married

Married people here have no community of goods, but each hath his or her particular propriety; the man and his wife generally adjuſt the matter together, ſo that they are to bear the charge of houſe-keeping, while the cloathing of the whole family is at his ſole expence.

On the death of either the man or the wife, the reſpective relations come and immediately ſweep away all, not leaving the widow or widower the leaſt part thereof, though they are frequently obliged to help to pay the funeral charges.

Some Negroes, beſides wives, have alſo their concubines, which they ſeveral times prefer before their wives, and take more care of them; but their children are deemed illegitimate, and are not reckoned amongſt the relations.

If a Negro has a child by his ſlave, whether married to her or not, his heir will look upon it and keep it only as a ſlave, on which account thoſe who love their ſlaves will take care to make their children free with the uſual ceremonies before they die: after which they are in every particular treated as free perſons.

The children they have by their wives are indeed legitimate, but all along the Gold Coaſt never inherit their parents' effects, except at Acra only. The eldeſt ſon, ſuppoſing the father a king or a captain of a town, ſucceeds him in his office only; but beſides his father's ſhield and ſabre, he has nothing more to pretend to; ſo that it is here no manner of advantage to be deſcended from rich parents, unleſs (which ſeldom happens) paternal love obliges them to beſtow ſomewhat on their children in their lifetime, which muſt be very privately done, otherwiſe the relations, after their father's death, will oblige the children to return it to the utmoſt farthing.

The right of inheritance is very oddly adjuſted; and as far as I could obſerve, the brothers and ſiſter's children are the right and lawful heirs, in the following manner. They do not jointly inherit, but the eldeſt ſon of his mother is heir to his mother's brother or his ſon, as the eldeſt daughter is heireſs of her mother's ſiſter or her daughter: neither the father himſelf, or his relations, as brothers, ſiſters, &c. have any claim to the goods of the defunct, for what reaſon they cannot tell: but I am of opinion that this cuſtom was introduced on account of the whoredom of the women, herein following the cuſtom of ſome Eaſt Indian Kings, who (as authors ſay) educate their ſiſters' ſon as their own, and appoint him to ſucceed in the throne, becauſe they are more ſure that their ſiſters' ſon is of their blood than they can be of their own; for being obliged to truſt a woman no way related to them, if ſhe commit adultery, the child may be entirely eſtranged from their blood.

In deficiency of the mentioned heirs, the brothers or ſiſters take place; but if none of them are in being, then the neareſt relation to the mother of the defunct comes in. But their account of this ſubject is ſo perplexed and obſcure, that hitherto no European has been able to obtain a clear deſcription of it, as I am certain they never will; notwithſtanding that the Negroes are ſo accurately perfect in it, that they never commit any error on this head: not but that great diſputes ariſe ſometimes amongſt them on this occaſion; but theſe are never owing to their ignorance who is the heir; but happen from the next heir's being too potent in men and arms, and therefore ſtretching beyond the due bounds of inheritance.

I have already told you how many wives the Negroes marry; and herein they place the greateſt glory and grandeur, as their riches conſiſt in the multitude of ſlaves, though they frequently conduce to their ruin, becauſe every man is obliged to make good the injury which his ſlave does; if he is guilty of theft or adultery, his maſter is obliged to pay the fine impoſed for his crime.

The

The Negroes are alſo reſponſible for their ſons, nephews, and other relations; though in this caſe the relations help each other by a mutual contribution, each giving ſomething towards it according to his circumſtances; which, if he ſhould not do, the criminal would be condemned to death or ſlavery.

Having at large deſcribed the marriages of the Coaſt Negroes, let us ſee how the in-land Negroes behave themſelves in their marriage-ſtate, and what puniſhment they inflict on adultery; ſince freed from any ſubjection to the Europeans, they are more ſevere on this occaſion.

He who debauches a Negro's wife here, is not only generally entirely ruined, but his relations often ſuffer with him: for if the injured perſon be a rich and great man, he is not contented with ruining the malefactor only, but will not be quiet till he hath removed him out of the way. If the guilty perſon is a ſlave, his death is undeniably determined, and that in the moſt cruel manner that can be deviſed, beſides a fine laid upon his maſter; and the men here deteſting the foregoing ſordid manner of trading with their wives uſual on the Coaſt, a woman caught in adultery is alſo in great danger of her life, unleſs her relations pacify the enraged huſband with a large ſum of money. But ſhe who lies with her huſband's ſlave is infallibly condemned to death, as well as the ſlave her paramour: beſides all which, her relations are obliged to pay a ſum to her huſband.

Every conſiderable Negro is in this caſe for the moſt part his own judge; and is he too weak alone to avenge himſelf, he calls his friends to his aſſiſtance, who readily lend him their helping-hand, each being ſure to get ſomething of the compenſation which occurs.

Theſe Negroes are richer than thoſe who live amongſt us; and therefore a perſon guilty of this crime is puniſhed with utmoſt ſeverity. I have heard of fines amounting to above five thouſand pounds ſterling paid on account of adultery. Beſides Acra, Apam, and Coromantyn, there are very few places on the Gold Coaſt where I have not lived, and I do not remember in any of them ever to have met with a Negro who was poſſeſſed of ſo large a fortune; or with any King but what, after having ſold all he had in the world to raiſe ſuch a ſum, would find himſelf not able to do it: but when I talk at this rate, I would except the King of Aquamboe, and according to report alſo him of Acron; which two being joined, poſſeſs more gold than all the reſt together.

It is undeniable that jealouſy is always accompanied with love; theſe two paſſions being ſo inſeparable, that though they produce contrary effects, yet they ſeem in reality but the ſame thing. But however jealous the Black women are of their huſbands, yet they have no ſatisfaction to pretend to, if their huſbands, by diverting themſelves with other women, rob them of their right; their only remedy is to wean him from this vice, by agreeable, ſoft and tender means; for none of them, beſides his chief wife, dare pretend to chide him for it: ſhe, indeed, when opportunity offers, will charge him ſeverely on that account, and threaten him that if he purſues that courſe ſhe will leave him: but this muſt be when the man is in a good humour, otherwiſe he won't take it very well.

Before I advance any farther, I ought to inform you, that all I impart to you concerning the in-land Negroes, is not the reſult of my own obſervation, I never having been at thoſe places; but is only collected from the relation of the Negroes that come from thence: but they are ſuch people, that in this and other things I dare aſſure myſelf of the truth of what they ſay. However I do not hand it to you as my own.

Each wife is ſure to do her beſt to pleaſe and charm her huſband, in order to be preferred above the reſt in his love.

The wife, who is ſo fortunate as to be big with child, is very much reſpected by her huſband, and waited on; beſides which, if it is the firſt time, rich offerings are made to the falſe-god, to obtain her ſafe delivery. The ceremonies uſed on occaſion of a woman's being big with the firſt child, are very fooliſh and ridiculous. As ſoon as they find themſelves pregnant, they are brought to the ſea-ſhore in order to be waſhed; though before ſhe can get thither, ſhe is followed by a great number of boys and girls, who fling all manner of dung and filth at her in her way to the ſea, where ſhe is ducked and waſhed clean. Why this is done I cannot tell, unleſs it be becauſe they vainly believe that if it is omitted, the mother, the child, or ſome of the relations, will certainly die ſoon after.

As ſoon as the child is born, and the prieſt has conſecrated it, if above the common rank, it hath three names beſtowed on it (though always called by one); the firſt is that of the day of the week on which it is born; the next, if a ſon, is his grandfather's; if a girl, her grandmother's name; though this is not ſtrictly obſerved by the Negroes, ſome of them giving their own, or the names of ſome of their relations to their children: after which, their names increaſe with their years: has any perſon behaved himſelf valiantly in the war, he obtains a name derived from thence, as he doth by killing a chieftain of the enemies: does he kill a wild ravenous beaſt, he gets a new name by it. But it would be a day's work to recite all their names, and the occaſions of them; it is ſufficient to tell you, that the number given to ſome men amounts to twenty; the chief of which, and by which he is moſt honoured, is that given him when they are drinking palm-wine together in the market-place. The common name by which they are called, is one of thoſe given them at their birth. Some are called after the number of children that their mother has borne, as the eighth, the ninth, or tenth child; but this is only when the mother has borne above ſix or ſeven children.

In the country of Ante, if a woman has borne ten children, ſhe is obliged to be ſeparated from her huſband, and live in a ſolitary hut, remote from all the reſt of mankind, for the ſpace of a whole year, where ſhe is carefully furniſhed with all neceſſaries of life; after the expiration of this term, and the performance of all cuſtomary ceremonies, ſhe returns to her huſband, and lives with him as before: this is a cuſtom ſo particular, that I do not know any nation beſides where it is in uſe; and why it is practiſed here I am alſo ignorant, unleſs it be grounded on ſome ſuperſtitious opinion, that it will defend them from ſome evil.

When the cuſtom of women is upon the female ſex, they are not only eſteemed unclean, and ſeparated from their huſband, but they are not ſuffered to go into another man's houſe, at leaſt to lodge, and are conſequently obliged to remain in a ſmall hut near their father's or huſband's houſe.

The children are not circumciſed any where on the Gold Coaſt, but at Acra. But whence the cuſtom of holding women unclean, and circumciſing the children, ſhould be derived from, I own I cannot tell; to carry it up as high as the Judaic times, ſeems to me too far; though ſeveral Europeans favour this aſſertion, urging, that the Negroes ſtill retain ſeveral laws and cuſtoms which ſavour of Judaiſm, as that laſt mentioned, the honouring of the moon at the time when the Jews begin their feſtival, the marrying of their brother's wife, and ſeveral more, which ſeem the ſame in effect, as well as the names, of which here are ſeveral which occur in the Old Teſtament. But all this cannot, in the leaſt, incline me to their opinion; I ſhould be more eaſily perſuaded that they had all theſe from the Mahometans, whoſe religion is a mere rhapſody of Chriſtianity,

Chriſtianity, Judaiſm, and Heatheniſm; which, extending itſelf from one country to another, might probably reach hither: this conjecture being conſiderably ſtrengthened from the natives of Adra and Fida, their being cuſtomed to trade ſeveral hundred miles in-land, till they come to the Barbary coaſt, and not improbably to the Moors country. Which being granted, it is not unnatural to ſuppoſe they may have learned and brought home ſome fragments of their religion.

But to return to our ſubject. Several of each ſex here live unmarried, at leaſt for ſome time, though commonly the number of ſingle women exceeds that of ſingle men, and that for reaſons hereafter to be told; and yet very few Negroes die, unleſs it be very young, unmarried. The men marry as ſoon as they can raiſe money to defray the wedding charges, which, being ſo very inconſiderable among the common people, they get a wife very ſoon. The children of the chief or rich people, whoſe relations are inclined to it, and want no money, are frequently married before they become acquainted with the diſtinction of ſexes: further, ſeveral families, willing to be more nearly allied, interchangeably marry their children as ſoon as they are born, without any other ceremony than the agreement of parents on both ſides.

The reaſons why the women here continue longeſt unmarried, is, firſt, becauſe that they live a more free life than when married, being now at perfect liberty to admit the embraces of any or ſeveral men, if they pleaſe. Theſe ſort of women generally marry amongſt common people, and ſeldom content themſelves with their huſbands alone.

The ſecond reaſon is, the vaſt multitude of women; their number much exceeds that of the men, which obliges them to ſtay till they are aſked. Though this long waiting becomes leſs irkſome, becauſe it is no manner of ſcandal to ſtay their appetites as often as they think fit; nor are they therefore rudely accounted whores; but on the contrary, are always thought as fitting to be thoſe for wives as any other; and accordingly, in their turn, get huſbands as well as the reſt.

In the countries of Egnira, Abocroe, Ancober, Axim, Ante, and Adom, are ſeveral women who never marry, and who only are called whores, being regularly initiated in that trade, and ſet apart for it.

Each of the above-mentioned towns has two or three of theſe miſerable wretches, according to their largeneſs. The money that they get they bring to their maſters, who return them ſo much out of it as is neceſſary to ſubſiſt them in cloaths and neceſſaries.

Theſe women are very miſerable, when they have caught any venereal infection, from which they ſeldom eſcape long free; for proſtituting themſelves as well to the unſound as ſound, they are in continual danger; and being once ſeized by that diſtemper it muſt take its courſe; for it ſeldom happens that any-body is touched with any concern for her, not ſo much as her own maſter, to whom ſhe belongs; for as ſoon as the gain begins to ceaſe, they withdraw their hands, and never ſo much as take the leaſt care of her; and thus theſe unhappy creatures come to a miſerable end.

But as long as they are ſound, and in their flower, they are in very great eſteem: and it is impoſſible to afflict a land or town more ſenſibly than by ſeizing thoſe creatures. For example, if our factor at Axim have any diſpute with his ſubordinate Negroes, no way will more effectually bring them to reaſon than by taking one of theſe whores into cuſtody, and confining her in the fort; for as ſoon as this news reaches the Manceros ears, they go with flying ſails to the Caboceros, and earneſtly deſire them to give the factor ſatisfaction, that they may have her ſet at liberty again; urging as a reaſon why they requeſt it in ſuch a preſſing manner, that during their impriſonment thoſe men who have no wives will be put to the utmoſt neceſſity for a woman, and be

prompted to run the danger of lying with men's wives. This I can aſſure you of the truth of by my own experience, having had more than one proof of it; for at one time ſecuring five or ſix Caboceros, and at the other two or three whores, I found hardly any-body beſides their own relations concerned for the former; but on account of the other, the whole village came upon their knees; and every-body, though he had no particular intereſt in it, was very much concerned for their liberty.

The countries of Commany, Elmina, Fetu, Saboe, Fantyn, &c. have none of theſe whores, and yet there is no want of unmarried women, and they without any diſtinction, than that of being too young, are almoſt all whores, though they indeed do not bear that name.

In Fida and the country about it, and in all the land of Fida, is a very great plenty of theſe whores, and at a cheaper price than on the Gold Coaſt. In Fida I have ſeen a vaſt multitude of huts, not above ten foot long and ſix broad, placed near the great roads throughout the whole country, in which thoſe women are obliged to ply at their appointed days in the week. It is cuſtomary for ſome of the moſt conſiderable and rich Negro ladies, when lying upon their death-bed, to buy ſome of theſe foreign female ſlaves, and make a preſent of them to the public; which theſe tender-hearted gentlewomen take for a great work of mercy and charity, as ſome people in Europe do the buying maſſes for the ſouls in purgatory.

Thus I have detained you a tedious while on the marriages of the Negroes, and expoſed to your view all our venereal warehouſes, and all their contained ſtores.

LETTER XIII. — *How the Negroes deport themſelves to the ſick; they do not depend on medicinal Remedies alone, but make Offerings to their Gods on account of the ſick; what theſe conſiſt of; their Gratitude to Phyſicians, which they frequently change, and renew their Offerings. — The Slaves alſo make Offerings for their European Maſters, and the Mulatto Women for their Huſbands; which is likewiſe approved by ſome Europeans; their uſual Remedies, which, though they ſeem contradictory to the Ends for which they are adminiſtered, yet frequently ſucceed. — The great Efficacy of green Vegetables in Diſeaſes, and even in Wounds. — The Enquiry after the Cauſe of any Perſon's Death; their Queſtions put to the dead, and their falſe God, with the Reſponſes; an Accident on that account which befel one of the Author's Servants. — The Aſſertion of ſome who affirm that the Negroes aſk Advice of the Devil, confuted; and a Relation how their Queſtions to the Dead are managed. — The ſhaving of the Women on occaſion of the Death of their Huſbands; cleanſing the dead Body. — A Deſcription of their Manner of burying the Dead; pompous Funerals of the principal People. — How they preſerve the Corpſe from rotting ſeveral Months above Ground. — Living Men ſacrificed for the Dead; the Cruelty attending that Cuſtom, as the Author himſelf has obſerved. — Their building of a Hut on the Grave; and the Opinion of ſome Writers on that ſubject contradicted. — The funeral Ceremonies renewed one Year after the Deceaſe. — The Negroes very deſirous to be buried in their own Country, or at leaſt that their Bones may be brought thither; and how that is managed.*

SIR,

THE letters which I have ſent you ſince thoſe you have already received of mine, are five in number: treating of, 1ſt, The infalubrity of this country, and wherein it conſiſts. 2d, Concerning the nature of the inhabitants at large. 3d, Of their religion. 4th, Of their government, wars, power of their Kings: which is followed

by the fifth and laſt, treating of their marriages, &c. I hope you have received ſome of them before now, and that the remainder will follow in due time: but for fear any ſhould unhappily miſcarry, I herewith ſend you the copies of them.

Death being the period of all human affairs, I ſhall conclude my deſcription of theſe nations with a ſhort diſcuſſion of that ſubject, after which you will not be troubled with any more than three letters from me; one, concerning the wild and tame quadrupeds of this country; the ſecond, of the fowls, inſects and fiſhes; and the laſt, of vegetables: unleſs I can think of any other thing, and then you may be ſure not to fail of it.

But to return to our deſign. Let us examine what cuſtoms are uſual amongſt the Negroes on occaſion of ſickneſs, death and burying.

Any Negro falling ſick here is diligently enough attended, in proportion to his circumſtances: for, as I have formerly hinted, they are all very much afraid of death; in which they are not much in the wrong, conſidering that but once to die, is for ever to be buried in oblivion. Actuated by this principle, they leave no means uneſſayed which may contribute to the extending the thread of life to as great a length as poſſible: and had they the ſame notion of the three fatal ſiſters as the antient Greeks, I doubt not but theſe would have been the goddeſſes to which the greateſt part of their offerings would have been directed.

In ſickneſs (in which they agree with all the reſt of the world), they firſt have recourſe to remedies; however, not thinking them ſufficient alone to preſerve life and reſtore health, they apply their falſe and ſuperſtitious religious worſhip, as more effectual to thoſe ends; and what contributes to the promotion of this cuſtom, is, that he who here acts the part of a doctor, is alſo a Feticheer or prieſt, who conſequently does not find it very difficult to perſuade the patient's relations that he cannot be recovered without ſome offerings made to the falſe god in order to appeaſe him; and they being ſtrongly bent to ſuperſtition, and immediately ready to follow the prieſt's advice, accordingly deſire him to enquire of their god what he would pleaſe to have. The prieſt to be ſure is not negligent in this affair, where the profit accrues to him, but as ſoon as poſſible puts his cheats in practice; and after his pretended enquiry, he informs them that they muſt offer a ſheep, hog, cock, dog, cat, or whatever he likes beſt; which ſometimes may be gold, cloth, drink, and other ſuch like good things beſides, which are always proportioned to the ability of the perſon to be ſerved; for that alters the meaſure of theſe cheats, who always conſider whether the man be in condition to bear this charge; and herein they are indeed to be preferred to ſome Romiſh prieſts, whoſe undiſtinguiſhing exorbitant price of ſoul-maſſes ruins ſeveral families.

Whatever the prieſt requires, the Negroes freely part with; and he knows to what uſe to put it. If the patient ſhortly after recovers, either by virtue of nature's kindly aſſiſtance, or the efficacy of the medicines adminiſtered, the prieſt or doctor is ſure not to remain unrewarded; for whatever Mr. William Godſchalk-van-Fokkenbrog may pretend, that when cured, the ſight of the doctor and the devil are equally welcome to them; they on the contrary are very far from ingratitude on theſe occaſions.

And indeed his ſenſe, turned quite contrary, is rather true of them, they being no ſooner recovered, but they extol their phyſician up to the heavens.

But does the diſeaſe increaſe, and the patient grow worſe, freſh offerings are made, which are more expenſive than the former; ſo that theſe continue till the patient is reſtored to his priſtine health, or dies.

It frequently happens that one phyſician is diſcharged with a good reward, and another called in his ſtead, who begins a-new, and knows very well how to make his advantage of his patient's misfortune.

His

His firſt buſineſs, juſt like the phyſicians in Europe, is to condemn his predeceſſor's method, and decry him as an ignorant pretender; upon which new and very expenſive offerings are to be made; for this new comer, fearing the fate of him in whoſe place he came, endeavours to make as great advantage as is poſſible in his time; to this end he makes uſe of ſuch cunning frauds, that our Europeans, though bad enough, would be put out of countenance by them. But pray, ſir, do not take this to be aimed at you; no, it cannot touch the honeſt phyſician, and ſuch I take you for.

This change of phyſicians ſometimes happens twenty times or more ſucceſſively, and at a continual and greater charge than with us; the Negroes are ſo ſtrangely bigotted to theſe offerings, that they ſeveral times force the prieſts to make them.

The boys, which are either ſlaves or ſervants to the Europeans, if they think they have a good maſter, will, as ſoon as he is ſeized by the leaſt indiſpoſition, without his knowledge, go to the prieſts to make offerings for him that he may recover his health; and accordingly we have found upon the beds or in the chambers of ſome of our principal people, ſome things conſecrated or charmed by the prieſt, laid there on purpoſe to defend their maſter from death; and becauſe they know we are always diſpleaſed at it, they always do it in private, and conceal it ſo well, that it is impoſſible for us to diſcover it before the perſon is dead, and they have had no time to remove it.

The Mulatto women (of whom I have formerly ſaid ſomething), who would fain paſs for Chriſtians, than which they are nothing leſs, are extravagantly addicted to this ſuperſtition; if one of them is married to, or kept by an European, who loves and pays her well; if he falls 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 Negroes themſelves: but what is moſt deplorable and deteſtable, is, that here are even ſome Europeans, who not only think favourably of, and believe this idolatrous worſhip effectual, but inſtigate their ſervants to it; and are likewiſe grown very fond of wearing ſome trifles about their bodies, which are conſecrated or conjured by the prieſt.

The chief medicaments here in uſe, are firſt and more eſpecially lemon or lime-juice, Malaget, otherwiſe called the grains of Paradiſe, or the Cardamom, the roots, branches, and gums of trees, about thirty ſeveral ſorts of green herbs, which are impregnated with an extraordinary ſanative virtue.

The remedies uſed here frequently ſeem pernicious in the caſe wherein they are given, and yet are found very ſucceſsful, as an inſtance of which, pleaſe to take one of the moſt common medicaments.

In caſe of a violent cholic, they give to drink morning and evening for ſeveral days ſucceſſively a good calabaſh of lime-juice and Malaget mixed, and in other diſeaſes full as contradictory ingredients. But this is out of my province to talk of theſe things: wherefore I ſhall rather leave it to you and others, better judges than myſelf; and only add, that how contradictory and improper ſoever theſe medicines may ſeem, yet I have ſeen ſeveral of our countrymen cured by them, when our own phyſicians were at a loſs what to do.

The green herbs, the principal remedy in uſe amongſt the Negroes, are of ſuch wonderful efficacy, that it is much to be deplored that no European phyſician has yet applied himſelf to the diſcovery of their nature and virtue; for I do not only imagine, but firmly believe, that they would prove more ſucceſsful in the practice of phyſic than the European preparations, eſpecially in this country, becauſe before they reach us they have loſt all their virtue, and are moſtly corrupted: beſides which, our conſtitution is in ſome meaſure changed here by the climate; and therefore this country-remedies, in all probability, are better for our bodies than the European.

Thoſe who are to come to this country, may, if they pleaſe, endeavour to explore theſe plants; for my part I ſhall here take my leave of them, with only informing you, the better to evince the ſtrange efficacy of theſe herbs, that I have ſeveral times obſerved the Negroes cure ſuch great and dangerous wounds with them, that I have ſtood amazed thereat.

After all the above-mentioned methods have been tried and prove ineffectual, and the patient expires, this furniſhes his relations with freſh buſineſs; they are now to enquire into his death, or why he would die: for though it is probable and apparent that he died a natural death, occaſioned either by ſickneſs, extreme old age, wounds, or ſome mortal diſtemper, this will not ſatisfy them in the leaſt; it muſt certainly proceed from ſome other cauſe, according to the proverb, "Death is never without a cauſe;" which is no-where in the world better believed than here. Immediately the prieſt and the relations muſt enquire whether the deceaſed was ever perjured in his life; if he was, they believe they have diſcovered the cauſe of his death, which was a puniſhment to the perjury: but if he be found innocent of this, the next inqueſt to be made is, whether he had any powerful enemies, who may have laid Fetiches in his way, which might occaſion his death (theſe Fetiches I have before deſcribed), upon which ſometimes ſome of his enemies are attacked and examined very cloſely; and if he has been accuſtomed to ſuch practices, though never ſo long paſt, he will hardly come off with a whole ſkin.

I cannot here paſs by what happened to myſelf eight years paſt, when I was at Axim: I was adviſed, in order to the advancement of the Company's trade, to ſend a meſſenger to the King of Dinkira; in purſuance of which, I ſent one of my ſervants with a handſome preſent to him, who received him and the preſent very civilly, and was very well pleaſed with both. The Brandenburghers had alſo ſent one of their young men with a preſent to him at the ſame time; whom this King received, as well as his preſent, with very great marks of friendſhip, he deſiring to live in a good underſtanding with the Europeans. Both theſe ſervants waited at this prince's court, expecting that he by the firſt convenience ſhould diſpatch them both to their maſters; but after reſiding there in expectation about ſix weeks in vain, he died: which accident expoſed their lives to the utmoſt danger; for the relations of the deceaſed, ridiculouſly ſuppoſing they had occaſioned his death, ſeized and bound them; after which they made enquiry by their prieſts whether the preſents they brought were not poiſoned or conjured: but theſe cheats were at this time ſo honeſt, that in appearance, according to their religious rites, they pronounced them innocent and declared them free; upon which they were immediately releaſed, and delivered from their dreaded death, and afterwards diſpatched back to us with preſents. By this you may ſee how we fall into danger here in this country, without the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect or fear it. But now to return where I left off.

If there be no ſuſpicion of poiſon, then enquiry is made if his wives, children, and other perſons about him, and his ſlaves, have attended him with due care, or been liberal enough in their offerings: but if no deficiency can be here found, and conſequently the cauſe of the perſon's death is yet undiſcovered; then they have recourſe to the moſt common and laſt refuge, which is always at hand; the man died becauſe he was deficient in the performance of his religious rites; which we have already deſcribed at large.

Then the prieſt goes to the dead perſon, and aſks him why he died: if you aſk who is the reſponſor, I believe that Simon de Ures, who always brings the devil in for a ſhare of the play, as very frequently converſing with men, would ſay, or rather ſwear, that

that he, in the ſhape of the deceaſed or their falſe god makes the anſwer: but if you would have my ſentiments, I really believe the dead, the devil, and the falſe god, are all three equally dumb, and therefore uncapable of anſwering: but the true anſwerer is the roguiſh prieſt himſelf only; who informs the relations as it beſt ſuits his intereſts, that his god and the dead have made ſuch anſwers; which to be ſure, as before, are thoſe which agree beſt with their ends, and ſeem to have the greateſt appearance of truth. This deciſive anſwer of the prieſt paſſes for unqueſtionable truth; and according to what he ſays they always adjuſt their affairs.

But now I remember, that I have found it in a certain author, or rather more than one, laid down as a poſitive aſſertion, that the Negroes in doubtful caſes directly apply themſelves to the devil and aſk advice of him, governing themſelves according to his anſwer: but on my own experience, I can aſſure you that it is utterly falſe and groundleſs; and what is moſt commendable in them, is, that they do not deſire ſuch a near acquaintance with the devil; and all their queſtions of moment in time of need, are addreſſed to their falſe god, or rather in effect to their prieſts, without ever ſo much as thinking of the devil or his attendants; much leſs in hidden or doubtful caſes do they aſk advice of him, or oblige themſelves to ſquare their affairs to the rule of his anſwer.

The cuſtomary queſtions to the dead are put in ſeveral manners: for inſtance, ſome men take the dead body in preſence of the prieſt upon their ſhoulders; and then it is aſked, "Did you not die for ſuch a cauſe?" If he did, the men who hold him, by I know not what hidden impulſe, are obliged to incline the body towards the querent; which is taken for an affirmative anſwer: otherwiſe they ſtand ſtill.

As ſoon as the ſick perſon is expired, they ſet up ſuch a diſmal crying, lamentation, and ſqueaking, that the whole town is filled with it; by which it is ſoon publiſhed that ſomebody is lately dead: beſides which, the youth of the deceaſed's acquaintance generally pay their laſt duty of reſpect to him, by firing ſeveral muſquet-ſhot.

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 worn-out garment; thus adjuſted, they run about the ſtreet like mad women, or rather ſhe-furies, with their hair hanging upon their cloaths; withal making a very diſmal and lamentable noiſe, continually repeating the name of the dead, and reciting the great actions of his paſt life: and this confuſed tumultuary noiſe of the women laſts ſeveral days ſucceſſively, even till the corpſe is buried.

If a principal man is killed in battle, and his companions have no opportunity, by reaſon of the continuance of the war, to ſecure, hide, or bury his body (for the funeral rites muſt be performed in their own country), his wives are then obliged in all that interval, to be in mourning, and a ſhorn head.

A long time after, perhaps ten or twelve years, as opportunity offers, the funeral ceremonies are renewed, with the ſame pomp and ſplendour as if they had died a few days paſt: on which occaſion alſo his wives again put on their mourning, cleanſe and adjuſt themſelves as before.

Whilſt the women are lamenting abroad, the neareſt relations ſit by the corpſe, making a diſmal noiſe, waſhing and cleanſing themſelves, and farther performing the uſual ceremonies: the diſtant relations alſo aſſemble from all places, to be preſent at theſe mourning rites; he that is negligent herein being ſure to bleed very freely if he cannot urge lawful reaſons for his abſence.

The town's people and acquaintance of the deceaſed come alſo to join their lamentations, each bringing his preſent of gold, brandy, fine cloth, ſheets, or ſomething

elſe; which, it is pretended, is given to be carried to the grave with the corpſe; and the larger preſent of this nature any perſon makes, the more it redounds to his honour and reputation.

During this ingreſs and egreſs of all ſorts of people, brandy in the morning and palm-wine in the afternoon are very briſkly filled about; ſo that a rich Negro's funeral becomes very chargeable: for after all this, they are richly cloathed when put into the coffin; beſides which ſeveral fine cloaths, gold Fetiches, high-prized corals, (of which I have ſeveral times ſpoken), Conte de Terra, and ſeveral other valuable things are put into the coffin to him, for his uſe in the other life, they not doubting but he may have occaſion for them.

The value and quantity of his coffin furniture is adjuſted in proportion to what the deceaſed left his heir, or perhaps to the heir's conveniency. All this being over, and the relations and friends met together, after two or three days the corpſe is buried; before which a parcel of young ſoldiers go, or rather run, continually loading and diſcharging their muſquets, till the deceaſed is laid in the ground: a great multitude of men and women follow without the leaſt order, ſome being ſilent, others crying and ſhrieking as loud as poſſible, whilſt others are laughing as loud; ſo that all their grief is only in appearance.

As ſoon as the corpſe is in the ground, every one goes where they pleaſe, but moſt to the houſe of mourning, to drink and be merry, which laſts for ſeveral days ſucceſſively; ſo that this part of the mourning looks more like a wedding than a funeral.

They ſometimes keep a King, or a very great perſon, a whole year above ground; and to prevent putrifaction, they lay the corpſe upon a wooden utenſil, like a grid-iron, which they put over a very gentle clear fire, that by ſlow degrees dries it: others inter their dead privately in their own houſes, though they give out that they preſerve the corpſe in the former manner, and that in due time they will ſee the funeral rites ſolemnly performed. The day being come, when the King is to be publicly buried, public notice thereof is given, not only to the people of his own nation, but other countries, which occaſions ſuch a vaſt concourſe as is really ſurpriſing, each being curious enough to come to ſee the funeral ſolemnities, and it is certainly very well worth while; ſince, on this occaſion, every-body is as richly habited as poſſible, and one may ſee more pomp and ſplendour in one day, than at other times in ſeveral years.

In ſuch funerals as theſe, ſeveral ſlaves of the deceaſed are killed and ſacrificed on his account, in order to ſerve him in the other world; as are alſo ſome of his wives and eſpecially the Boſſums, or thoſe which he in his life had dedicated to his falſe god, being one of his wives, and one of his principal ſervants: but what is moſt abominable, is, that ſeveral poor wretched men, who, through age or inability, are become incapable of labour, are ſold on purpoſe to be made victims in theſe accurſed offerings.

It is a moſt deplorable ſpectacle to ſee theſe miſerable creatures killed in the moſt barbarous manner in the world; what with hacking, piercing, tormenting, &c. they endure a thouſand deaths.

It was not without the utmoſt horror that I ſaw eleven perſons killed in this manner; amongſt which there was one, who, after having endured a great deal of exquiſite torture, was delivered to a child of ſix years of age, who was to cut off his head, which it was about an hour in doing, not being ſtrong enough to wield the ſabre.

Theſe human ſacrifices are in uſe amongſt thoſe Negroes who are not fully ſubject to our government, and live very diſtant from our forts; but where we have any authority we do not ſuffer them, though they will privately remove to other places, in order to perpetrate this villany.

The Negroes generally build a ſmall cottage or hut, or elſe plant a little garden of rice on the grave, into which they throw ſeveral worthleſs goods of the deceaſed, but not houſehold ſtuff or other valuable moveables, as authors would have it: there is no ſuch cuſtom at preſent; and, I believe, if I can judge of their nature, never was in uſe, unleſs in the days of Methuſalem, which is a little too far for either they or me to look.

At Axim, and other places, they place ſeveral earthen images on the graves, which are waſhed one year after the funeral; when they renew the funeral ceremonies in as expenſive a manner as at the interment itſelf.

The Negroes are ſtrangely fond of being buried in their own country; ſo that if any perſon dies out of it, they frequently bring his corpſe home to be buried, unleſs it be too far diſtant, in which caſe they bury him 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 own country, where they are interred with freſh ſolemnity, as creditably as ſuits with the circumſtances of the defunct.

LETTER XIV. — *Deſcribing the tame and wild Quadrupeds; and firſt the tame, viz. Bulls, Cows, Sheep, Goats, Horſes, Aſſes, Hogs, Dogs, Cats, Rats, and Mice: after having treated of the Nature of theſe, the Author paſſes to the tame feathered Kind, as Hens, Ducks, Turkeys, and Doves: after which he comes to the wild Beaſts. — A complete Deſcription of the Elephant, and ſome Writers on that Subject charged with Errors: of the Buffoloes, Tigers, Wood-hounds or wild Dogs, Caymans, wild Boars; ſeveral Sorts of Harts, Hares, Porcupines, Hedge-hogs, Sluggards, wood or wild Rats, Boutees, Civet-cats, wild Cats, Muſk Mice, Berbes, Squirrels, Kokeboes, Legnanes, Arompos; ſeveral Sorts of Apes, various Kinds of Lizards, Salamanders; and a large Account of the Camelion, extracted from Monſieur de Bruyn's Travels; with the Difference betwixt thoſe of Africa and thoſe of Smirna.*

SIR,

PURSUANT to my promiſe in my laſt, to give you a deſcription of the animals of this country, I intend in this to treat of the four-footed beaſts and tame birds; the inſects and wild fowl being reſerved to another opportunity.

Beginning to deſcribe the animals of this country, the firſt which offer themſelves to our view amongſt the tame kind, are the horned cattle, ſuch as the bulls, oxen, cows, goats, &c. Dinkirka, Aſiante, Akim, and other in-land countries, abound with great numbers of theſe; but by reaſon of the diſtant ſituation of theſe places, only a few bulls and cows are brought to the coaſt: but at Axim, Pocqueſou, Elmina, and Acra, great quantities are bred, and more eſpecially at or about Acra, becauſe the opportunity is there very convenient to bring them from the countries of Aquamboe and Lampi.

In all other places of the Gold Coaſt we only find bulls and cows, for the Negroes are ignorant of the way of gelding bullocks into oxen. At Axim theſe cattle have indifferent good paſture, and accordingly thrive and fatten very well, as alſo amongſt the Brandenburghers at Pocqueſou and Acra; but at Elmina and the circumjacent country, they are always dry and lean, and conſequently do not prove very delicate. This is the only place, by reaſon of the Negroes ignorance, where the cows are milked; but they yield ſuch a quantity of wretched milk, that twenty or thirty are ſcarce ſufficient to ſupply the director-general's table.

Theſe

Theſe are ſo very light and ſmall, that one of the beſt cows, in her full growth, doth not weigh above two hundred and fifty pounds, though by their bulk they might reaſonably be thought to weigh one half more; but all animals in this country, whether human or irrational, however they may be indifferent large, yet are very light, which I am apt to think proceeds from their ſorry food, which, inſtead of a firm, produces only a ſpongy, looſe, and tough fleſh; hence all their beef is of an ungrateful taſte: notwithſtanding all which, about twelve pounds ſterling is commonly given for one of theſe beaſts.

The calves, which might reaſonably be expected to be good, are but very indifferent, by reaſon of the poor milk they ſuck from the cows; ſo that both beef and veal prove here but very ſorry meat.

There are great numbers of ſheep, if I may ſo call them, all over the coaſt, but yet they are very dear. Theſe ſort of cattle are ſhaped like ours in Europe, from which they differ only in ſize, being not above half as big: they have no wool, but that want is ſupplied with hair; ſo that here the world ſeems inverted, for the ſheep are hairy and the men wooly; that excrement in the Negroes being more like wool than hair.

Our mutton here does not bear the leaſt ſimilitude to that of Europe, this being very dry, inſomuch that a nice eater will very ſeldom eat of it, and the common people, who are not very good at diſtinguiſhing taſtes, are obliged to forbear it, becauſe their purſes will not reach it. Well, let them be as bad as they will, the price is generally about ſeven or eight and twenty ſhillings ſterling. If any perſon is a great lover of mutton, he may improve to a tolerable degree, by gelding a young ram, and fattening him with fried barley meal; after which, though he is not comparable to European mutton, yet a curious palate may juſt bear it.

Goats are here in innumerable abundance: they differ from thoſe in Europe chiefly in ſhape, being very ſmall, but much fatter and more fleſhy than the ſheep; for which reaſon ſome men prefer them, eſpecially the he-goats, which, gelt young, in a ſhort time grow bigger and very fat: the price of a full-grown goat is here about twelve or thirteen ſhillings Engliſh money.

I cannot omit a ridiculous opinion of the Negroes concerning the goats: they tell us, and alſo believe themſelves, that in the beginning of the world there was a certain goddeſs, who uſed to anoint herſelf with odoriferous ointment and oil; which the he-goats perceiving, applied themſelves to her, deſiring that ſhe would pleaſe to anoint them with the ſame ointment, which ſhe ſeemed to conſent to; but, indeed, inſtead of the odoriferous, deſignedly took a box of ſtinking ointment, with which ſhe anointed their bodies, whence they ſmell ſo ſtrong to this day. The he-goats, knowing no better than that it was the true unguent, were very well pleaſed with it, and their breed continuing in the ſame opinion, whenever it rains, fly always to ſhelter themſelves ſomewhere, leſt the water ſhould waſh off their delicious ſcent. What think you of this, ſir? Dare you affirm that beaſts, in former days, did not ſpeak, after ſuch convincing proof as this?

You muſt not expect that their horſes ſhould be like Sejanus's horſe, or Alexander's Bucephalus: and as their riders have no reaſon to fear the accident occaſioned by the former, ſo they muſt not expect the courage of the latter. They are ſomewhat more like the northern horſes in ſize, though nothing near ſo well ſhaped. On the Coaſt we have none, but there are great numbers in the in-land country; they are very ill-ſhaped: their heads and necks, which they always carry downwards, are very like thoſe of an aſs; they go as if they were falling, and will not ſtir forwards, unleſs forced

forced on by blows, without which they would move but very ſlowly: they are ſo very low, that a tall man, ſitting upon their backs, may very near touch the ground with his feet: but I ſhall ſay no more of them.

There are alſo aſſes enough here, which are ſomewhat higher than the horſes, and in their kind handſomer. We formerly had three or four on the ſhore, but they do not live long, for want of good feeding, as I ſuppoſe. I do not find that the Negroes uſe them to carry burthens, but only to ride upon; for which purpoſe, indeed, they are as good as the horſes here.

Nor is there any want of hogs in the leaſt; but thoſe bred by the Negroes, are really worth nothing, the fleſh is ſo flaggy and the bacon ſo ſorry; but thoſe which we fatten ourſelves may paſs for tolerable ones, though they are not comparable to thoſe of Fida; which, for the delicacy of the taſte and firmneſs of their bacon, are not only as good as the European but better: a hog of ninety pounds weight is here ſold for about three pounds ſterling, notwithſtanding they are ſo indifferent as I have told you.

To complete our tame quadrupeds, I ſhall touch upon their dogs, cats, rats, &c.

The Negroes are great lovers of dog's-fleſh; hence it is, that thoſe who bring a dog here may ſell him dear enough, the Negroes willingly giving a ſheep for him, if any thing large, and ſome will add ſomething to-boot, in order to put him into their barking or dog-ſchool; out of which they ſell their puppies at the deareſt rate. They prefer dog's-fleſh for their eating to that of cattle, and accordingly eſteem a meal of that the beſt treat they can take or give.

In proceſs of time our dogs alter ſtrangely here; their ears grow long and ſtiff, like thoſe of foxes, to which colour alſo they incline; ſo that in three or four years they degenerate into very ugly creatures; and in three or four broods their barking turns into a howl.

The cats are alſo eſteemed uſeful by the Negroes, but I never found that they eat them, unleſs forced thereto by neceſſity, as ſome of our ſlaves, being under confinement, often kill and eat of them, if they can catch them; but we do not find that the cats are ſubject to change like the dogs; on the contrary, they continue the ſame.

To augment the plagues of this country, it is peſtered with ſuch prodigious numbers of rats and mice, but eſpecially of the former, that they are not a little formidable, and do us no ſmall injury, gnawing and ſtealing all they can come at.

Taking our leave of the quadrupeds, it is now fit we ſay ſomething of the tame fowl, whoſe ſpecies are ſo few, that they will not take up much time; they conſiſting of hens, ducks, turkeys, and pigeons, the two latter being in our hands; for that the Negroes have not any.

The moſt common are the cocks and hens, and therefore deſerve the firſt place: they are in great plenty all over the coaſt, in time of peace; for in war-time, as if theſe animals were reſolved to have no ſhare in the public calamity, there is ſcarce any of them to be had; and the proverbial advice of our Boors, "Take care of your hens, the ſoldiers are coming," ſeems to be very well followed here; for, as in time of peace, four of them may be bought for about four ſhillings and ſixpence; ſo in war-time, it is well if we can get two for that price.

At Axim theſe fowls are very fat and good, though ſmall; but about Elmina and other places of the Coaſt, they are ſo dry and clean, and contain ſo little fleſh, that a good ſtomach would require ſomething elſe to make up a meal, after eating three of them.

Next are the ducks, which have been but few years known on this Coaſt. I cannot tell from what country they were brought; but they have no manner of affinity with

thoſe of Europe, not indeed are they much like them; being one half larger, and of another colour, commonly white, or black, white and brown mixt. The drakes have a large red knob on their bills, almoſt like the turkeys, only it does not hang ſo looſe, but firmer, and is very like a cherry: theſe ducks ought to be eaten young, for if they are old they are tough and inſipid.

There are no turkeys amongſt the Negroes, but a few kept here for the director-general; and their fleſh is no very great delicacy.

We have great number of pigeons at ſome of our forts, all which are of the common ſpecies of field or wild-doves; which, when young, afford thoſe who love them a good ſort of food.

Theſe are all the tame animals which I find in this country; our next taſk is to conſider the wild beaſts.

It is but reaſonable that I ſhould begin with that wonderful beaſt the elephant, who is endowed with ſo many different, good and remarkable qualities, that, to rob him of the firſt place among the beaſts, is a piece of injuſtice. I ſhall not recite a great many particulars concerning him; either becauſe I cannot relate them upon my own obſervation, or that ſeveral have done it already: beſides which, ſome authors have allowed themſelves to tell us ſeveral very ſtrange and ill-digeſted ſtories concerning its copulation, pregnancy, bringing forth its young, its age, changing its teeth, and ſeveral other follies; and it is not without reaſon that I call them ſo. For, as far as I can learn, no man in the world ever ſaw how they engendered, nor can tell how long they go pregnant, in what ſeparable places they caſt their young, or whether they change their teeth or not. Theſe are all wild gueſſes, of which we can get no information by tamed elephants, and, therefore, this knowledge muſt come out of the woods; but how they come to converſe ſo long with theſe wild beaſts there as to obtain ſuch an accurate account of them, I can ſcarce believe any-body, except good old Pliny can pretend to it. The famous writer concerning all ſorts of books and hiſtories, ſays, according to my beſt remembrance, in one of his books, that Pliny has long ſince been a fabulous writer; but that, at preſent, ſeveral of his relations have been confirmed by the diſcoveries of judicious travellers.

None, I believe, will deny that Pliny deſcribes ſome things truly; but, on the other ſide, is, beyond contradiction, wild, groundleſs, and falſe. The fore-mentioned famous author has frequently been too credulous on account of what he hath heard or read concerning foreign countries, as a great many examples in his works clearly prove; which is no ſmall fault in an author; for, in my opinion at leaſt, it ſeems inconſiſtent with a good writer, to lay down as truth all which he can get by hear-ſay of other countries, for he ought firſt to conſider, whether the relater of ſuch ſtrange things ever had a good opportunity of being well informed concerning them. But this carries me wide from my ſubject; we ſhall let Pliny alone, and return to the elephant, whom we find here in Africa to be a beaſt of twelve or thirteen foot high, and, conſequently, much leſs than thoſe in Eaſt India, ſince the writers concerning that country aſſure us, that its height there amounts to more cubits: beſides this difference, they do not differ in their nature or ſhape from thoſe in other places.

Theſe beaſts prove very prejudicial to the fruit-trees, eſpecially orange-trees, Bananas, and another ſort of figs; of the laſt of which, they eat both fruit and ſtem.

The Negroes alſo affirm, that the elephants, meeting any people in the woods, never offer any violence to them; but that, if the ſhot levelled at them miſſes, they grow very wild. But I have obſerved directly the contrary of one of them in our garden at Elmina the laſt year, of which I have enough to relate to fill a whole letter; wherefore

I beg your patience till I have diſpatched this and two more, when I intend to entertain you with an entire hiſtory of our elephant and tiger-hunting; not doubting but that account will afford you ſomething uncommon and agreeable: wherefore ſuſpend your curioſity ſo long, and permit me at preſent to recite what the Negroes and others affirm on their own knowledge, that they follow men into the water, where they put them into no ſmall fright by their purſuit. At Rio de Gabon, four, five, and more elephants have frequently paſſed by me and my company without offering us any injury, but we were not courageous enough to preſent them with a few bullets, though very well ſtored; for they are very difficult to be killed, unleſs the ball happens to light betwixt the eyes and the ears; to which end, the bullet ought to be iron alſo. Their ſkin is as good proof againſt the common muſket lead-balls, as a wall; and if they hit the mentioned place, becomes entirely flat.

The country here where the greateſt number of elephants are found, is chiefly that before we come at the Gold Coaſt, and is, from the multitude of their teeth which are there traded for, properly called the Tooth, or Elephants' Tooth Coaſt, extending to the Gold Coaſt, and takes in the country of Awine, Jummore, Equira, Abocroe, Ancober, and Axim, ſeveral elephants being daily killed in the ſaid places; and the wilder and leſs inhabited the lands are, the larger quantity of elephants and wild beaſts are found.

Ante alſo doth not want theſe beaſts, there being not only in the in-land country multitudes of them ſhot, but beſides that they come daily to the ſea-ſhore, and ſo near our forts, that they are in ſight of our people, and do a great deal of miſchief.

In the tract of land betwixt Ante and Acra, there are a few, though not ſo many as in the former countries, becauſe this place hath long been reaſonably well peopled, except the country of Fetu, which, for five or ſix years paſt, hath lain almoſt waſte; wherefore there is a much larger number of elephants there at preſent than formerly.

A great part of the country about Acra lying waſte and uninhabited, a great quantity are annually killed here. In the year 1697, one of an uncommon magnitude was killed near Acra, juſt by our fortreſs, and no doubt but that he was at leaſt full-aged, his two teeth weighing two hundred and twenty pounds; from which you may infer that he was not very light himſelf.

In Ardra and Fida there are none, though in my time one was there killed, and the Negroes affirmed it was what had not happened in ſixty years before; for which reaſon, I believe he had accidentally ſtrayed from ſome other country; for the in-land countries of Benin (which borders on Ardra), Rio de Calbary, Camerones, and ſeveral other adjacent countries, are ſo incredibly overcharged with theſe beaſts, that it is to be admired how the inhabitants live there.

The vaſt numbers of teeth traded for in theſe countries, clearly evince the great abundance of elephants here; but whether all thoſe are taken from ſlaughtered elephants, or ſome of them are found in the woods, or elſewhere, I cannot determine: though I am apt to think that here they come by them both ways; from whence it ſhould ſeem that, as ſome tell us, the elephants change their teeth; but this is utterly contradicted by the great difference betwixt the teeth themſelves, ſome of them weighing one, two, or three pounds, and others progreſſively heavy, till they amount to above one hundred pounds weight: nor is it in the leaſt probable, that a ſolid body, compoſed of ſuch hard ſubſtance as elephants' teeth, can, in about twenty years' time, grow from one to a hundred pounds weight: how this happens to encreaſe, I muſt own I am ignorant. But I have dwelled too long on this ſubject; it is now time to take leave and turn to a beaſt, which, though vaſtly different, yet, in ſize, reſembles the

elephant moſt of any here: I mean the Buffel or Buffalo, which is to be found all over Guinea, but in ſuch ſmall numbers, that ſcarce one is ſeen in three or four years; but ſince I ſhall have an opportunity to ſpeak of a place where they more abound, I ſhall ſay no more of him at preſent, than that their fleſh is very good meat, and leave the reſt to that opportunity.

Tigers, not very unlike the Buffaloes in ſize, though they very much differ in ſavage fierceneſs, are here incredibly numerous, of four or five ſorts, which differ as well in their ſize as ſpots. Whether leopards and panthers are a ſpecies of tigers, I will not venture to determine, ſince I have not yet met with any-body who could herein ſatisfactorily inform me. Turning to Pliny, I found him ſo ignorantly miſtaken, that I am reſolved, in my deſcription of animals, not to name him. The Negroes diſtinguiſh the tigers by ſeveral names, but how to tranſlate them into our language, I cannot tell: wherefore, paſſing over the ſeveral ſpecies of them, I ſhall only inform you, that they are all ſavage, fierce, voracious beaſts, by means of which, daily tragical accidents happen.

They ſpare neither man nor beaſt; but as long as they can ſatisfy their appetites with the fleſh of brutes, they will not make any attempts on mankind; but that being deficient, the firſt of human ſpecies that comes in his way is certainly dead. But of this more hereafter; ſo I ſhall at preſent only tell you, that however fierce this beaſt is, the young ones may be brought up ſo tame that you may play with them, as with a dog or cat: like the laſt of which they are bearded.

I have ſeen about eight of theſe tame tigers brought up at Elmina, of which the director-general has at preſent two; but I have obſerved that in all of them their fell nature returns in time upon one occaſion or another; and that, though never ſo tame, they are not to be truſted without great circumſpection.

Next the tiger in fierceneſs is the jackall or wild dog; which is moſtly found about Acra and Aquamboe, though there are ſome now alſo hereabouts. This beaſt is ſo bold, that it ſeizes and devours whatever comes in its way, whether man or beaſt, ſuch as cows, hogs, ſheep, &c.

At night they come under the walls of our forts at Acra to ſeize our hogs, or ſnatch a ſheep out of the ſtall; by which means ſeveral of them are caught in the following manner: — Our garriſon lay ſeveral well-loaded muſkets with the lock covered with a ſmall box, to which a cord is faſtened with a piece of mutton, and ſo placed, that they no ſooner attempt to ſeize it than the muſket goes off; and they, in the reward of their thievery, get three or four bullets in the head. This expedient ſeldom miſſes, if due care be taken in laying of the muſkets.

The Cayman, better known by the name of crocodile, claims the next place in our deſcription of rapacious beaſts, for ſo I call the crocodile alſo, not becauſe I have obſerved him to be ſo; not having ever heard, during the whole time of my reſidence here, that they devoured either man or beaſt; but becauſe I have both read and believe ſeveral relations of their voracious fierceneſs.

All the rivers in this country are peſtered with vaſt ſhoals of them, eſpecially at Lama and Boutry; at the latter of which I have ſeen fifty in one day, and amongſt theſe ſome that I gueſſed to be about twenty foot long.

The crocodile is already deſcribed by ſeveral authors; wherefore I ſhall only add what they have forgotten or omitted. Their bodies are covered with ſuch a hard ſkin and ſquare ſcales, that it is impoſſible to kill them with a muſket-ball; and the caps which the Negroes make of it are as hard as bone, and cannot be cut through with one ſtroke of a hanger, being very like the land tortoiſe-ſhell. Their bellies are ſofter,

which, therefore, they do not frequently expoſe to danger; ſo that they can hardly be ſhot dead at any other place than their heads. On very hot days, when the ſun ſhines very warm, great numbers of them lie baſking on the banks of the rivers; and as ſoon as they perceive any men near-hand, they ſteal towards the rivers and plunge themſelves into them with great violence, immediately ſheltering themſelves under water. Theſe creatures do not ſeem ſwift enough to run after, and overtake men, who are flying from them by land, ſuppoſing them not to ſteer a crooked courſe to avoid them, though it may be poſſible; I ſhould not much fear them on land, any more than I ſhould truſt them in the water, though, indeed, I never heard any miſchief they did there.

Their colour is dark brown, and they may paſs for very ugly beaſts.

And as for their crying, and other ſubtleties to catch men, I believe it as much as the Jews do the Goſpel.

The fierce wild boars are reckoned among the rapacious beaſts; and, indeed, thoſe in Europe very deſervedly: but here on the Gold Coaſt we have very few, and theſe not near ſo wild as in Europe. I have ſeveral times eaten of them here, and found them very delicious and very tender meat, the fat being extraordinarily fine.

Next theſe voracious beaſts we come to a milder ſort of wild beaſts: amongſt which I ſhall firſt treat of the harts; with which ſpecies this country moſt plentifully abounds, they being found all along the Gold Coaſt in incredible numbers, eſpecially at Ante and Acra, where we ſometimes ſee droves of one hundred together.

The Negroes tell us that theſe beaſts are ſo ſubtle, that in all marches they detach one of their number as a ſentry to watch whether any man be near, and advertiſe the reſt; for the truth of which I will not be obliged, but remember to have read ſomething of that nature of thoſe of other countries.

There are about twenty ſeveral ſorts of theſe beaſts here, ſome as large as ſmall cows, others no bigger than ſheep, cats, &c.; moſt of them are red, with a black liſt on the back, ſome of them red beautifully ſtreaked with white. All of them are very good to eat, but more eſpecially two ſorts, which we alſo eſteem very delicate. The firſt ſort are of a pale mouſe colour, and, though they are both of one ſpecies, yet they differ ſomewhat in their ſhape; the feet of one being a little higher than thoſe of the other, though the beaſts are both of the length of about two feet.

There is alſo a ſort not above half ſo big, of a red colour, which are extraordinarily beautiful creatures; they have ſmall black horns and little legs, indifferent long in proportion to their bodies, but ſo very ſmall, that ſome of them are not bigger than the ſmall part of a tobacco pipe; one of which I have ſent you ſet in gold for want of drawing, and, therefore, hope your favourable acceptance.

There is a hart about four foot long, of a ſlender ſhape; his feet are very long; he hath a long head and ears, is of an orange colour ſtreaked with white.

Theſe harts are ſwifter of foot than moſt men know, but that ſort of which you have the foot are extraordinarily ſwift, and ſtrangely agile in leaping for ſuch ſmall creatures; ſome that we have caught I have ſeen leap over a wall of ten or twelve foot high. The Negroes call this the King of harts.

At Apam, Acra and Fida, there is a ſort of hares not unlike ours, which plentifully abounds at theſe three places; but with reference to this I have ſufficiently detained you in my letter deſcribing Ardra.

Here are alſo porcupines, but no great number, or at leaſt very few of them are brought to us. They grow to the height of two, or two foot and a half, and bite ſo ſharply, that no wooden work can withſtand them.

I once

I once put one of them into a fat, not doubting but I had very well ſecured him, but in one night's ſpace he eat his way through, and that at the middle where the ſtaves were moſt bent outwards.

This beaſt is ſo daring, that he ventures to attempt the largeſt, and moſt dangerous ſnake; of which more hereafter. When he is provoked, he ſhoots his quills (which are about two ſpans long), at both man and beaſt, with ſuch violence, that if they happen to hit on a board they ſtick in it. The Negroes and ſome Whites highly value its fleſh as very nice food.

I have here alſo ſeen a ſort of creatures not unlike our hedge-hogs, only they cannot roll themſelves as ours are accuſtomed to do.

There is a creature, by the Negroes called Potto, but known to us by the name of ſluggard, doubtleſs from its lazy ſluggiſh nature; a whole day being little enough for it to advance ten ſteps forward.

Some writers affirm, that when this creature has climbed upon a tree, he doth not leave it until he hath not only eaten up the fruit, but the leaves entirely, and then deſcends fat and in very good caſe, in order to get up into another tree; but, before his ſlow pace can compaſs this, he becomes as poor and lean as it is poſſible to imagine; and, if the trees be high, or the way any thing diſtant, and he meets with nothing on his journey, he inevitably dies with hunger, betwixt one tree and the other. Thus it is repreſented by others, but I will not undertake for the truth of it, though the Negroes are apt to believe ſomething like it.

This is ſuch a horribly ugly creature, that I do not believe any thing beſides ſo very diſagreeable is to be found in the whole earth; its fore feet are very like hands, the head ſtrangely diſproportionately large; it is of a pale mouſe colour, but it was then very young, and his ſkin yet ſmooth; but when old, as I ſaw one at Elmina in the year 1699, it is red and covered with a ſort of hair as thick ſet as flocks of wool. I know nothing more of this animal, than that it is impoſſible to look on him without horror, and that he hath nothing very particular but his odious uglineſs.

There are a ſort of beaſts which lurk in the fields here, like rats, but bigger than cats; we call them wild rats. They are continually amongſt the ſowed corn, and do a great deal of damage.

Their fleſh is by ſome Europeans and the Negroes held a great delicacy; and, indeed, nothing hinders its paſſing for ſuch but its diſagreeable aſpect and ſhocking name, which create ſome averſion in the eater: but thoſe who can ſtep over this, like it extraordinarily well; and to remedy as much as poſſible its ugly figure, ſome cut off the head, feet, and tail, before they bring it to the table; and then it certainly paſſes on thoſe who do not know what it is, for a very grateful diſh; for they are fat, tender, and very agreeable.

There is alſo another ſort of wild rats, which are chiefly found at Axim; they are as long as the former, but their bodies are very ſlender, and they are otherwiſe called Boutees: very few beſides the Negroes eat theſe. They do an incredible deal of damage to the ſtores of millet and rice, that the Negroes have laid up in their houſes; and in one night ſpoil more ſowed corn, than it is poſſible for one hundred domeſtic rats to do; for they are not content to ſatiate themſelves, and carry off ſome with them, but they beſides ſpoil all where they come.

Here are three or four ſorts of wild cats; of which the Civet-cat is one; which at preſent is ſo well known in Holland, that I need only acquaint you that they are brought to be ſold to us very young, and then we give about eight or nine ſhillings ſterling for one.

A large

A large ſhare of trouble and careful attendance is requiſite to breed them up: their food is pap boiled or made of millet, with a little fleſh or fiſh. They produce civet when even very young; of which that of the males is better than that of the females, becauſe the latter cannot avoid urining into the civet bag, which ſpoils it.

I can ſay nothing particular of the remaining wild cats, but that they are ſpotted like tigers, and are as fierce, doing a great deal of miſchief amongſt the hens where they can come at them.

I have ſeen very ſmall mice, which afford a pleaſant and odoriferous muſky ſcent, but cannot find that they have any bags like the civet-cats; which inclines me to believe that the pleaſant odour proceeds from the ſkin.

Here are yet three or four ſorts of ſmall quadrupeds; the firſt of which is a kind of cat, only its ſnout is much ſharper, and the body is ſmaller, and ſpotted like the civet-cats. The Negroes call it Berbe, and the Europeans Wine-bibber, becauſe it is very greedy of palm-wine.

The ſecond ſort are not much bigger than a domeſtic rat; of a red and grey colour, mixed with ſmall white ſpecks in their hair; the tail being of long hair, ſo ſpeckled, and about three fingers broad; ſo that it very agreeably may reach from behind to their head: theſe are alſo called Wine-bibbers, though the name of ſquirrel would fit them better.

The third ſort, when full-grown, are about as big again and red. This is a very miſchievous creature, and bites very violently; and flies at man and beaſt without any diſtinction, if driven thereto by neceſſity. It is called Kokeboe, and is a cruel perſecutor of cocks and hens, though not in the ſame manner as Mr. Focquenbrog informs us.

They have no need of ſuch ſubtilty, being ſwift enough to catch the hens and ſtrong enough to carry them off when they have them. I have had ſeveral, but never found any of them with red buttocks, though I have diligently enough examined them.

What Focquenbrog ſays farther, concerning this animal, I dare not confirm; not only becauſe I have not found it ſo myſelf, but never yet ſaw the European or Negro who agreed with him.

The remaining beaſt or beaſts, for there are more than one ſort of them, we are here ſo little acquainted with, that I ſhall paſs them over without any deſcription, and endeavour to give you an account of an amphibious animal, that lives as well in the water as on land; this is the Leguaen: it is ſhaped almoſt like a crocodile, but ſeldom exceeds four foot in length; its body is black ſpeckled, with round ſort of eyes, and the ſkin very tender. He injures neither man nor brute, the hens only excepted; among which he ſometimes makes a great ſlaughter. Several Europeans eat their fleſh, and all unanimouſly agree that it is much finer meat than cocks or hens.

There is an animal who keeps in the woods; his body is long and ſlender; to which is joined a long tail; at the end of which is a hairy ſort of bruſh: he is of a pale colour, ſomewhat inclining to brown; his hair is long and thin. The Negroes call him Arompo or Man-eater, becauſe his food is dead men, to come at which he greedily grubs out the earth of their graves, as if he had notice of ſome perſons there hid.

The Negroes report that having dug to a dead body, he does not immediately fall on it, but goes round it ſeveral times; to what end I cannot tell; but they explain it, that he thereby hints the unlawfulneſs and a certain ſort of impoſſibility of ſeizing another man's goods, without doing ſomething, or giving himſelf ſome trouble on that account firſt.

The

The myſtery of this is not hard to unravel. I am apt to think that this beaſt is ſeized with a fear natural to all brutes; and therefore only looks round about to ſee if there be any man likely to force his prey from him.

It is time we ſay ſomething concerning the apes, which are here above one hundred thouſand in number, and of ſo many various ſpecies, that it is really wonderful as well as it is impoſſible for me to deſcribe them all; wherefore I ſhall only touch on ſome them.

The firſt and moſt common ſort, are thoſe we call Smitten, of a pale mouſe colour, and grow to a wonderful ſize. I have myſelf ſeen one of five foot long, and not much leſs than a man; they are very miſchievous and bold. It ſeems incredible what an Engliſh merchant here affirmed to me for truth; that behind the Engliſh fort at Wimba, (where there is a terrible number of theſe apes; that are ſo bold, that they will attack a man, as he related,) amongſt others they fell upon two of their Company's ſlaves, which the apes had overpowered, and would have poked out their eyes, if they had not been timely reſcued by ſome Negroes; for they, to complete their deſign, had gotten ſome ſticks ready.

You, as well as myſelf, are at liberty what credit to give to this ſtory. But, indeed, theſe are a terrible pernicious ſort of brutes, which ſeem to be made only for miſchief.

Some of the Negroes believe, as an undoubted truth, that theſe apes can ſpeak, but will not, that they may not be ſet to work; which they do not very well love: this is their opinion of them.

As the former ſort of apes are very ugly, ſo the next are exactly like them, only four of them put together would not be ſo large as the other; and their beſt quality is that they are ſo docile that they will learn whatever they are taught.

The third ſort are very beautiful, and generally grow to the height of about two foot; their hair is as black as pitch, and above a finger's length: they have a long white beard; whence they are called bearded little men, or bearded monkeys. Of their ſkins are made the Tie-tie's caps; mentioned in another letter of mine. The Negroes ſell theſe monkeys to one another for about eighteen or twenty ſhillings; and when they bring them to us, we do not refuſe them at that price.

There are, beſides this, two or three ſorts of monkeys, each alike handſome, but one half leſs than the other, with ſhort hair of a mixed colour, partaking of grey, black, white, and red: and for the moſt part they have a white breaſt and beard. But hold, inſtead of a ſheet or two of paper, I could fill a whole book in deſcribing the various ſorts of apes; which I cannot think worth while, and ſo had rather diſpatch this ſubject out of hand; only informing you, that of the ſmaller apes there are not above twenty ſorts: all which are very fine; but what is moſt unhappy, ſo extraordinarily tender, that it is very rare that we can rear any of them, much leſs bring them to Europe.

I muſt yet add, that their thieviſh nature, which ſeems to come into the world with them, is common to all of them; and I have ſeen them go very ſubtilly to work in the ſtealing of millet and fruit: in each paw they take one or two ſtalks of millet, as much under their arms (if I may ſo call them), two or three in their mouths; and thus laden they march away, continually leaping upon their hind legs; and if they are purſued, they hold that in their mouth faſt, but throw away the reſt, that it may not hinder them in their flight.

But their carrying ſo much Milhio or millet together, is not to be compared to their nice curioſity in ſtealing it; for every ſtalk of millet they pluck is narrowly examined; and if they do not like it, they throw it away and pull another: ſo that this

this delicacy of theirs, occaſions more damage than their thievery. And now I ſhall bid the apes farewell.

Here are every where thouſands of lizards; eſpecially all along by the walls of our forts; whither they come in queſt of food, which chiefly conſiſts in ſpiders, worms, flies, and other ſuch like. There are various ſpecies of them; ſome of the largeſt having a tail about a foot long, and a hand broad; of a dark colour, and half their head red: the reſt are about the ſame ſize, and differ only in colour.

They are almoſt all of them ugly and that to a ſhocking degree, except thoſe that follow, which may paſs for ſomewhat more tolerable.

Theſe are chiefly a ſort about half as big as the other, and are green; next to which is another ſort one half leſs than the laſt; they are of a grey colour, and creep all up and down our chambers, cleanſing them from all ſmall vermin: theſe we call ſalamanders.

That the lizards forewarn men againſt ſnakes and other venomous creatures, I believe to be as true as that the ſalamanders continue alive in the fire: unleſs one would affirm that this report is owing to the antipathy betwixt the ſalamander and the fire, that being much of the coldeſt nature of all the lizards; and this opinion I could eaſily ſubſcribe to, at leaſt for ſo long till ſuch are found, which according to the ancients live in the fire.

To conclude this letter, I ſhall add two ſmall animals; which former times have preſented us with large, but very wild accounts of.

The peculiar natural colour of the one is green ſpeckled with grey; and the other green, and fire-colour and grey mixed together. Theſe animals are very rare, and deſerve a more particular deſcription.

Several have already undertaken it, but amongſt them all I like none better than Father N. N. and Monſieur Cornelius de Bruyn in his travels in Aſia. What he hath told us I muſt entirely confirm, without being able to add any thing; theſe here being exactly of the ſame nature with thoſe he deſcribes: wherefore, not being able to preſent you with a better deſcription, I ſhall give it you in his own words, ſomewhat abridged.

"Whilſt I," ſaid he, "with great ſatisfaction, not much encumbered with the preſſing neceſſities of life, paſſed my time at Smyrna, I had an opportunity of getting ſome camelions into my hands; and being curious to diſcover how long they would live, I commonly kept four of them in a large caſe, and ſometimes let them run looſe in my chamber, and frequently brought them into the great hall of the houſe, where the wind breezed through from the ſea-ſide, when they ſeemed briſker than before, and opened their mouths to imbibe the freſh air.

"It is firmly aſſerted by naturaliſts, that theſe creatures live on air: and, indeed, experience confirms it in ſome meaſure; for I never ſaw mine eat or drink any thing except a few flies; of which hereafter.

"It is alſo true, that they frequently change their colour; I have myſelf ſeen their colour alter three or four times in half an hour, without any colour being thereabouts; which I ſoon drew both in miniature and oil-colours.

"The colour which they chiefly change to, is a very fine green ſpotted with yellow, as beautiful as any pencil can expreſs it; ſometimes alſo it is ſpotted with brown ſpots: and thus is the whole body adorned, tail and all. Sometimes, they change to a brown colour like that of moles.

"Their ordinary colour is grey, or rather pale mouſe colour; the ſkin very thin and almoſt tranſparent: they moſtly change to a lizard colour. But as to their changing

to the colour of all things, which are placed near them, experience has informed me that the naturaliſts are here in the wrong, for they do not change to red, nor ſeveral other colours; though I muſt own that I have obſerved ſudden changes in them on that account.

" I never could keep them alive above five months, and moſt of them die in four. I was very curious to know what their inteſtines conſiſted of: wherefore I opened one; in which I found ſome eggs, about as big as thoſe of ſmall birds, being all joined together as if in a thread, but no guts or any thing elſe. The tongue was the moſt remarkable of all, being as long as the whole animal. With this they catch flies, as they tell us; which is done in the following manner: — The camelion holds himſelf very ſtill, and when a fly comes in his way, he darts out his tongue with utmoſt ſwiftneſs, graſps them with the ſharp point of it, and draws them in; to which purpoſe his large wide mouth, which he opens, is very convenient.

" If this beaſt is deſirous to deſcend from any height lower, he very carefully advances, firſt one foot and then the other; which are afterwards followed with the ſame caution by the hind feet, his tail curling about one thing or other in the meanwhile; by which he can hold faſt; which continues as long as he finds any aſſiſtance by it, and then falls flat to the ground. Their march is very ſlow.

" Some would have it that the camelion moſtly keeps his mouth open; but I have very ſeldom obſerved it, and ſcarce ever when I did not carry them to a place where they could have the pleaſure of imbibing the air; then, indeed, they ſtretched their mouths wide open, and diſcovered by their motion and frequent changing their colour, the pleaſure they were ſenſible of. Their eyes are round, very black, and obſervably ſmall; but what is moſt remarkable, is, that they can direct one of them to one ſide, and the other to another: ſo that at once they can look upwards and downward."

Thus far Monſieur de Bruyn; to which I ſhall only add the difference which I have obſerved betwixt thoſe of Smyrna and this country; which chiefly is firſt, that they here live as many years as Monſieur de Bruyn ſays months: but then we put them in a garden upon one of the trees; upon which they continue ſitting ſome time before they deſcend. They have alſo ſeveral times been ſent to Europe, and got over alive.

The ſecond difference is, that I have not obſerved any of theſe here with their mouths open, and conſequently have not ſeen the tongue or fly-catching; which yet does not diſengage me from believing Monſieur de Bruyn: but on the contrary, I take it for undoubted truth what he ſays on that head; for his deſcription being ſo exact, it is probable enough that he obſerved it.

In all other particulars they entirely agree; ſo that I neither can nor will ſay any more of them, than that Monſieur de Bruyn might better have compared their eggs to thoſe of lizards, than of ſmall birds; for I have obſerved in all quadrupeds and creeping animals which do not bring forth their young, but lay eggs, for inſtance, lizards, camelions, leguanes, ſnakes, and tortoiſes; that their eggs are not covered with any hard ſhell, but rather with a thick fleſh, which is pliable and weak. What do you think, ſir, is not this letter fairly lengthened? I think it is: wherefore it is high time to end the ſame; having at preſent nothing more than that I am with all my heart, Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XV. — *Treating firſt of the feathered Kind, viz. of two Species of Pheaſants, Partridges, wild Ducks of two Sorts, Turtle-doves, Crooked Bills, Snipes, and other edible though unknown Birds; of Crown-Birds, beautiful green Birds, blue and white Herons, Portugueſe*, Eagles, Kites; a certain River-Bird, very fine; Crown-Birds on the Gold Coaſt; Pokkoe, a large Fowl ſo called by the Negroes, and valued for his Uglineſs; as alſo another about the ſame Size, but handſomer: — Of four Species of granivorous Birds; a ſmall beautiful River-Bird, Parochites, Parrots, Star-birds†. — Of Frogs and Toads, ſome of which are very large. — Of the great Numbers and various Sorts of Snakes, ſome of which have two Heads: of Scorpions; a Sort of Scolopendria, or many-footed Worms, and ſeveral other Species of Inſects. — Of Bees. — Multitudes of Ants, and their ſtrange Nature. — Of the ſeveral Sorts of Fiſh, as Brazilian Cod, Jacks, Plaice, Flounders; a Fiſh called Siſie Pampher by the Negroes; C—coverer, and ſeveral other large Fiſh; ſeveral Sorts of Bream, Stompneuſes or flat Noſes, Boardmanetjes or Pouts, Mackerel, Saffer, Aboci, Ray, Soles, Dabs, Lobſters, Crabs, Prawns, Shrimps, Sprats, Karmou, Mullets and Batavia; alſo three voracious Fiſhes, viz. Noordkapers, Sword-Fiſhes, and Hays or Requiens.*

SIR,

IN my laſt having at large deſcribed the wild quadrupeds and tame fowl; it remains that I ſhould treat of birds, reptiles, inſects, and fiſh.

To begin our account of birds, with thoſe which are edible; I ſhall beſtow the firſt place on the pheaſant: of which vaſt numbers are found about Acra, in the province of Aquamboe, in and about Apam in the Acraſe country; being extraordinarily beautiful, and about the ſize of a hen; their feathers ſpeckled with a bright blue and white, encircled with a ſky-coloured ring about their necks, about two fingers broad, and adorned with a very fine black tuft on their heads: in a word, it is as beautiful a bird as nature furniſheth among the terreſtrial ſpecies, and next to gold (which I always eſteem the moſt precious) is the moſt charming rarity that Guinea produces.

There is a bird which we here call the Fidaſe pheaſant, becauſe they are moſt frequently obſerved in that country, though they are beſides ſometimes caught on the Gold Coaſt.

This bird is almoſt as big as the former, though not near ſo beautiful. His body 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.

To the pheaſants it will be proper to add the partridges; of which there is a vaſt quantity all over the Gold Coaſt, though we have no great numbers of them to eat, by reaſon of the want of ſportſmen: but at Fida they are as plenty as can be deſired, and at a very low price; and when in ſeaſon are very good food.

Nor do we want wild ducks, which are here very delicate, and only differ from thoſe in Europe by being ſomewhat ſmaller.

There are here two ſorts of them; of the firſt of which, during the whole time of my reſidence on the Coaſt, I have ſeen but two, which were ſhot by the director's trumpeter: in ſhape and ſize they were not unlike other ducks; but they were of a very beautiful green colour, with fine red bills and feet: their colour was ſo deep and charming, that if they had been alive and to be ſold, I ſhould not have boggled to have

* Birds ſo called by the Hollanders. † In Dutch Stier or Stervogel.

given ten pounds ſterling for them. It is remarkable that before nor ſince that time none of that ſpecies have been ſeen.

And for about four months paſt, I have ſeen but one of the ſecond ſort; which was alſo ſhot by one of the garriſon, and was ſhaped like the former: his feet and bill were yellow, and his body adorned with an equal mixture of green and grey; but not near ſo fine as the former.

There are here two, or rather three ſpecies of turtle-doves; the firſt are ſmall, of a bay colour, and eat very well, being much tenderer than the ſecond, which are of a much brighter colour: the third ſort, being as tough and large as theſe, are of a very beautiful green; their bills and feet are yellow; they have a few red feathers, and their eyes are encircled with large white ſpeckled rings; ſome of which are intermixed with blue.

There is a very large rock above our fort at Axim, two or three muſquet-ſhot from the ramparts; which is very thick grown with underwoods, where thouſands of theſe two laſt ſorts of turtles harbour, and by reaſon the rock is ſo cloſely covered with thoſe plants, we can catch but very few; for if we ſhoot them, and they fall down, they are never found. Every evening they come there to rooſt, and in the morning take their flight in queſt of food.

Crooked-bills and ſeveral ſorts of ſnipes are very common here; ſeveral of them prove good food, but moſt are ſo tough that they are not very much valued.

We have here alſo multitudes of all ſorts of large and ſmall birds, which are ſhot and eaten; but beſides that we are unacquainted with them, they are not diſtinguiſhed by any particular names.

As for thoſe which are not edible, but are only kept for beauty and rarity (ſuppoſing them to be caught), of the moſt common there are ſeveral at Fida, and in the whole country of Ardra, and alſo few at and about Acra.

Their legs and body are about the ſize of a ſtork, and they are called Crown-birds, from the great yellowiſh tuft or crown intermixed with ſpeckled feathers, ſtrutting like hogs' briſtles, with which their heads are adorned: their bodies are chiefly covered with black feathers, and their wings furniſhed with large, red, yellow, white, and black quills: their heads are beautified with purple ſpots, half a thumb's breadth on each ſide, and the forepart of their head is very cloſely covered with a perfect black downy ſort of feathers; which at a diſtance ſeems to be black velvet.

Theſe birds ſeem to be in great eſteem in Europe, ſince we are inceſſantly ſolicited by ſome gentlemen to ſend them over: and I have been told that they preſumed to preſent one of them to the King of England, who was alſo pleaſed to accept of it. But, for my part, I cannot perceive any ſuch extraordinary beauty in them; for beſides their head and neck, there is nothing very rare; the reſt of their body being rather diſagreeable than fine.

But the bird of which I have ſent you the draught, on the contrary, is not leſs beautiful than rare; for though moſt of the other birds are to be found all over the coaſt, I never ſaw this any where but at Apam, where I am apt to think there are great numbers of them; becauſe ſending out two days ſucceſſively, in a ſhort time I had one brought me ſhot dead; for otherwiſe they are not eaſily taken.

They are very like a parrot, having exactly ſuch a bill, which is dark yellow; the breaſt and whole under part of their body is of a very fine green colour; the upper part, grey, red, ſky-colour and deep blue, very agreeably intermixed: the head, neck and tail, which are all green, render this bird very charming; the feathers riſe on his head like a comb; he hath large eyes, above and below which are two of the moſt

beautiful

beautiful red rays that can be imagined. To conclude, this bird is not to be paralleled for beauty.

Here are two ſorts of herons obſervable, the blue and the white; both which we might have placed amongſt the edible fowl, ſince ſeveral here eat them.

In theſe parts is alſo an unknown bird, as big in the body as a gooſe, moſtly white, which we call Portugueſe, which is alſo eaten by ſome few.

Nor are eagles wanting here, ſuch as are in Europe, or at leaſt not very different from them.

Here is alſo another ravenous bird on the coaſt, very like a falcon, and though but a little bigger than a dove, yet he is ſo bold and ſtrong, that he attacks and flies away with the largeſt chickens.

The third ſort of birds of prey on this coaſt, are the kites; theſe ſteal all they can diſcover and carry off, beſides chickens, whether fleſh or fiſh; and that ſo boldly, that they frequently ſeize the latter in the hands of the Negro-women as they are going along the ſtreet or ſitting in the market.

There is a fowl which harbours near lakes and rivers, and may very well paſs for a fine bird; he is about as large as a chicken, the upper part of his body black or brown, ſpeckled with white, and the under, either deep yellow or red; he hath alſo a tuft of ſpeckled feathers riſing like a comb; and his bill in proportion to his body is extraordinarily thick and long.

I have preſented you with a Fedaſe crown-bird, and wiſh I could alſo ſend you a draught of the ſort found on the Gold Coaſt, and then you would obſerve a great difference, it being twice as fine, and of ten various colours, as green, red, blue, ſky-colour, brown, black, white, &c. and what is very obſervable, they have a long tail, out of which the Negroes pull the feathers to wear on their heads. We call them crown-birds, becauſe ſome have a beautiful blue, and others a gold-coloured crown or tuft on their heads. Monſieur Focquenbrog mentions peacocks that he ſaw at the river Boutry, which can be no other than theſe birds, for here are no peacocks on the Coaſt.

There is a bird, which though ugly enough may be eſteemed rare; for I dare aver that the whole world doth not produce his like; he is exactly of the ſize of a gooſe, his wings are extravagantly long and broad, covered with dark-coloured feathers; the under part of his body is overſpread with aſh-coloured feathers, if I may ſo call them, for it is really difficult to diſtinguiſh them from hair: under his neck he hath a crop or maw about a ſpan long and as thick as a man's arm, which looks like a red ſkin; in this he hoards his food, as the monkeys do in their Alfoaches. His neck, which is pretty long, and the red knob in the nape, is furniſhed with feathers as well as the under part of the body; his head, in proportion to his body, is much too large, and, excepting a very few hairs he hath, is very bald; his eyes are large and black, his bill extraordinarily thick and long; his food is fiſh, of which he devours as much at once as would ſuffice four men; he catches the fiſh thrown to him very nimbly, and throws them down whole into his crop. He is a great lover of rats, which he alſo ſwallows whole, and which we have often obliged him to vomit; for as he runs on the outworks of the caſtle, to divert ourſelves, we cauſe him to be brought above; when, as though he deſigned us a ſervice, he brings up a half-digeſted rat out of his crop and lays it at our feet.

It is agreeable enough to ſee a little boy, or our dogs ſet on him, upon which he will very ſtrangely arm himſelf for oppoſition, pecking and ſtriking them with his bill very artificially, and they repulſing him, which was like two pieces of wood ſtruck againſt each other, or a pair of ſnappers.

Theſe

Theſe being all his good as well as bad qualities, I leave you to judge whether he is handſome or ugly, though I cannot doubt but you will declare him the latter: the Negroes call him Pokkoe.

Another bird is in ſize ſomewhat like the former, though his neck is much longer. When he ſtands on his feet and ſtretches his neck upwards he is much above a man's height. Our people ſhot him by the river of Apam, and we found his feathers black, white, red, ſky, and ſeveral other colours intermixed all over his body; his eyes are large and yellow. This is all I have to obſerve of him; he may very well paſs for a fine bird: his name is equally unknown to me and the Negroes.

Of another the bill is long and ſharp, his body chequered with yellow and light blue feathers; a black ſemicircle about his neck, a long tail compoſed of yellow, blue, and black feathers, and a few feathers on his head.

There is a bird ſhaped like the former, and of the ſame ſpecies, from which he chiefly differs in that his bill is thick, ſhort and black; the under part of his body black, his back of a beautiful yellow, and his feet as well as bill black.

There is alſo a bird not very different from the firſt in any thing elſe except that grey and yellow are intermixed amongſt his feathers; he hath a ſharp bill, and in pro portion to his ſize, extraordinarily long feet and claws.

Another bird is not above half ſo big as the preceding, and ſhaped almoſt like a ſparrow; his colour renders him very beautiful, his head and breaſt being as black as jet, his wings and feet grey, the reſt of his body of a bright red, and it is indeed pity we cannot keep theſe birds alive.

But one far exceeds all the other in beauty: he always harbours about the rivers, fattening himſelf with ſmall fiſh. His wings and the upper part of his body are entirely blue, ſomewhat inclining to ſky-colour, as are alſo the feathers of his neck, which are pretty long, and the tuft on his head; his breaſt is of a dark yellow, mixed with ſome blue and red feathers; his feet and bill of a bright red, and very thick and long.

Of another granivorous bird, the breaſt, the under part of his body and neck, is of a reddiſh yellow; his head is entirely black, except a beautiful yellow ſpot on the fore part, the upper part of his body and wings are black, and his tail is compoſed of black, yellow and red feathers intermixed.

Another, about as big again as the former, hath a beautiful red breaſt and under part of his body; the upper part of his body, wings and tail, as black as pitch, and the upper part of his head of a bright yellow.

The ſmall parrochites, or Guinea ſparrows, are like thoſe in Europe; we have here vaſt numbers of the ſame ſpecies, without the leaſt difference, which are alſo called ſparrows, for what reaſon I cannot tell.

The whole coaſt, but more eſpecially the lower part of it, as Moure, Cormantyn, Apam and Acra very plentifully abound with theſe birds; they are of a green colour, mixed with a beatiful red, and ſome of them have alſo a few yellow and black feathers. Their bill, like that of parrots, is red and crooked.

They are very beautiful little creatures, and daily, or whenever opportunity offers, we ſend great numbers of them to Holland, where they bear a good value. We generally buy them here at the rate of a Rix-dollar per dozen, but moſt of them commonly die in their paſſage to Holland, notwithſtanding which, a certain author hath adventured to tell us that they live thirty, forty, or more years, but that muſt be once on a time, for at preſent of one hundred that we ſend over, ſcarcely ten ſurvive.

We have parrots all over the coaſt, but not many, and moſt of them come from far in-land countries. Thoſe of Benin, Calbary, and Cape Lopez, are here moſt valued,

becauſe far-fetched, though their admirers are not aware that they are much older than thoſe we catch here, and conſequently not ſo docile; but theſe men, like ladies, admire what comes from afar.

All the parrots here on the Coaſt, as alſo on the promontory of Guinea, and the mentioned places, are blue.

It would be to waſh an Æthiopian, or at leaſt an unneceſſary taſk, to ſay much concerning theſe birds, ſince they are ſo common in Holland, that they are there much leſs eſteemed than here, and bear a leſs price alſo; for I believe very few in Holland would give three, four, or five pounds ſterling for a babbling parrot, which is very frequently done here.

Theſe, ſir, are all the birds which I can recollect, but you muſt not thence infer, that there is no greater variety of ſpecies: on the contrary, I dare aver, that theſe do not amount to a fifth part of what I have ſeen, to paſs by thoſe which never occurred to me.

But I muſt have patience till I hear what anſwer you pleaſe to ſend to my requeſt: wherefore, to conclude this diſcourſe of birds, I ſhall yet add one, of which I remember to have read wonders: his feathers are repreſented like ſtars, his voice as loud as that of a bull; and we are told that, when the Negroes are travelling, if they hear him on the left hand, they quit their intended journey, and return home: how far this relation agrees with truth, I leave you to judge,

This bird is about twice as big as a ſparrow; his feathers are not in the leaſt like ſtars, though indeed he hath a few ſmall ſpecks, which they will ſo conſtrue; but, if that be allowed, there are a great many ſtar-birds in the world.

His voice or lowing is hollow and piercing; but, to compare him to that of a bull, is to aſſert, that a bell of one hundred pounds will give as great a ſound as that of ten thouſand weight.

As to what concerns the third part of the account of him, I have not much to offer againſt it; for as the world, with reſpect to human life, is liable to a perpetual change, and what at preſent is one thing, may, in one hundred years, be altered to another; ſo I can eaſily believe that the Negroes were formerly ſuperſtitious enough to put a ſtop to their travels and return home upon hearing this bird on the left hand, ſince at preſent they do not take it for a good omen; but now they never break off their journey on that account, unleſs it be ſome extraordinary bigots, with which all parts are ſtored; but from them no rational character can be drawn.

Having ſaid enough of this bird, and the whole feathered kind, I ſhall, in the next place, ſay ſomething of reptiles, and whatever approximates to that ſort of animals: but firſt of the toads.

Toads and frogs are as numerous here as in Europe, the laſt being alſo of the ſame ſize; but the firſt are not only in as great abundance, and ſhaped like ours, but they are, in ſome places, of a terrible largeneſs.

At Adja, an Engliſh village, betwixt More and Cormantyn, I have ſeen ſome as broad as a common table-plate. When I firſt ſaw them, I took them for land-tortoiſes, of which we have alſo ſome here; but was ſoon convinced of my error by their leaping. The Engliſh factor told me, that a vaſt number of them harboured about that place. They differ from other toads only in largeneſs, which renders them very hideous.

The toads here, as well as in other places, are mortal enemies to the ſnakes, and we have been eye-witneſſes of ſeveral engagements betwixt them.

Here are great quantities and variety of ſnakes, ſome whereof are hideouſly great; the largeſt of thoſe taken in my time here was twenty foot long, though in-land I believe

lieve there are yet much bigger; and we have frequently found in their entrails not only harts and other beaſts, but men alſo.

Moſt of them are venomous; but the following are ſo to an extraordinary degree, and therefore very dangerous. Theſe are ſcarcely a yard long, but about two ſpans thick, and variegated with white, black, and yellow.

I was once in the utmoſt danger of my life by one of theſe ſerpents; for as I ſat at Axim by a rock, which was overgrown with trees and under-woods, one of theſe poiſonous animals was got very near me, when, by a great chance, I was aware of him juſt time enough to eſcape the imminent danger.

The ſnakes infeſt not only the woods, but the dwellings of the Negroes, and even our forts and bed-chambers, where I have often killed them.

Several perſons beſides myſelf have ſeen a dead ſnake with two heads; whether both were ſerviceable to the body, as ſome affirm, ſince the ſnake, as I told you, was dead, I could not determine; nor could I obtain any ſatisfactory account from the Negroes.

We have a reſerve of ſome of their ſkins ſtuft and kept; one of which is fourteen foot long, and within two foot of his tail hath two claws; which helped him to erect himſelf and contributed to his more expeditious march. His head is like that of a pike, and ſtocked with much ſuch another row of teeth.

One ſnake is about five foot long; as thick as a man's arm, variegated with black, brown, yellow, and white ſtreaks, very agreeably mixed.

The moſt curious part of this reptile is his head, which is very broad and flat. He injures neither man nor beaſt, any otherwiſe than by a very ſmall horn, or rather tooth, which irregularly from the upper jaw ſtrikes through his noſe, and is white, hard, and ſharp as an awl; and the Negroes going barefoot very often inſenſibly tread on them, by reaſon that when theſe creatures meet with any repaſt, they ſo ſatiate themſelves, that they fall into ſuch a ſound ſleep, that it is no ſmall noiſe that can awaken them: wherefore they are very eaſily taken or killed.

Next to this ſerpent is a large ſcorpion; this is alſo furniſhed with ſuch claws and feet, and their whole bodies covered over with long hair.

Very few are ignorant how pernicious this animal is to mankind. Some of them have a ſmall bladder full of poiſon, of half a finger's breadth, at the end of their tails, which they ſpurt out when they ſtrike either men or beaſt; and this is unavoidably fatal.

The ſcorpions, in my opinion, ought to be reckoned amongſt the number of inſects, as well as the Millepedes, or Hog-lice, which are called Centepees by the Portugueſe, and are here found to be prodigiouſly numerous; and though their ſting is not ſo dangerous as that of the ſcorpions, yet it is certain it occaſions a very ſharp pain for three or four hours; after which it ceaſes, without leaving the leaſt relick of uneaſineſs.

No place in our ports is free from theſe vermin; the longeſt of which are about a ſpan; they are flat and red interſpected like other worms, having two ſmall horns or rather claws, with which they ſtrike. The feet are on each ſide of the body, and are thirty or forty: their exact number I cannot inform you of.

If I ſhould treat of all our inſects, and deſcribe each ſpecies of them; ſuch as the bees, crickets, caterpillars, graſhoppers, and above twenty ſorts of worms, ants, and beetles, I ſhould fill two quires of paper; in order to which I ſhould want nothing but a perfect knowledge of that ſubject.

I wiſh Mr. Leeuwenhoeck, that great naturaliſt, had opportunity to do it; for I believe he would meet with more rarities here than in all other parts of the world. I

have ſent you herewith, as a ſpecimen, a box-full, containing above a hundred of the moſt rare ſpecies of them; be pleaſed to reſt contented with them, and a deſcription of a couple of inſects which I have not there ſent; and firſt of the bees.

The excellence of the Guinea honey is very well known to many; here are prodigious quantities of that as well as wax about Rio de Gabon, Cape Lopez, and farther in the gulf of Guinea; both which we have alſo on the Coaſt, though not in ſuch plenty.

Conſidering the ſtrange nature of the ants, thoſe enemies to man and beaſt, I cannot avoid treating of them at large.

Theſe vermin make neſts about twice the heighth of a man, of the earth, which they turn up in fields and hills; beſides which they build large neſts in high trees: from which places they ſometimes come to our forts and chambers in ſuch prodigious ſwarms, that they frequently oblige us to quit our beds in the night-time; they are ſtrangely rapacious, and no animal can ſtand before them. They have often in the night attacked one of my live ſheep, which I have found a perfect ſkeleton in the morning, and that ſo nicely done, that the beſt maſter of the diſmembering art could not ſucceed ſo well, it being impoſſible for human hands to have done it ſo artificially.

It is but one of their diverſions to ſerve chickens and other fowl in this manner; nay, as ſwift as the rats are, they cannot eſcape them, and it is pleaſant to obſerve that as ſoon as one of them aſſaults a rat he is inevitably gone; for attempting to run away he is attacked by ſeveral others, till ſo many fall upon him that they overpower him, and they are ſure not to leave him till they grow to a body ſtrong enough to remove him to a ſafe place.

Really if one conſiders the practice of thoſe vermin, it would prompt one to conjecture that they had a ſort of language current amongſt themſelves; for I have ſeveral times placed a worm or beetle where only one or two of theſe ants were, who immediately departed and returned in a minute, bringing with them above a hundred, and if they were not enough, in a moment more were called: after which they ſeize their prey, and march off with it in good order, all mutually aſſiſting each other in the carriage of the burthen.

Theſe piſmires are of various ſorts, great and ſmall, white, black and red; the ſting of the laſt inflames to a great degree, and is more painful than that of the millepedes; the white are tranſparent as glaſs, and bite ſo forcibly, that in the ſpace of one night alone, they can eat their way through a thick wooden cheſt of goods, and make it as full of holes as if it had been ſhot through with hail-ſhot.

That the ants have a king, which is as large as a Crey-fiſh, as Monſieur Focquenbrog is pleaſed to tell us, is what I do not know, and conſequently dare not aver.

Having thus, in my opinion, particularly enough treated of the animals which fly in the air as well as thoſe on the earth, it remains only to finiſh this letter in running through thoſe who inhabit the ſea and rivers.

The want of fleſh and other neceſſary proviſion in this country renders the ſea conſiderable as the principal ſupport of human life, without which it were impoſſible to ſubſiſt here; for not only the Negroes, but moſt of the Europeans live only on fiſh, bread and palm-oil. So that it is a very great happineſs, and particular providence of God, that the ſea and rivers here ſeem earneſtly to conteſt which ſhall produce the beſt fiſh.

Both afford very good and delicious fiſh, the principal of which I ſhall here exemplify. Firſt, the ſea here produces a fiſh as large as our common cod, which is here called Brazilian cod, being extraordinarily fat and delicate; after which follow —

The Jacks or Pikes, great and ſmall, which in their ſeaſon are very fat and good, and not ſo hairy as in Holland.

Here are alſo plaice and flounders; and though the firſt but ſeldom appears, yet the ſecond are extraordinarily plentiful, though neither ſo thick nor ſo good as ours in Holland, from which they alſo viſibly differ in ſhape.

There is another ſort of ſmall flat fiſh here, which in delicacy ſurpaſſes all the reſt on the coaſt; theſe fiſh are here called Piſie-pamphers: which are alſo followed by another as flat, but rounder.

Here are Half-Koords, Corcoados, Giltheads, and other large fiſh, as black and white Carabins, which are cheap and good food for the meaner ſort of people.

Here are bream in very great plenty, of three or four ſorts; two of which eſpecially are very fat and delicate, which are commonly called Jacob Evertxen and Roojeud.

Amongſt the middle-ſized fiſh, are firſt the flat-noſes, ſo called from their very flat ſnouts; they taſte like our haddock.

The ſecond ſort, which are much leſs, are a ſort of Pouts, called by the Dutch Baardmannetjes, from their hairs like a beard hanging at their chops.

We have ſometimes mackarel, though but very few are caught; but vaſt ſhoals are taken of the Saffer or king's-fiſh, as the Dutch call it; which in their ſeaſon are extraordinarily fat and good, taſting like eels; gutted and dried, they are eaten inſtead of ſalmon.

Amongſt the ſmall fiſh, the firſt which occurs is the Aboei, ſomewhat like our trout, but much firmer and more delicate, they are taken here by thouſands.

Ray or thorn-back, both great and ſmall, are here very good and in prodigious plenty.

Soles and dabs are here extraordinary, the firſt exceeding ours in Holland.

Nor is here any want of lobſters, crabs, ſhrimps and prawns; we have alſo thouſands of two ſorts of ſprats, great and ſmall, both which are very fat when in ſeaſon, though the former ſo ſtringy, that they are not much eſteemed; but the laſt are very agreeable food, and very good either pickled like herrings or dried like red-herrings, both which ways we yearly preſerve great quantities.

The river-fiſh, beſides thoſe which come out of the ſea and ſtay in rivers, are of three ſorts: firſt, Carmou, a white fiſh, the largeſt of which ſpecies are about three quarters of a yard long, and of the thickneſs of a man's arm; they are ſo far from being too lean, that they would be very delicious if not too fat and oily.

The ſecond is the mullet, which differs from the former only in that it is leſs and hath not ſo thick a head, but it is full as good food as the other.

The rivers produce a third ſort of fiſh here called Batavia, the largeſt of which are indifferently good, if they do not taſte muddy, which they are very apt to do: ſome of us have (though very erroneouſly) taken them for perch, which they are not in the leaſt like.

I could ſpecify ſeveral other fiſh, but I content myſelf with touching upon the principal ſpecies, and aſſuring you that a lover of fiſh, as I reckon myſelf, may here meet with full ſatisfaction; he may make a ſatiating fiſh-meal at five or ſix-pence charge; and a ſoldier, or thoſe who cannot afford to run ſo high, may eat their fill at half that price. I would be here underſtood to ſpeak of the general courſe of the market, for ſometimes there is at leaſt one half difference as well in the price as goodneſs, and it is really very melancholy to ſee how the miſerable meaner ſort ſubſiſt when there is no fiſh, which commonly happens in the ill-weather, or winter, as it is here called; for at other times one ſort of fiſh or another being in ſeaſon, there never is any want.

However

However I ſhall yet add a deſcription of three ſpecies more, that are found on this coaſt; which by reaſon of their rarity I cannot omit.

The firſt and largeſt are called there and elſewhere by the Dutch Noordkapers; I ſhall ſpeak more particularly of theſe in another place, and at this time only hint that on the Coaſt in fine weather, when the fiſhermen are in the beſt of their caption, theſe fiſh come towards the ſhore, and, as the Negroes aſſure us, ſo frighten all the fiſh, that they immediately take their flight, and even the next day not a fiſh is to be ſeen in the ſea, ſo that they doubtleſs purſue them very cloſely.

The ſecond are the ſword-fiſh, ſo called by reaſon of the flat bone, about a yard or an ell long, and a hand's breadth, which they have at the end of their ſnout: this bone is furniſhed with about ſeventeen, nineteen or more ſharp teeth, about a finger's length, on each ſide, and moſtly rugged, and one more on one ſide than the other. He is ſeven, eight, nine and ſometimes ten foot long, though he is alſo extraordinarily thick. How theſe fiſh wage war againſt whales and other very large fiſh, I cannot inform you; for I ſhall not ſay any thing tending that way, becauſe I never ſaw any ſuch thing, nor have been at the place where any of theſe ſkirmiſhes have happened; and out of an apprehenſion that I ſhould never return, I am not very ſolicitous to viſit them, eſteeming it much better to ſtay at home.

The third ſort are Hayes or Requiens, by ſome (though utterly wrong) named ſea-dogs, for they are not in the leaſt like them. They are very thick as well as very long, ſome of them betwixt twenty and thirty foot; their head is broad, flat, and their ſnout very ſharp-pointed; as to the reſt they are very ugly. This fiſh is the Negro's beſt and moſt common food. They are daily taken on the Gold Coaſt in great ſhoals. The Europeans never eat them, by reaſon of the toughneſs of their fleſh; to remedy which the Negroes lay them a rotting and ſtinking ſeven or eight days, after which they are greedily eaten as a delicacy, and a great trade is driven in this commodity to the in-land country.

The Haye doth not ſpawn like other fiſhes, nor lay eggs (as the tortoiſe does), but caſts its young in the manner of quadrupeds.

Theſe fiſh do no manner of damage on the whole Gold Coaſt; but at Fida and Ardra, where the ſlave-trade is managed, they are extraordinarily ravenous, and in my opinion fiercer than the moſt voracious animal in the world.

If any perſon fall over-board, he is infallibly dead, unleſs (which very ſeldom happens) none of theſe fiſh are near, or he is immediately helped.

When dead ſlaves are thrown over-board, I have ſometimes, not without horror, ſeen the diſmal rapaciouſneſs of theſe animals; four or five of them together ſhoot to the bottom under the ſhip to tear the dead corpſe to pieces, at each bite an arm, a leg, or the head is ſnapped off, and before you can tell twenty they have ſometimes divided the body amongſt them ſo nicely that not the leaſt particle is left, nay, not ſo much as any of the entrails; and if any one of them happens to come too late for his ſhare, he is ready to eat up the others, and they attack one another with the greateſt violence in the world, and mounting their heads and half their bodies above the ſurface of the water, they give one another ſuch forcible blows that they make the ſea around to tremble.

When the Haye ſeizes his prey, he is obliged to turn himſelf on his back, becauſe his mouth is placed far behind and low, wherefore he cannot come at any thing upwards.

When we ſometimes take one of theſe fiſh and haul him on board with a rope, we are always obliged to keep at a diſtance; for beſides his ſharp teeth, he ſtrikes with

his tail, which is prodigiouſly ſtrong, and whoever comes near him loſes either an arm or a leg, or at leaſt hath it broken to pieces.

I take the reaſon why they do not fall on mankind on the Gold Coaſt to be, that they can here eaſily ſatiate themſelves with ſmaller fiſh, which is wanting at Ardra and Fida, wherefore rather than ſtarve they devour human bodies, which I am apt to think reliſh very well, ſince when our ſhips depart from thoſe places, they ſometimes follow them for three weeks or a month, waiting for more ſlaves to be thrown over-board.

Notwithſtanding the rapacious cruelty of theſe fiſh, yet ſome perſons told me as a certain truth, that at Cape Vert, where they are ravenous enough, it happened that one of our maſters, either by misfortune or neceſſity (I forget which), was over-board, and not being able to ſwim very well, was in danger of drowning, but that a Haye, in the very lucky minute, ſoftly caught him by the leg, and carried him on board one of our ſhips. If this be true, it is a greater miracle than Arion's engaging the dolphin by his melodious harp to waft him ſafe to ſhore, ſince the Haye ſaved the man without any inducement: but to believe this to be true, requires a ſtrong faith; notwithſtanding that, to engage me to it, the very man, the particular day and place are named; but two reaſons ſtrongly oppoſe the truth of this ſtory; firſt, the innate cruelty of this fiſh; ſecondly, that whilſt on his belly he cannot take any hold; ſo that he muſt have lain on his back ere he could have ſeized this maſter, after which he muſt have ſwam in that poſture. But you will ſay perhaps that in his youth he had learned to ſwim on his back (as our boys commonly do), in order to practice it upon occaſion. What ſhall I ſay, my friend? Nature is very ſtupendous in her operations; let us leave this ſtory there; and as to the reſt be aſſured that I paſſionately deſire always to remain, ſir, yours, &c.

LETTER XVI. — *Treating of Trees and other Plants; as firſt of the Palm-trees, and their Fruit, and other Properties: — Of four Sorts of Palm-Wine. — Of Cocoa-trees, wild Cocoas or Palmetos. — Oranges and Lemon-trees; their Numbers and Virtues, and where abound moſt. — A copious Deſcription of the Papai-tree, and its Fruit; alſo of the Tree called Piſang, diſtinguiſhed into Bakovens or Paquovens and Bananas. — What Sort of Fruit the Cormantyn Apples are, and why ſo called. — Of Pomegranates and vinous Grapes. — Of ſeveral ſorts of wild Trees, ſome of which are very high and large; amongſt others the Capot-trees, why ſo called. — Where Wood fit for fine Works is produced. — Of the Fruits of the Earth; and firſt of the Corn, or the greater or leſſer Sort of Milhio or Millet, Rice, Jambes and Potatoes: — Of all Sorts of Beans: — A large Deſcription of Ananas; concerning which ſome Authors are contradicted: — Of Water-Melons, a very fine Fruit. — Of Malagueta, otherwiſe called the Grains of Paradiſe, or Guinea Pepper. — Piement, Tarragon and ſtinking Tobacco; of which the Negroes are great Lovers. — Of the Manner of boiling their Salt.*

SIR,

THIS ſhall only diſcharge the promiſe of the former, to ſay ſomething concerning the trees here and their fruit, as well as the corn and plants of this country; in which, to avoid all circumlocution, as the cocoa in the Eaſt Indies, by way of excellence, is numbered amongſt the firſt trees, ſo, with equal juſtice, the palm claims the pre-eminence here; ſince, with the help of bread and fiſh, it ſubſiſts moſt of the people on the Coaſt.

The

The firſt produce of this tree is its nuts; which roaſted when young taſte very deliciouſly, and when old are covered with a red huſk or ſhell, black on the hinder-part, and contain the palm-oil, which is obtained by contuſion and expreſſion, as that of olives. This oil is naturally red, but if kept ſome years turns white; it is a little nauſeous firſt to new comers here, but for him that is uſed to it, is no deſpicable ſauce; beſides that, it is very ſtrengthening and healthful, and I am inclined to prefer it in ſeveral diſhes before oil of olive.

After the oil is expreſſed, the pulp ſerves the Negroes for a delicacy, and if kept till old is extraordinarily good to fatten hogs, and render their fleſh very firm.

The ſecond fruit it yields is the wine itſelf: to obtain and draw off which, when the trees are old enough to be cut, they are bereft of all their branches, and rendered entirely bare; in which condition having remained a few days, a little hole is bored in the thickeſt part of the trunk, into which is inſerted a ſmall reeden pige; and through that the palm-wine drops into a pot ſet under to receive it; but it diſtils ſo ſlowly, that in twenty-four hours ſcarce a pottle of wine iſſues from one tree. In this manner, proportionable to the goodneſs of the ground in which the tree is planted, it yields wine for twenty, thirty, or ſometimes more days; and when it hath almoſt run its laſt, they kindle a fire at bottom, in order to draw more wine with the greater force.

This wine being drank freſh (or under the trees, as our phraſe runs here,) is very delicious and agreeable, but withal ſo ſtrong, that it unexpectedly ſteals to the head, and very ſpeedily intoxicates. But that which the peaſants bring daily to the ſhore is not worth much, becauſe it is impoveriſhed and adulterated; and I believe it is not ſo much coveted by the meaner ſort and the Negroes for its agreeable taſte as its inebriating quality, with which it is plentifully endowed, though very much vitiated by a pretty large mixture of water.

The tree thus drained of its wine, is fit for nothing but firing; but when green, its leaves are uſed to make ropes, nets, and other neceſſary things.

There are four ſorts of this tree; each of which hath a particular name: we have already ſpoke of the right and genuine palm-wine.

The ſecond ſort of palm-wine is drawn in no country beſides that of Fantyn, and is called Quaker; for what reaſon I have already informed you in another letter. This ſort exceeds the other ſomewhat in pleaſantneſs of flavour, and very much in ſtrength; half ſo much of this as of the other being a doſe ſcarcely to be carried off; and the trees from whence it is drawn are not above half as big as the right palm-trees.

The third ſort is drawn at Ancober, Abokroe, Axim, and Ante, though but in very ſmall quantities at the laſt; and goes by the name of Pardon: ſo that you may eaſily believe no villany here can be committed ſo great, but that *pardon* is eaſily attainable, if the perſon be in the good graces of the god Bacchus.

This wine, though of a very different, hath yet as pleaſant a taſte as the former, but not ſo ſtrong.

Theſe trees are not cut, but the wine is drawn out of them whilſt growing, as the Suri is drawn out of the cocoa-tree in the Eaſt Indies; with this difference, that after the wine is there drawn off, the trees remain alive; whereas they here wither and dry: the reaſon of which is I believe, that in India they do not draw off all the wine at once, but leave a remainder for nouriſhment to encourage the farther growth of the tree; whereas here they force out the laſt drop: whence the tree, utterly deprived of all its moiſture, muſt needs entirely wither and die.

The fourth kind is produced in the countries of Ante, Jabi, and Adom; and is of a very different flavour from all the other three, and utterly void of all manner of ſtrength;

ſtrength; but when drank freſh, taſtes like milk; and nine or ten hours after it is drawn is not fit to be drank, nor is it good for any thing: this is called Criſſia.

The Negroes report, that drinking much of this wine cauſes the virile member to grow to a large ſize; which is indeed credible, by reaſon that the Negroes are in no place on the Coaſt ſo ſubject to this diſtemper as in the mentioned countries. The wine is drawn from theſe trees as already you have been informed the Pardon is, that is, whilſt growing.

The trunk of the palm-tree is in circumference about an ordinary man's height, and about as tall as he alſo. That called Quaker is not above half ſo big. Both ſhoot their branches upwards; ſome of which are in length twenty foot or above. Theſe branches, called here and elſewhere Bamboos, are uſed for covering of houſes, for hedges, and on ſeveral occaſions. On each ſide of theſe Bamboos grow ſmall long ſlips, which are their leaves.

The Pardon-trees grow like the cocoa-nuts, though on a much thinner ſtalk. The Criſſia-trees grow alſo in the ſame manner, though they very remarkably differ in height and thickneſs of the trunk, this not exceeding the fourth-part of the height of the Pardon-tree; and out of every plant of this ſort ſhoot generally four, five, or more ſtalks, from all which wine is drawn.

The perfect mature age of a palm-tree is ten, twelve, or more years; and then but ten, fifteen, or at moſt twenty gallons of wine are drawn off; notwithſtanding which, this wine daily comes in ſuch prodigious plenty to the ſhore, that it is really to be wondered at; and from hence we may naturally infer that there muſt be many thouſands of theſe trees growing in this country, or the wine will ſoon be at end. An anchor of five gallons is commonly ſold for about two ſhillings and three-pence Engliſh money; though at ſome times and places it is one half cheaper than at others.

Next the palm, the cocoa-tree ought indiſputably to take place. How beneficial theſe trees are to mankind, is known to many, and may be ſeen in ſeveral deſcriptions of Eaſt India voyages. But here, through the ignorance of the Negroes, no other advantage reſults from them than the fruit, I mean the nut; the kernel of which, as well as the encloſed milk, is very pleaſant to the taſte.

Theſe trees ſhoot up in this country to the height of thirty or forty, and ſometimes fifty foot; their branches and (ſo called) leaves, are like thoſe of the palm, excepting that the cocoa-branches are not ſo long, or fit for the uſes the other are employed in. Theſe trees bear their fruit in the fourth or fifth year, and live fifty years and longer.

The wild cocoa-trees, otherwiſe called palm-trees, grow alſo here, and bear a fruit, which but very few of the Europeans eat, though the Negroes do. This tree is very much thicker than the genuine cocoa, eſpecially in the middle, where it is of a ſurpriſing greatneſs; and what adds to the oddneſs of the 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 called Palm-cabbage, becauſe it hath a ſort of cabbagy taſte.

In the country of Axim are vaſt quantities of ſweet as well as ſour oranges: the ſweet are pretty good, but the garden of Elmina, which is extraordinarily full of them, hath ſome, which for agreeable taſte fall very little ſhort of thoſe of China.

In the other countries there are very few or no orange-trees; notwithſtanding Monſieur Focquenbrog hath been pleaſed to aver, that they grow in great multitudes along the river Boutry; in which he is abſolutely miſtaken, for I have ſeveral times ſailed along that river, and never found any, nor according to the report of the Negroes were there ever any: there are a few indeed on the hill near our forts, but not one on the mentioned river-ſide.

Lemon-

Lemon-trees, which are here called Brambas, grow all over the Coaſt, eſpecially at Moure, where they are preſſed; and which place, if the ſeaſon be not unuſually dry, is able annually to deliver above two hundred aums of lime-juice. About twenty or twenty-five ſhillings Engliſh money is the price of an aum of lime-juice, or pickled ſmall lemons.

The Guinea lime-juice and pickled lemons are too well known and eſteemed in Holland to require me to inſiſt any longer on that head.

Some authors have ſaid a great deal concerning the Papay-tree, but without due examination: we are told that they have neither branches nor leaves, and that it does not grow above man's height, &c. But to refute theſe and ſome other opinions that are cheriſhed, I need only deſcribe the true and natural ſhape of this tree.

His trunk, being ſeveral foot thick, is 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 alſo towards the top, which reſemble young ſtocks; on which the fruit alſo grows. At the very top of the trunk, and of the mentioned 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 very unlike vine-leaves, excepting the ſize only.

Some papay-trees run up to the height of thirty foot, which is conſiderably more than a man's height. The fruit, or what is properly called the Papay, is about half as big as the cocoa-nut, of an oval ſhape, green without and white within; but with age they turn very red within, and abound with numerous white kernels, which are the ſeed from whence they are produced. The papays taſte rather worſe than better than pompions.

There grow multitudes of papay-trees all along the Coaſt; and theſe are of two ſorts, viz. the male and female, or at leaſt they are here ſo called, on account that thoſe named males bear no fruit, but are continually full of bloſſoms, conſiſting of a long white flower; the female alſo bears the ſame bloſſom, though not ſo long, nor ſo numerous.

Some have obſerved, that the females yield their fruit in greateſt abundance when the males grow near them: you may, ſir, believe what you pleaſe; but if you do not, I ſhall not charge you with hereſy.

So much hath already been written concerning the Piſang-tree, which is divided into Bakovens and Banantes or Bananas, that it ſeems hardly worth while to detain you on that head any longer, than to confirm what others have ſaid, as that its fruit, eſpecially the Bakovens, are very good; that they bear in a year, though but once in all, for then the ſtock is cut off; and from the root there ſhoot out five or ſix freſh ſtocks; ſo that this plant may paſs for a perpetual almanack, as being indeed endleſs.

The ſtock of theſe trees, if they deſerve that name, grow to once and a half or twice man's heighth. 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 end, and partly by reaſon they are called Fig-leaves, and theſe trees bear the name of Indian figs; though I muſt own beſides that they are very unfit for cloathing or covering, for a touch of the finger makes a hole in them: wherefore they would hardly ſerve a live body.

Here are alſo ſeveral other fruitful trees, but their fruit is not only unknown to us, but eaten by very few: wherefore I ſhall ſay very little concerning them. And firſt, we

we have here a ſort of fruit, like our two ſorts of plums, blue and white, in ſhape as well as colour; but they are not very well taſted, as being very ſweet, mealy and dry.

But I ought not to forget the Cormantyn-apple (ſo called, becauſe it moſt plentifully abounds in that country), which 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 itſelf; which is red and white, and of a ſort of ſharp, ſweet taſte, but moſt inclining to acid. It is a very agreeable refreſhing fruit, and very comfortable for the ſick, eſpecially thoſe afflicted with the bloody flux, for it is very aſtringent, and boiled with wine and ſugar, is not only more uſeful, but more agreeable than tamarinds.

I have alſo ſeen a few pomegranates in the gardens of Elmina and Moure; but before they come to maturity they rot or fall off; ſo that they ſcarcely come to any thing.

I muſt not paſs over the Moureſe vine; Moureſe, I call it, becauſe, except that at Mouree, there is not one on the Coaſt. This produces grapes twice a year, commonly in Auguſt and January; and would doubtleſs yield a vaſt quantity, if pruned in a proper manner and ſeaſon by a ſkilful hand; but being entruſted to an ignorant Negro, not half the grapes come to perfection, but wither or rot before they are half ripe: and it is farther to be feared that the vine itſelf, by this miſerable lopping, will run to utter ruin.

It yields a blue grape, which is ſubſtantial and very well taſted, and not ſo juicy as ours in Holland: but I doubt not, if carefully looked after, but that they would be as good, if not better than the beſt in Europe, ſince they are already better than the Dutch ones.

It is obſervable that vines will not grow any where here but at Moure, trials being made at Elmina and other places, but without any ſucceſs.

To the beſt of my remembrance this vine was firſt planted by the Portugueſe, who brought it firſt from Brazil ſome years paſt; and the fruit thereof is ſo very agreeable to the European inhabitants, that it is to be wiſhed more could be planted and raiſed at other places; for at preſent nobody is the better for it, except the factor at Moure, the director-general, and the gentlemen at his table; and ſcarcely one of one hundred that come here can obtain the favour of ſeeing it.

Theſe are all the fruit-trees of Guinea, I mean that part called the Gold Coaſt: I ſhall then next advance to the deſcription of the wild trees. Before which, I cannot help taking notice of another miſtake of Monſieur Focquenbrog: he was very much in the wrong to tell the world that at Elmina, and ſeveral miles adjacent, there grows neither leaf, graſs, nor tree. This is utterly falſe; for beſides the trees round about Elmina and on the hills, the banks of the freſh river, but half a mile diſtant, are furniſhed with great numbers of fine lofty trees; from hence, and ſeveral other particulars, it plainly appears that gentleman was too partial in his deſcription of this Coaſt. It is indeed true, that the country about Elmina is more bare of trees than other places, but not ſo bad as to deſerve ſuch a wretched character.

To return to my ſubject, I aver, that the whole coaſt is filled with high and low trees; and the charming ſhady groves ſerve to render the malignity of this place more ſupportable; and ſo delight thoſe who take their progreſs into the in-land country, that they oblige them entirely to forget the intolerable badneſs of the ways.

Here are ſome which naturally grow up in ſuch a ſurpriſing manner, as even art itſelf muſt bluſhing own, it could not have contrived any thing like it; others grow ſo

thick, and their ſhady boughs are ſo widely extended, that they form entire alleys, which afford an amazing ſatisfaction to any who are inclined to take the pleaſure of walking.

I remember to have formerly read in Olearius, and other writers, of trees large enough to ſhelter two thouſand men; and the tree of which Father Kirchen (a perſon that, in my opinion, ſhould advance nothing but truth) writes, that in its fruit or ſhell (I think it was a cheſnut), it could lodge a ſhepherd and his whole flock, muſt not be very ſmall, but may very well paſs for a wonder in nature; but, after all, it is not in the leaſt to be compared with the trees of this country. I have ſeen ſome here that twenty, inſtead of two thouſand, men, might ſtand under, ſuppoſing them cloſe to one another: and if theſe authors mean ſo, I do not ſcruple to believe them; nor I believe do you. But, to paſs over this; it is certain that here are extraordinarily high and large trees, which may be concluded from the great canoes, of which I formerly wrote to you; and, ſince theſe boats muſt be made of a ſtraight piece of wood equally thick all over, and that very few trees grow directly ſo, what I offer is not incredible, that the mentioned canoes do not amount to above half the bulk of the tree.

I have ſeen ſome of theſe trees ſo high, that their tops and branches growing out of them were ſcarcely to be reached by a common muſquet-ſhot. They are here called Capot-trees, becauſe on them grows a certain ſort of cotton here called Capot; which is very proper for filling of beds, eſpecially in this country, where feather-beds are much too hot.

The wood of this tree is light and porous, and ſcarcely fit for any other uſe than making of canoes.

The tree which our countrymen, at the latter end of the fifteenth century, found on Ilha del Principe, or Prince Iſland, which was four and twenty fathom in compaſs, was, I doubt not in the leaſt, this Capot-tree. There is alſo one at Axim, which ten men would have much ado to graſp; not that the body of the tree is ſo bulky, but that it is ſo vaſtly extended by its prodigious ſprouts, which cloſely ſurround it.

If we had any Romiſh prieſts in this country, we could give them ſome of theſe branches to build them ſmall oratories, and then the thorny prickles with which this tree is abundantly ſtored, would ſerve to correct and chaſtiſe their unruly fleſh, and ſave them the charge of buying whips.

But to let the prieſts alone, and to return to our ſubject; we have here ſeveral trees which furniſh very fine working wood. Firſt of all in the country of Ante, near the Brandenburgher fort Acoda, or Dorothea, and behind our fort Lydſaemheyd at Apam, is yellow wood; of which very fine chairs and tables are made. At Rio de Gabon there is alſo red and yellow wood, very proper for the ſame uſe, beſides which, if any perſons applied themſelves to fell it, there is very good wood for the making of rudders, ſmall maſts and other naval neceſſaries: and I am apt to think that here are good large maſt-trees, or at leaſt ſuch grow here out of which they might be made, if not for great ſhips, yet for barks, yatches, and other ſmall craft.

To complete this diſcourſe of trees, I ought to tell you that the Negroes in all parts of this country, have ſelected and conſecrated ſome particular trees, under which they perform their religious worſhip; which are generally ſuch, in whoſe production nature hath diſplayed her greateſt perfections.

I have long ſince treated concerning the Negroes' idolatry in this particular, wherefore it is unneceſſary to repeat it here. But taking leave of the trees, I come next to the fruits of the earth; amongſt which, firſt of the corn here called Milhio.

The large Milhio is by moſt taken to be the Turkiſh wheat, which is ſo well known in Holland that it is not worth while to deſcribe it.

The Milhio is here ſowed and reaped twice every year; the firſt harveſt is generally in Auguſt, and the other at the latter end of the year, though but ſmall; for the Negroes do not ſow much againſt this time, becauſe it is not reaſonable to expect much rain, without which this grain will not come up well.

It were to be wiſhed that corn were to be produced in our country with as little trouble as here; one, or at moſt, two men can manure and plough as much land as one plough can turn up in Holland, beſides which, the corn here very ſpeedily takes root.

When grown up, the ſtalk is once and a half or twice man's height; on which one, two, three, and ſometimes four ears of Milhio grow, each of which contains about three or four hundred grains; ſo that the millet here increaſes vaſtly more than the European corn.

When the millet is firſt reaped, in time of peace a thouſand ſtalks may be bought for about a crown Engliſh money, and in ſome countries for about one third or fourth part leſs; the corn of theſe thouſand ſtalks, being ſeparated from the ſtalks, makes about five buſhels, which is a ſack and a half.

The grain of Milhio is white and red, the white is the moſt beautiful, but the red is by moſt people held for the beſt. When this corn is beaten ſmall, and cleanſed from the bran, it makes indifferently good bread, but ſomewhat heavy for want of yeaſt. If the millet here were ground, bolted and baked like our corn in Europe, it would doubtleſs become very good bread; but wanting all theſe conveniences, and leaven being not uſed, the bread here is very clammy and heavy. This ſhall ſuffice you for the great millet or Turkiſh wheat.

The ſecond ſort of Milhio, called by the Portugueſe maize, is a grain like the coriander-ſeed, and is made into bread as well as the other, and very much reſembles our ſlighter ſort of rye; it taſtes very well, and is very nouriſhing; it grows in the ſame manner as the great Milhio, only the ſtalk is not ſo thick, nor the ears covered with leaves as the other is, wherefore it is much more expoſed to the granivorous birds than the larger, and is not ſown near ſo much as that, for which reaſon it is one half dearer.

The great, as well as ſmall, Milhio is ſowed all along the whole Coaſt; but leaſt of all at Axim; wherefore it is always deareſt there. The country of Ante, in fruitful years and time of peace, produces prodigious quantities; I have ſeen it bought and have alſo bought myſelf, one thouſand ſtems or ſtalks for ſix, ſeven, eight and nine Takoes, each Takoe amounting to about four-pence-farthing Engliſh money, and a ſack amounting at higheſt not to two and twenty pence. Thus, corn, in time of peace, is the cheapeſt of all proviſions, but in war-time it ſometimes riſes to an incredible price; I have known a thouſand ſtalks ſold for an ounce of gold, which is ſomewhat leſs than four pounds ſterling; to which the lazineſs of the Negroes, which is ſo great that they ſeldom ſow more than what is like to be conſumed that year, contributes very much, as alſo the great number of Engliſh ſlave-ſhips which yearly come to this coaſt; for theſe not being ſo well victualled as we, they are obliged to buy Milhio, which yearly carries off many thouſand ſacks.

This corn generally betwixt February and harveſt, riſes from one crown to one pound ſterling the thouſand ſtems.

Next the tillage of corn, follows that of rice, which is not common all over the Coaſt; nor is there any, or at leaſt but very little, on the ſhore of the Gold Coaſt, any

more than at Axim or Ante; but on the higher part of the Coaſt, it grows in ſuch prodigious plenty, that it is eaſy to load a ſhip with it, perfectly cleanſed, for one penny or leſs the pound; whilſt at Axim, Ante, Abocroe and Ancober, the foul and unſifted bears about the ſame price.

It is no ſmall happineſs for the Negroes of Axim that their ſoil is ſo proper for rice, which in ſome meaſure ſoftens their want of Milhio.

Next rice, by reaſon of its great advantage to the inhabitants, is the fruit called Jammes. They grow under the earth like turnips, and are about two ſpans long, and as much in the graſp or thickneſs. They ſhoot out a long green leaf almoſt like that of French beans, with little prickles. This leaf the Negroes ſo order, that it climbs up ſtakes appointed for that end, and by it they can determine when the root is come to maturity, at which time they dig it out of the earth.

It is ſnow-white within, and is roaſted or boiled and eaten by the Negroes, as alſo by ſeveral Europeans, as bread; its taſte is not diſagreeable, being much like that of our earth-nuts, and though not quite ſo ſweet, is drier and firmer.

In the country of Ante there grows abundance of Jammes, but Saboe is the country which produces them in greateſt plenty; whence, when in ſeaſon, they are ſent by thouſands to ſeveral other places. Thoſe who buy them at Moure, give about fourteen ſhillings a hundred, and ſell them again at other places to good profit.

The ſecond ſubterraneous fruit here is called potatoes, which, like the Jammes, alſo ſends forth a green leaf that runs along the ground, ſome branches of which, cut off and planted in the ground, in a ſhort time grow potatoes; but the Jammes never grow without ſome of the fruit itſelf be planted.

Theſe potatoes are of an oval ſhape, commonly like the large long turnips with us; they, as well as the Jammes, are perfectly white within, and boiled or roaſted are alſo eaten for bread, eſpecially at Fida, where they are the Negroes' ordinary diet. They are ſweet, and eat much better than Jammes, taſting very much like our boiled cheſnuts.

The country of Saboe produces the greateſt quantities of this fruit, and next to that the country of Ante; of which we may ſay (conſidering it as a part of the Coaſt), that it wants nothing neceſſary to human life.

It is told me as truth, that before the Portugueſe came to this coaſt, the Negroes ſubſiſted themſelves with theſe two fruits, and a few roots of trees; they being then utterly ignorant of Milhio, which was brought thither by that nation.

I am more ſtrongly induced to believe this, becauſe in the promontory of Guinea there are at this time countries where no Milhio, or at leaſt very little, is cultivated, and the inhabitants live on the two mentioned fruits, but more eſpecially Jammes.

Thus, having deſcribed the four fruits moſt neceſſary to the ſupport of mankind, it is now proper to give an account what this country yields beſides for food, which moſtly conſiſts in ſeveral ſorts of beans; the firſt of which are not unlike our garden-beans in figure and taſte.

The ſecond ſort are a ſize larger; their cods are about three quarters of a yard long, and the bean of a bright red colour.

The third ſort are almoſt like thoſe ſmall ſpecies, called in Holland the Princeſs's beans, only they are of a deep red; theſe are not only very good and nouriſhing, but very fine food.

All theſe beans grow like French-beans with us, either propt up, or creeping up by a hedge.

But thoſe which follow, grow in a very different manner; as firſt, a ſort of ſmall beans, here called Jojootjes, which, like the potatoes, run along the ground, are encloſed in long ſlender huſks, and when young and green are extraordinarily good eating.

Here are alſo beans which grow on trees as big as gooſe-berry buſhes in Holland. Theſe are ſhelled like green peas, ſo that a large number goes to make up a diſh; but they are neither ſweet nor ſoft.

Here is alſo another ſort called Gobbe-gobbes, which grow two together in a cod under the earth, and ſhoot out a ſmall leaf above the ſurface of the earth; theſe are the worſt of all the ſorts of beans, and yet they are eaten by ſeveral.

The ſecond ſort of ſubterraneous beans have been known to us but a few years, and are called Angola beans, by reaſon they were tranſplanted from thence to this place. They are a very agreeable ſort of food, if fried, as we commonly do cheſnuts.

The laſt ſort, which alſo grow under the earth, are the beſt of all; but indeed they can hardly paſs for beans, partly becauſe they do not grow in cods, and partly becauſe they are not eaten as the others are, ſo that earth-nuts would be a more proper name for them; for they are eaten raw out of hand, and taſte not much unlike hazel-nuts. But they are commonly broken in pieces, ſoaked in water, and then ſqueezed in a cloth; this liquor boiled with rice, every where in this country paſſes for milk, and if helped with a little ſugar, cinnamon and butter, it would not eaſily be diſcovered to be any thing elſe by thoſe who are unacquainted with this diſh.

Of ſuch fruits as may ſatisfy a delicate and luxurious palate, we have very few here. The Ananas are by many valued as an extraordinary fruit, and their nature and beauties have been at large deſcribed: but for my part, not to deſpiſe it, I never could find the delicacy in it that is pretended.

Notwithſtanding which, I ſhall take the pains to ſpeak of it at large, that you may judge how far thoſe are in the right, who have already written ſo much concerning it.

Beſides Linſchooten and others, Simon de Vries, in his "Curious Obſervation on the wonderful Things of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies," has alledged ſeveral authors, but I need only give a plain and true account of the true nature, ſhape, and properties and manner of growing of the Ananas, to ſhow whether he is in the right or not.

The plant ſomewhat reſembles the great houſe-leek, or *Semper-vivum majus*, which we ſometimes find amongſt the curious botaniſts in Holland, from which it differs in the following particulars: the Ananas ſhoot their leaves (or that which is taken for them) upwards, being neither ſo broad nor ſo thick as the other; beſides which, the leaves are furniſhed with ſharp prickles on each ſide, and are alſo of a deep yellow colour, and ſomewhat inclining to green, whereas the *Semper-vivum* is of a very beautiful green.

Betwixt the Anana's leaves, before the fruit appears, grows a bloſſom about as big as a man's fiſt, which is very green, but adorned with an extraordinarily beautiful red crown, and ſurrounded with ſmall leaves, that render it very agreeable to the ſight. This bloſſom by ſlow degrees grows into an Anana, which at firſt is green, accompanied with yellow leaves, but in ripening, changes to a perfect yellow; and when we eat the Ananas, the mentioned leaves with which it is ſurrounded are cut off with the ſhell. The crown, or at leaſt a part of it, remains firmly fixed to the fruit, though 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. Thus much may ſuffice for the plant.

The Anana or fruit is about a ſpan long, and about the ſame thickneſs; but as it happens to other fruits, ſome are large and others ſmall.

Moſt

Moſt of the authors De Vries cites, agree in the taſte of this fruit; to which I can eaſily ſubſcribe, taking the liberty to add, that though it may for a little while ſeem a delicacy, yet, if frequently eaten, it will ſoon nauſeate. It proves moſt agreeable and healthy when eaten with cinnamon, ſugar and wine, like ſtraw-berries, for it is too hot to eat alone; wherefore Monardus was miſtaken in aſcribing to them a cold quality, when indeed it inflames to that degree, that its ſharp juice cauſes thoſe to ſpit blood who eat them too freely. But though this ſharp hot juice forces blood from the throat and gums, yet that they are ſo corroſive as to diſſolve a knife that remains ſtuck in it but half an hour, is ſo ridiculouſly falſe, that if, inſtead of half an hour, the knife remained a whole year, it would not be diſſolved. It is indeed true, that the knife will be blunted, which alſo happens in the cutting of a citron, lemon, orange, Backoven or banana, and more eſpecially the laſt fruit, if it is not thoroughly ripe; ſo that this acidity cannot juſtly be appropriated to the Ananas only.

I cannot quit this ſubject without noting a groſs miſtake of the before-mentioned authors. Linſchooten firſt tells us, that the Ananas grow a fathom above ground; and others inform us, that they grow half under. But both are miſerably in the wrong; this plant really not being above one foot and a half in height, and the ſtalk half a foot; which together amount to two foot, which is far ſhort of a fathom and more, if they make it grow ſo much under ground.

All the pains I have thus far taken in the deſcription of the Ananas, was a force I put upon my inclinations; and if any one pleaſe to aſſert that this plant in Aſia or America is of a different nature, they are at liberty to do it; whilſt I am abundantly ſatisfied from travellers in both thoſe parts of the world, that there is no real difference.

Next the Ananas I ſhall place the water-melons; about which, though much the nobler and more agreeable fruit, I ſhall not detain you ſo long. The immature and yet ſmall water-melon is white within and green without; but when ripe, its green coat is ſpeckled with white, and its internal whiteneſs ſomewhat intermixed with red; and the more it participates of the latter, it is by ſo much the riper and more agreeable; at which time, if eaten, it proves very delicious, watery, refreſhing and cooling.

This fruit is leſs prejudicial to, and much more proper for a feveriſh perſon than the Ananas. When green it is eaten as ſalad, inſtead of cucumbers, to which it is not wholly unlike; being alſo furniſhed with ſuch kernels, which when ripe are changed black, and are then fit to plant.

The water-melons grow in the ſame manner as cucumbers, but bear a different leaf. They are about twice as big as our melons, and if the Negroes were not too idle, this fruit would be very plentiful here; but at preſent they are only cultivated by ſome of our chief officers, ſo that the commonalty reap but ſmall advantage thereby. They are in their prime in July and Auguſt, and in fruitful years we have them twice.

Theſe are all our beſt fruits in this country; but that I may be able to ſay that I have omitted nothing, whether good or bad, I ſhall not paſs over the following ſpecies.

The firſt of which is Malagueta, otherwiſe called Paradiſe-grains or Guinea-pepper; a fruit which is generally known. It grows on ſhrubs in red ſhells or huſks, which at a diſtance afford a very pleaſant proſpect. Within theſe huſks is contained the Malagueta, ſeparated into four or five diviſions, and covered with a white film. This Guinea-pepper grows alſo in a different manner, not unlike large graſs-reeds.

Here grows alſo a fruit on ſhrubs, which in taſte and figure reſembles Cardamum; which I doubt not but it is.

At Benin and in-land, there is pepper in figure like that of Eaſt India.

The

The laſt ſort of pepper, called here Piment, and in Europe Spaniſh-pepper, grows here in abundance on ſhrubs, almoſt of the ſame ſize, though ſomewhat lower, than our gooſe-berry buſhes in Holland.

This piment is of two ſorts, viz. great and ſmall; both of which are firſt green, but afterwards change colour, the ſmall to a beautiful red, and the large to a red and black; and are both very pleaſant objects.

This fruit is much hotter than common pepper, eſpecially the ſmaller ſort, which is not above one-fourth part of the ſize of the other; in recompenſe of which the trees on which it grows are about ſix times as high and wider extended than the other.

Piment pickled in vinegar and lime-juice (but beſt in the laſt) is valued by ſeveral as a good corroborative to the ſtomach, and very wholeſome.

This country produces none of thoſe green herbs common in Europe, except Tarragon and tobacco; of both which here is great plenty, eſpecially of the laſt, which ſtinks ſo abominably that it is impoſſible for one that is even not very nice to continue near the Negroes when they ſmoke this deviliſh weed; which yet agrees very well with them.

Some of them have pipes made of reeds, which are about ſix foot long; to the end of which is fixed a ſtone or earthen bowl, ſo large that they cram in two or three handfuls of tobacco; which pipe, thus filled, they without ceaſing can eaſily ſmoke out; and they are not put to hold their pipe, for being ſo long it reſts on the ground.

All the in-land Negroes take this tobacco, but thoſe who live amongſt us and daily converſe with the Europeans, have Portugueſe or rather Brazilian tobacco; which, though a little better, yet ſtinks to a great degree.

Both the male and female of the Negroes are ſo very fond of this tobacco, that they will part with the very laſt penny which ſhould buy them bread, and ſuffer hunger rather than be without it; which ſo enhances the price, that for a Portugueſe fathom, which is much leſs than one pound of this traſh, they will give five ſhillings, or a gold quarter of a Jacobus.

Let us therefore rather praiſe thoſe ſmokers, my good friend, who take the noble Spaniſh or Virginia tobacco; but as for thoſe ſtupid wretches who content themſelves with the Amorsfort weed, I heartily wiſh, as a puniſhment of their depraved taſte, that during their lives they may never ſmoke better than our Negroes, and Brazil on Sundays and holidays; yet under condition they be obliged to keep company with each other, and be baniſhed the company of genteel ſmokers. But this by the way only.

The tobacco-leaf here grows on a plant about two foot high, and is of the length of two or three hands breadth, and the breadth of one, bearing a ſmall bell-flower, which when ripe turns to ſeed.

To conclude, I will add a fruit which grows in lofty trees, is rather larger than a walnut, and furniſhed with much ſuch a ſhell: the kernel is divided into ſeveral parts; of which ſome are red, others white.

Not only the Negroes, but alſo ſome of the Europeans, are infatuated to this fruit: we call it Kool or cabbage, and the Negroes Boeſi: it is chewed in the mouth; and after the juice is ſucked out, the remainder is ſpit out.

Its taſte is very harſh and almoſt bitter, and draws the chewer's mouth almoſt cloſe: and its ſole virtue is diuretick; but its admirers pretend it helps to reliſh the palm-wine: though both reaſons are not ſufficient to engage me to the uſe of it. It is commonly eaten with ſalt and Malagueta.

If

If I had been obliged to beſtow a name on this wretched fruit, I ſhould rather have called it the African Beetel or Anca, which would have been much properer than cabbage; ſince whatever I have heard concerning the Indian Beetel or Anca exactly agrees with the taſte and virtue of this fruit.

I might very well leave off here, as not conſcious of any important omiſſion in the deſcription of the Gold Coaſt of Guinea: but leſt you ſhould accuſe my performance, as ſpiritleſs, inſipid and ſaltleſs, I ſhall make bold, in the concluſion of this letter and the whole deſcription of the Gold Coaſt, to ſet as much ſalt before you as will ſtock you for houſe-keeping for one hundred years: what think you, is not that enough?

It is not to be imagined what vaſt riches the Negroes get by boiling of ſalt; and if they were always or for the moſt part in peace, thoſe who follow that employment would in a ſhort time amaſs unweildy ſums; for all the in-land Negroes are obliged to fetch their ſalt from the ſhore; from whence it is eaſy to infer that it muſt coſt them very dear: wherefore the meaner ſort are obliged to make uſe of a certain ſaltiſh herb inſtead of ſalt, which their purſes will not reach.

Some miles in-land beyond Ardra, from whence moſt of the ſlaves are brought, one, nay ſometimes two ſlaves are ſold for a handful of ſalt: ſo that human fleſh is there very cheap.

The manner of ſalt-boiling is as follows:—Some boil the ſalt-water ſo long in coppers till it comes to ſalt; but as this is the moſt tedious, ſo it is not the moſt profitable way, and is practiced only where the land is ſo high that the ſea or ſalt-rivers cannot poſſibly flow over them: but at other places, where the ſea or river-water frequently overflows, they dig deep pits to receive the mentioned overflowing water; after which the freſheſt and fineſt part of the water is dried up by the ſcorching heat of the ſun. I know this contradicts the hypotheſis of a certain author, but he ought to know alſo that the ground being here ſaltiſh and nitrous, a ſmall quantity of water will make better ſalt, and that quicker than a great deal; which renders this place the more fit to produce a great deal of ſalt in a ſmall time.

In other places they have ſalt-pans, where the ſun dries up the water, ſo that the trouble of boiling is unneceſſary; no pains being required except that only of gathering it out of the mentioned pans.

Thoſe who are either unable or unwilling to buy copper-boilers, or when the ſea-water requires ſuch tedious boiling as would burn them; theſe, I ſay, uſe earthen-pots, which they ſet ten or twelve next another; thus making two rows, being all cemented together with clay as if they had been done by a bricklayer; and under the mentioned pots is ſomething like a furnace of fire, which is continually ſupplied with wood. This is the moſt laborious way and produces neither ſo much ſalt, nor ſo much expedition as the other.

In all parts of this Coaſt, except Acra, the ſalt is very white, but more eſpecially in the country of Fantyn, where it almoſt excels even ſnow itſelf.

Thus much for this time, and when another opportunity offers, perhaps I may preſent you with an account of the country of Ardra; though I will not aſſure you of any thing, but that I am really yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XVII. — *Which, by way of Supplement to the former, deſcribes firſt a Snake taken at Axim, that was twenty-two Foot long; alſo another not much leſs at Boutry. — A ſtrange Engagement betwixt a Snake and two Porcupines at Moure. — Another Accident with a Serpent, which blinded an European with his Venom. — The Tigers here; a Boy torn in pieces by them: — The Author's Tiger-hunting, and how he came to kill him at laſt. — A Deſcription of the Jackals. — A remarkable Adventure with an Elephant killed at Elmina. — A Deſcription of a certain Spider which the Negroes call Ananſe, and imagine that it created the firſt Man.*

SIR,

IN my former letters, I have ſeveral times promiſed you to ſpeak more particularly concerning this or the other animal; and more eſpecially our elephant and tiger-hunting. All which promiſes this ſhall diſcharge; but firſt of all I am inclined to ſay ſomething concerning the ſerpents or ſnakes.

About eleven years paſt the Negroes of Axim took and killed a ſnake that was two and twenty foot long; which being opened, a full-grown deer was found in his entrails.

About the ſame time another was killed at Boutry, not much ſhorter than the former; in whoſe body a Negro was found.

Some of my ſervants once going to the country beyond Moure, found a ſnake ſeventeen foot long, and very bulky, lying about a pit of water, perhaps to divert himſelf; near which were two porcupines; betwixt which and the ſnake began a very ſharp engagement, each ſhooting very violently in their way, the ſnake his venom, and the porcupines their quills of two ſpans long, for with ſuch they were armed. My men having ſeen this fight for a conſiderable time, without being obſerved by the furious combatants (in the heat of the battle), after having loaded their muſquets, let fly upon the three champions to ſo good purpoſe, that they killed them all, and brought them to Moure, where they were devoured by them and their comrades as a very great delicacy.

Whilſt our fort was repairing at Moure, the work-men perceived a great ſnake behind a heap of ſtones; to get him from thence they removed many of the ſtones, ſo that half his body was cleared; a maſon, the forwardeſt in this enterprize, laid hold of his tail, deſigning to pull him out from betwixt the ſtones, but finding that impracticable, cut off as much of his body as was in reach with his knife, and believing he had diſabled him from doing any farther miſchief, without the leaſt ſhadow of fear removed the remainder of the ſtones; but as ſoon as the ſnake was at liberty to turn himſelf, he clung about the maſon (who thought to have caught him in his hand), and ſpit his venom all over his face; which proved ſo forcible, that the fellow at that very inſtant became ſtark blind; in which condition he remained ſome days, but was at laſt reſtored to his ſight. This I have frequently obſerved, eſpecially in Negroes, who upon being ſtruck by a ſerpent have ſwelled extremely, but ſoon aſſuaged and returned to their former eſtate; ſo that I am apt to think that the poiſonous nature of ſnakes is very different, the bite of ſome being mortal, others only wounding, and that there are another ſort which are as harmleſs as thoſe of Fida.

Of this laſt ſpecies is that which hangs in the director-general's hall, which is fourteen foot long, and was taken in our garden at Elmina by an Ardraſe or Fidaſe ſlave, with his bare hands without any ſtick or weapon, and by him ſo brought alive into the caſtle. We found at the lower part of his belly two claws like thoſe of birds;

which, I ſuppoſe, ſerved him either to erect himſelf upright, or to leap. But of him enough, ſince I have already ſaid ſomething of him in my laſt letter but two. Wherefore we ſhall now apply ourſelves to the tigers, which here do the moſt miſchief, and are extraordinarily fierce. Some years paſt a boy that belonged to our factor at Saconde, going but a little way from the factory was killed by one of them.

At the ſame time and place, a Negro going in-land with his hatchet in his hand to cut ſome wood, met a tiger which fell upon him; but he being a dexterous fellow, ſo well defended himſelf with his hatchet, that, after a long ſcuffle, he conquered and killed the tiger; but did not come off unhurt, for his whole body looked as if ſomebody had begun to flay him.

In the year 1693, when I commanded in the ſaid fort, ſome of my Kabriets (for ſo we call ſheep), as well as thoſe of my neighbour the Engliſh factor, were for ſeveral nights killed by a tiger, which at laſt grew ſo bold, that he came at three in the afternoon to the lodge, and killed a couple of ſheep. I perceived him time enough, and aſſiſted by my gunner, two Engliſhmen, and a party of Negroes all armed with good muſquets, I purſued him, and in a ſhort time overtook him, though not ſo ſoon but that he had opportunity to fly to a ſmall thicket of under-woods, which we immediately beſet; my gunner adventured into the thicket to find whereabouts he lurked, but in half a quarter of an hour came running back like a diſtracted man, having left his hat and ſlippers behind him, after being alſo bitten; but to his very good fortune, the tiger intending to have ſeized him, was ſo affrighted by the falling branches, that he gave him opportunity to make his eſcape, and the tiger kept the wood.

One of the Engliſhmen, impatient at waiting ſo long, reſolved to march into the wood with his muſquet, if poſſible to diſlodge him; the tiger, which was but too ſoon aware of him, ſuffered him to approach cloſe to him, upon which he fell upon him with extreme fury, ſeizing him with his feet by the ſhoulder-blade, and fixing his teeth in his ſide, and would, without doubt, immediately have torn him in pieces, if by crying out he had not drawn me with a party of Negroes to his aſſiſtance; which obliged the tiger to quit his prey: notwithſtanding which he was ſo miſerably handled, that he lay ſenſeleſs about half a day, which was partly occaſioned by the venom of the bite, and partly by the fright.

The Negroes were ſo terrified at the ill-ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, that, utterly bereft of all courage, each quitted his poſt where he was appointed to watch, which afforded the tiger an opportunity of eſcape, which he ſoon attempted; but in his flight out of the thicket happened ſomething very odd.

The under-factor of the Engliſh fort had long called out and promiſed me (for this adventure happened juſt under that fort) that he would come to my aſſiſtance, and the very moment the tiger quitted the wood, being as good as his word, he came with his muſquet in his hand; but the tiger ſeeing him alone before him, made to him; upon which the Engliſhman, inſtead of coming to us, ran as faſt as his legs would carry him back towards their fort; but affrighted, and tired with hard running, he fell over a ſtone about half a muſquet-ſhot from home: the tiger had already overtook him, when we ſtood trembling at a diſtance, imagining he would immediately tear him in pieces; but he coming up to him, inſtead of attacking, turned from him and took his flight forwards in-land, ſoon getting out of our ſight.

I can give no other reaſon why he did not fall on the Engliſhman, than that perhaps he was afraid of us who followed him with a great cry, if poſſible to terrify him; for it was not practicable to ſhoot at him, by reaſon he was too near the Engliſhman, and we might as well have chanced to have hit the one as the other: or perhaps the beaſt

thought he had honour enough by having his enemy under-foot, with which he being ſatisfied, retired.

Thus ended this chaſe, and I do not deſire ſuch another, for I have ſeveral times been in danger that the Negroes by their random-ſhot ſhould hit me inſtead of the tiger.

This tiger was not hereby deterred from coming again ſome days after and killing ſome ſheep, which provoked me to attempt another way to catch him that I had ſeen in the country of Ante.

I cauſed a parcel of very thick palliſadoes to be cut; of which I made a ſort of cage of twelve foot long and four broad, covering it alſo on the top with palliſadoes, to bind which the firmer, I laid a thouſand pound weight of ſtone on it to prevent his breaking out above; then I cauſed a double-plank door to be made for my cage, and in one of the corners I made a leſſer cage, which took up one fourth of the room of the whole; in which I placed a couple of ſmall hogs: after which I ſet the door like our rat-traps, in ſuch a manner that the tiger could not come in to ſeize the hogs without throwing it down and ſhutting himſelf in, when it would be impoſſible for him to come at the hogs by reaſon of the palliſadoes which fenced them in their little cage.

This ſtratagem ſucceeded ſo well that three days after I had finiſhed my trap, I caught the tiger in it at midnight; but inſtead of roaring, as I imagined he would, immediately he ſet his teeth at work, if poſſible to eat his way out of priſon, which he had certainly done if he had had but one half hour's time; for he had ſoon rent the inner from the outer door, and eaten the palliſadoes half through when I interrupted him in his work; and not to dally with fruitleſs ſhooting, I clapped the muzzle of my muſquet loaded with three balls betwixt the palliſadoes, at which he furiouſly catched, and ſo furniſhed me with a favourable opportunity to diſpatch him at one ſhot; by which I puniſhed his thievery and murder.

We found him about the ſize of a common calf, well provided with large teeth and claws.

This tiger-catching obliged us with a feaſt of eight days; for by the cuſtom of the Anteſe country, he that catches a tiger, is privileged for eight days to ſeize all the palm-wine which is brought to the market, without paying any thing for it; which accordingly we did, and the whole mentioned eight days were ſpent by the Negroes in ſhooting, dancing, leaping, and all manner of public jollity.

The country of Axim, but much more that of Ante, is full of tigers: they frequently in the night-time come not only under, but alſo into our forts, and do a great deal of miſchief, making no difficulty of leaping over a wall of ten foot high.

Before I leave this ſubject, I cannot help refuting the opinion of ſome people, that the tiger is ſo afraid of fire, that without any other arms than that alone, it is poſſible to drive him away. I was once of this erroneous opinion myſelf, but have been convinced of the contrary by experience: for after having received a viſit or two from a tiger, to affright him for the future, I kindled a great fire where the ſheep uſed to ſleep in the night; but not ſufficiently relying on that, I ordered five of my ſervants to lie by the fire with loaded arms; but notwithſtanding all this, the tiger came in the night and killed a ſheep between my two lads, who were fallen aſleep, and was moving towards the fire, when my ſervants, awakened with the cry of the ſheep, immediately flew up, intending to let fly at him, but he immediately ran away.

From hence it appears that the tiger is juſt as much afraid of fire, as the devil of the croſs; and this accident confirms the report of the Negroes, that this beaſt will never attack a man when he can come at a beaſt, for otherwiſe he could more eaſily have fallen on my two boys than a ſheep.

Next the tiger in fierceneſs, is the jackal or wild dog; of which I have already ſpoken in the deſcription of Acra. I had an opportunity of gratifying my curioſity with a ſight of it in the year 1700, when the preſent King of Commany's ſervants having ſhot one, were ſo civil as to bring it to the caſtle: he was as big as a ſheep, with longer legs; which in proportion to their ſize were very thick; whence you may judge of his ſtrength: he was covered with ſhort hair, which was ſpotted; his head was very large, flat and broad, provided with teeth, each of which was a finger's breadth and more; ſo that in all probability his greateſt ſtrength is lodged in his mouth and legs; joined to which he alſo hath terrible claws.

I will here preſent you with an example of the fierce boldneſs of this brute, which happened at Acra; where one of theſe beaſts by night boldly came into a Negro's houſe, and took away a female Negro; which he flung upon his back, and held her faſt with one leg, intending to proceed on his journey with his prey halting upon three legs: but the cries of the poor captive awoke a parcel of Negroes, and brought them to her relief; which they ſoon effected, and found her only a little hurt by the claw with which he held her faſt.

I ſhall now add ſomething concerning the elephant; of which I have in one of my former letters told you that unprovoked he very ſeldom falls on mankind, but when urged to it falls on with wondrous fierceneſs. Both which I ſhall here confirm by a couple of inſtances; and ſhew you how difficult it is to kill them.

Beyond Axim a Negro that was accuſtomed to the elephant-chace, and had killed ſeveral, endeavouring to ſhoot at one, but miſſing his ſhot by a flaſh in the pan, the elephant grew ſo enraged, that he purſued, ſet on him, and broke him and his muſquet to pieces.

The ſecond accident is more remarkable, and may ſerve as an inſtruction to others that for the future they be not too raſh.

In the year 1700, in December at ſix in the morning, an elephant came here to Elmina, walking eaſily along the ſhore under the hill of St. Jago: ſome Negroes were ſo bold as to go againſt him without any thing in their hands, in a ſort to welcome and bring him in. He ſuffered 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 that hill, and a Negro which came down with him, fired on him immediately; and the officer's ball hit him above his eye. This and the following ſhot which the Negroes poured on him were ſo far from provoking him, that they did not move him to mend his pace in the leaſt; he only ſeemed to threaten the Negroes betwixt whiles, but ſtill let them alone.

It was ſurpriſing, when he threatened to fall on the men, to ſee him prick up his ears; which were of a prodigious ſize: however he went on, and laſtly ſtept into our garden, expecting perhaps civiler treatment there.

This extraordinary accident, and our own curioſity, drew the director-general and myſelf into the garden; and we were ſoon followed 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 cocoa-trees; which number, either to divert himſelf or ſhew us his ſtrength, he augmented with five or ſix more in our preſence. The ſtrength which he ſeemed 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 of three or four years old.

Whilſt he ſtood here, above one hundred ſhot were fired at him, which made him bleed to that degree, as if an ox had been killed. During all which he did not ſtir, but only ſet up his ears, and made the men apprehend that he would follow them.

But this ſport was accompanied with a tragical event; for a Negro, fancying himſelf able to deal with him, went ſoftly behind him, catched his tail in his hand, deſigning to cut a piece of it off; but the elephant being uſed to wear a tail, would not permit it to be ſhortened in his life-time: wherefore, after giving the Negro a ſtroke with his ſnout, he drew him to him, and trod upon him two or three times; and, as if that was not ſufficient, he bored in his body two holes with his teeth, large enough for a man's double fiſt to enter. Then he let him lie, without making any farther attempt on him; and ſtood ſtill alſo whilſt two Negroes fetched away the dead body, not offering to meddle with them in the leaſt.

From both theſe inſtances it is ſufficiently clear, that unprovoked they do not often hurt any body; but that they grow very fierce when ſhot at and miſſed doth not ſo plainly appear, ſince this elephant ſuffered above three hundred ſhot to be made at him, without any ſign of being enraged or reſiſtance: but as the ſame actions have not always the ſame ſucceſs, I ſhould be loath from hence to adviſe any perſon raſhly to fire at an elephant, ſince this vaſt number of ſhot which were thundered at him were not ſufficient to fetch him down; 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 flatted, either by their bones or the toughneſs of their ſkin.

This ſeems probable; for after his death we found of the vaſt quantity of ſhot levelled at him very few had paſſed the bone into his head. Some remained betwixt the ſkin and the bone; moſt of them, more eſpecially the ſmall ſhot, was thrown off by his hide as if they had been ſhot againſt a wall. The bullets were certainly too ſmall, ſince what the Engliſh factor told me, was confirmed by others, that as he was in the river Gamby, in a canoe, he killed an elephant, which purſued him, with one ſhot only. For to imagine that none of the balls hit him in the proper place is not very reaſonable, ſince in ſuch a great number one muſt hit right, as appeared after his death.

After the elephant had killed the Negro (which happened not above ſixteen paces from us), and had been about an hour in the garden, he wheeled about as if he intended to fall on us, which made all that were in the garden to fly, each endeavouring to ſecure himſelf by getting away; but the greateſt part made to mount St. Jago; thinking, indeed, with reaſon, that if they could reach that, they ſhould be ſafe: but the elephant followed nobody out of the garden, which was very fortunate; for otherwiſe amongſt ſuch a number of people he had undoubtedly made a great ſlaughter, ſince nobody by ſwift running could have eſcaped him; which I believe on horſeback is ſcarcely to be done.

We all flew out of the garden, as I have told you, through the fore-door, and the elephant took to the back-door; which, whether in his way, or whether it was too narrow for him to paſs, I cannot tell, but he flung the door, though a brick and half thick, a good diſtance; which I had the good fortune to ſee a good way off, but could not obſerve that to do that he very much exerted himſelf, but rather ſeemed only to touch it lightly. After which he did not paſs through the gap where the door had been, but forced through the garden-hedge, going very ſoftly by mount St. Jago towards the river, where he bathed himſelf in order to waſh off the blood with which he was beſmeared, or to cool himſelf after the heat occaſioned by ſo much ſhot. After having refreſhed himſelf a little in the river, he came out and ſtood under ſome trees where were ſome of our water-tubs; where he alſo cooled himſelf, and broke them in pieces, as he did alſo a canoe which lay by them. Whilſt the elephant ſtood here, the ſhooting began to be renewed, till at laſt he fell down; after which they immediately

diately cut off his ſnout, which was ſo hard and tough that it coſt the Negroes thirty ſtrokes before they could ſeparate it, which muſt be very painful to the elephant, ſince it made him roar; which was the only noiſe I heard him make: after this he died under the mentioned tree; confirming the report of the Negroes, who tell us, that whenever an elephant finds his death approaching, if able, he always gets under a tree or into a wood.

For the truth of which, though I will not be obliged to anſwer, it hath yet thrice happened at Elmina: and at Gabon I found a dead elephant in a pleaſant thicket; of which more hereafter.

The elephant was no ſooner dead, than the Negroes fell on him in crowds; each cutting off as much as he could, ſo that he furniſhed a great many as well Whites as Blacks with food enough for that day.

He was not very large; his teeth not weighing above four and thirty pound. Thus we had the diverſion to have a near view of an elephant, and to ſee him partly exert his ſtrength; and the pleaſure had been much greater, if not allayed by the misfortune of the poor Negro, though it was his own fault. Hence we began to reflect to what danger we had expoſed ourſelves by venturing ſo near the elephant; for had he but once grown furious, his rage would doubtleſs have coſt ſeveral men's lives, and perhaps we ſhould have fallen the firſt, not being ſo ſwift of foot as the Negroes; beſides, all making one way, we ſhould have been in the way, and obſtructed one another's flight.

Upon this conſideration we reſolved never for the future to come ſo near an elephant; to which I would not adviſe any man who hath the leaſt tenderneſs for his life.

Whilſt I am writing this, an accident that happened to me at Moure occurs to my memory; which obliges me to add what follows: — Going to my chamber at night in order to go to bed, I found an hideous great ſpider againſt the wall. On account of the ſtrangeneſs of the ſpectacle, I called my ſub-factor, and both my aſſiſtants to ſee it. We found his body long, and his head ſharp, broader in the fore than hind-part, but not round as moſt ſort of ſpiders are. His legs were as large as a man's finger, ten in number, being hairy, and the thickneſs of a little finger.

The Negroes call this ſpider Ananſe, and believe that the firſt men were made by that creature: and notwithſtanding ſome of them by converſation with the Europeans are better informed, there are yet a great number, that remain of that opinion; out of which folly they are not to be reaſoned. This is the greateſt piece of ignorance and ſtupidity that I have obſerved the Negroes guilty of; which I have once already hinted to you.

Be pleaſed, ſir, to take this letter as a ſupplement to the deſcription of the Gold Coaſt; on which ſubject you are to expect no more. And what reſts is that you continue always aſſured of, ſir, yours, &c.

A DESCRIP-

A DESCRIPTION OF THE SLAVE-COAST.

LETTER XVIII. — *Which firſt treats briefly of the Country of Quahoe, which is abundantly enriched with Gold; after that of the Kingdom of Ladingcour, and Country of Lampi, whoſe King and Subjects are ſubmitted to the Obedience of Aquamboe: this Country affording very great Plenty of all Sorts of Cattle. — Of the Slave-trade there. — Agriculture and Fiſhery. — A copious Deſcription of Rio Volta. — The ſmall Force of Lampi, or the Cotoſe King; and their continual Wars with thoſe of Popo. — The Land is dry Sand, without Hills, and very barren. — Slave-trade there. — The Inhabitants converſible and good-natured; their Poverty; they live chiefly by Robbery. — The Multitudes of Idols here. — A Deſcription of Little Popo; its Barrenneſs; of its Inhabitants, thoſe which are baniſhed Acra are good Soldiers: their War with thoſe of Offra and Fida; what paſſed therein: they alſo live upon Spoil and Slave-trade; their villanous Nature; and ſome Inſtances of their Cheating: formerly a great Trade was driven at this Place. — Multitudes of Rats. — A Deſcription of Great Popo, which was ſubject to Fida, but is revolted from it; their Wars occaſioned thereby, in which they were victorious; Popo an Iſland; wants Proviſions; Slave-trade there; our Company formerly had a Lodge there; Popo is accounted to be in the Country of Ardra; where the Country of Fida begins; the violent burning of the Sea before it, does a great deal of Miſchief; ſome Inſtances of it; the ſtrong Current before Fida ſtops the Ships; pleaſant Proſpect of the Entrance of that Country; Extent of it; it is well cultivated and very fertile. — Deſcription of Fida; Nature of the Inhabitants; their Civility as well to us as to one another; their Compliments; they are very laborious; their Occupations; Women's Work; they eat and drink well; work for ſmall Wages; great Slave-trade there; the Men marry many Wives, of which they are very jealous; ſevere Puniſhment inflicted for lying with another Man's Wife, eſpecially the King's, which muſt not be touched, and ſome not permitted to be ſeen; great Number of the King's Wives, of which he ſometimes ſends away a good many, without his Number being diminiſhed; the Women not fond of being the King's Wife; the eldeſt Son is ſole Heir to his Father's Eſtate as well as to his Father's Wives'; the King married his own Daughter; Multitude of Children here; thieviſh Nature of the People here; ſome Examples of it; their rich Cloathing; red Colour prohibited to be worn by any not of the Royal Blood; convenient Habit of the Women; all their Heads are ſhorn; great Offerings in time of Sickneſs; they are extremely afraid of Death, which muſt not be ſo much as mentioned in Preſence of the King, or any of the chief Men; an agreeable Adventure of the Author's on that account; the Inhabitants of Fida make no Diſtinction of Time; are natural Arithmeticians; menſtruous Women utterly unclean; their Circumciſion; muſical Inſtruments; they are great Gameſters.*

SIR,

YOURS of the 25th reached me in good time, and reading at the very firſt your thanks, I flattered myſelf that you were pleaſed with the deſcription of the Gold Coaſt which I imparted to you; but going on I found myſelf miſtaken, and that you would not be ſo eaſily ſatisfied, but farther deſire an account of thoſe countries where our Company, and other nations, drive their ſlave-trade; and that I might not want an employment, you add a ſupplemental requeſt, that I would lay the whole coaſt of Guinea

Guinea before you. Well, my friend, was it not enough to ſet me ſuch a taſk, but you muſt alſo rally me, and acquaint me that idleneſs in this country is very prejudicial to my health? which to preſerve, of conſequence it is abſolutely neceſſary to have ſomething to do, as if I wanted employment beſides this you have found me: if you think that any perſon of an active genius can want buſineſs here, I dare aſſure you that you will find yourſelf miſtaken. Idleneſs here, and I believe all the world over, is only the lot of thoſe idiots which ſcarce know either what they do, or wherefore they live: and to let you ſee that I am none of thoſe, I ſhall anſwer your demand, by writing you not only what I have myſelf obſerved of theſe countries, but alſo whatever is conſiderable in thoſe places where I have never been, nor never deſire to come, though I am not willing to be ſecurity for the truth of all which I ſhall ſay; but yet I dare aver, that the perſons from whom I have my informations are ſo creditable, that I ſhould freely rely on their words in things of much greater importance; and therefore believe that nothing prepoſterous will be found in the relation.

So as I have received my information, I ſhall faithfully tranſmit it to you, without adding any thing of my own; but if their method diſpleaſe me, or diſagree with what I have hitherto obſerved, I ſhall make bold to change it a little, and this is the utmoſt alteration I intend: and that you may know before-hand what countries they are which you will find deſcribed, from the information of others, in the following recital, be pleaſed to obſerve, that the deſcription of the country from Ardra, through the whole gulph of Guinea to Rio de Gabon, with the tract of land weſt of the Gold Coaſt, and from the Gold River to Cabo Monte, is not mine; but all the reſt you may take for my own, no part of which is the reſult of any thing but my own obſervation.

This being, in my opinion, a ſufficient advertiſement, I ſhall begin with a deſcription of the remaining part of Guinea, through which I have travelled.

Be pleaſed to remember, that in my fifth letter I ended the whole Gold Coaſt with the village of Ponni, though the gold is brought to us from the country a little lower, namely, out of Quahoe, which abounds with that metal, and is ſituate beyond that tract of land; but by reaſon of the ſmall acquaintance I have with that country, as alſo becauſe its inhabitants go through Aquamboe to Acra, where they drive the greateſt part of their trade, paſſing over this, I ſhall confine myſelf to the ſea-ſide only, telling you withal the tract of land betwixt Ponni and Rio Volta is about thirteen miles long, being inhabited by the Negroes of Acra, Lampi, and Aquamboe.

Thoſe of Lampi have a King of their own, with the title of King of Ladingcour; though in reality he and his ſubjects (if they may be ſo called) depend entirely on the King of Aquamboe, according to whoſe will and pleaſure he is obliged to regulate himſelf; for upon the leaſt diſguſt, which he or his people give to thoſe of Aquamboe, they are ſo ſeverely puniſhed that the remembrance of it remains for ſeveral years, which is yet ſtyled a mild and merciful chaſtiſement; for whenever the King of Aquamboe takes a fancy to it, he makes nothing of cutting them a foot ſhorter, which puniſhment they are forced to ſubmit to without murmuring; he having at leaſt as deſpotic a power over them as his own ſubjects.

The country hereabouts is indifferently populous and fertile, but extraordinarily ſtored with cattle, as cows, hogs, ſheep, beſides chicken, &c. All which are here daily bought very cheap by the Blacks of the Gold Coaſt, to tranſport to the Upper Coaſt.

The remaining trade of theſe people conſiſts in ſlaves, which are alſo bought up by the mentioned Negroes; but moſt of them are tranſported hence by the Engliſh, French and Portugueſe ſhips. Sometimes the ſlave-trade here proves very advantageous, eſpecially about the village Lay.

It

It ſometimes happens that when the in-land countries are at peace, here are no ſlaves to be got; ſo that the trade of this place is utterly uncertain, and it only ſerves to touch at in our paſſage this way, without depending on any thing from it.

Beſides trade, the inhabitants employ themſelves in agriculture and fiſhing; the firſt of which proves reaſonably profitable; but the fiſhery, eſpecially that on the ſea, turns to none, or at moſt, but ſmall account; for the ſhore here is very high and of very difficult acceſs: wherefore it is ſometimes unapproachable with ſmall canoes. But the want of ſea-fiſh is here abundantly compenſated by the lakes or rivers, which are extraordinarily richly ſtocked with fiſh.

Rio Volta, probably ſo called by the Portugueſe, by reaſon of its rapid courſe and reflux, bounds this tract of land. This is a fine wide river, diſcharging its waters ſo violently into the ſea, that it is ſometimes viſible three or four miles from the ſhore. How far this river extends its courſe in-land is to me unknown. The extraordinary rapid reflux into the ſea, continually carries great numbers of trees along with it; which ſticking faſt at the mouth of the river, occaſion a very high burning of extraordinary violence, as well as lofty agitations of the waves: ſo that this place is paſſable with canoes but twice in the year, and that is commonly betwixt April and November, the weather being then ſtill upon the Coaſt; which generally is juſt before the rainy ſeaſon, when conſequently the reflux of the river is not ſo ſwift: but after the rains it is not poſſible to perſuade a Negro to venture, though they are continually uſed to paſs in their boats along the ſhore, which here, by reaſon of the mentioned burnings, they cannot do.

I have four times paſſed by this river on board of ſhipping, and each time ſome of our people were ſent aloft, that by diſcerning the mouth of this river, they might ſee whether we had paſſed it or no; and they commonly called to us from aloft, that they ſaw its mouth, and that they were right before it, and at it, or a little way eaſt or weſt of it; which the maſters of the ſhips, through ignorance, and I, as well as they, firmly believed.

But in the year 1699, coming in a canoe from Fida, I cauſed myſelf to be rowed as cloſe to the ſhore as poſſible, and as the burnings would permit; but as curious and exact as we were in our obſervation, we could deſcry no mouth, nor the leaſt opening; but diſcovered the truth of what one of my ſervants (who had performed this journey by land) told me, that this river, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore, and throughout, is prodigiouſly wide; but that weſtward, it is thwarted by a whole tract of land, which leaves it but a ſmall opening or paſſage; and it is natural enough to believe, that by reaſon of the wideneſs within, and the violent reflux of this river, the ebb which paſſes this ſmall mouth muſt be much ſtronger than if this paſſage were proportioned to the ſize of the river: but enough of this.

Eaſtward of this river, the Cotoſe country, by moſt called the land of Lampi, beginneth. From this river to the village Coto or Verhou, is about fourteen Dutch miles; the village having formerly been the place of reſidence of the King of Coto, where I ſaw and ſpoke with him in the year 1698.

This kingdom is very inconſiderable in ſtrength, which yet abates daily by its wars with Popo, that have continued for ſome years ſucceſſively; and they being pretty even in 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 deſtroyed, by ſending aſſiſtance of forces to the weakeſt ſide.

When

When Aquamboe was governed by two chiefs, as I have formerly told you, thoſe of Popo had a ſtrong ſupporter of the old, as they of Coto of the young King; thus each ſide was continually furniſhed with Aquamboean props.

But how it will go with them when the old King is dead, time will inform us. Thoſe of Little Popo, in 1700, watched their opportunity, and, ſurprizing thoſe of Coto, fell upon them and obliged them to quit their country; but I doubt not but thoſe of Aquamboe will ſoon reinſtate them, and clap a bridle into the mouth of the Popoeans.

The land of Coto is of a direct contrary ſort of nature to that of the Gold Coaſt; for as the latter is full of hills, ſo the former hath not one: but the ſoil is very flat, ſandy, dry, barren, and void of all trees, except the palm or wild-cocoa; of which it produceth a great number. This land is tolerably provided with cattle, at leaſt as many as are ſufficient to ſupply its inhabitants.

River-fiſh is not wanting here, but they can get none out of the ſea, by reaſon of the violent burnings which extends from this place to Ardra, and farther along the whole Coaſt.

Their trade is that of ſlaves; of which they are able ſometimes to deliver a good number, but yet not ſo many as to lade a ſhip.

I found the inhabitants here very good-natured and civil. I received ſeveral civilities from them, eſpecially from the King: when I told him, that after having accompliſhed my merchandize at Fida, I deſigned to return by land; he offered to come himſelf with his whole force to receive me on the borders of his territories, and to conduct me beyond Rio Volta in order to ſecure me from any miſchief from the ſtrolling robbers. I thankfully accepted this kind offer, and I ſhould certainly have made uſe of it, had not thoſe of Little Popo (who had alſo promiſed to conduct me through the extent of their land) cauſed 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 under-hand encouraged me to this land-tour, urging it as their private advice, which naturally diſcovered their villany: which was that they deſigned to murther me on my journey, and conſequently have ſtolen all my goods; beſides which, they would yet have cleared themſelves by urging that they adviſed me againſt going that way.

I was on this account frightened from undertaking my intended tour; by which I ſhould otherwiſe have diſcovered ſome particulars worthy your curioſity.

But to return to the inhabitants of Coto; in politics, religion, and economics, they very nearly reſemble thoſe on the Gold Coaſt, except that I found here a vaſt quantity of idol gods. Their language is moſtly that of Acra, with a very ſmall alteration. By reaſon their trade is ſmall, they are very poor; very few of them being rich. Their moſt advantageous trade is taking a journey in-land and ſtealing men, which they ſell to the Europeans, that come here with their ſhips. This is the beſt part of their ſubſiſtence, and indeed all I have to ſay of them.

From Coto to Little Popo is about ten miles; the country being as the former, flat land, without either hills or trees, and extraordinarily ſandy, even to ſuch a degree that all victuals there dreſſed are continually full of ſand, and not edible; of which I was very ſenſible during my three days continuance there: for the King richly enough provided me with victuals; but for the mentioned reaſon I could not eat, but was forced to fetch proviſions from on board our ſhip to keep myſelf alive.

This vaſt quantity of ſand, with which the whole land is covered, renders it ſo barren, that the inhabitants are forced to be victualled by thoſe of Fida, or at leaſt for the moſt part.

The inhabitants here are the remains of the kingdom of Acra behind our fort there; from whence they were formerly driven by the King of Aquamboe. Thoſe who eſcaped ſettled here, where they may remain long enough; for it is not probable that they will ever return to the poſſeſſion of their country.

I have already mentioned their wars with thoſe of Coto. They are not very populous; but on the other hand are very warlike. Not many years ſince they had a brave ſoldier for their King, whoſe name was Aforri, brother to the preſent King. This prince, on account of his valour, was very much feared and reſpected; but his greateſt ſtock of fame redounded to him when the Phidalgo of Offra rebelled againſt the King of Great Ardra, his lord and maſter, whoſe yoke he ſhook off, and beſides killed our chief factor Holwerf.

To revenge theſe accumulated crimes, the King of Ardra perſuaded King Aforri to come againſt him with all his force; which he did, and made ſuch ſhort work with thoſe of Offra, that he conquered as ſoon as ſaw them; waſted their country, and delivered the offender into his ſovereign's hands: but not content with this victory, and puſhed on by the King of Ardra, he marched againſt the people of Fida, and encamped in their country; but wanting powder, he delayed 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 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; which Aforri being informed of, 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.

His enemies, informed of his flight, were not in the leaſt inclined to purſue him; but on the contrary did not a little rejoice to find themſelves rid of ſuch a dangerous enemy.

Aforri being returned into his own territories, was acquainted that his neighbours of Coto were ready to have aſſiſted Fida, if he had ſtaid any longer in their country; which he ſo highly reſented, that with utmoſt animoſity he took the field againſt them, and deſiring nothing more than to come to a cloſe engagement with them, he attacked them, though ſtronger than himſelf, but they received him ſo warmly, that they had quickly killed a great part of his army: upon this, furiouſly enraged and deſperate, and careleſs of himſelf, he flew amongſt the thickeſt of the enemy, where he was ſo ſurrounded that it was impoſſible for him to return; upon which, with ſeveral of his men, after a valiant reſiſtance, he was left dead upon the ſpot.

The preſent King, though more peaceable and mild, yet prudently revenged his brother's death on the Cotoſians, always attacking them in their weakeſt condition; which meaſures he purſued ſo long as to drive them out of their country.

The inhabitants of Popo, as well as thoſe of Coto, depend on plunder and the ſlave-trade; in both of which they very much exceed the latter; for being endowed with a much larger ſhare of courage, they rob more ſucceſsfully, and conſequently by that means increaſe their trade: notwithſtanding all which, to freight a ſhip with ſlaves, requires ſome months attendance.

In the year 1697, in three days time I could get but three ſlaves; but they aſſured me that if I would have patience for other three days only, they ſhould be able to deliver me one or two hundred. I ſeemed to approve their propoſal, but went on board under pretence of fetching ſome goods aſhore which they deſired, and immediately,

diately weighed anchor and ſet ſail for Fida; where I was informed that their incurſions ſucceeded ſo well, that they returned with above two hundred ſlaves; which, for want of other ſhips, they were obliged to ſell to the Portugueſe.

This nation is more than ordinary fraudulent and thieviſh. It is their common practice to aſſure the merchant or factor that they have a ſtock of ſlaves, only to draw him on ſhore; which having done they never part with him without having fleeced him, and beſides detained him ſeveral months.

The Portugueſe are cheated by them more than any nation; notwithſtanding which they cannot avoid trading with them by reaſon they are loaded with ſuch ſorry goods, that they can ſcarcely get ſlaves any where elſe.

In 1698, I found a Daniſh ſhip there, which was obliged to wait a longer time to deal for five hundred ſlaves, than I ſpent in trading for two thouſand at Fida: during which time they met with ſuch ample proofs of their villanous nature, that I do not believe any of that nation will venture thither again.

A year or two before this, they dealt in the ſame manner with an Engliſh ſhip, and beſides cheated him of ſome of his goods; but he coming thither again in my time, recovered his damages in the following manner: — As ſoon as he had dropt anchor before Popo, ſome of the great men, amongſt whom was the King's ſon, came on board him; all which he clapped in the Bilboas: from whence he did not diſcharge them till he was firſt re-imburſed and had obliged them to pay a ſum beſides.

In the reign of this King's brother, this nation was more eaſily dealt with, for when he had done his buſineſs, he would not ſuffer his ſubjects to impoſe on the Europeans. In his time, one of our Company's ſhips, in eleven days, dealt for above five hundred ſlaves, but that is not what is likely to happen again; for that nation is at preſent ſo fraudulent, that undeniably every perſon that deals with them muſt be more or leſs cheated.

It is perfectly unneceſſary to touch any further on the nature and cuſtoms of theſe people, ſince being originally inhabitants of Acra, in religion and government they do not much differ from their country-men.

During my ſtay here, I found ſuch an incredible number of rats, that I thought myſelf bound in charity to advertiſe the inhabitants to be upon their guard and deſtroy thoſe vermin, leſt increaſing upon them they ſhould in time drive them out of their country.

Four miles eaſtward from hence is the kingdom of Great Popo, whoſe King was firſt in ſubjection to Fida, but the preſent King being ſet upon the throne by the preſent King of Fida, in the room of his brother whom he had baniſhed, in reward of the favours of the Fidaſian monarch, he hath withdrawn his allegiance, and thrown off that yoke; at which the Fidaſian was ſo much enraged, that he raiſed a great army, which he ſent againſt Popo, together with the aſſiſtance and ammunition which he received from ſome French ſhips that then lay before Fida, deſigning nothing leſs than to extirpate them, which he was alſo encouraged to hope, becauſe the French ſhips likewiſe ſailed 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 forced to make uſe of floats to come at them; and that nation had put itſelf in ſuch a poſture of defence, that it not only received its enemies warmly, but after bleeding them, put them to flight, without the loſs of one man on their ſide; for they fired very briſkly out of their houſes, and unperceived of their enemies, by which means they killed a great number of French and Fidaſians, and ſo diſordered their forces, that throwing down their arms, they run over one another to make their eſcape; and if the Popoeans had followed their victory

tory, in all probability not one Frenchman would have eſcaped alive, they not being ſo ſwift as the Negroes.

Since this ſo unſucceſsful enterpriſe, the King of Fida hath not ventured on any freſh attempts with his own forces, but hath been endeavouring even to this preſent time to hire other nations to engage in the quarrel; but though it hath 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 obliged to ſuffer the King of Popo in quiet poſſeſſion of his iſland.

The inhabitants of Popo have ſcarcely any dwelling places, beſides the King's village, which, as I have told you, is an iſland, and that ſo thinly peopled, and ſo infeſted by the Fidaſians, that they cannot cultivate their land quietly; wherefore they very frequently want proviſions, and would be ſtarved, if they were not furniſhed with edibles from even the Fidaſians, their greateſt enemies, who continually run the riſk of capital puniſhments, by reaſon of the profit they find to accrue by victualling the Popoeans.

The natives of Great Popo trade alſo in ſlaves, which, if no ſhips come thither, they ſell to thoſe of Little Popo; but their greateſt gain is by the fiſh, which they catch in their river, and trade with abroad.

Some years paſt we had a houſe or lodge here, but by reaſon of the declenſion of trade, ſince the enmity betwixt Fida and Popo, after the death of our factor we left it, and ſince that time we have not traded with them.

This Popo is the firſt place which can properly be reckoned to be in the country of Ardra: the Ardraſian language, with very ſmall alterations, is here ſpoken. The government alſo is here upon the ſame foot, of which more in the deſcription of Fida, where I ſhall give you a ſketch of it.

Juſt eaſtwards of Popo, the country of Fida takes its beginning, and four or five miles lower is the road and port. This port is ſo incommodious and dangerous, by reaſon of the horrible burnings in the ſea, that we cannot land here without running a great riſk; but in April, May, June, and July, the ſea burns ſo violently, that, according to the proverb, he ought to have two lives who ventures.

About this ſeaſon, diſmal accidents are very frequent here, great quantities of goods are loſt, and many men drowned; for the ſea-burning is ſo violent, and rolls ſo, that a canoe full of people is over-turned, and the canoe ſhattered into ſplinters in a minute, by which means all that are in it are in danger to be loſt, except the rowers, who, through their ſkill in ſwimming, may perhaps ſave themſelves. This over-turning of canoes happens every day.

When I was here, in the year 1698, beſides ſlaves, there were five men loſt here; viz. a Portugueſe captain, a clerk, and three Engliſh ſailors, beſides two captains which were brought a-ſhore for dead, and lived but a very little while after.

This port hath 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.

At this time of the year we are troubled with another inconvenience, which is a ſtrong eaſtern tide, which no boat or ſhallop can ſtem by rowing, but thoſe in the boats are obliged to ſet them along by ſticking their pole in the ground; ſo that what by one inconvenience or another we are detained here twice as long as is neceſſary to our ſlave-trade; but when our fatigue is over, and we are got on ſhore, we ſeem to have paſſed from hell to heaven, for having eſcaped the apparent dangers of the ſea, and diſcerning ſuch beautiful meadow-ground about half a mile off, we cannot help being

being over-joyed on the account not only of our delivery, but likewiſe of the future pleaſures this country promiſes.

For three ſeveral times I have lived here about three months, not that my merchandizing required ſo long time; for reckoning one ſhip with another, I could diſpatch each of them in leſs than a month; and which is yet more, I have laden three in fourteen days; but what obliged me to ſtay was waiting for a yacht to carry me off, and preparing for my voyage.

During my ſtay here, I uſed all poſſible means to diſcover the length and breadth of this kingdom, but could never obtain a farther ſatisfactory account than that its extent along the ſea-ſhore is about nine or ten miles; and in the middle, it reaches ſix or ſeven miles in-land; after which it extends like two arms, and in ſome places is ten or twelve miles broad, and in others much narrower; ſo that it is impoſſible for me to oblige you with an exact account of its breadth, but I hope we ſhall not quarrel.

It is, however, unqueſtionably certain, that this country is ſo very populous, that in one village alone, as the King's, or any of his viceroy's villages, for inſtance, there are as many people as in a common kingdom on the Gold Coaſt; and this land is well furniſhed with theſe large villages, beſides innumerable ſmall ones, which are obſervable throughout the whole country, ſome not above a muſquet-ſhot from each other, for thoſe who live out of the great villages or towns build and ſettle where they pleaſe; ſo that each family builds a ſmall village, which increaſes as that multiplies. The great number of theſe villages, compoſed of houſes which are round at the top, and encompaſſed with mud walls or hedges, together with the great numbers of all ſorts of beautiful and lofty-trees, which ſeem deſignedly planted in exact order, afford the moſt beautiful proſpect in the world; to render which the more charming and perfectly agreeable, not ſo much as one mountain or hillock interpoſeth to interrupt the view; but the whole is a ſort of inſenſibly riſing ground, which is not diſcovered till you have gone forwards an hour or two, when, turning back, your eyes are regaled with a proſpect of the moſt charming place that imagination can repreſent; nor can I believe that any country in the world can ſhew the like. Beſides which, this land is covered with a beautiful verdure, compoſed either of graſs or trees, and plentifully provided with three ſorts of corn, beans, potatoes, and other fruits, which grow ſo cloſely to each other, that in ſome places a foot-path is the only ground that is not covered with them; for the Negroes of this country are ſo covetous, that no place which is thought fertile can eſcape planting, though even within the hedges which encloſe their villages and dwelling-places: and they are ſo very greedy in this particular, that the very next day after they have reaped they are ſure to ſow again, without allowing the land any time for reſt.

The charms of this country have ſo far tranſported me, that I have inſenſibly paſſed through it; but ſince on account of its excellence (comparatively taken and conſidered as on this Coaſt), it deſerves a very particular deſcription: I therefore deſign to divide it into three heads, viz. firſt, I ſhall treat of the nature and manners of the inhabitants; ſecondly, of their religion and government; and, thirdly, of the cattle and fruits of this country.

As the firſt will take up the remainder of this letter, ſo the other two ſhall be treated of each in a letter apart. But I deſire you not to be tired if they all, but more eſpecially this, happen to be ſomewhat long; I ſhall not grudge my pains in writing it; and if you put too great a value on the time to read it, the remedy is eaſy; you may tear off what you will, and not waſte ſo much time on it as to peruſe it.

But

But as to my firſt particular, I muſt needs ſay, that the inhabitants of Fida far exceed all other Negroes (that I have had the opportunity of converſing with) both in good and bad qualities; as the following lines, if worthy your reading, will inform you: —

I muſt own, that, from the higheſt to the loweſt, they treat us in the moſt civil, obliging, and engaging manner in the world; and as all Negroes continually teaze us for preſents, theſe, on the contrary, never deſire beyond a morning draught, and had rather give than receive. When we trade with them, they are very well pleaſed that we acknowledge the ſervices they have done us; but they are incorrigibly fond of their ancient cuſtoms, but this is ſo reaſonable that no perſon can deny them that privilege.

They are ſo civil to each other, and the inferior ſo reſpectful to the ſuperior, that at firſt I was very much ſurpriſed at it; for if any of them goes to viſit his ſuperior, or meets him by chance, he immediately falls on his knees, and thrice ſucceſſively kiſſes the earth, claps his hands, wiſhes his ſuperior a good day or good night, and congratulates him; which the other, either ſitting or ſtanding, or whatever poſture he is found in, barely anſwers, with ſoftly clapping his hands, and wiſhing the other a good day; and if he is extraordinarily civil, he ſaith, it is enough. All which time the former remains ſitting or proſtrate on the earth, till the other departs, unleſs his affairs call him away; when, after begging leave, he retires, creeping on the ground; for it would be thought a great crime to ſit upon a chair or bench in preſence of his ſuperior.

The like deference is paid by the younger to the elder brother, the children to the father, and the wives to their huſbands; none of which will deliver or receive any thing to or from his or her ſuperior, brother, father, or huſband, otherwiſe than upon the knee, and with both hands together, which is a ſign of yet greater ſubjection; and if they ſpeak to any of the ſaid perſons, their hand is always clapped before their mouth, that their breath may not offend the other.

When two perſons of equal condition meet each other, they fall both down on their knees together, clap hands, and mutually ſalute, by wiſhing each other a good day; which ceremonies are alſo nicely obſerved by their followers and dependants on each ſide, which looks very agreeable.

If a principal perſon happen to ſneeze, all thoſe in their preſence fall upon their knees; and after having kiſſed the earth, and clapped their hands, wiſh him all happineſs and proſperity.

When a perſon is preſented with any thing by his ſuperior, having received it, he claps it in his hands, and after kiſſing the earth, very ſubmiſſively returns thanks. In ſhort, the inferior here ſhews as much reſpect to the ſuperior, as I believe is practiſed in any place of the world; which is very different from the Negroes on the Gold Coaſt, who live together without any diſtinction, like brute beaſts: nor do they differ leſs from the mentioned Negroes in induſtry, for whereas the Gold Coaſt Negroes indulge themſelves in idleneſs as their favourite vice; here, on the contrary, men as well as women are ſo vigorouſly induſtrious and laborious, that they never deſiſt till they have finiſhed their undertakings; and are continually endeavouring after work, in order to get money.

Beſides agriculture, from which the King and a few great men are only exempted, their manufactures are ſpinning of cotton, weaving of fine cloaths, making of calabaſſes, wooden veſſels, Aſſagayes and ſmith's-ware, and ſeveral other handicrafts, which

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are in greater perfection here than on the Gold Coaſt; beſides which, they alſo have ſome which the other have no knowledge of.

Whilſt the men are ſo diligently employed, the women are not idle; they brew, or rather boil beer, and dreſs victuals, which they carry to market to ſell, together with their huſband's merchandize; ſo that both men and women here are employed in getting of money, and each zealouſly ſtrives to out-do the other. Hence it is that they live very ſplendidly, and not as the Blacks on the Gold Coaſt, who dare not think of a good morſel when it is dear; for theſe on the other ſide, as well the higher as lower ſort, eat of the beſt that is to be gotten, as long as they have any thing to ſupport it; and when that fails, they are upon the hunt to get more; but to aſk them to work with an empty belly, would be to knock at a deaf-man's door; on which account I think no man can blame them, ſince it is but reaſonable that they ſhould, before they begin, be ſenſible for what they take pains.

They work for ſmall wages, and the ſervice which the meaner ſort do us conſiſts in carrying our goods from the ſhore to the King's village, where our houſe is. This being about three miles, for every burthen of goods we commonly pay from eight to twelve pence, in proportion to the weight of it; the price of each burthen being exactly adjuſted. From hence you may collect, that the men work very cheaply here; but they play an after-game, of which I ſhall hereafter inform you.

With a burthen of one hundred pounds on their head, they run a ſort of continual trot, which is ſo ſwift, that we Hollanders cannot keep up with them without difficulty, though not loaded with an ounce weight.

Thoſe who are very rich here, beſides huſbandry, in which their wives and ſlaves are employed under them, drive a very conſiderable trade, not only in ſlaves, but all other ſort of commodities.

They are ſo diligent in the ſlave-trade, that they are able to deliver one thouſand ſlaves every month, if there are no ſhips at Jakin, which is ſubordinate to Great Ardra, and ſituate but three miles below Fida, which makes a very conſiderable alteration; for the King of Great Ardra, through whoſe territories moſt of the ſlaves are obliged to paſs, when the ſhips are there, to favour his own ſubjects, very commonly ſhuts up all the paſſes to Fida by a very ſtrict prohibition; upon which his ſubjects are obliged to deal by ſtealth with thoſe of Fida (againſt whoſe King he is an irreconcileable enemy), which yet they continually do, ſeeming not much concerned at their Kings' diſputes. Notwithſtanding which, trade doth not flouriſh ſo well as when the King of Ardra leaves commerce open betwixt his ſubjects and thoſe of Fida.

The remaining cuſtoms and manners of the natives of Fida, not affecting their religious worſhip, are very like thoſe on the Gold Coaſt, excepting only, as I have already hinted, that theſe exceed the other in all particulars of living; for whereas the former content themſelves with one, two, three, and the moſt conſiderable men, with eight, ten or twenty wives; they have here forty or fifty, and their chief captains three or four hundred, ſome one thouſand, and the King betwixt four and five thouſand.

Moſt of theſe wives ſerve to till the ground, for their huſbands only; but the moſt beautiful ſtay at home, where they are not yet excuſed from working; beſides which they are obliged to ſerve and wait on their huſband. No rich Negro will ſuffer any man to enter the houſes where his wives reſide.

The men here are ſo ſtrangely jealous of their wives, that on the leaſt ſuſpicion in the world, they ſell them to the Europeans; being in this particular very different from the Negroes of the Gold Coaſt, who make no manner of ſcruple of driving a public trade with their wives' body.

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The cuſtom of this country is vaſtly different from that; for if any perſon here preſume to debauch another's wife, if the injured perſon is a rich man, the offender muſt not only die, but ſuch a crime is, beſides that, ſufficient to plunge his whole family into ſlavery.

If any perſon happen barely to touch any part of the body of one of the King's wives, deſignedly, or by the moſt unforeſeen accident in the world, his head, or at leaſt his liberty, is thereby forfeited: he being, for a puniſhment of his innocent crime, doomed to perpetual ſlavery. Wherefore all thoſe whoſe buſineſs lies near the King's houſes, call out aloud that his wives may be informed there is a man thereabouts.

For the ſame reaſon the King (as I have before hinted) is ſerved by his wives in his houſe, not permitting any man to enter the walls thereof, unleſs to repair it, or do what the women cannot, upon which occaſion the women are obliged to retire to another part of it.

When the workmen are tiling or repairing the King's houſe, they continually call out, that the King's wives may, during that time, keep within; for if they ſhould happen to ſee them only, it would be imputed to them as a crime.

So when the King's wives go to the field to work, as they do daily by hundreds, they are certain, whenever they meet a man, to cry out, "Stand clear;" after which he either immediately falls on his knees or flat on the ground, and waits their paſſing by him, without preſuming ſo much as to look at them.

On account of the leaſt diſguſt or trifle, the King ſometimes ſells eighteen or twenty of his wives, which doth not at all leſſen their number, for three of his principal captains, to whom the government of the ſeraglio is entruſted, daily ſupply their places with freſh ladies; for whenever they ſee a beautiful virgin, they immediately preſent her to the King, which none of his ſubjects dare preſume to refuſe or contradict.

When a lady is preſented to the King that happens to pleaſe him, he does her the honour to lie with her twice or thrice; after which ſhe is obliged to paſs the remainder of her life like a nun: for which reaſon, the women are ſo far from being greedy of the honour of being the King's wives, that ſome of them prefer a ſpeedy death to ſuch a miſerable life.

About two years paſt theſe captains endeavoured to bring him a beautiful young maid; but ſhe not being very fond of a nun's life, fled from them, and they purſuing her, ſhe deſpairing threw herſelf into a deep well, in which ſhe was ſtifled. I leave her caſe to be determined by the ladies.

Upon the father's death, the eldeſt ſon inherits not only all his goods and cattle, but his wives; which he immediately holds and enjoyeth as his own, excepting his own mother; for whom he provides a ſeparate apartment, and ſufficient ſubſiſtance, in caſe ſhe cannot live without it. This cuſtom obtains not only with the King and captains, but alſo amongſt the commonalty.

This preſent King married two of his own daughters: but they dying quickly after, and his brutal pleaſures being of a ſhort duration, he imagines that the gods that way puniſhed him for his crime; which hath drawn from him an oath never to repeat it for the future. To prevent temptation, in my time he married his only daughter to the Engliſh Company's factor here; and once talking very freely with him, I, in a jeſting manner, impoſed a ſort of fine upon him for not having made me the firſt offer of her. He willingly paid his fine, adding withal, that though his daughter was married, ſhe was yet at my ſervice, if I deſired her, ſince one word was ſufficient to call her home. What think you, ſir, are not this King's daughters very cheap? But the miſchief

is, that marrying a King's daughter in this country is not very advantageous, otherwiſe I had not failed long ſince to be happy that way.

From ſuch a multitude of wives, a great number of children may reaſonably be expected. You may eaſily believe this when I aver to you, I have ſeen men that were fathers of above two hundred children; but, however, to put it out of doubt, not only myſelf, but ſeveral others who have enquired into it, are aſcertained of the truth of it in two inſtances; the firſt of which is one of the King's captains, that ſerved us ſeveral years as an interpreter, whoſe name is Agoei.

I once aſked him in preſence of one of our captains and my aſſiſtant, how many children he had, having always obſerved a good number with him; to which he, ſighing, anſwered, that he had been ſo very unhappy in that particular, as not to have many, and that he could not pretend to above ſeventy; I aſked him whether he had not had more that were dead; he told me yes, about as many as were at preſent alive. And yet this man thought that both theſe numbers, making together one hundred and forty, were but a very ſmall number; from whence you may gueſs what number is ſufficient to make a man rich, or well-ſtocked with children.

The King, who was preſent at this converſation, aſſured me that one of his viceroys, aſſiſted by his ſons and grandſons with their ſlaves, had repulſed a powerful enemy which came againſt him. That this viceroy, with his ſons and grandſons, could make out the number of two thouſand, not reckoning daughters or any that were dead. Judge then, ſir, whether, if a new world were diſcovered, theſe men would not be fit to people it.

If what I have told you is true, as I do not in the leaſt doubt but it is, being confirmed by the King's aſſeveration in the preſence of all his principal men; and this whole country is ſo prolific, it is not very ſurpriſing that it is ſo populous, or annually ſells ſo many ſlaves.

Having detained you long enough on the head of the marriages of the Fidaſians, let us now take a view of their dealing with, or keeping the goods of others. To this purpoſe is what the King ſaid to me the firſt time I came to Fida; His Majeſty's advice and character of his ſubjects ran thus: — "That his ſubjects were not like thoſe of Ardra and other neighbouring countries; which upon the leaſt umbrage received from the Europeans would poiſon them. This is," continues he, "what you have no reaſon to fear here; but I adviſe you to take particular care of your goods, for my people ſeem to be born expert thieves, and will rob you of no more than they can come at."

I was entirely ſatisfied with this frank declaration of the King's, reſolving to be ſo careful that their pilfering nature ſhould not much redound to my damage; but I reckoned without my hoſt, for I afterwards found that they were the greateſt and moſt cunning thieves in the world.

Except three or four of the moſt conſiderable men, all this nation, high and low, rich and poor, are tainted with this vice. In ſhort, not to exclude any body in the whole country, as I have before hinted, they are ſuch expert thieves, that they obliged a French merchant to ſay of them, that they underſtood the art of thievery better than the cut-purſes and pick-pockets of Paris. Would you know what extorted this character of that nation from him; it was, that being ready to depart, he had packed up all his goods in his pack-houſe, to which he had alſo added a great number of chickens, deſigned for his voyage, reſolving to ſhip off all the next day; but he was excuſed that trouble, for when he came to his warehouſe next morning, he found neither goods nor fowl, though the warehouſe was firm and cloſe, and well locked, ſo that he could not

imagine which way the thievery had been acted; though I afterwards diſcovered the trick at my coſt.

The Negroes of the Gold Coaſt are very thieviſh, but are not to be compared with theſe. I never ſaw a ſhip here of what nation ſoever, that they have not robbed of goods to a conſiderable value; for, as I have already told you, it being three miles from the King's village to the ſhore, all which way we are neceſſitated to make uſe of theſe villains to carry our goods, they are hereby furniſhed with the beſt opportunity in the world to play their part; of which there is no hindering them: though inſtead of Argus you had a watchman with a thouſand eyes, they would yet deceive him; and if we happen to catch them and reprehend them for it, they have aſſurance enough to aſk us, whether we can imagine that they would work ſo hard as they do, for ſuch ſmall wages, without the liberty of ſtealing.

In my time the Engliſh ſewed up their ſmall barrels of Boeſies (the money of this country) in ſacks, thinking thereby to have ſecured them from the pilfering fingers of the Negroes; but they were miſtaken; for as they were carrying them, on the way, they cut the ſacks of the barrels, and dug out their Boeſies at the chinks of the barrel with an iron chiſſel. They are acquainted with an hundred ſeveral ways of ſtealing, which would be too long to recite here. I ſhall only add that no perſon can provide againſt them; and if we complain to the King, we cannot expect any juſtice, much leſs retribution. For though the King gives order to have the guilty ſearched after and puniſhed, yet no perſon dare inform, for fear of the King's eldeſt ſon, who commonly ſhares with, and conſequently protects theſe villains.

And if we ſhould preſume to think, that when our goods are in the warehouſes, they are then in a ſafe harbour, we ſhould find ourſelves groſsly miſtaken: at firſt I was of that opinion, but having had ſtolen from me, in one night's time, above the value of ſixty pounds ſterling in goods, I changed my opinion, believing that the only way to be free from their thievery, was to leave them and their country. I then found the locks of my warehouſe entire, and had very ſafely kept the key; ſo that at firſt I could not imagine which way the thievery was committed, but afterwards I diſcovered the villany: I obſerved that in the garret, which was thatched with reed and clay or mud, to prevent firing, they had made a hole, and aſſiſted by a pole with a hook at the end of it, had drawn out my goods.

But they had made ſuch a large hole in the Frenchman's warehouſe, that a man might paſs through it. In ſhort, go how it will, they are ſure to ſteal ſomething; but having ſaid enough on this ſubject, it is time to think of ſomething elſe; and before we ſpeak of their government and religion, we ſhall give ſome ſhort hints on other ſubjects.

The Negroes here are more richly cloathed than thoſe of the Gold Coaſt, except in gold and ſilver, which they have not here, nor are they acquainted with its worth. They wear five or ſix cloaths, all of different ſorts, one above the other, the uppermoſt of which is eight or nine yards long, which they wrap very decently about their body. None are permitted to wear red except thoſe of the royal family only.

The women alſo wear a multitude of cloaths or panes, heaped one over another, each of which is not above a yard and half a quarter long, or a yard and a half long, of which they buckle their two ends on their bellies. Theſe cloaths very cloſely cover the poſteriors, but ſit very looſe before, inſomuch that if the wind blows a little freſh, what modeſty obliges to cover is frequently expoſed.

The Negroes tell us that this faſhion was the women's invention, and grounded on a convenience which they found in it, as doubtleſs every mode is ſome way or other uſeful.

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It is odd enough to obſerve that all men, women and children go with their heads cloſely ſhorn by a razor, and that without any covering in rain, wind, the ſcorching ſun, or be the weather how it will: and if it is certainly true that going with the head naked renders it very hard, I dare aver that the Negroes muſt be very hard-headed, ſince they are always bare in that part; and hence it is, as well as from their beards being cloſely ſhorn, that the old men ſeem younger than they really are.

If the Negroes on the Gold Coaſt, when ſeized by ſickneſs, are very diligent in the uſe of medicines, and numerous offerings for the recovery of their health; the Negroes here exceed them, eſpecially in the laſt, which is the employment of ſeveral whole days.

The medicinal remedies are the ſame with thoſe on the Gold Coaſt, but the offerings are very different: here each perſon reſerves a place under the open air, which is ſet apart for that purpoſe, and hedged about with reeds and other traſh. In this conſecrated place they continually ſacrifice in order to obtain health and proſperity.

They are ſo very fearful of death, that they very unwillingly hear it mentioned, for fear that alone ſhould haſten their end. No Negro in the whole country dare preſume to ſpeak of death in preſence of the King or any great man, on penalty of undergoing it as a puniſhment himſelf,

The firſt voyage I made hither, being upon my departure, I aſked the King (who owed me about one hundred pounds ſterling), who ſhould pay me in caſe of his death at my return; all thoſe preſent were perfectly amazed at this queſtion; but the King, who underſtood a little Portugueſe, taking me right, and finding that I was ignorant of their cuſtoms, ſmilingly anſwered, that I ought not to trouble myſelf about that, for he ſhould not die, but always live. I ſoon perceived that I had been guilty of ſome ſoleciſm in their manners, wherefore I took my leave and retired to my apartment; but withal aſking the captains which followed me the reaſon of their aſtoniſhment. They replied, that no perſon, on pain of death, dared preſume to ſpeak of death itſelf ſo publicly in the King's preſence, much leſs talk of his own dying. I was then ſilent; but in my ſecond and third voyage, growing more familiar with the King, and his beforementioned great men, I have frequently ridiculed their vain fear of death; and accuſtomed them to it, ſo that in time they began to laugh at it themſelves, eſpecially the King (who is a very jolly fellow) when I frighted any of his captains with death; but no Negro will venture to open his lips on that ſubject.

The Negroes live in a manner by gueſs, making no manner of diſtinction of times. They have no feſtivals, nor diviſions of hours, days, weeks, months or years, but reckon their ſowing time by moon-ſhines, and very well know that every three days there is a great market.

They are ſo accurately quick in their merchandize accompts, that they eaſily reckon as juſtly and as quick in their heads alone, as we with the aſſiſtance of pen and ink, though the ſum amounts to ſeveral thouſands; which makes it very eaſy to trade with them, and not half ſo troubleſome as to deal with other and much duller Negroes.

I beg you would not be ſurpriſed that I jumble my matter confuſedly together, for not allowing myſelf time to digeſt it; ſo I deſire you would pleaſe to take it in good part, let it fall how it will: but if you deſire what I write to be thrown into an accurate method, after you have received it, you have it in your own hands and power. But for the preſent, I can give you no further conſolation, than that the glaſs is almoſt run out, and this letter is very near its concluſion.

Menſtruous women are eſteemed ſo unclean, that they are not permitted entrance into the King's, or other great men's houſes, on leſs penalty than death, or perpetual ſlavery.

The circumcision of infants, especially the males, is here customary; but if they be asked whence this custom was deduced, they readily answer, that it was traditionally handed to them by their ancestors, and they at present neither know the reason nor signification.

I have just hinted that the male-infants were circumcised, in which you will perhaps think I am in the right, since the custom is scarcely practicable in the other sex: but I can assure you, sir, that some girls are here liable as well as the boys. You, as a physician, need make no farther question on that head; and I refer the ignorant to what Mr. Arnold van Overbeck saith concerning the Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope.

The Negroes differ very much from each other in the circumcision of children; some do it at four, five, or six, and others at eight or ten years of age.

Their musical instruments are much better than those on the Gold Coast, and they are also much modester in the use of them, for in the time of mourning they never teaze you with the noise of them.

They are very great gamesters, and willingly stake all they are masters of in the world at play; and when money and goods are wanting, like the Chinese, they stake first wife and children, and then land and body.

Not to detain you any longer, I shall pass by their musical as well as gaming instruments, and conclude this from him, who, at all times, and in all places, is, sir, yours, &c.

LETTER XIX. — *Which briefly treats concerning the Government of Fida; capital Crimes very rare here; Punishment of Murder, and of violating one of the King's Wives; other Crimes charged with pecuniary Mulcts only. — The Oath of Purgation, in what Manner administered. — The Age of the King, his Temper, his Chamber of Audience, domestic Office, Revenue, and Receivers thereof; what Portion accrues to the King by the Sale of a Slave; his Revenue which arises from Fish, and his Customs, how much on each Ship; concerning the Captains; the Riches of this Prince; at what Charges he is obliged to live, and his great Expences; no Person permitted to see the King eat, or know where he lodgeth, except his Wives; his Presents to the Europeans; he is adored as a Demi-god; his Cloaths, and Children, and the Nature of the latter; how he came to the Throne; a barbarous Custom on occasion of the Death of their Kings; the King's Commands executed by his Wives, whence a pleasant Adventure is related. — The Religion and Superstition of the Fidasians; their Multitude of Idols, of which a Negro gave a very diverting Explication; their Notion of the true God; their principal Deities; first of the Snake, to which great Offerings are made, chiefly by the King; the House of their chiefest God, where situate, of what Largeness, and how found out; Offerings formerly sent by the King to the Snake-house, but at present abolished, and why; a large Account of the King's Revenue on account of the Snake's Worship, which Cheat, though known to be such by the Negroes, yet for certain Reasons they dare not oppose it; he who injures the Snake condemned to the Flames; the tragical Fate of some English on that account; another which befel a Gold Coast Negro; Multitudes of Snakes in the Dwelling-places of the Europeans; the Author paid for the imaginary boarding of a Snake; these idolatrous Snakes do not injure Mankind; the Negroes cannot bear any Discourse against the Snake; how they behave themselves, if by chance they happen to kill one of them; a pleasant Adventure between a Hog and a Snake, which cost the Lives of some Hundreds of the former; the Trees are the second-*

ſecond-rate Gods of the Natives of Fida; the Sea their third God; on what Occaſions the two laſt are honoured with Oriſons and Sacrifices; Prieſts and Prieſteſſes in great Eſteem; the laſt called God's Children; their great Authority; what the Fidaſians think of diabolical Spirits, and Hell, in which Belief they have been long ſince confirmed; Diſcourſe betwixt a Fidaſian Captain and an Auguſtine Friar.

SIR,

IN my laſt, dated ——, I divided my deſcription of Fida into three parts; of the firſt of which, I therein treated at large; and the ſecond, namely, their government and religion, I ſhall diſpatch in this; but the firſt part of this head affording nothing very particular, I ſhall not detain you long on it.

The government, for ſo far as it relates to the country, or the war, is veſted in the King and his principal great men; but in criminal caſes the King aſſembles his council, compoſed of certain perſons, opens the indictments to them, and requires each perſon to declare his ſentiments, what puniſhment the criminal deſerves. When the verdict pleaſes him, execution is accordingly done in purſuance to it; but if he diſlikes it, he obliges the council to retire, and puniſheth the malefactor according to his royal will and pleaſure.

Here are very few capital crimes, which are only murders and committing adultery with the King's or his great men's wives; but the Negroes, as I have already hinted, being very fearful of death, are the moſt careful people in the world how they incur that penalty. Notwithſtanding which, from time to time, ſeveral venture ſo far as to deſerve that puniſhment, of which I ſhall give you ſome inſtances that happened within theſe five or ſix years.

The two firſt are of two Blacks, both executed for murder in the ſame manner, viz. they were cut open alive, their intrails taken out of their bodies and burned; after which, their corpſe were filled with ſalt, and fixed on a ſtake in the middle of the Market-place, where I ſaw them in my firſt voyage thither.

About four years paſt a Negro, who had been tardy with one of the King's wives, being caught, was, together with the female accomplice of his crime, brought to the place of execution in the open field, where he was ſet as a mark for ſeveral great men, by way of diverſion, to ſhow their ſkill in darting the Aſſagays at him, by which this poor wretch was miſerably tormented. After this, in the preſence of the offending lady, he was bereft of his moſt criminal member, and after being obliged to throw it into the fire himſelf, they were both put into a deep pit, being firſt bound hand and foot; then their executioners ſet a pot of boiling water upon the fire, out of which they by degrees laved ſome on the poor criminals till it was half out, upon which they poured the remainder on them all at once, and filling the pit with earth, buried them alive.

Two years after this, a young man was taken, that had ſhut himſelf up in the King's dwelling-place in women's habit, and enjoyed ſeveral of the King's wives; but at laſt fearing a diſcovery, they reſolved to take their flight; and not contented with having cuckolded the King, they deſigned to make up a good pack of the King's goods, which might ſubſiſt them in another country; but they were catched, attempting the latter part of their enterpriſe, though not all, but only the Negro and one woman; and no torture inflicted on the former, was ſufficient to extort from him a diſcovery of any more, ſo ſentence paſſed to burn him with the woman.

The Negro ſeeing the King's wives ſo very forward to bring wood to burn him, could not forbear laughing, thereby hinting that they were at preſent very diligent to furniſh

furniſh fuel for the execution of him with whom they had paſſed many a night very agreeably; this he not only expreſſed by his laughter, but publicly ſaid; but would not accuſe any of the guilty, for which reaſon theſe two only were puniſhed, who accompanied one another in life and death.

From what I have ſaid you may obſerve, that the King knows very well how to find out thoſe who injure him; but in the affair of doing juſtice to others he is ſomewhat deaf.

The remaining crimes of the Negroes are moſtly compounded by a pecuniary mulct: which the King, without calling his captains to his aſſiſtance, takes himſelf, except one of his favourites, named Captain Carter, who is juſtly called the King's ſoul; ſince without him he will not do any thing, though even of the leaſt importance. This perſon, in my time, was, as we here call him, Captain Blank, or the captain to whom the European affairs were all entruſted.

If any perſon here is accuſed of any crime, and denies the fact, he is obliged to clear himſelf by Fetiches, as on the Gold Coaſt; or otherwiſe (which is here very common), he is brought to a river, not far from the King's court; to which is aſcribed the ſtrange quality of immediately drowning all the guilty perſons which are thrown into it (contrary to the European manner of trying witches); but the innocent come clear out of it without any damage; ſuppoſing withal that they ſave themſelves by ſwimming: in which art all of them being very expert, I never heard that this river ever yet convicted any perſon; for they all come well out, paying a certain ſum to the King; for which end alone I believe this trial is deſigned.

The viceroys in their governments generally follow the ſame rule, and condemn the malefactors to pay a certain ſum for their uſe.

Having little more to ſay concerning their government, I ſhall now apply myſelf to the King's houſehold and ſtate.

The preſent King is aged ſome years above fifty, but as vigorous and ſprightly as a man of five and thirty: he is the moſt civil and generous Negro that I have obſerved among the black kind, and is never better pleaſed than when we deſire a favour of him. It would be very eaſy to obtain whatever we aſked of him, if a parcel of raſcally flatterers did not continually buzz leſſons of good huſbandry in his ears, not really out of kindneſs to him, but only in order to draw to themſelves what by their frugal advice they prevent his beſtowing on others: and I have obſerved that he daily more and more hearkens to theſe ſort of people; for inſtead of being kind to us, he is now ſo obſtinate and humourſome in his trading with us, that we ſcarcely know how to deal with him: for at firſt he left it to us what to offer, now, on the contrary, he will have every thing his own way; he will have the choiceſt and vendible part of our merchandizes in exchange for his ſlaves, which falls very heavy on the merchant; for beſides that, he is obliged to give him one-third, fourth, or fifth, at leaſt extraordinary for every ſlave; the beſt goods being diſpoſed of, the remainder are not to be put off but to diſadvantage: whereas if the King would be a little reaſonable, as he was the firſt and ſecond time I was there, we could eaſily diſpoſe of the whole cargo.

This King's train is ſo very mean, that it is ſcarcely worth mentioning, he being attended by none but his wives only. Once, or at moſt, twice every year, he goes abroad, when he appears in a ſort of ſplendid retinue, more eſpecially accompanied with his wives, who amount to above one thouſand; each of which is dreſſed in the richeſt and moſt ſplendid manner. At this time all his moſt beautiful wives, who are always cloſely enough ſhut up, may be ſeen; and with them a rich treaſure of coral, which is worth even more than gold. In this progreſs he is not accompanied with ſo

much as one man; but he before-hand advertizes all his great men where he intends to divert himſelf, whither they go to wait for him, ſtill taking care they keep far enough off his wives, as being allowed no greater favour than to ſee them as they paſs by.

The remaining part of the year the King remains in his houſe, indulging himſelf in no other diverſions than what his wives afford him, except when he goes to the place of audience, in order to be informed by his captains if any thing hath happened, or to impart his commands to them. Which being done, he goes to the place of audience appointed for the Europeans, to diſcourſe with them concerning commerce. Where, when he and I had no other buſineſs, I have ſpent many days in one ſort of game or other (to all which, according to the genius of that nation, he is ſtrangely addicted), we playing for an ox, hog, ſheep, &c. but never for goods or money; and I had always that advantage of him, that if I won, he immediately ſent home my winnings: but, on the contrary, if I loſt, he did not deſire to receive my loſings. In this place of audience, there are two foot-benches, one broad covered with a cloth, and provided with an oval ſtool, according to the cuſtom of the country, this is for the King; and the other covered with mats for the Europeans to ſit next the King and converſe with him, always bare-headed; not that they are ordered to do ſo, but becauſe they always find that he is pleaſed therewith. Whenever we enter this place of audience, we are deſired to lay by our ſwords, becauſe the King doth not like that any ſhould appear armed before him. It is diverting enough to ſpend a whole day with the King here; for beſides that he is very good company, he is continually entertaining you with the beſt that he has to eat and drink.

No perſon is ſuffered to drink out of the ſame glaſs or cup with the King, but he hath always one kept particularly for himſelf; and that which hath but once touched another's lips he never uſes more, though it be made of metal that may be cleanſed by fire.

When any of the Europeans eat in his preſence (which he is very fond of), the table is indifferently regularly furniſhed and ſerved. All his great men or nobles lie proſtrate on the earth around, as long as he is preſent, without daring to riſe: and what the Europeans leave at their table is beſtowed upon them, which they very greedily eat, whether they like it or not, and though they have ten times better at home; and were it not to affront the King's diet, would not touch it.

The poſts or offices which this King beſtows, are of three ſorts: firſt, the viceroys, here called Phidalgoes or governadors, which compoſe the firſt ſtate of the kingdom; theſe in the King's abſence, and in their viceroyalties, command as arbitrarily and keep up as great ſtate as the King himſelf.

The ſecond are his chief-captains, here called grand-captains, though moſt of them are withal viceroys over ſome country or other.

The third are the common captains; of which there are a great number; and each of theſe hath a particular character: he to whom the care of the market is entruſted, is captain of the market; by the ſame rule another is captain of the ſlaves, a third of the Tronks or priſons, another of the ſhore. In ſhort, for every affair that can be thought of, the King hath appointed a captain overſeer. Beſides which there are a great number of honorary captains without any offices; for each of all which poſts in proportion every perſon is obliged to pay the King a good ſum of money, though he hath always the honour of beſtowing it only out of his eſpecial favour.

This King's revenue, in proportion to his country, is very large; of which, I believe, he hath above one thouſand collectors, who diſperſe themſelves throughout the whole

whole land, in all market-roads and paſſages, in order to gather the King's toll, which amounts to an incredible ſum; for there is nothing ſo mean ſold in the whole kingdom, that the King hath not toll for it: which, indeed, if all honeſtly paid to him, would make him very rich; but the gentlemen-collectors ſo largely fleece it, that the King ſcarcely receives one-fourth part of the whole.

There are three principal collectors appointed over the ſlave-trade; each of which is to receive a rix-dollar for the King's toll, for every ſlave that is traded for: but theſe gentlemen, like the reſt, agree under-hand with thoſe who ſell the ſlaves; ſo that the King receives nothing of it: but with reſpect to the ſlaves which are ſold for Boeſies (the money of this county), ſomewhat better care is taken, for the ſum contracted for is paid in the King's preſence; out of which he receives three rix-dollars for every ſlave: notwithſtanding which care, though he is the leaſt cheated, yet ſome of his ſubjects are ſo ſly as to fetch their money for their ſlaves by night, or at unſeaſonable times, and conſequently cheat him; and on account that we have continual occaſion to make uſe of them, we cannot deny them their money whenever they demand it.

The exact half of all the fines and tolls in his viceroyalties accrues to him; but I believe he would be very well ſatisfied if he could but get one-fourth.

There are two very large rivers at Fida: one of which runs by the two Popos, the other by Jackin: they are ſo plentifully ſtored with fiſh, that the King's toll out of each of them is worth one hundred ſlaves, which yet is not above half what the collectors receive.

To the foregoing revenues of the King may be added that from each ſhip which comes here to trade, reckoning one with another, either by toll, his own trade or cuſtom, which comes to about four hundred pounds ſterling; and ſometimes fifty ſhips come hither in a year, though at other times not above half ſo many: in ſhort, if the King were not cheated, he would have a vaſt income, and be a potent prince, conſidered as one of this country Kings; but compared with the oriental or other Kings, he makes indeed but a wretched figure: but it goes here as all the world over, each officer ſteals no more than he can, and the offices ſeem only to turn to the advantage of the poſſeſſors, without the givers being much the better for them.

But how great ſoever the King's revenue may be, he hath occaſion enough for it; for beſides the large ſums which he daily furniſhes for the deſtruction of Popo, and to ſubject Offra, beſides theſe, I ſay, and the neceſſary expences of his houſehold, together with the rich offerings he is obliged to make to his idol-gods, he is daily obliged to keep four thouſand men, and to provide them with meat and drink; and though he doth not eſteem his ſubjects more than his ſlaves, yet when he employs them he is obliged to pay them dear enough.

His principal great men eat with him daily, or at leaſt in his preſence, for no man is permitted to ſee him eat, nor any woman beſides his wives; which ſeems to me formerly deſigned to create an imagination in the ſubjects, that their Kings were ſomewhat more than men, and were to be reſpected and adored as gods; and that they did not, like other men, want the common ſupplies of eating and drinking, though the King doth the laſt before every-body.

For the former reaſon, and one more which I ſhall mention, no perſon is permitted to know the King's lodging-place. I once very innocently aſked his greateſt minion, Carter, where the King lay at night; but he anſwered this queſtion with another, which was, "Where doth God lodge? Juſt as much is it poſſible for us to know the King's bed-chamber."

This, I am apt to think, is done to preſerve a deep reſpect amongſt the people; and that upon a ſudden onſet of the enemies, they ſhould not immediately find the King, but that he may get time enough to ſave himſelf by flight.

Beſides the above-mentioned expences, the King's charge is very much augmented by his continual preſents to the Europeans; which, if he likes them and they receive them thankfully, are conſiderable.

Their tables are daily furniſhed by him with ſheep, hogs, fowl, beef, or what elſe can be gotten, together with bread, fruit, beer, and what thereto appertains, and all this in larger quantities than their people really want.

The Hollanders were in my time extraordinarily well treated here, for the King provided them better than all other nations, and frequently ſent them a double portion; but ſince the captains of ſhips have managed the trade here, I am informed our nation is treated by the King with very ſmall diſtinction; for which theſe maſters of ſhips are ſolely to blame; for they, being utterly ignorant of the manners of the people, do not know how to treat them with that decency which they require; and the natives here being very judicious, have doubtleſs leſſened their former eſteem for them: upon which ground I dare prophetically aver, that they will certainly ruin the ſlave-trade here, and ſo manage it that every body ſhall be obliged to pay dearer for ſlaves than uſually. But having touched on this ſubject in the ſeventh letter, I ſhall quit it at preſent; as alſo that I may not anger the ſailors, who fancy they underſtand the ſlave-trade as well as we ourſelves; but ſince I have ſo often mentioned that commerce, I ſhall deſcribe how it is managed by our factors here.

The firſt buſineſs of one of our factors when he comes to Fida, is to ſatisfy the cuſtoms of the King and the great men, which amount to about one hundred pounds in Guinea value, as the goods muſt yield there. After which we have free licence to trade, which is publiſhed throughout the whole land by the crier.

But yet before we can deal with any perſon, we are obliged to buy the King's whole ſtock of ſlaves at a ſet price; which is commonly one-third or one-fourth higher than ordinary: after which we obtain free leave to deal with all his ſubjects of what rank ſoever. But if there happen to be no ſtock of ſlaves, the factor muſt then reſolve to run the riſk of truſting the inhabitants with goods to the value of one or two hundred ſlaves; which commodities they ſend into the in-land country, in order to buy with them ſlaves at all markets, and that ſometimes two hundred miles deep in the country: for you ought to be informed that markets of men are here kept in the ſame manner as thoſe of beaſts with us.

Not a few in our country fondly imagine that parents here ſell their children, men their wives, and one brother the other: but thoſe who think ſo deceive themſelves; for this never happens on any other account than that of neceſſity, or ſome great crime: but moſt of the ſlaves that are offered to us are priſoners of war, which are ſold by the victors as their booty.

When theſe ſlaves come to Fida, they are put in priſon all together, and when we treat concerning buying them, they are all brought out together in a large plain; where, by our chirurgeons, whoſe province it is, they are thoroughly examined, even to the ſmalleſt member, and that naked too, both men and women, without the leaſt diſtinction or modeſty. Thoſe which are approved as good are ſet on one ſide; and the lame or faulty are ſet by as invalids, which are here called Mackrons. Theſe are ſuch as are above five and thirty years old, or are maimed in the arms, legs, hands, or feet, have loſt a tooth, are grey-haired, or have films over their eyes; as well as

all thoſe which are affected with any venereal diſtemper, or with ſeveral other diſeaſes.

The invalids and the maimed being thrown out, as I have told you, the remainder are numbered, and it is entered who delivered them. In the mean-while a burning iron, with the arms or name of the Companies, lies in the fire; with which ours are marked on the breaſt. This is done that we may diſtinguiſh them from the ſlaves of the Engliſh, French, or others, (which are alſo marked with their mark) and to prevent the Negroes exchanging them for worſe; at which they have a good hand.

I doubt not but this trade ſeems very barbarous to you, but ſince it is followed by mere neceſſity, it muſt go on; but we yet take all poſſible care that they are not burned too hard, eſpecially the women, who are more tender than the men.

We are ſeldom long detained in the buying of theſe ſlaves, becauſe their price is eſtabliſhed, the women being one-fourth or fifth part cheaper than the men. The diſputes which we generally have with the owners of theſe ſlaves are, that we will not give them ſuch goods as they aſk for them, eſpecially the Boeſies (as I have told you, the money of this country), of which they are very fond, though we generally make a diviſion on this head in order to make one ſort of goods help off another, becauſe thoſe ſlaves which are paid for in Boeſies coſt the Company one half more than thoſe bought with other goods. The price of a ſlave is commonly ——

When we have agreed with the owners of the ſlaves, they are returned to their priſon; where, from that time forwards, they are kept at our charge, coſting us two-pence a-day a ſlave, which ſerves to ſubſiſt them, like our criminals, on bread and water: ſo that to ſave charges, we ſend them on board our ſhips with the very firſt opportunity; before which their maſters ſtrip them of all they have on their backs, ſo that they come aboard ſtark-naked as well women as men: in which condition they are obliged to continue, if the maſter of the ſhip is not ſo charitable (which he commonly is) as to beſtow ſomething on them to cover their nakedneſs.

You would really wonder to ſee how theſe ſlaves live on board; for though their number ſometimes amounts to ſix or ſeven hundred, yet, by the careful management of our maſters of ſhips, they are ſo regulated that it ſeems incredible: and in this particular our nation exceeds all other Europeans; for as the French, Portugueſe, and Engliſh ſlave-ſhips are always foul and ſtinking, on the contrary ours are for the moſt part clean and neat.

The ſlaves are fed three times a day with indifferently good victuals, and much better than they eat in their own country. Their lodging-place is divided into two parts; one of which is appointed for the men, the other for the women; each ſex being kept a-part: here they lie as cloſe together as is poſſible for them to be crowded.

We are ſometimes ſufficiently plagued with a parcel of ſlaves, which come from a far in-land country, who very innocently perſuade one another, that we buy them only to fatten and afterwards eat them as a delicacy.

When we are ſo unhappy as to be peſtered with many of this ſort, they reſolve and agree together (and bring over the reſt to their party) to run away from the ſhip, kill the Europeans, and ſet the veſſel a-ſhore; by which means they deſign to free themſelves from being our food. I have twice met with this misfortune; and the firſt time proved very unlucky to me, I not in the leaſt ſuſpecting it; but the uproar was timely quaſhed by the maſter of the ſhip and myſelf, by cauſing the abettor to be ſhot through the head, after which all was quiet. But the ſecond time it fell heavier on another ſhip, and that chiefly by the careleſſneſs of the maſter, who, having fiſhed up the anchor of a departed Engliſh ſhip, had laid it in the hold where the male ſlaves were lodged;

lodged; who, unknown to any of the ſhip's crew, poſſeſſed themſelves of a hammer; with which, in a ſhort time, they broke all their fetters in pieces upon the anchor: after this they came above-deck and fell upon our men; ſome of whom they grievouſly wounded, and would certainly have maſtered the ſhip, if a French and Engliſh ſhip had not very fortunately happened to lie by us; who, perceiving by our firing a diſtreſs-gun, that ſomething was in diſorder on board, immediately came to our aſſiſtance with chalops and men, and drove the ſlaves under deck: notwithſtanding which, before all was appeaſed, about twenty of them were killed. The Portugueſe have been more unlucky in this particular than we; for in four years time they loſt four ſhips in this manner.

Thus believing I have ſufficiently digreſſed concerning the ſlave-trade, I muſt return to my ſubject, which was the King of Fida. Who, I am obliged to tell you, is feared and reverenced by his ſubjects as a demi-god. None of his ſubjects, of what degree ſoever, as you have been already told, appears in his preſence otherwiſe than kneeling or proſtrate on his belly: when they go to ſalute him in the morning, they proſtrate themſelves before the door of his houſe, kiſs the earth three times ſucceſſively, and, clapping their hands, whiſper ſome words tending to the adoration of the King. This done, they crawl in on all four, where they repeat the ſame reverence. His preſence is ſo awful to them, that with a ſingle word he makes them to tremble; but as ſoon as his back is turned, they immediately forget their fear, not much regarding his commands, and always knowing how to appeaſe and delude him with a lie or two.

The King is very magnificently cloathed in ſilk, or gold and ſilver ſtuffs; but he is more eſpecially dreſſed better than ordinary when he goes to viſit any of the Europeans; which he can eaſily do unſeen of any, all their dwellings being built round his court, if it may be ſo called.

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 adorned on each ſide with a covered gallery. But the lodgings of the reſt of the Europeans are very mean and inconvenient.

The King's children, beſides the ſmall ones yet kept within doors, are four, viz. three ſons and one daughter; all which are very handſome, eſpecially the eldeſt, who is the moſt beautiful Negro I ever yet ſaw in my life, but it is pity ſo agreeable a body ſhould be inhabited by ſuch a villanous ſoul. Purſuant to his birth-right he is heir-apparent to the crown, but he is of ſuch a fraudulent and perverſe nature, that it is to be hoped he will not ſucceed; but if he doth, the land will ſuffer very much. He hath his emiſſaries in all quarters, to ſteal from the Europeans as well as Blacks; and what is yet more, he doth not excuſe even the King his father. He is exactly of the ſame nature with the owls, which take their flight only by night; for he never goes out of his houſe till the evening, when I have ſeveral times had the honour to be viſited by him. One reaſon why he doth not go abroad in the day-time, is owing to his haughty temper, which will not allow him to ſhew himſelf to the commonalty; and the other is ſeveral times to avoid the neceſſity of appearing in his father's preſence.

The King's ſecond ſon is very like his father, to whom he is not inferior in all manner of civility, wherefore the great men make their court to him; and for this reaſon I doubt not, but after the King's deceaſe, this realm will be engaged in a civil war, for the greateſt number will endeavour to place the youngeſt ſon on the throne; which the eldeſt, aſſiſted with foreign and domeſtic force, will as vigorouſly oppoſe. And if, at that time, the Europeans happen to be able, they will act very prudently in eſpouſing the party of the youngeſt brother, as they did in the caſe of the preſent

King, who, though the younger brother, yet by reaſon of his natural goodneſs, was fixed by force on the throne by the Dutch, French, and Portugueſe, his elder brother being, by their means, driven out and baniſhed the country, which is the principal reaſon that he at preſent is ſo ſenſibly inclined to favour the Europeans.

I cannot here omit the pernicious cuſtom of this nation on occaſion of the King's death, which is no ſooner publicly known than every perſon falls a ſtealing, to as great a value of his neighbour's goods as he can poſſibly come at, and that openly in the face of the whole world, without being liable to any puniſhment, as though the death of the King put an end to all manner of reaſon and juſtice. This robbery is continued till a new King is confirmed in the throne, who, by public proclamation, forbids it, and he is immediately therein ſtrictly obeyed. And if the chief commanders cannot agree in the eſtabliſhment of a new King, they, notwithſtanding, to prevent the continuance of this diſorder, tell the people that they have choſen a new King, and in his name publiſh the before-mentioned proclamation.

The chooſing or confirming of a new King ſeldom continues long in diſpute; for the eldeſt ſon no ſooner hears of the King's death, than he immediately makes his intereſt amongſt his friends, to take poſſeſſion of the late King's court and wives; and ſucceeding happily in theſe particulars, he need not doubt the remainder, for the commonalty will not eaſily conſent that after that he ſhall be driven from the throne: this ſeems ſomewhat like Abſalom's deſign on his father David. To accompliſh this deſign, the younger brother's party are always careful enough that he is near at hand, in order to take poſſeſſion of the court.

You cannot but remember that I have informed you of the multiplicity of the King's wives, who are ſometimes made uſe of by him as executioners of the ſentences he pronounces againſt offenders; which is only done by ſending three or four hundred of them to the habitation of the malefactor, to ſtrip his houſe, and lay it level with the ground; for all perſons being forbidden, on pain of death, to touch the King's wives, they are enabled to execute his commands without the leaſt interruption.

Juſt before my arrival at Fida, there happened ſomewhat ſo pleaſant, that I cannot help imparting it to you: a Negro of my acquaintance, and who in proceſs of time did me very conſiderable ſervices, being before-hand advertiſed that he was accuſed of a certain crime to the King, and that orders were iſſued out accordingly to plunder and demoliſh his houſe; his time being too ſhort to clear himſelf to the King, and being innocent, he reſolved, inſtead of flying from his houſe, according to cuſtom, to remain at home and expect the King's wives, who ſoon after came, and, contrary to their expectation, found him at home; upon which they commanded him immediately to retire, and not interrupt the execution of their orders; but inſtead of obeying them, he had placed a heap of two thouſand weight of gun-powder juſt by him, with which he, with terrible imprecations, threatened to fire and blow up himſelf, with them, in the air, if they came nearer him. They were ſo far from liking this, that, diſmally affrighted at his threats, they made the beſt of their way back to the King, to acquaint him with their ill-ſucceſs; but they were not ſo expeditious but that the Negro was too quick for them, and ſo handſomely acquitted himſelf to the King, and brought ſuch clear proofs of his innocence, that his ſovereign declared him innocent; and thus, by a dextrous management and preſence of mind, he freed himſelf from imminent danger.

But enough on this ſubject, which I might eaſily have paſſed over in ſilence: it is now time to come to my promiſed ſubject, the religion of the Fidaſians.

I have already informed you, that the greateſt crimes committed at Fida are generally compenſated by money; and what followeth, will convince you that their religion ſeems only founded on the ſame principle, intereſt.

Their religion is ſuperſtitious, to a greater degree than any I ever yet heard of in the world; for allowing the ancient heathens to value themſelves on thirty thouſand deities, I dare yet aver, that thoſe of Fida may juſtly lay claim to four times that number.

I once aſked a Negro, with whom I could talk very freely, and whom I had alſo a good opinion of (being the ſame who had the adventure with the King's wives already related), I aſked him, I ſay, how they celebrated their divine worſhip, and what number of gods they had; he, laughing, anſwered, that I had puzzled him; and aſſured me that nobody in the whole country could give me an exact account of it; "For, as for my own part," continued he, "I have a very large number of gods, and doubt not but others have as many." And I telling him that only three gods were owned to me by the inhabitants, and deſiring him withal to give me ſome account of the reſt, he obliged me with the following anſwer, that the number of their gods was endleſs and innumerable: "For," ſaid he, "any of us being reſolved to undertake any thing of importance, we firſt of all ſearch out a god to proſper our deſigned undertaking; and going out of doors with this deſign, take the firſt creature that preſents itſelf to our eyes, whether dog, cat, or the moſt contemptible animal in the world, for our god: or perhaps, inſtead of that, any inanimate that falls in our way, whether a ſtone, a piece of wood, or any thing elſe of the ſame nature. This new-choſen god is immediately preſented with an offering, which is accompanied with a ſolemn vow, that if he pleaſeth to proſper our undertakings, for the future we will always worſhip and eſteem him as a god. If our deſign prove ſucceſsful, we have diſcovered a new and aſſiſting god, which is daily preſented with freſh offerings; but if the contrary happen, the new god is rejected as an uſeleſs tool, and conſequently returns to his primitive eſtate." He went on in theſe following words, "We make and break our gods daily, and conſequently are the maſters and inventers of what we ſacrifice to."

This divine ſervice is not new in the world, nor were the firſt men ſtrangers to it. But how theſe notions reached Fida, is what I dare not preſume to determine. So far the Negro.

I was very well pleaſed to hear this Negro talk in this manner concerning his country gods; but having converſed with him for ſome time, I obſerved that he ridiculed his own country gods, for having in his youth lived amongſt the French, whoſe language he perfectly underſtood and ſpoke, he had amongſt them imbibed the principles of the Chriſtian religion, and ſomewhat towards a juſt notion of the true God, and how he is to be worſhipped; to whom, and not to his country gods, he aſcribed the creation of all things; wherefore he no farther concerned himſelf with the gods of his country, than as engaged to it for quietneſs-ſake, or to make his friends eaſy, to whom he durſt not reveal his opinion, fearing (what would certainly have happened) the falling into ſome dangerous circumſtances; for, as ſtrong as his faith was, it was not arrived to that pitch as to oblige him to ſuffer loſs of goods on that account; ſo that we may juſtly cry out, "O! how weak was his faith!"

It is certain that his countrymen have a faint idea of the true god, and aſcribe to him the attributes of Almighty and Omnipreſent; they believe he created the univerſe, and therefore vaſtly prefer him before their idol-gods; but yet they do not pray to him, or offer any ſacrifices to him; for which they give the following reaſons: God, ſay they, is too high exalted above us, and too great to condeſcend ſo much as to trouble himſelf,

himſelf, or think of mankind; wherefore he commits the government of the world to their idols: to whom, as the ſecond, third, and fourth perſons, diſtant in degree from God, and our appointed lawful governors, we are obliged to apply ourſelves; and in firm belief of this opinion they quietly continue.

Their principal gods, which are owned for ſuch throughout the whole country, are of three ſorts: firſt, a certain ſort of ſnakes, who poſſeſs the chief rank amongſt their gods. How would our countryman, Becker, author of The World Bewitched, divert himſelf with the contrary opinions of the ſons of Adam! For as we take the ſerpent for the fatal deſtroyer of the human-race, ſo theſe of Fida, on the contrary, eſteem him their ſupreme bliſs and general good. But this by way of parentheſis only.

Their ſecond-rate gods are ſome lofty high trees, in the formation of which dame Nature ſeems to have expreſſed her greateſt art.

The third and meaneſt god, or younger brother to the other, is the ſea. Theſe three-mentioned are the public deities, which are worſhipped and prayed to throughout the whole country; and each of theſe, according to their ridiculous perſuaſion, hath its particular province, like the officers of a King or Prince; with this difference only, that the ſea and trees are not permitted to intermeddle with what is entruſted to the ſnake; which, on the contrary, hath an influencing power over both the other, in order to correct them when they prove idle or lazy.

They invoke the ſnake in exceſſively wet, dry, or barren ſeaſons; on all occaſions relating to their government and the preſervation of their cattle; or rather, in one word, in all neceſſities and difficulties, in which they do not apply to their new batch of gods; and for this reaſon very great offerings are made to it, eſpecially from the King, who, on ſeveral occaſions, by inſtigation of the prieſts, and the great men, his creatures and the prieſts' tools, ſend very rich offerings to the ſnake-houſe. But I am of opinion, that theſe roguiſh prieſts ſweep all the mentioned offerings to themſelves, and doubtleſs make themſelves very merry with them.

Theſe offerings are commonly compoſed of money, ſome pieces of ſilk or ſtuff, all ſorts of European and African commodities, all ſorts of cattle, and good eatables and drinks; all which are ſo frequently exacted from the King, that he ſometimes grows tired and refuſeth them. This I had once an opportunity of obſerving; for finding him very much enraged, I made no ſcruple to aſk him, "What had ſo much diſpleaſed him?" He very freely told him, "That that year he had ſent much larger offerings to the ſnake-houſe than uſual, in order to obtain a good crop; and that one of his viceroys (whom he ſhewed me) had deſired him afreſh, in the name of the prieſts, who threatened a barren year, to ſend yet more." To which he anſwered, "That he did not intend to make any farther offerings this year; and if the ſnake would not beſtow a plentiful harveſt on them, he might let it alone; for (ſaid he) I cannot be more damaged thereby, the greateſt part of my corn being already rotten in the field." I, ſmiling, obſerved, that the King would have added another preſent, if he could have hoped for any advantage by it; but to make offerings barely for another's intereſt, he was not very fond of; wherefore the petitioner was obliged to depart, without obtaining his end, which went down but indifferently with him and the prieſts, who had promiſed themſelves another ſort of ſucceſs.

The ſnake-houſe, which I have ſo frequently mentioned, is ſituated about two miles from the King's village, and built under a very beautiful lofty tree; "In which (ſay they) the chief and largeſt of all the ſnakes reſides." He is a ſort of grandfather to all the reſt; is repreſented as thick as a man, and of an unmeaſurable length. He muſt alſo be very old, for they report that they found him a great number of years

paſt; when, by reaſon of the wickedneſs of the men, he left another country to come to them, at which, being over-joyed, they welcomed their new-come god with all expreſſible ſigns of reverence and high veneration, and carried him upon a ſilken carpet to the ſnake-houſe, where he is at preſent.

This roguiſh ſnake probably had the ſame freaks in his tail, which the old heathen gods were affected with when they ran away from one country to another; wherefore they were ſometimes obliged to bind their god-heads faſt; of which thoſe poor wretches who loſt the ſnake were not aware, otherwiſe they might have ſtopped his journey. But wherefore do I ſpend my time in making reflections, ſince I have more important ſubjects to handle.

The Kings of Fida were formerly accuſtomed to annual pilgrimages to the ſnake-houſe, which was celebrated with great magnificence, and concluded with yet greater preſents: for the King not only made very rich offerings, but alſo beſtowed very large preſents on the great men that accompanied him; ſo that this pilgrimage commonly coſt him ſeveral thouſands. But the preſent King hath broken off this cuſtom, which is accordingly grown in diſuſe for ſeveral years paſt. In his laſt tour which he made to the ſnake-houſe, he was (as I am informed) accompanied by Monſieur Ducas, a French captain, who was ridiculous enough, to the ſcandal of all Europeans, to dreſs himſelf in tigers' ſkins and other ſort of trifles, and lead the King in this equipage to the ſnake-houſe. If this action is true of him, it is worſe than that of Naaman the Syrian, who, hardly converted, aſked leave to ſupport his maſter in the houſe of Rimmon. But this is a digreſſion very wide from our purpoſe.

The King then, as I have told you, doth not make this pilgrimage in perſon, but orders it to be done by ſome of his wives, which does not prove near ſo expenſive; and this I believe is the only reaſon why he leaves it off.

But as the ſnake ſervice proves very expenſive to the King, ſo the revenue which he draws from thence is not inconſiderable. Annually from the time when the Maize or ſmall Milhio is ſowed, till it grows up to man's height, the King and prieſt's plough turns to a very great account to them; for the people here, which do not ſee much farther than their noſes, imagine that during this whole ſeaſon the ſnake or ſnakes make it their buſineſs every evening and night to ſeize all the beautiful young women which pleaſe them, and to make them diſtracted; wherefore their parents or relations are neceſſitated to cauſe theſe girls to be brought to a particular houſe, built for that purpoſe, where they are obliged to ſtay ſeveral months, as it is given out, to cure them of their madneſs; during which time the relations are obliged to furniſh them with all manner of neceſſaries, and that ſo plentifully, that the prieſts can alſo handſomely ſubſiſt on it.

The appointed time of their confinement being over, and being cured of the diſtemper with which they were never afflicted, they obtain leave to come out; before which they muſt pay the charge of their cure and keeping, which is adjuſted in proportion to the circumſtances of their relations; and, one girl with another, amount to about five pounds: and the number of young girls thus impriſoned riſes to ſeveral thouſands, each conſiderable village having a particular houſe appointed for that purpoſe, and ſome which are large being provided with two or three. All the money which this trade raiſeth, is commonly thought and believed to be for the prieſts, in order to be made uſe of in their divine ſervice. And though I doubt not but the prieſts have their ſhare, I am yet certain, that the King is ſo far from ſuffering by it, that he draws conſiderable ſums from this cuſtom.

The

The firſt time that I came to Fida to trade, I was aſſured that as ſoon as a girl was touched by the ſnake, ſhe unavoidably run mad; though it was but a ſort of holy or religious madneſs, ſuch as hath formerly been related of the Bacchantes, or thoſe from whoſe mouths the divine oracles proceeded. Yet I do not like theſe pious funs, for the perſons pretending to be affected with it, break and ſpoil every thing which comes in their way; and inſtead of religious are guilty of all manner of diabolical actions, which they never leave off till they are brought to the before-mentioned place.

At firſt, the people here ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to perſuade me that a ſnake was able to fetch a girl out of the houſe and carry her off, though the ſaid houſe was ſhut up; which I eaſily agreed to, provided the girl was but ſtored with proper inſtruments to open the locks.

I would not reſt till I had examined how this cheat is managed, notwithſtanding which I ſhould never have diſcovered it, if the before-mentioned Negro had not aſſiſted me, and obliged me with the following account of it, viz. That the prieſts diligently obſerve thoſe young maids or women alſo which have never been affected by the ſnake. Theſe they firſt attempt by promiſes, or if they are not ſucceſsful, oblige by threats to perform what they deſire of them; which is, that being in the ſtreet, and ſeeing the coaſt clear of people on all ſides, they ſet on crying and raving with all their ſtrength, as though the ſnake had faſt hold of them, and commanded them to go to the ſnake-houſe. Before any perſon can come to their help, the ſnake is vaniſhed and the girl is mad; which neceſſitates her relations to follow the ſnake's orders.

When theſe females come out of their mad priſon, the prieſt lays his moſt rigid commands on them, not to diſcover how they were ſeized by the ſnake, but to ſtick faſt to the ſtory that the ſnake did it; and in order to clench theſe ſevere prohibitions, and render them the more effectual, thoſe who reveal thoſe ſecrets of the ſacerdotal empire, are threatened to be immediately burned alive. And indeed the prieſts are cruel and potent enough to make good their threats, if they could find any women guilty.

This Negro related a pleaſant adventure concerning this confinement, which happened betwixt him and one of his wives; who, by the inſtigation of the prieſts, one evening feigned herſelf diſtracted, breaking (according to cuſtom) every thing in pieces on which ſhe could lay her hands: but he very well knowing whence this diſtemper proceeded, gently took her by the hand, as though he deſigned to carry her to the ſnake-houſe, but carried her indeed to the place of reſidence of the Brandenburghers, who were then at Fida in order to buy ſlaves, where he offered her to ſale. But when ſhe ſaw that he was in earneſt, immediately freed from her madneſs, ſhe fell upon her knees and aſked his pardon, ſolemnly promiſing at the ſame time never to be guilty of the like crime for the future; upon which he let her go free: and by this means ſhe was delivered from her madneſs, and he freed from the exceſſive charge of her cure. This was a very bold attempt, for if the prieſts had been informed of it, he had been a dead man.

During my reſidence at Fida, the King cauſed his daughter to be ſeized by the ſnake. (The conſequence will juſtify my charging him with it.) He cauſed her to be carried to the ſnake-houſe, and confined for ſome time, though not ſo long as is cuſtomary; but on her account all the other girls went out before their uſual time.

On the day of her delivery, ſhe was brought out in a very ſplendid manner, and carried, with all the other girls which followed her, to the King's court; before which they were placed. She was naked except only a ſilk ſcarf, which was paſſed betwixt her legs, and richly adorned with Conte di Terra and Agrie, two ſorts of coral which I have already frequently mentioned.

Whilſt

Whilſt ſhe was here, ſhe was guilty of all manner of extravagances, during the playing on ſeveral muſical inſtruments; which ſort of madneſs the Negroes told me yet remained on her, more eſpecially by reaſon of her being enlarged before the expiration of her due time.

Whilſt ſhe ſat here, the moſt conſiderable people of the whole country crouded hither, each bringing his preſents, which they made to her; and together amounted to a conſiderable ſum. Theſe gifts laſted three or four days ſucceſſively, becauſe it was impoſſible for moſt of the people to come near her the firſt day; ſo that this young lady was treated in a quite different manner from her companions, who were all obliged to diſburſe money for their delivery, whilſt ſhe on the other ſide was a very conſiderable gainer thereby.

And if there are any Negroes who are very ſenſible that all this is nothing but a pure cheat, yet to curry favour with the King and prieſts, and for their own ſecurity, they pretend ignorance, and ſuffer it to paſs upon them for real truth; which is indeed adviſeable, for thoſe who ſhould oppoſe it, would very much endanger thir lives.

I was eye-witneſs to a dreadful inſtance of this. The laſt time I was at Fida, a Negro born on the Gold Coaſt, who was called Captain Tom, lived at Fida; and by reaſon of his good deportment and obliging nature, was promoted to the dignity of captain and interpreter to the Engliſh. He being a ſtranger to the religion of this country, had a wife of this nation, which fell mad and pretended to be ſeized by the ſerpent; but he, inſtead of ſending her to the ſnake-houſe, clapped her in irons; which ſo enraged this ſhe-devil (different from the other in our former ſtory), that ſhe privately accuſed her huſband to the prieſts; who, not willing to make any public attempts on him, becauſe he was a Gold Coaſt Negro, who differed from them in religion, yet ſecretly poiſoned him in ſuch a manner, that he did not quickly die, but immediately became ſpeechleſs, and loſt the uſe of all his limbs, which was worſe than dying. At my departure I left him in this miſerable condition, ſo that I know not whether he was ever cured or not. From which you may obſerve, that throughout the world, it is very dangerous to diſoblige the eccleſiaſtics.

This may ſuffice concerning the frauds of the prieſts on account of the ſnake-worſhip.

The reverence and reſpect which the Negroes preſerve for the ſnake is ſo great, that if a Black ſhould barely touch one of them with a ſtick, or any otherwiſe hurt him, he is a dead man, and certainly condemned to the flames.

A long time paſt, when the Engliſh firſt began to trade here, there happened a very remarkable and tragical event. An Engliſh captain being landed, ſome of his men and part of his cargo, they found a ſnake in their houſe, which they immediately killed without the leaſt ſcruple, and not doubting but they had done a good work, threw out the dead ſnake at their door; where being found by the Negroes in the morning, the Engliſh, preventing the queſtion who had done the fact, aſcribed the honour to themſelves; which ſo incenſed the natives, that they furiouſly fell on the Engliſh, killed them all, and burned their houſe and goods.

This ſtruck ſuch a terror into that nation, that for a long time they refrained coming hither, and traded at other places; but at laſt coming again, the Negroes were accuſtomed to ſhow all Europeans that came thither ſome ſnakes, deſiring that they would not hurt them, by reaſon they were their gods; and this hath prevented all ſuch accidents ever ſince: ſo that at preſent few Europeans come hither who are not adverti ſed of this ſnake-worſhip. If an European ſhould happen at this time to kill a ſnake, I ſhould very much doubt whether he would eſcape better than the Engliſh, except he could poſſibly fly to the King immediately, and ſatisfy him that it happened by accident,

not deſign; upon which, perhaps, he might atone his god-killing crime by a fine to the prieſts, though I ſhould not be very willing to run ſuch a hazard; for on ſuch occaſions, the rabble, inſtigated by the prieſts, grow very outrageous; ſo that it is ſafeſt carefully to avoid all things of this nature.

In my time, an Aquamboean Negro took a ſnake upon his ſtick, becauſe he durſt not venture to touch him with his hands, and carried it out of the houſe without hurting it in the leaſt; which two or three Negroes ſeeing, ſet up the ſame cry that is uſual on account of fire, by which they can, in a ſmall time, raiſe the whole country, who flock to the place armed with clubs, ſwords, Aſſagayes and other arms, who would have ſoon diſpatched this poor Negro, if the King, acquainted with his innocence, had not timely reſcued him from the impending danger, by ſending ſome of his great men to ſhelter him: ſo this tempeſt blew over without any damage.

By theſe inſtances we are deterred from meddling with the accurſed gods or deviliſh ſerpents, notwithſtanding that we are frequently moleſted by them: ſince in hot ſunſhine weather (as if they were lovers of darkneſs), they viſit us by five or ſix together, creeping upon our chairs, benches, tables, and even our beds, and bearing us company in ſleep; and if they get a good place under our beds, and our ſervants out of lazineſs do not turn up our bedding, they ſometimes continue there ſeven or eight days, where they have alſo caſt their young.

But when we are aware of theſe vermin, and do not deſire to be troubled with them any longer, we need only call any of the natives, who gently carries his god out of doors; but if they happen to be gotten to the joiſt, or any high place of the houſes (which are here but one ſtory), without a ſtrong influence over the Negroes, they are not to be removed from thence; wherefore we are frequently obliged to let them ſtay there till they come out themſelves.

A ſnake once came over my table, on which I daily uſed to eat, where he continued fourteen days, and though whenever I roſe I could eaſily touch him, yet I could not find any perſon that would venture to take him away. But I was very well paid for his ſtaying afterwards; for ſome of the great men of Fida dining at my table one day, we happened to talk concerning the ſnakes, and my eye glancing towards that which was over our heads, I told them, that ſince that ſnake had not eat any thing in fourteen days, he muſt at laſt certainly die with hunger, if he did not ſpeedily remove his quarters. But one of my gueſts anſwered me (and the reſt confirmed what he ſaid), that though I was not aware of it, undoubtedly the ſnake knew how to come at his part out of the diſhes: I ſo well remembered this, that next day, coming to the King, I told him in preſence of the ſame perſons, that one of his gods had made bold, though uninvited, to eat at my table for fourteen days; wherefore it was but reaſonable that I ſhould be paid for his board, otherwiſe I ſhould be obliged to diſcharge this bold intruder my houſe. The King, who was always diverted with ſuch ſort of diſcourſe, told me, that I ſhould let the ſnake alone in his place, for he would take care to provide for me as well as the ſnake; and indeed, not long after I got home, a very fine fat ox was brought me from the King, in order to ſatisfy for what the ſnake had eaten. At the ſame rate, I would willingly have boarded all the gods of the land; and I believe ſhould not have loſt much by the bargain.

But what is beſt of all, is, that theſe idolatrous ſnakes do not do the leaſt miſchief in the world to mankind; for if by chance in the dark one treads upon them, and they bite or ſting him, it is not more prejudicial than the ſting of the millepedes. Wherefore the Negroes would fain perſuade us, that it is good to be bitten or ſtung by theſe ſnakes, upon the plea, that one is thereby ſecured and protected from the ſting of

any poiſonous ſnake: but here I am ſomewhat dubious, and ſhould be loath to venture on the credit of their aſſertions, becauſe I have obſerved, that the gods themſelves are not proof againſt theſe venomous ſerpents, much leſs can they protect us from their bite. We ſometimes obſerve pleaſant battles betwixt the idol and venomous ſnakes which are not wanting here; and perhaps theſe combats ariſe from the venomous ſnakes, finding that the others are ſo reverenced and idolized, which they think the more unreaſonable, becauſe they are armed with poiſon, on occaſion, which the others are utterly void of.

You muſt ſuppoſe theſe ratiocinations and arguments to take place in ancient times, when beaſts talked, of which theſe venomous ſerpents retain only an irreconcileable enmity againſt the other, and accordingly attack them whenever they meet them; but herein they fall ſhort of their deſign, and that with a great deal of reaſon; for it would indeed ſeem very odd, that a god ſhould be obliged to ſtrike to ſuch ill-favoured creatures as they are. But I can aſſure you that is not the reaſon; for the venomous ſerpents being larger, and armed with ſtronger weapons than the other, would, without any reſpect to their godhead, ſoon be too hard for them, if they were not always afflicted by a legion or two of their worſhippers, who puniſh the inſolence of the other, that preſumes to attack their deity, with certain death.

The ſpecies of theſe idol ſerpents here, are ſtreaked with white, yellow, and brown; and the biggeſt which I have ſeen here, is about a fathom long, and the thickneſs of a man's arm.

Theſe gods are very great lovers of rats' fleſh, and I have with pleaſure frequently obſerved their rat-chace; but when they have caught their prey, they have at leaſt an hour's work before they can get him into their bellies; for if you were to ſee them, they are ſo narrow-throated, that you would think it impoſſible for them to get a rat down; but I have obſerved, that whilſt they are engaged on their prey, their throat extends itſelf.

If one of theſe ſnakes happen to be under the tiling of a houſe, and a rat paſſeth by him, he cannot poſſibly catch him, not being able to diſengage himſelf quick enough. This the rats ſeem to know; for I have above one hundred times on an evening ſeen them run by a ſnake thus engaged, and even mock him, whilſt he impatiently hiſſed, and employed all his force to looſen himſelf, in order to come at them, but too late, for by that time they were all gone.

If we are ever tired with the Natives of this country, and would fain be rid of them, we need only ſpeak ill of the ſnake, after which they immediately ſtop their ears and run out of doors. But though this may be taken from an European that they like; yet, if a Negro of another nation ſhould preſume to do it, he would run no ſmall riſque.

In caſe a fire breaks out and one of theſe ſnakes comes to be burnt, each perſon that hears it is ſure to ſtop his ears, and give money; thereby giving to underſtand, that it is one of the moſt diſmal and ſhocking things that he can hear; and this money is to reconcile him to the burnt god, of whom he hath been ſo careleſs. And they farther believe, that though the ſnake is burnt, he will yet quickly return, to revenge himſelf on thoſe who have been the occaſion of his death.

In the year 1697, my brother-factor Mr. Nicholas Poll (who then managed the ſlave-trade for our Company at Fida) had the diverſion of a very pleaſant ſcene. A hog being bitten by a ſnake, in revenge, or out of love to god's fleſh, ſeized and devoured him in ſight of the Negroes, who were not near enough to prevent him. Upon this the prieſts all complained to the King; but the hog could not defend himſelf, and had no advocate; and the prieſts, unreaſonable enough in their requeſt,

begged of the King to publiſh a royal order, that all the hogs in his kingdom ſhould be forthwith killed, and the ſwiny race extirpated, without ſo much as deliberating whether it was reaſonable to deſtroy the innocent with the guilty. The King's command was publiſhed all over the country. And in purſuance thereto, it was not a little diverting, to ſee thouſands of Blacks armed with ſwords and clubs to execute the order; while on the other ſide no ſmall number of thoſe who were owners of the hogs were in like manner armed in their defence, urging their innocence, but all in vain. The ſlaughter went on, and nothing was heard but the diſmal ſound of Kill, kill, which coſt many an honeſt hog his life, that had lived with an unſpotted character to his dying day. And doubtleſs the whole race had been utterly extirpated, if the King (who is not naturally bloody-minded), perhaps moved to it by ſome lovers of bacon, had not recalled his order by a counter one, importing, that they ſhould leave off killing the hogs, with the addition, that there was already enough of innocent blood ſhed, and that their god ought to be appeaſed with ſo rich a ſacrifice. You may judge, whether this was not very welcome news to the remainder of the hogs, when they ſaw themſeves freed from ſuch a cruel perſecution. Wherefore they took particular care for the future, not to incur the ſame penalty.

Next time that I came to Fida, I found by the dearneſs of theſe beaſts, that there had been a very great ſlaughter of them. Theſe ſorts of tyrannies are frequent under deſpotical governments, where the prieſts are joint maſters. But not too faſt, leſt I ſhould ſlip from beaſts to men.

Hitherto I have been talking of the Fidaſian chiefeſt god, or rather gods, by reaſon of their number: but the other being of leſs conſequence will take up much leſs time. The trees, which are the ſecond-rate gods of this country, as I have already informed you, are only prayed to, and preſented with offerings, in time of ſickneſs, more eſpecially fevers, in order to reſtore the patients to health. And this they believe to be as properly the tree's buſineſs as the ſnake's: but, however, the ſnake muſt not be forgotten; for they imagine, and that truly enough, that if he does no good, he will at leaſt do no harm. And hence I believe this nation would be eaſily prevailed upon with the Athenians to worſhip the unknown God, if they could hope for any benefit by it. Beſides this, they have other imaginary remedies at hand to cure diſeaſes; ſuch are their ſacrificing to ſeveral junior or inferior deities; as alſo the killing and eating part of a man, which was practiced two or three years paſt, on account of the King's ſickneſs; beſides which, they practice ſeveral other extravagances, too tedious to be repeated. The ſea comes in for the leaſt ſhare of divinity. When it rages and hinders our bringing our goods on ſhore, when no ſhips have been there for a long time, and they impatiently wait for them; on theſe occaſions, they make great offerings to it, by throwing into it all ſorts of goods. But the prieſts do not much encourage this ſort of ſacrificing, by reaſon there happens no remainder to be left for them. The former King of Great Ardra once cauſed a great quantity of theſe offerings to be made to the ſea; and when he was informed by his ſubjects (for he muſt not ſee the ſea himſelf), that they all availed nothing, he grew very angry, and fell into as wild a fury as Xerxes, who cauſed the ſea to be whipped, becauſe he had been ſo unfortunate upon it.

Having no more to ſay concerning theſe two deities, before I put an end to this letter, I ſhall obſerve to you, who are the performers of their divine ſervice here.

Their religious offices are here celebrated by men and women together, both which are held in ſuch high veneration amongſt the Negroes, that they are not liable to capital puniſhment for any crime whatſoever; notwithſtanding which, the preſent King, with the

the conſent of his grandees, ventured to break in upon this cuſtom, but not without great cauſe, and a preſſing neceſſity; for one of theſe villains was engaged with the King's brother in a conſpiracy againſt the kingdom and the King's life, for which that prince ordered both his brother and the prieſt to be killed together.

The women which are promoted to the degree of prieſteſſes, though ſome of them perhaps were but ſlaves before, are yet as much reſpected as the prieſts, or rather more, inſomuch that they pride themſelves with the diſtinguiſhing name of God's children; and as all other women are obliged to a ſlaviſh ſervice to their huſbands, theſe on the contrary exert an abſolute ſway over them and their effects, living with them perfectly according to their arbitrary will and pleaſure; beſides which, their huſbands are obliged to ſhew them ſo much reſpect, as they received from their wives before their becoming prieſteſſes, which is to ſpeak to, and ſerve them upon their knees. For this reaſon the moſt ſenſible Negroes will neither marry a prieſteſs, nor eaſily conſent that any of their wives be raiſed to that honour. But if notwithſtanding it happens, they muſt not oppoſe it; for if they did, they would be called to a ſevere account for it, and looked upon as men who endeavoured to ſtop the common courſe of divine worſhip.

To conclude the ſubject of their religion, I muſt add, that they have a ſort of idea of hell, the devil, and the apparition of ſpirits. And their notions concerning theſe are not very different from thoſe of ſome ſimple people amongſt us. As for hell, they beſtow on it a fixed place under the earth, where the wicked and damned are puniſhed with fire.

For theſe three or four years laſt paſt, they have been very much confirmed in this belief. For an old ſorcereſs, that came from ſome odd corner, hath told them ſtrange things concerning hell; as, that ſhe ſaw ſeveral of her acquaintance there, and particularly the laſt captain of the Blacks, predeceſſor to the preſent Captain Carter, who was there miſerably tormented. In ſhort, ſhe ſaw ſo much of hell, that ſhe was a fit match to diſpute with Don Quevedo, who had the beſt intelligence there. But ſhe muſt be owned to have the advantage of him, becauſe ſhe pretended to have been there in perſon, whereas his journey was but a viſion.

Whilſt I was here, there was alſo an Auguſtine monk, which came from St. Thomè, in order, if poſſible, to convert the Blacks to Chriſtianity, but in vain. Polygamy is an obſtacle which they cannot get over. As for all the other points, they might have got footing here, but the confinement to one wife is an inſuperable difficulty. This prieſt invited the King to be preſent at maſs, which he alſo did. And when I ſaw him next, aſking him how he liked it, he ſaid very well, and that it was very fine; but that he choſe rather to keep to his Fetiche. This prieſt, in my company, being once in diſcourſe with one of the King's grandees, who was a witty man, ſaid in a menacing manner, "That if the Fidaſians continued their old courſe of life without repentance, they would unavoidably go to hell, in order to burn with the devil;" to which the ſharp Fidaſian replied, "Our fathers, grandfathers, to an endleſs number, lived as we do, and worſhipped the ſame gods as we do; and if they muſt burn, therefore, patience, we are not better than our anceſtors, and ſhall comfort ourſelves with them." After this the prieſt left off, and perceiving that all his pains at Fida were like to be fruitleſs, he deſired me to introduce him to the King to take his leave of him, which I did ſhortly after.

If the Negroes could read and underſtand our books, I ſhould believe that this captain had read the Friezeland Chronicle, where a parallel adventure betwixt a biſhop and a Friezeland King is related. It is now time to conclude; wherefore, &c.

LETTER XX. — *In which, firſt, of the Fidaſian Quadrupeds, viz. Oxen, Cows, Horſes, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs: ſecondly, of their Fowls, which are only Turkeys, Ducks, and Chickens; the Price of all the above-mentioned: next, concerning their three Sorts of Corn, and the Plenty of it; notwithſtanding which, Fida ſometimes ſuffers great Famines; the remaining Fruits of the Earth are Potatoes, Jammes, or Beans, &c.; great Plenty of the firſt: of their Fruit Trees; the Fertility of Fida, and Fitneſs for Plantations, and to produce Cotton, Indigo, and Sugar. — The Wars and Force of the Fidaſians; their Arms; Great Ardra much more potent than Fida; War of Great Ardra with an in-land King; the Occaſion of this War, which deſtroyed half the Country of Ardra, and made a cruel Slaughter of its Inhabitants; Jakin ſubject to Great Ardra. — Of Offra, or Little Ardra, where our Company formerly had a Lodge. — The Author's Departure from Fida; his Arrival at Rio de Gabon. — Of the Gulf of Guinea, and its Iſlands and Rivers, as Rio Formoſa (beautiful River), otherwiſe called Rio de Benin, Rio Elrei, Camarones, Old and New Calbary; the Iſlands are Fernando Po, El Principe (Prince's Iſland), and Coriſco, divided into two, large and ſmall; Rio de Gabon, a fine, wide, and very good River; two Iſlands in it; viſited by ſeveral Europeans, and wherefore they trade there; few Inhabitants, which are, notwithſtanding, divided into three Claſſes; their Poverty and Pride; their great Brandy-Drinkers, and awkward in Trade; how the King gets his Livelihood; they are all well-ſhaped and clean-limbed Men; their Occupation; Barrenneſs of the Land thereabouts; the River very full of Fiſh; Deſcription of the Nord Kapers, of which here are great Quantities; on Land there are Abundance of Buffaloes, Elephants, and wild Swine; hunting of them and an Elephant; a Skeleton of an Elephont found; Deſcription of the Buffaloes; one of our Men killed by them; how they are ſhot by the Negroes. — The Author's Departure from Gabon, and Arrival at Cabo Lopez di Gonſalvez, where is a good Road, Watering-place, and Wood for Fuel; the Trade here; Plenty of Fiſh; Departure from Cape Lopez; he falls upon, or below the Iſland of St. Thomé, which is deſcribed; as alſo Ilha Annaboa, whither the Author alſo came after two Days' ſailing; ſailing along the Equinoctial, and the Cold there; Return to the upper Coaſt, and to Aſſinee; the Dwelling-place of the Negro baptized in France, to whom the French King was Godfather, and called him Lewis Hannibal; he paſſed for King of Aſſyria, but was indeed only a wretched Slave. — Sailing to the Gold Coaſt, where the Author's Companion, or Ship which ſailed with him, took an Interloper. — Arrival at Elmina, with which the Voyage, this Letter, and the whole Deſcription of Guinea is concluded.*

SIR,

SINCE my laſt no veſſels have arrived here from Europe, and conſequently I received no letter from you; I ſhall then at preſent in this, diſpatch what I have left untouched concerning Fida in the former; to which I ſhall add a relation of a voyage that I made in 1698, from Fida to Rio de Gabon, Cabo Lopez, Annaboa, and my return to Elmina, where it ended.

Firſt of all I am to ſpeak of the cattle of the country of Fida; of which, firſt of the tame quadrupeds, as oxen, cows, goats, ſheep, and hogs, all which, in ſhape, are not different from thoſe of the Gold Coaſt, but are much better, more fleſhy, and of a more agreeable taſte, by reaſon they have here very fine meadows, and as good graſs as in Europe: nor are they dear here; an ox or cow is to be bought for ten, a

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good ſheep for two, a goat for one, and a hog for two rix-dollars. Nor are horſes wanting here, though they do not much excel thoſe which I mentioned in my deſcription of the Gold Coaſt. When I was deſigned to have took my journey by land to Elmina, I was provided with five or ſix, each of which coſt me ſomewhat leſs than four pounds ſterling, but they did me no manner of ſervice, I being obliged to leave them behind me.

Here, as well as on the Gold Coaſt, is no great variety of tame fowl, there being only turkeys, ducks, and chickens; and of the two firſt not many, but of the laſt incredible plenty; which, though ſmall, are yet very fat and good, the price being about ſixpence each; the price of our goods, reckoned for as money, they are not above three-pence each. But if anybody would buy in proviſion cheap, he muſt bring two or three caſes of long pipes with him, for he may put off every pipe for the worth of two-pence, or ſometimes four-pence; ſo that for three pipes one may have the beſt pullet that is to be bought.

There are not very many large wild beaſts about Fida; but there are, farther inland, elephants, buffaloes, tigers, and ſeveral ſorts of deer in great abundance; and there are alſo ſome of the laſt ſort at Fida; but the country there being ſo populous, and cloſe inhabited, there are not many. Here are alſo a ſort of hares. But this whole country ſeems covered with wild fowl: here are geeſe, ducks, ſnipes, and twenty other ſort of edible birds, all which are very good and very cheap.

When, over-night, we give a Negro orders to go a ſhooting, we have, againſt next day noon, without fail, one or two diſhes of wild fowl, which we can pay for with a dozen of pipes; and this is ſo infallible, that we can at pleaſure promiſe a good treat of wild fowl not yet caught.

Here are ſuch prodigious abundance of turtle-doves throughout the whole country, that my aſſiſtant, who was a good markſman, would undertake to ſhoot one hundred in one day, betwixt ſix and nine in the morning, and three and ſix in the afternoon, which is barely ſix hours in all.

Beſides edible fowl, here are alſo a ſufficient number of birds of prey, which may ſerve for ornament, though not ſuch great variety as on the Gold Coaſt. The crown-bird comes from hence, as alſo another bird, whoſe body is about as big as a chicken, his legs and neck ſhort, his eye and eye-lids hairy, like thoſe of men, his bill ſhort and thick, his colour is black and blue intermixed, his legs and bill are very ſtrong, and therefore very fit for preying.

If I ſhould ſay any more of the feathered kind, I ſhould be obliged to repeat what I have formerly ſaid, which I believe you are as little deſirous of as myſelf; ſo that now I come to the product of the earth; and firſt of corn, of which we are here provided with three ſorts: the firſt is the great Milhio, which is not ſo large a grain as that on the Gold Coaſt, but as good, notwithſtanding which the Negroes do not make bread of it, but uſe it in the brewing of beer, for which reaſon not much of it is ſown.

Small Milhio, or Maize, which is like that on the Gold Coaſt, is what chiefly ſerves to employ this nation. It is ſowed twice each year, though much more at one time than the other. In the beſt tilling time the land is ſo thickly ſown, that, as I have before hinted, ſcarcely a foot-path is left unplanted, whence we may ſuppoſe prodigious quantities are produced; but notwithſtanding this, at the end of the year, they rather fall ſhort of what they want than have any overplus, which is partly occaſioned by their being ſo very populous, and partly by their ſelling very large quantities to both the Popoes and the neighbouring countries. For which reaſon one barren year occaſions

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an incredible famine here, and ſometimes free-men here have ſold themſelves for victuals; others ſet their ſlaves free, perfectly diſcharging them of their ſlavery, becauſe they could not keep them in victuals. An Engliſh ſhip, which was here at that time, got his whole ſhip full of ſlaves, without parting with any other merchandize than victuals, with which he very luckily had abundantly provided himſelf. When he had filled his ſhip full of ſlaves, he went to the Portugueſe iſlands, where he afreſh ſtored himſelf with proviſions for his goods.

Here is alſo a third ſort of Milhio, like the laſt, which doth not grow on ſtalks, but like oats in Holland. Its grain is reddiſh, and muſt continue in the ground ſeven or eight months before it is full ripe. This is not eaten, but mixed with the great Milhio, to brew withal, becauſe the Negroes firmly believe that it ſtrengthens the beer.

The Negro women are very well ſkilled in brewing good beer, one ſort of which is ſo ſtrong, that it doth not give place to our ſtrong beers in Holland; and the price of this is much higher than the common ſort, for inſtead of three-pence a pottle for the common ſort, you are obliged to pay a rix-dollar for the ſame quantity of this. All people here, the ſlaves not excepted, drink only beer, for water they will not drink, becauſe it is drawn out of wells twenty or thirty fathom deep, and but ſix or eight foot wide, ſo that no ſun can reach it, which renders it raw and cold as ice, and conſequently very unwholeſome in this hot country; for drinking it but few days only, brings an unavoidable fever; and the good beer being too hot, an European cannot do better than mix them in equal quantities, whereby he will have a pleaſant and wholeſome drink.

There is not one oven in this whole country, by reaſon the Negroes never uſe them, but always boil their bread.

Potatoes are what they commonly eat, inſtead of bread, with all ſorts of victuals, and here is ſuch abundant plenty of them, that I believe the whole Coaſt doth not produce a like number.

Here are alſo Jammes, but neither in ſuch plenty nor ſo good as on the Gold Coaſt, nor are they much eſteemed here.

Here are ſeveral ſorts of ſmall beans in very great plenty, amongſt which is one ſpecies, of which our people make oil-cakes, which are as light as ours in Holland, and thoſe who are uſed to them like their taſte well enough: they are here called Acraes. Onions and ginger grow here, though in but ſmall quantities, eſpecially of the former. All the other fruits of the earth which the Gold Coaſt produceth, grow here alſo; but I ſhall paſs them by, in order to come to the trees. Amongſt which are, firſt, citrons, lemons, oranges, Bakovens or Paquovens, bananas, piment, and in a word all thoſe which I have mentioned in the deſcription of the Gold Coaſt; beſides which, here are abundance of tamarind-trees, and ſome fruit-trees, which are not only unknown, but their fruit is alſo ſo mean that it is not worth detaining you with a deſcription of them.

Here are great numbers of palm-trees the whole country over, but the wine is drawn off and drank by very few here; for they cultivate them only in order to draw oil from them.

Nor are the pardon-trees wanting at Fida; but the Negroes, preferring beer to wine, they are not much eſteemed, only their wood being very durable, they are felled for building.

Beſides the before-mentioned, here are no fruits: it is indeed pity there ſhould be no more in ſuch a fertile land, peopled with induſtrious inhabitants, ſo that they want only

only ſeeds and young plants; for I dare aver, that not only all ſorts of African, but ſeveral European fruits, might be produced here.

I tried here the ſowing of cabbage, carrots, turnips, Spaniſh raddiſh, raddiſhes, parſley, &c. and found they grew forward, and ripened as well as in Europe: ſo that it is unhappy that this land, as well as the Gold Coaſt, is not inhabited by ſome Europeans; for here might be planted the fineſt ſalad gardens in the world. And I believe this ſoil is as fit for plantations of ſugar-canes and indigo, eſpecially of the laſt, as any other part of the globe.

Indigo is already very plentiful here, and beſides, if it doth not exceed that of Aſia and America, it yet equals it: all the cloaths of the inhabitants are died with it, but being ignorant of the true way of uſing it, they waſte four times as much in the dying of a cloth as would really do it; and the indigo ſpent in dying it, would yield more with us than their whole cloth is worth.

Having proceeded thus far in the deſcription of Fida, its pleaſant ſituation, cattle, fruits, and the nature of their inhabitants, I ſhall, by way of ſupplement and concluſion, ſay ſomething of their wars and ammunition.

As for the firſt, they may be thought perhaps very potent, ſince they can eaſily bring two hundred thouſand men into the field; notwithſtanding which, they are ſo weak and heartleſs, that they would not venture on five thouſand well-armed men, though but Negroes of the Gold Coaſt, nor ſcarcely ſtand before them; for which ſeveral reaſons might be given; as firſt, they are ſo ſtrongly bent to trade and agriculture, that they never think of war.

Secondly, they want able commanders; for if they are forced into the field, they entruſt the command of their whole army to a worthleſs perſon, never ſtanding for any proof of his courage.

Thirdly, and chiefly, their common fear of death renders them ſo incredibly cowardly, that moſt of them ſet to running before the enemy appears.

As I have told you, the command of the army is entruſted to an ordinary perſon, whilſt the captains and chief men out of fear ſtay at home; but if it happens that any of them is endowed with any portion of courage, and goes into the field, affairs go ſomewhat better; but with the other general, by whom the inferiors will not be commanded, they are very unſucceſsful: for theſe heroes no ſooner perceive any thing coming againſt them, but they expect ſafety from their feet; and being at leaſt as fond of life as the reſt, it is commonly obſerved that the general gets home before the ſoldiers, if he be but moderately nimble, without troubling himſelf, in general flights, what becomes of his army.

But he is yet aſſured of one thing, which is, that his men will not ſtay long behind; but for their own ſecurity, certainly follow his example. Hence you may judge what heroes they are in attacking other countries; but to ſay truth, they ſhow ſomewhat more courage in the defence of their own country, as long as is poſſible; confirming the old proverb, that every dog will bark in his own kennel.

This cowardice is not particular to the Fidaſians, but the natives of Ardra are full as bad; wherefore they never fight againſt each other with their own forces, but hire the Gold Goaſt Negroes for that purpoſe, of which the natives of Aquamboe are generally firſt at hand; but if Coto and Popo were united, by reaſon of their nearer neighbourhood, they would be more proper.

The arms of the Fidaſe and of all Ardra conſiſt in a few muſquets, bows and arrows, fine and well made hangers, ſtrong and beautiful Aſſaguays; but the principal weapons, and on which they moſt depend, are a ſort of clubs, about a yard long, and five

or ſix inches thick, very round and even, except a knot at the bottom, the breadth of a hand, and three fingers' thick. Every man is provided with five or ſix of theſe.

Theſe clubs are made of very heavy wood, and they are ſo dexterous in the throwing of them, that they can fling them ſeveral paces and hit their enemy, and wherever it falls, it bruiſes very much and breaks their limbs; wherefore the Gold Coaſt Negroes are almoſt as much afraid of theſe deviliſh weapons as of a muſquet itſelf.

Having informed you of the moſt obſervable particulars of the country of Fida and Ardra, I might indeed hint ſome things of leſs importance, as concerning the differences betwixt Fida and Ardra; but it not being worth while, entirely ſtepping over it, I ſhall only give you the following account of Great Ardra.

The King of Great Ardra, with all his dependant countries, is twenty times as ſtrong as he of Fida, and yet hath not the courage to make war againſt him, though they live in perpetual enmity.

Farther in-land are yet more potent kingdoms than this; but I know nothing, or at moſt but very little, of them; except that while I was here, one of their ambaſſadors came to the King of Great Ardra, to advertiſe him from his maſter, that ſeveral Ardraſian Negroes had been with, and made complaints to him, and to adviſe him to take care that his viceroys treated theſe poor men more gently; or elſe, much againſt his will, he ſhould be obliged to come to their aſſiſtance, and take them into his protection.

The King of Great Arda, inſtead of making a proper uſe of this wholeſome advice, laughed at it; and in further deſpight to that King, murdered his ambaſſador; upon which he was ſo violently as well as juſtly enraged, that with utmoſt expedition he cauſed an army (by the Fidaſians augmented to the number of ten hundred thouſand men) to fall into their country; and theſe being all horſed, and a warlike nation, in a ſhort time maſtered half the King of Ardra's territories, and made ſuch a ſlaughter amongſt his ſubjects, that the number of the dead being innumerable, was commonly expreſſed by ſaying they were like the grains of corn in the field.

The Fidaſians reported to me of the mentioned people, that it was cuſtomary in their wars, to cut off all the privities of ſlaughtered enemies, and carry them off with them; as alſo, that none durſt preſume to take an enemy priſoner, that was not furniſhed with one hundred of theſe trophies. This looks very fabulous, inſomuch that though it is confirmed to me by oaths, I do not affirm it for truth. But it is certain that the ſlaughter was prodigiouſly great; and that the general of this great army, contenting himſelf therewith, returned home, expecting to be very well received by his maſter, but found himſelf miſtaken; for the King, as a reward of his heroic expedition, cauſed him to be hanged on a tree; becauſe, according to his order, he did not bring the perſon of the King of Great Arda along with him; on whom, and not his ſubjects, he aimed his revenge.

You may pleaſe to obſerve what miſchiefs this prince brought on himſelf, and alſo that the law of nations is as well obſerved among theſe heathens as us Europeans; for this great monarch did not account himſelf ſatisfied 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; but I believe he will content himſelf with the blood already ſhed.

This nation ſtrikes ſuch a terror into all the circumjacent Negroes, that they can ſcarcely hear them mentioned without trembling; and they tell a thouſand ſtrange things of them.

Four miles eaſtward of Fida, is the land of Jakin; which I have already ſaid, is under Great Ardra; by whoſe Phidalgo it is at preſent governed.

A little lower, but farther in-land, lies the land of Offra, called Little Ardra by the Europeans, where our company many years ſince had a lodge and a factor, and drove a conſiderable trade; but ſince our factor was killed, and the land laid waſte by the Popoeans, we have not been there; and the country hath moſtly lain wild and untilled; in which ſtate it will probably continue ſeveral years: for the Kings of Great Ardra and Fida are at ſtrife for the maſtery of it, each being deſirous to appoint his viceroys, and yet neither of them dare begin.

But to leave them diſputing, and go aboard the ſhip called Staden Land (city and country), in which I ſailed from Fida on the 14th of Auguſt, 1698, ſteering towards Rio de Gabon, where in eleven days we arrived, without meeting any thing remarkable in our paſſage. We had a continual freſh gale, but were obliged moſtly to bear up to the wind, otherwiſe we had reached perhaps in eight days.

Before I come to ſpeak of Rio de Gabon, I would ſay ſomething of the gulf of Guinea, by which name it is beſt known to the Europeans. It extends from Ardra to Cape Lopez, in length —— miles. Betwixt theſe two extremities are ſeveral fine large rivers, by which means we keep trade alive here with our yatchs; the commodity which we get there being elephants' teeth, of which this country produces a great quantity,

The trading-places are Rio Formoſa (or beautiful river), otherwiſe called Rio de Benin, from the great kingdom of that name. Next is Rio de Elrei or King's River, and Camarones, together with Old and New Calbary. Of the firſt river I hope before long to be maſter of a deſcription, which you are then to expect.

In the gulf of Guinea lie alſo four iſlands, called El Principe or Prince's Iſland; the iſle of Fernando Po; and Coriſco divided into two, the Greater and Leſſer.

At Great Coriſco, our Company had ſome years paſt a ſettled trading lodge; but it lying too far diſtant, and not turning to a very great account, we left it, and have not been there ſince.

Coriſco are two very agreeable iſlands, and the land ſo low, that at a diſtance the multitudes of trees there, ſeemed planted in the water, and afforded a very pleaſant proſpect.

The iſland of Fernando Po is inhabited by a ſavage and cruel ſort of people, which he that deals with ought not to truſt. I neither can nor will ſay more of them.

The Prince's Iſland was, at the latter end of the fifteenth century, ſubject to a conſiderable merchant of Amſterdam; but by reaſon of the diſſenſion of our countrymen, and the treachery of the Portugueſe (its firſt maſters), we were obliged to quit it. And at preſent the Portugueſe Company have built a ſtrong fort there, and indifferently well peopled the iſland, which is fertile and well ſituated; or at leaſt the Portugueſe till it ſo well, that it yields them vaſt quantities of proviſions, which they ſell to all ſhips for money, beſides which they can alſo ſtore their own ſhips very plentifully.

All ſorts of ſhips which have been to fetch ſlaves touch here, or at the other Portugueſe iſlands, in order to take in refreſhments; except only our Company's veſſels, which avoid it (I believe) out of a groundleſs jealouſy, that when our maſters of veſſels come to theſe iſlands, they ſhould drive a clandeſtine trade to the prejudice of our company; but in reality, at Annaboa, the chief of theſe iſles, nothing elſe is to be gotten but bare refreſhments, as well for our own people as the ſlaves; and of what aſſiſtance and advantage this would be to our Company, I leave to thoſe who have experienced it only, to determine. It is morally certain, that ſo many of the ſlaves would not ſicken and die, if they were ſometimes furniſhed with refreſhments. But the directors of the Company are otherwiſe informed, on what grounds I know not: but perhaps the reaſon

why our veſſels do not touch here, may be either unknown, or unfit to be known by me: and leaving it ſo, I come to Rio de Gabon.

This river is ſituated fifteen miles from Cabo Lopez di Gonſalvez, or the utmoſt point of the gulf of Guinea; and it is ſo famous, that no nation which ever ſailed to this part of Africa, can be unacquainted with it. It is a very fine river, and above two miles over at the mouth.

Having paſſed three or four miles up this river, we come to two iſlands, one of which takes its name from the King, and the other from the prince of this river; two great lords. But they both are deſolate and wild: for pure fear of each other, the King hath left one, and the prince the other; each of them living at preſent upon a particular branch of the river, of which branches here are a great number.

For ſome miles this river is navigable with ſmall ſhips, but I cannot exactly tell you how wide it is, or how far its courſe extends in-land. Several ſhips (as I have juſt told you) viſit this river, on account as well of the trade which is driven here, as of its convenient ſituation for the cleaning and refitting of veſſels: thoſe that come hither on the laſt account, unlade their heavy baggage, as guns, anchors, water-barrels, &c. on Prince's Iſland; and by help of a flowing tide, get their ſhips as far on land as poſſible, that by means of the ſtrong ebb they may be on a ſort of dry ground, and thereby obtain an opportunity of repairing them all round. But this is not very adviſable with great ſhips, by reaſon they may eaſily get ſome miſchief by lying dry: and one of our cruizers that ſailed in company with me, would not run the hazard of it; but choſe rather to faſten his ſhip to ours, by which means he could come even at her keel to clean her, which was conſequently better than to lay her dry.

The trade of this river conſiſts in elephants' teeth, wax, and honey, and is ſometimes indifferently quick, eſpecially if no ſhips have been there lately; which ſeldom happens, for the Zealand interlopers viſit it the whole year round, in order to cleanſe their ſhips and ſtore themſelves with water and wood, and trade withal as long as they are there: but their chief aim is cleaning their ſhips and trading, for they can have water and wood as well at Cape Lopez as here.

Any perſon that never was here before, muſt be amazed at the unevenneſs of the bottom of this river in ſailing into it, for in one place we have ten, immediately fifteen, then five, and preſently twelve fathom water, as if the mouth of the river were filled up with rocks. The ebb is here ſo ſtrong, that even with a good wind it is ſcarcely poſſible to ſail into the river, but we are obliged to wait till flood. I made a trial of this myſelf, but we were ſtopped in the mouth, and had enough to do to bear up againſt the ebb with full ſail, loſing more ground than we gained, and could not get in before the flood. The inhabitants of this river, though but a ſmall number, are yet divided into three claſſes; one of which is with the King, the other with the prince, and the third trouble themſelves with neither, but live quietly. The two former are always warring againſt each other, but not in open field; for which purpoſe I do not believe them ſtrong enough, but they fall on and rob one another by night, and at unſeaſonable times, and return home with either the booty or blows which they get. Theſe people are the moſt wretchedly poor and miſerable that I think I ever ſaw; and beſides, to augment their miſeries, they are ſo very proud, that they thereby become the more ridiculous; eſpecially if the reaſon of their vanity be looked into, which is barely a Dutch name, there being none of them that come on board of us that want one, with which they immediately make us acquainted, imagining we value them the more on that account; and are very well pleaſed with us for calling them by their borrowed name.

Exceſſive

Exceſſive brandy-drinking ſeems the innate vice of all Negroes, but theſe are moſt accurate proficients, and really herein exceed all others that I have ever converſed with. They conſume in this all they can come at. They will ſend an indifferent large elephant's tooth for this liquor, which they will drink out before they part; nay, ſometimes before they ſo much as go out of the ſhip. If one chance to get but a mouthful more than another, and they are half drunk, they immediately fall on fighting, without any reſpect to the King, prince, or prieſt, who, on ſuch an occaſion, lay about them briſkly with their fiſts, that they may not be accuſed of being idle ſpectators. Theſe heroes are ſo warm and vigorous at their work, that hats, perukes, coats, or whatever they have, are thrown overboard.

Perhaps you may be ſurprized that theſe poor wretches ſhould wear hats, perukes, &c. which they do in a very particular diſmal manner. Formerly a great trade was driven here in old perukes by our ſailors. For theſe they got whatever they pleaſed of theſe people, as wax, honey, parrots, monkeys, and all ſorts of refreſhments. But for theſe four years ſo many merchants of theſe ſorts of goods, have been here, that the ſailor ſwears the trade is utterly ſpoiled; and though his prime ſtock coſts him nothing, yet it doth not at preſent turn to account.

The beſt quality in theſe people is, that as great lovers of brandy as they are, they yet are not very nice, for I have ſeen ſome of our men give them brandy half lengthened out with water; and for proof they told me, there was a little Spaniſh ſoap clapped into it, and the ſcum of the ſoap paſſed on them for the proof; and they praiſed this brandy as ſo extraordinary good, that they would willingly have laid in a ſtock of it.

I deſigned when I came into this river, to have traded for ſome ivory and wax for our Company; and had brought ſeveral goods with me to that end, but found them ſo very troubleſome that I could not have patience to deal with them; and there being another of the Company's ſhips here, which alſo had orders to trade, I left it wholly to them, being very glad that I was ſo cheaply rid of them. And theſe wretches appeared the worſe to me, becauſe I was uſed to deal with ſuch civil Negroes at Fida for an hundred times more than the commerce of this place. For to ſell one tooth, they would ſometimes haggle a whole day; go five or ſix times away and come again; aſk and bid as if they were on a fiſh-market, and come to no reſolution.

As great lovers of brandy as they are, they will not yet, when they firſt come on board and are aſked to drink, touch a drop before they have received a preſent. And if we ſhould happen to ſtay too long before we give them any thing, they will boldly aſk if we imagine that they will drink for nothing; it not being ſufficient to content this wretched crew that they drink up our liquor for nothing, but they muſt beſides be hired to it, as though they thereby did us a very great honour; and he that intends to trade here, muſt humour them herein, or he ſhall not get one tooth on board. Thus the merchant which would trade here, ought to be very well armed with Job's weapon, without which nothing is to be done.

After I had given over the trade, a ſtrange troop of Negroes came on board me, to whom I preſented ſome brandy, and would have cauſed them to be carried to our other ſhip: but theſe gentlemen would not drink before I made them a preſent, which I had no mind to do, wherefore they marched out of my cabin; but underſtanding that I did not deſign to trade, they all very humbly returned, begging what I before offered them; but I told them I was not at leiſure, and they went off without any thing.

They are very ready to make us preſents at our firſt arrival, but much readier to receive others in requital from us: and when we happen to be too ſlow, they aſk where is our counter-preſent, or they will take their own back again; which, without making much

much ado, they eaſily do, if our preſents be not worth more than theirs. In ſhort, theſe are men which no otherwiſe differ from beaſts than in ſhape. Their cloathing is like that of other Negroes, but very poor and wretched: for they deal with our men for all their old coats, ſhirts, breeches, &c. and all other old cloaths; and when dreſſed in them, think themſelves very fine.

As to what farther relates to their manners, I ſhall not ſay much becauſe I am unacquainted with them; but if you take what hath been already ſaid for a ſpecimen, you may eaſily form an idea of the remainder.

I do not believe they have much religion. I have obſerved them to be very ſuperſtitious, and that as well as others they have great numbers of idols; but of what ſort they are, or what they believe concerning them, I was not able to obſerve in my ſhort ſtay here.

That their government is not extraordinary, I obſerved from the ſmall reſpect they ſhewed each other; whence, without fear of hereſy, I dare conclude, that every free perſon lives here for himſelf, without much troubling himſelf with King or prince; and that thoſe gentlemen have only the bare name of royalty, without the leaſt ſhadow of the thing itſelf.

The preſent King, like an honeſt man, in order to rub through the world, follows the trade of a ſmith to get his bread; not neglecting other perquiſites, the chiefeſt of which is letting his wives at a reaſonable price to the Europeans during their ſtay there; notwithſtanding which he is, as all the reſt are, a very poor man.

They are moſtly large, robuſt, well ſhaped men. They beſmear their bodies with elephants and buffaloes' fat, and a certain ſort of red colour, which makes them ſtink abominably; eſpecially the women, which one can hardly come near without turning ſick. And yet they venture to drive a public trade with their bodies, expoſing their favours to ſale at a very cheap rate: and where they fear no danger, they will readily relieve the languiſhing lover for a knife or a trifle of that value. But thoſe who engage with theſe ladies muſt be very fond of new faces, for if a man happen to be the leaſt nice or ſqueamiſh, he will ſufficiently wind them at twelve ſcore yards, to deter him from any nearer approaches. But the caſe is different with a common ſailor, who is content with every thing that is but woman.

I am apt to think that the moſt part of the inhabitants depend chiefly on hunting and fiſhery; for I do not believe that they trouble themſelves with agriculture, nor did I ſee any corn or Milhio during my ſtay here; but inſtead of that I daily ſaw them eat immature Banacas roaſted at the fire. They had alſo Jammes, potatoes, and ſmall beans, but in no great plenty.

The land doth not ſeem very fertile or fit to produce corn or other fruits of the earth; at leaſt, what I have ſeen of it, which is from the mouth of the river to the Prince's Iſland. But as for thoſe fruits which grow on trees, theſe have great plenty of them; wherefore I believe that their Banana is, beſides what they eat with it, the ſtaff of their life. This river is prodigiouſly ſtocked with all ſorts of good fiſh, and I aſſure you we purſued them very cloſely, and catched ſo many that we abundantly ſtored ourſelves for our whole voyage.

The Negro's manner of fiſhing here, is very diverting; for paſſing along the river-ſide in a canoe, and perceiving a fiſh, they inſtantly dart an Aſſaguay at him, which is ſo certain a way, that by means of their dexterity, it very ſeldom miſſed.

Before the mouth of Rio de Gabon, we daily obſerved ſhoals of large unweildy fiſh, which we call Noord Kapers, or Northern Capers, though they look more like a ſpecies of whales, which, if they are not, it is certain they are not many removes from them.

them. Theſe fiſh we gueſſed to be about forty foot long, but I believe I have ſeen ſome longer. They came ſo near our ſhip, that we could eaſily reach them with a long pole, ſuppoſing them to continue ſtill. If we had a good ſhoal of theſe fiſh, and could brace them to, and guide them before our ſhips, as we do horſes to our waggons, I doubt not but we ſhould always run a ſwift courſe.

But to leave this diverſion to Neptune, and return to our ſubject.

They ſwim chiefly on the ſurface of the water, having a young one or two near them, who, ſpringing up to the top of the water, in imitation of their dam, mount above water. They blow up the water with very great violence, and put the ſea in as great a ferment as a ſhip under ſail; and in ſpouting of water they would eaſily outdo the beſt water-works at Fontainbleau; and it is not leſs diverting than rare, to ſee a number of theſe fiſhes together.

The land about this river incredibly abounds with wild beaſts, eſpecially elephants, buffaloes, and wild-boars.

As ſoon as we had diſpatched our affairs at Prince's Iſland, and careened our ſhip, we ſailed down the river again, in order to anchor at the Sand Punt, i. e. Sand Point, or Zuidhoeck; i. e. South Nook; and provide ourſelves with water, which is better there than at Cape Lopez. Being advanced about an Engliſh mile from this place, we got ſight of an elephant, which, taking the ſame courſe with us, walked very gently along the river-ſide to the before-mentioned place; where, accompanied with my captain and ſome of my ſervants, we ſtepped into a boat and landed together, and immediately ſet upon the elephant; but after having purſued him very hard for an hour, we could not overtake him, but loſt ſight of him in a wood.

At the writing hereof I tremble to think what a riſk we ran, and what danger we were in; for not being above ten or twelve ſtrong, and not half of us provided with good fire-arms, we ſhould have attacked this elephant, if we could have come at him; fondly imagining to have fetched him down with two or three ſhots, which I have ſince found was what two or three hundred men could ſcarce do: thus we all had reaſon to thank heaven that we did not overtake this beaſt; for if we had, if not all, yet at leaſt ſome of us, had been left dead on the ſpot.

In our return we met five elephants together, who, looking on us, I ſuppoſe thought us not worth their anger, and therefore ſuffered us to paſs them without the leaſt diſturbance; and we owning them ſtronger than we, were very well pleaſed, and after pulling off our hats in grateful acknowledgement of their civility, went on our way.

We lay three days ſtill before this place, during which time, having no other employment, I went every morning on ſhore in order to fall upon ſome of the wild beaſts, but not elephants; which I had in a ſort ſufficiently forſworn ſince our laſt adventure. But the wild ſwine afforded us the moſt diverſion, and were what we chiefly intended to exerciſe ourſelves on: and accordingly the ſecond day that we came on ſhore, we were ſo fortunate as to meet a troop of above three hundred. We begun immediately to hunt them with utmoſt fury, but having four legs to our two, they were too nimble for us, ſo that they ſoon got out of our reach; except only one, which we cut off from his companions, and ſo beſet him, that he ſeemed obliged to pay dear for lagging, ſince there was no other way of flying left him than into a thicket, in which we purſued him ſo cloſe, that in a very ſhort time he was likely to fall into our hands.

But he eſcaped us in the following manner: being come into the midſt of the thicket, as though we had been in a well-built garden-houſe or bower, we found a ſkeleton of an elephant; and the ſurprize of this adventure detained us from the purſuit of the wild-boar, in order to examine this ſkeleton nicely; which we found entire with the

teeth

teeth affixed to his head, which I cauſed to be taken out and weighed, their weight being ſeventy pounds; I meaſured his legs, and found the fore, three, and the hind, four foot; the head alſo four foot; and the remainder of the body proportionable; whence you may conjecture how large he was when living and covered with fleſh.

The two firſt days being paſt in fruitleſs elephant and wild boar chace, we deſigned to ſpend the third in the latter ſport; but when we came on ſhore, we found that their place was taken up by about one hundred buffeloes; not being diſcouraged we run at them, and being come near a parcel of eighteen or twenty, we preſented them with half a dozen bullets, but I believe did not hurt one of them: they all ſtood ſtill, and ſeemed to look very angrily on us, conſulting, I ſuppoſe, whether they ſhould puniſh our inſolence or not, but ſince none of them was wounded, it paſſed in the negative, and we eſcaped free. Theſe buffeloes were red, with ſtraight horns extended backwards, about the ſize of an ox; as they ran they ſeemed lame behind, but that did not hinder their being very ſwift.

The Negroes informed us, that when theſe beaſts are ſhot, and not mortally wounded, they fly at the men and kill them. We the eaſier believe this, becauſe about ten years paſt, our men going a buffelo-hunting here, one of them being too forward, let fly at a buffelo, but was immediately ſeized, and had been killed by him, if one of his comrades had not come to his aſſiſtance; who notwithſtanding, firing at the buffelo, was ſo unhappy as to miſs him and mortally wound his companion, and the buffelo ſoon trod out the ſmall remainder of the ſnuff of his life. This unhappy accident agreeing with the Negro's report, made us rejoice that we had met with ſuch good-natured buffeloes; and immediately reſolved never for the future to attempt the elephant and buffelo chace, which reſolution, in order to be remembered, was regiſtered in its proper place.

The Negroes, to prevent ſuch misfortunes, go more warily to work. They firſt obſerve the place where the buffeloes reſort in the evening, and place themſelves on a high tree, and as ſoon as the buffelo comes, they ſhoot at him from thence. If they kill him, and there is no danger below, they come down, and aſſiſted by ſome of their companions, carry off their game; but if they have not hit the buffelo they ſit ſtill, and keep out of danger; by which means they ſhoot ſeveral.

The buffelo's fleſh here is very good, and by reaſon of the meadow-ground about the Sant Punt, fat enough.

This is all that I could poſſibly obſerve in my ſixteen days ſtay here. Our cruiſer, after having taken in ſome wood, came to us, and we ſailed together out of the river, and three days after anchored at Cape Lopez di Gonſalvez; which, as I have before informed you, is the uttermoſt point of the gulf of Guinea, ſituate in ſome few minutes of ſouth latitude, and Gabon is exactly under the equinoctial line. A little ſouth of Cape Lopez, begins the country of Angola, which ſtretches ſeveral degrees ſouthward. This point or cape is as much or more viſited by ſhips than Gabon; for moſt of the ſhips laden with ſlaves, come hither to ſtore themſelves with water and wood, with both which it always abounds, and the inhabitants have always quantities of the latter ready cut, which they ſell ſo cheap, that we commonly do not give above a bar of iron for a whole fathom of it; and water we have for fetching from a very convenient place near the ſea-ſide. We generally indeed pay for the liberty of fetching water, to the King, or he who calls himſelf ſo, three or four knives, and a bottle of malt ſpirits; but this is rather our civility than any thing elſe, ſince there is no ſhip ſo ſmall, as that it could not furniſh itſelf with water and wood by force. But this would, in my opinion, be very unreaſonable, ſince the natives deſerve ſome reward for their trouble; and it would alſo render it very inconvenient to other ſhips that came after us; for the Negroes finding

we did not pay them, would not be very fond of felling more wood, on which account it is far the better way to content them with a trifle.

The trade here, as well as at Rio de Gabon, conſiſts in elephants' teeth, wax and honey, with which it abounds; but by reaſon of the multitudes of ſhips which daily touch here, not much is to be expected; yet one of our yatchs this very year dealt for betwixt three and four thouſand weight of elephants' teeth, as well as wax, and at other times for larger quantities.

At Cape Lopez there are a few houſes, in which the inhabitants live as long as any ſhips are there; but their proper dwelling-place is a little beyond this point, upon a river which is called Olibatte. The principal men, or grandees, diſtinguiſh themſelves by the names of king, prince and admiral, though, like thoſe of Gabon, they are obliged to be contented with the name only; and indeed the inhabitants of both places agree ſo exactly, that I do not believe the leaſt difference is obſervable betwixt their manner of living; except only, that the latter are far more civil and converſable than the former.

I do not think it neceſſary to ſay any more concerning this place, than that the ſhips here meet with a good road, if they are but ſo cautious as to avoid ſome ſand-banks which are hereabouts, which yet are not dangerous in good weather, ſince they are paſſable without damage at high-water, as we experienced.

I have already told you, that the river Gabon is plentifully ſtored with fiſh. But this place is enriched with prodigious ſhoals, that our cruiſer one morning, caſting his net, caught ſuch a vaſt quantity as would have ſufficed ten ſhips,

After having paſſed three days at this Cape, we heaved in our anchor and ſet ſail, deſigning for the Iſle of Annaboa; but the ſtrong tide, which at this time of the year winds in a ſerpentine manner towards the north, carried us below St.Thome, an iſland belonging to the Portugueſe; which affords me an opportunity to impart to you ſome particulars concerning it, after having acquainted you, that though our ſhips were cleaned, and in good ſailing condition, we yet were driven above half a degree northward; but another of our Company's ſhips, which I had laden with ſlaves at Fida, and departed thence three weeks before me, came the third time to anchor with me at Cape Lopez, and told us, that he had been in one degree and a half ſouth latitude; but that the vehemence of the tide had (which is ſcarcely credible) in one night driven him through the Line exactly before Gabon.

The Iſle of St.Thomè (and not of St.Thomas, as ſome would have it, that being in America in the Danes' poſſeſſion) was formerly in our hands, and we were obliged to quit it by the continual treachery of the Portugueſe, which fatigued our men, and by the great mortality which then afflicted them, in which ſo many of our countrymen died, that this iſland in Europe went by the name of the Dutch Church-yard.

The Portugueſe, though more uſed to this ſcorching air, prove at this very time, that it is a very unwholſome country, great quantities of them dying, and very few living to a great age.

The natural reaſon of which, in my opinion, ſeems to be, firſt, the ſcorching heat, which continues here the whole year; for one point of it being ſituated juſt under the Line, it is eaſy to conceive, that the greateſt part of the year muſt be intolerably hot.

Secondly, that this iſland chiefly conſiſts of hills, the valleys betwixt which are continually filled with a very thick and ſtinking miſt, even in the very hotteſt time of the day, which of neceſſity muſt condenſe and inflame the air, and conſequently render it very unwholeſome. And, in the third place, we may add the exceſſive phlebotomy of the Portugueſe, which they have recourſe to on the very leaſt occaſion, ſome of them letting blood above fifty times in a year; and this it is, which, I believe, makes them

look more like walking ghoſts than men: and this practice, the longer continued, muſt neceſſarily the more weaken the conſtitution; for the nature of this country is not ſuch as to ſupply them with haſty recruits of freſh blood. Excepting what hath been obſerved, this is a pleaſant and fertile iſland, abounding, according to the report of the Portugueſe, with freſh rivers or lakes, and good arable lands, which yield corn, ſugar, and cotton. Here are alſo ſeveral earth-fruits and trees, beſides great plenty of cattle, larger and finer than on the Gold Coaſt. It cannot but have its ſhare of terreſtrial bleſſings, becauſe the Romiſh clergy have two convents here, according to the beſt of my remembrance, filled with the fraternities of St. Peter and St. Auguſtine. And here is alſo a biſhop's ſee.

More need not be ſaid to prove this iſland good and proper to live in; for it is certainly true, that theſe ghoſtly Fathers never ſettle where, beſides ſouls' good, ſublunary conveniences are not to be gained.

I ſhall now bid adieu to St. Thomè, with only acquainting you, that all ſhips which, by reaſon of contrary wind, cannot reach Ilha del Principè, put in here for refreſhments.

Inſtead of Annaboa, being, as I have already told you, fallen below St. Thomè, we deſpaired of reaching it, becauſe it is more difficult to ſail from St. Thomè than from Cape Lopez; but the wind changing, and, contrary to our expectation, getting the tide with us, we were ſo fortunate in two days' time as to anchor before the famous iſland of Annaboa.

This iſland is viſited by a great number of ſhips, as well thoſe which have been trading in Guinea, as thoſe bound for Eaſt India and Angola. When the Eaſt Indiamen fall below the gulf of Guinea (for they, different from our account, reckon the gulf of Guinea to take in almoſt the whole Coaſt), they put in here; and the ſhips bound for Angola touch here, it being almoſt in their way.

Annaboa is ſo prodigiouſly ſtocked with cattle and fruit, that it far exceeds St. Thomè and Prince's Iſland in both; though it is much ſmaller, and indeed not above half the circuit of either of them. Like St. Thomè, it is almoſt always covered with a thick miſt; but if we may believe the Portugueſe, not ſo unwholeſome. But why it is more healthful, I ſhall not preſume to determine; for the air is almoſt the ſame, Annaboa being but about one degree and a half more ſouth. The land is here full as high as at St. Thomè; and in the higheſt place of it, according to the report of the Portugueſe, is a lake of freſh and very good water, about which, the air is as cold as the ſevereſt autumns in Holland; but who knows whether this be true?

The Portugueſe have tilled the plains to half way up the hills, for ſo far the ground is good. But taking a view of this iſland from below, it ſeems very dry and barren; notwithſtanding which it is all over planted with fruit-trees, viz. cocoas, oranges, lemons, Backovens, bananas, palm-trees, and ſeveral others, whoſe fruits are all plentiful and cheap: one hundred cocoa-nuts are ſold for a rix-dollar; a thouſand oranges or lemons at the ſame rate; and the other fruits in proportion. Hogs, ſheep, goats, chickens, &c. are to be bought for almoſt nothing, conſidering that we have them for all manner of old traſh cloaths of linen and woollen. In ſhort, here is the true Amalthea or Cornucopia, of which the antients have ſaid ſo many fine things.

The inhabitants of this iſland are black, and but a ſort of half-Chriſtians, though they bear the name of Chriſtians; for if they can but read a Pater-noſter and Ave-Ma-Maria, confeſs to the prieſt, and bring ſome offerings with them, they paſs for good Chriſtians. The white Portugueſe of this iſland eſteem them ſlaves, by reaſon that they are the deſcendants of thoſe ſlaves which they ſet on this iſland. They are all of them, without

without exception, thieves and rogues, that will injure or defraud no man more than they can. The women are all common public whores, which allure and miſlead the ſailors, and except a very few, are monſtrouſly ugly and ill-favoured, as Monſieur Fokkenbrog has well obſerved it.

The government of theſe people is entruſted in the hands of a white Portugueſe, who is honoured with the illuſtrious name of Governador. He who was honoured with this high poſt in my time, was ſuch a great Don, that if I had been charitable enough to have beſtowed the alms of a crown upon him, he would have made no difficulty of receiving it, nor thought it an affront to his honourable charge, or the grandeur of his nation. His ſubjects alſo ſtood in ſuch awe of him, that if I had but deſired them, they would certainly have broken his head, and have delivered the iſland into our poſſeſſion. For this Don being appointed by a Portugueſe gentleman, to whom this iſland belongs, as rent-gatherer in his name, to collect a third of all the inhabitants' cattle, fruit and income; in order to ſecure ſomewhat for himſelf, he very fairly fleeces the inhabitants of a complete half, which renders him ſo hated by his black ſubjects, that they would very willingly be releaſed from their yoke, and deliver the iſland to another nation. But it would not indeed be ſerviceable to any nation, without all its black inhabitants were tranſported thence; for whilſt they ſtay there, on account of the leaſt difference with the poſſeſſors, they would fly to the hilly part of the iſland, which is ſufficiently inacceſſible to the Europeans, and from thence ſo gall them, that they would be obliged to abandon it; as it happened to us, when we formerly were in poſſeſſion of it; for we left it on no other account.

Beſides the Governador, I found here alſo two white prieſts, who were endowed with no other qualities than the profound ignorance and ſtupidity of the meaneſt of their neighbours, except only (which is indeed ſomething uncommon) that they could drink as much brandy as I could wine, or other liquor.

Their wiſdom was lodged in their Capuchin's cap. I cannot indeed tell, whether they could read or write, ſince I did not ſee one book they had, nor would they produce one, though I aſked the favour; perhaps that it might not be defiled with my heretical fingers. They invited us to come and ſee their churches, which we did, and found them very handſome, and large enough for four times the number of inhabitants on the iſland. Before we entered their churches, we were all over beſprinkled with holy water, from which I conclude that it is not very dear here. They deſired a bottle of wine of me to celebrate their maſs withal, which I gave them; and they thereupon promiſed me (though unaſked) that they would ſay a maſs for my happy voyage; after which I took leave of them.

We ſaw here ſome ſmall pieces of cannon, and aſking where they got them, we were informed that they belonged to a ſmall French pirate, which ſtranded there about ten days before, the captain of which, with two of his men, was then upon the iſland.

Theſe pirates had robbed the Gold Coaſt of ſome gold, ſlaves and elephants' teeth. But two days before our arrival here, the Sloter galley, an Engliſh ſhip, commanded by Thomas Kent, had ſet ſail from thence, having made an agreement with theſe pirates, in conſideration of a part of their prey to be given to the captain, to carry them and all their booty to the French iſlands. The pirates, depending on this contract, had brought all their goods on board Captain Kent, and all the men, except the captain and two more, followed, who deſigned to have gone on board the laſt day of the galley's ſtay here; but as they were coming, were welcomed with a few muſquet ſhot, and charged, if they valued their lives, to return back, which they were obliged to do, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing Captain Kent haul up his anchors and ſet ſail with all

their goods. What think you, ſir, were not theſe villains rightly ſerved; indeed I think they were; and had it been my good fortune to meet with them, I ſhould not have given them any better treatment.

After having ſtaid here a few days to refreſh, purſuant to the director-general's leave, we ſteered our courſe towards Elmina, ſailing continually along the Line, without inclining one degree towards the ſouth or north. I expected to have met with a violent heat here; but on the contrary found it ſo cold, that though well clad, I could ſcarcely bear the cold. The ſailors, who commonly are not moved at a trifle, alſo cloathed themſelves very thick. Expreſſing my ſurpriſe hereat, the captain told me that about this time of the year (being September) it was almoſt always ſo cold here, notwithſtanding the ſun in that month paſſes the line, and muſt be exactly over our heads; but the caſe lies here, we have always thick weather and a ſtiff gale, which prevents our feeling the heat of the ſun.

After ſeveral days ſailing forwards in this manner, gueſſing that we were advanced high enough to make the Coaſt, we ſteered directly landwards, and got ſight of land about the Quaqua coaſt; but our orders running to ſtay no where, we ſailed along by the ſhore, proceeding on our voyage to Aſſinee, which the French ſome time paſt took poſſeſſion of; and that in ſuch a diverting manner, that I cannot help imparting it to you. The author of the European Mercury for the year 1701, obliges us with the following relation of the converting of a Mooriſh King to the Chriſtian faith, in theſe words: —

"Here is another Pagan prince brought over to the Chriſtian faith, namely, Lewis Hannibal, King of Syria [which he miſtakes for Aſſinee], on the Gold Coaſt of Africa, who, after being a long time inſtructed in the Chriſtian principles, and baptized by the Biſhop of Meaux, the King being his god-father, received the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, on the 27th of February, from the Cardinal de Noailles, and offered at 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 24th of this month, in order to embark at Port Lewis, and be convoyed home by two or three men of war, under the command of the Chevalier Damon."

Thus far runs our above-mentioned relation. Now it is my taſk to give you a ſhort account of the extraction of this pretended King, and to acquaint you with what happened afterwards.

Some years paſt, the French were accuſtomed to ſeize all the Negroes that came on board them, and ſell them into the Weſt Indies for ſlaves; amongſt which happened to be the beforeſaid Lewis Hannibal, chriſtened by the French; but finding him endowed with a more ſprightly genius than his countrymen, inſtead of ſelling, they brought him to the French court, where this impoſtor pretended to be ſon and heir apparent to the King of Aſſinee; by which means he ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good opinion of the court, that the King made him ſeveral very rich preſents, and ſent him back to his own country in the manner above related; but upon his arrival upon the Coaſt, he was diſcovered to be only the ſlave of a Caboceer of Aſſinee, to whom, ſhortly after his arrival he returned; and, as I am credibly informed, inſtead of converting his ſubjects to Chriſtianity, is himſelf returned to Paganiſm.

You may eaſily gueſs at the reſentments of the French court, after being ſo ridiculouſly bubbled by a Negro ſlave: if you conſider that by this means they have loſt their aim, which was to get footing on the Gold Coaſt; and beſides, that the pious intention of His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to convert a heathen prince, and eſtabliſh him

him on his throne, was fruſtrated; the Cardinal de Noailles and the Biſhop of Meaux laboured in vain: and, in ſhort, the whole French court was diſappointed of its expectation. By this, ſir, you may ſee, that as ſtupid as the Negroes are, yet ſome amongſt them are able to delude ſuch a wiſe court as that of France, which I doubt not but long ere this has repented of its credulity, and a thouſand times curſed the pretended King of Syria. But to leave the French in their reſentments, and purſue our voyage.

Sailing by Aſſinee we touched on the Gold Coaſt, where our companion the cruizer, called the Beſchermer or protector, commanded by Captain Hinken, found a Zealand interloper called the Great Apollo, betwixt the ſhore and the Brandenburgh fort; which he vigorouſly attacked, and after a ſhort but warm reſiſtance, took and brought her as good prize to Elmina.

This, ſir, is the end of my voyage, and will alſo be the laſt letter that I ſhall write to you concerning the ſtate of Guinea. What you have farther to expect from me, is, as I have already told you, the reſult of others obſervations. I beg your approbation of the contents of this and all my paſt, aſſuring you I have written nothing to you but real truth, digeſted from my own obſervation. If I am ſo happy as to pleaſe you in this attempt, I ſhall be ſo far from thinking my labour loſt, that I ſhall conclude it doubly rewarded.

Theſe, ſir, are the ſincere aſſeverations of one that never will omit any thing which can render you an agreeable ſervice; but is now and ſhall ever be inceſſantly ambitious of the honourable name of

Your hearty humble ſervant,
W. Bosman.

A DESCRIPTION OF RIO FORMOSA, or, THE RIVER OF BENIN;

Being the firſt Supplemental, or Twenty-firſt Letter.

Containing a Deſcription of Rio Formoſa, or the River of Benin; the great Number of its Branches. — The Trading-place and Church of the Portugueſe. — The King of Benin's great Opinion of himſelf. — Our ordinary Trading-place. — The Pirates of Uſa. — The Moraſs and floating Land in and about the River, which is very pleaſant but unwholeſome, and the Reaſon why. — The great Mortality of our Men on Ship-board. — The Raſhneſs of five Mariners, and a remarkable Event which followed it. — The Country is very even and full of Trees. — Who are the King of Benin's Vaſſals. — The King's Slave an honourable Name. — Benin not very populous. — The three principal Trading-places; their Names, Conſtitution, and Governors. — Beſides which, a fourth Trading-place, where one of our chiefeſt Commanders or Factors was killed; on which account a double Revenge was taken. — The Benin Inhabitants generally good-natured, civil, and very converſible People; who are not to be treated forcibly, but gently; are very pertinacious in their old Cuſtoms; who are the Managers of their Trade; they are very civil to Strangers, but treacherous to each other; their Governors very covetous. — There are three Eſtates beſides the King; concerning the firſt, and their Power: — Of the ſecond, their Marks of Honour or Knighthood, the Loſs of which is

puniſhed

puniſhed with Death; of which ſome Examples: — *The third State; the manual Arts and Trades of the Commonalty.* — *The rich live very well, and are very charitable to the Poor.* — *The Habits of the Negroes of both Sexes.* — *Each Perſon marries as many Wives as he is able to keep; the Manner of their Marriage; the Huſbands very jealous of their Wives, of which they are abſolute Maſters.* — *Three Sorts of Puniſhments for Adultery.* — *Of pregnant Women and their Delivery.* — *The male Infants belong to the King.* — *Both male and female are circumciſed.* — *The groaning Treat.* — *Twins eſteemed a good Omen, except at Arebo: the Cruelty of whoſe Inhabitants on that occaſion deſcribed and confirmed by ſome Inſtances.* — *A ſacred Grove, and their Opinions concerning it.* — *They are very prolific.* — *Menſtruous Women eſteemed unclean.* — *The Negroes here not ſo much afraid of Death as others; their Remedies in caſe of Sickneſs.* — *Phyſicians not much valued, and how treated.* — *Who hath the Right of Inheritance, and in what caſes the King is Heir.* — *Common Whores.* — *Their Government.* — *Puniſhment of Thievery, to which they are not much addicted.* — *The Puniſhments of Murder, and their Diſtinctions concerning that Crime.* — *Five Sorts of Oaths.* — *How Fines are diſtributed.* — *Their muſical Inſtruments; they dance very well to the Harp; are great Gameſters; their Religion very confuſed; each particular Perſon hath his ſeparate Prieſt; their Notion of the Deity, and their Ratiocinations on that Subject; they worſhip Idols, and the Devil in the ſame Shape.* — *Apparitions of Spirits.* — *Daily and annual Offerings.* — *Their Sentiments concerning a future Life.* — *Multiplicity of Idols, and their Feſtivals; which is their greateſt Feſtival: their Sabbath.* — *They celebrate the Times of the Death of their Parents.* — *Their Diviſion of Time.* — *Their Wars, and Confuſion therein; they are great Cowards; their Weapons.* — *All Sorts of Game, and wild Quadrupeds; great Baboons which fall upon Men.* — *Great Plenty of feathered Kind; but not ſuch Stores of Fiſh; yet great Quantities of terrene and arboriferous Fruits.* — *Of ſeveral dying Ingredients.* — *The King's Revenue, wherein it conſiſts.* — *A Deſcription of the Town of Benin, which is very long and well built; Strangers not allowed there.* — *Of the Grandees which follow the Court.* — *Natives cannot be ſold for Slaves, nor is it allowed to tranſport any out of the Kingdom as ſuch, though Strangers.* — *The Trades and Employments of the Commonalty; their Tradeſmen.* — *Very fine Streets in the City.* — *Slavery of the Women, which are fond of all Europeans except the Portugueſe.* — *A large Deſcription of the King's Court, and the Coral-Feaſt, at which the King is preſent.* — *The Author's Audience of the King; his Portraiture.* — *The War betwixt Are de Rou and the King, which hath ruined the City of Benin; which is at preſent waſte and deſolate.* — *Concluſion of this Letter.*

SIR,

IN obedience to your orders, this contains a deſcription of the river of Benin. I dare not aſſure you of your expected ſatisfaction; but would fain hope that my endeavours, however imperfect, being the utmoſt I can do, may meet with your favourable reception.

About fifty miles eaſt of Ardra, are ſituate the cape and river of Formoſa, otherwiſe called Benin, from the kingdom of Great Benin, with which it is encompaſſed. This river ſhews itſelf very plainly if entered from the weſt; for from Ardra the land is even and woody: the weſt point is much higher, and looks like a rock with the top cut off. But the eaſt point is low and flat land: its mouth is about a mile wide; bur failing farther up, is yet wider in ſome places and narrower in others. This river ſprouts itſelf into innumerable branches; ſome of which are ſo wide, that they very well deſerve the name of rivers; and the banks of each of them are inhabited by a particular

nation, governed by its own King. The multitude of its branches render the ſailing up this river ſo difficult, that a pilot is abſolutely neceſſary.

About a mile and a half from its mouth there are two branches, about half a mile from each other. Upon one of which the Portugueſe have a lodge and church at the town of Awerri, which is governed by its particular and independent King, who doth not treat the King of Great Benin any otherwiſe than as his neighbour and ally; though that vain Prince ſhews no marks of eſteem for him, nor any other potentates, imagining that if he is not the greateſt King in the whole, yet indiſputably in the Guinean world; that part of it that is ſituate above one hundred miles beyond his own territories, being as little known to him as the large remainder of the globe.

The common-trading place here is called Arebo, ſituate above ſixty miles above the river's mouth: ſo far, and yet farther, our ſhips may very conveniently come; in their paſſage ſailing by hundreds of branches of this river, beſides creeks, ſome of which are very wide.

What I have already hinted is ſufficient to give you an idea of the breadth of this river, but its length and ſource I have not been able to diſcover, no Negro being able to give me an exact account of it; but I believe its branches extend into all the circumjacent countries; for I have ſeen ſeveral men that came from Ardra, Calbary, and ſeveral other places, in order to trade, which were taken on this river by the robbers, and ſold for ſlaves. Theſe robbers, or pirates, live juſt at the mouth of the river, and are called the pirates of Uſa; they are very poor, and live only on robbery; they ſail hence to all parts of this river, and ſeize all that lights in their way, whether men, beaſts, or goods; all which they ſell to the firſt that come hither for victuals, with which they are not at all provided.

The Portugueſe informed me, that here was a land road which reached to Calbary, and one much more commodious by water; that it was eaſy, with a canoe, to get into the circumjacent rivers, viz. Lagos, Elrei, Camarones, and ſeveral others, beſides the river Volta, which laſt I can ſcarcely believe, it being utterly improbable; but as to the former rivers, they are ſo near the other, that it may be eaſily done.

Several miles upwards, from the mouth of the river, the land is every where low and moraſſy, and its banks all along adorned with great numbers of high and low trees, and the country all about it divided into iſlands, by the multiplicity of its branches; beſides which, here are ſeveral ſorts of floating iſles, or lands covered with reed, which are driven by the winds, or Travadoes, from one place to another, by which means they often happen in our way, and oblige us to ſteer a different courſe, on which occaſions pilots or guides are very convenient.

The river itſelf is very pleaſant, but very unwholeſome, as moſt of the rivers on the coaſt ſeem to be naturally, which I am apt to think is occaſioned by the continual contagious exhalations which hover about them, more eſpecially thoſe in low ground and moraſſes. To which may be added another, and not leſs plague, the innumerable millions of gnats, which the Portugueſe call Muſquitoes; for the land, as I have already told you, being very woody, is inſupportably peſtered with theſe vermin, eſpecially in the nights, when they attack us in whole legions, and ſting ſo ſeverely, that ſeveral perſons have been ſo marked with puſtules, that it was impoſſible to know them. This torment, which deprives us of our natural reſt, heightened by the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, continually occaſions a great mortality amongſt our men. You very well know, that this is my ſecond voyage to this river, and that the firſt time I was here we loſt half our men, and at preſent the number of our dead on board is not leſs, and the

remainder

remainder are moſt of them ſick, which ſtrikes ſuch a general terror into the ſailors, that the boldeſt of them is afraid of his life.

Five of our ſailors were ſo raſhly impious, as to throw dice who ſhould die or live to come out of this river. They over-perſuaded my eldeſt ſervant to throw for his chance with them, and the higheſt caſt being eſteemed ſafeſt, he threw eleven. And it is really remarkable, that this lad is yet alive, but the other five died all in the river of Benin.

Bating the ſaid contagion of the climate, this is a very deſirable place of trade, by reaſon of the pleaſantneſs of the river and adjacent country, which is very even ground, without hills, and yet riſes by gentle degrees, which affords the moſt agreeable proſpect in the world; which is yet improved by the multitude of trees which ſtand ſo regular, as if they were deſignedly planted in that order.

The inhabitants of this river, and the neighbouring country, have ſeveral Princes; and, indeed, each ſmall nation is governed by his own King, though all of them are vaſſals to the King of Benin, except thoſe of Awerri, where the Portugueſe live, and the pirates of Uſa, both of whom would never yet ſubmit to his yoke.

They are all free-men, notwithſtanding which they are treated as ſlaves by their King, and are ſo far from taking it for an unhappineſs, that the title of the King's ſlave is a diſtinguiſhing mark of honour amongſt them.

Though here is a prodigious number of people, yet in proportion to the extent of land, and upon the compariſon with Ardra, this country is not populous. The towns are widely diſtant from each other, as well thoſe near the river as farther in-land.

There are at preſent three principal towns where we trade, and whither all the neighbouring in-land Negroes reſort, eſpecially when we have caſt anchor there.

The firſt of theſe villages is Boededoe, containing about fifty houſes or cottages, built with reed and leaves. It is governed by a viceroy, and ſome grandees appointed by him, who, under the King, and in his name, govern the whole diſtrict of land; but their authority doth not extend beyond things of ſmall importance, as civil cauſes and the raiſing taxes for the King; but if any thing conſiderable happens, or any capital crime is committed, they are not permitted to decide it, but muſt ſend to court and wait their orders.

Arebo, the ſecond village, which is ſituate much farther up the river, is a fine large oblong town, indifferently well furniſhed with houſes and people. The houſes are much larger than at Boededoe, though built in the ſame manner. This place, and its dependant country is, as well as the former, governed by a viceroy.

Some years paſt here were two lodges, or factories, one of which belonged to the Engliſh, and the other to our Company; each of them had their particular factors and truſtees, called in Portugueſe Mercadors and Fiadors; the laſt of which are here but a ſort of brokers: but the Engliſh not having traded here for many years, their lodge is fallen down and demoliſhed, and their factors and brokers incorporated with ours.

Agatton, the third village, was formerly a conſiderable trading-place, but hath ſuffered ſo much by the wars, that it lies in a manner waſte at preſent. It is ſituate on a ſmall hill in the river, juſt joined to the firm land.

The remaining ruins diſcover it to have been a very large village, much more agreeable and healthful than the others are, for which reaſon the Negroes employ their utmoſt diligence in the re-building of it. It is environed with all ſorts of fruit-trees.

Hereabouts are ſeveral ſmall villages, whoſe inhabitants come hither at every conſiderable market, which is held here for five days. A day's journey by land from Agatton, is the city or village of Great Benin, the reſident of the King: but more of this hereafter.

I muſt not here omit a certain village, where we formerly traded, which is called Meiborg, probably borrowing its name from that of one of our factors.

Several years paſt our Company had a conſiderable factory and ſome ſervants here. Their laſt factor here was N. Beeldſnyder, who made himſelf to be hated by the natives, by reaſon of his brutality. Beſides which, he caſt a laſcivious eye on one of the Negro governor's wives, which he raviſhed, and thereby ſo enraged her injured huſband, that he reſolved to take his utmoſt ſatisfaction of Beeldſnyder, and came againſt him with a party of armed men, deſigning to have his life, but he defending himſelf in his flight, narrowly eſcaped on board one of our ſhips, which then lay there, but was withal dangerouſly wounded. He was no ſooner come on board, than he ſailed out of the ſight of his purſuers, but one of his wounds proved ſo fatal, that, through the unſkilfulneſs of the ſurgeon, he died of it.

Mr. N. N., who was then the Company's director-general on the coaſt, and was not fully informed of the merits of the cauſe, did not let his death paſs unrevenged, but immediately ſent a yacht, reinforced with Elmina ſoldiers to Benin, with ſtrict orders to take the utmoſt revenge for the murder or maſſacre, as it was termed. Theſe ſoldiers ſo rigorouſly executed, or perhaps ſtretched their commiſſion, that they killed or took priſoners every perſon of the village that could not make their eſcape.

The King of Great Benin being informed of this, and the author of the maſſacre, was not content with the revenge which our director had taken, but commanded the perſon, who was the occaſioner of the maſſacre, to come to him; and though he had defended the honour of his family, and was conſequently very excuſable, yet the King cauſed him and his whole race, to the third and fourth generation, to be cut to pieces; which cruelty was executed, in order to juſtify himſelf, not only with reſpect to the action, but alſo the very knowledge of it.

The dead corpſes of theſe miſerable wretches were thrown upon the dunghill as a ſpectacle, to be devoured by the wild beaſts; and their houſes were razed to the ground, with ſtrict orders, that they ſhould never be re-built. We, finding the King ſo zealouſly intereſted for us, have ever ſince continued our trade there.

The inhabitants of Great Benin are generally good-natured and very civil, from whom it is eaſy to obtain whatever we deſire by ſoft means: if we make them liberal preſents, they will endeavour to recompenſe them doubly; and if we want any thing, and aſk it of them, they very ſeldom deny us, though they have occaſion for it themſelves. But they are ſo far in the right, to expect that their courteſy ſhould be repaid with civility, and not with arrogance and rudeneſs; for to think of forcing any thing from them, is to diſpute with the moon.

They are very prompt in buſineſs, and will not ſuffer any of their antient cuſtoms to be aboliſhed; in which, if we comply with them, they are very eaſy to deal with, and will not be wanting in any thing on their part requiſite to a good agreement. But what is worſt of all, is, that they are very tedious in dealing: many times they have a ſtock of elephants' teeth by them, which we are generally eight or ten days before we can agree with them for; but this is managed with ſo many ceremonious civilities, that it is impoſſible to be angry with them. Another inconvenience which really deſerves complaint, is, that, at our arrival here, we are obliged to truſt them with goods to make Panes or cloaths of; for the payment of which we frequently ſtay ſo long, that by

reaſon of the advancement of the ſeaſon, the conſumption of our proviſions, and the ſickneſs and mortality of our men, we are obliged to depart without our money: but on the other hand, the next time we come hither, we are ſure to be honeſtly paid the whole.

The perſons which treat with us on their behalf, are ſuch as are thereto appointed by the government, and are called by the above-mentioned names of Mercadors and Fiadors; and theſe are the only merchants with which we deal: this cuſtom having obtained, by reaſon that theſe factors can ſpeak a miſerable ſort of Portugueſe, which qualifies them to talk with us. This is their only excellency, without which they would be looked on as the very ſcum of their countrymen, and not thought worthy a name amongſt them.

At our arrival here, we are obliged to pay ſome ſorts of cuſtoms to theſe brokers and the governors, which are ſo inconſiderable, that they are hardly worth mentioning.

The natives here ſeem very civil to each other, and omit no opportunity of offering their mutual ſervices; but this is bare compliment; for they will not truſt one another, but are jealouſly prudent, and very reſerved, eſpecially in the management of their trade, which they diſpatch with utmoſt ſecreſy, out of fear of being repreſented as great traders to their governors, who, upon ſuch a diſcovery, would certainly accuſe them of ſome crime or other, in order to poſſeſs themſelves, though never ſo unjuſtly, of the effects of theſe rich merchants. And here, as well as every where elſe, it is eaſy to find a ſtick to beat a dog withal: wherefore thoſe who are out of power, and have no ſhare in the government, always pretend to be poorer than they really are, in order to eſcape the rapacious hands of their ſuperiors. This obliges them all to a cunning ſort of mutual civility, in order to avoid accuſers; and their profeſſions are very rarely ſincere, but only feigned.

I have obſerved here three ſtates, beſides the King, which governs abſolutely, his will being a law and bridle to his ſubjects, which none of them dare oppoſe.

Next him, the firſt and higheſt ſtate is compoſed of three perſons, called here great lords, or great men, which are always near the King's perſon; and any perſon that wants to apply to His Majeſty, is obliged firſt to addreſs himſelf to them, and they undertake to acquaint him with it, and return his anſwer. But they are ſure to inform him only of what they pleaſe themſelves, and conſequently in the King's name, they act as they think fit; ſo that in reality the whole government depends ſolely on them; which may the more eaſily happen, becauſe, except a very few, no perſons are admitted into the King's preſence, much leſs allowed to ſpeak with him.

The ſecond ſtate or rank is compoſed of thoſe which are here called Are de Roe, or Street Kings; ſome of which preſide over the commonalty, and others over the ſlaves; ſome over military affairs, others over the affairs relating to cattle and the fruits of the earth, &c. And indeed here is a particular ſuperviſor over every thing that can be thought of.

Out of the number of theſe Are de Roes, are choſen the viceroys and governors of the countries which are ſubject to the King. Theſe are all under the command of, and reſponſible to, the three great men on all occaſions. They obtain theſe honourable poſts by the recommendation of theſe three lords; and the King, as an enſign of this honour, preſents each of them with a ſtring of coral, that being equivalent to the arms of an order of knighthood. This ſtring they are obliged to wear continually about their necks, without ever daring to put it off on any account whatever; for if they are ſo unhappy as to loſe it, or careleſsly ſuffer it to be ſtolen, they are *ipſo facto* irreprievably condemned to die. For the confirmation of which I can give you two inſtances, to one of which I was

I was witneſs; viz. a Negro, who, through inadvertency, had ſuffered this chain to be ſtolen from him, and without delay was executed, as was alſo the other who acknowledged himſelf guilty of the ſaid robbery, beſides three more which were privy to it, and did not timely diſcover it. Thus five men were put to death for a chain of coral, that was not intrinſically worth two-pence.

The ſecond inſtance happened about the year 1700, and was ſomewhat more extraordinary. At that time there lay near me, before the village of Boededoe, two Portugueſe ſhips or barks, one of which departed before us, but the other was obliged to ſtay a month or two after me, in order to get in his debts; which coming in very ſlowly, the captain reſolved to cauſe a Fiador, that was his greateſt debtor, to be arreſted in his ſhip; but when he attempted it, the other reſiſted, and endeavoured to eſcape: and during the ſcuffle with the ſailors, the pilot caught hold of his chain of coral, broke it in pieces and threw it overboard; which ſo diſpirited the Fiador, that he let go his hold and ſurrendered himſelf immediately. But ſome time after, finding the pilot aſleep, and having gotten a blunderbuſs, he ſhot him through the head; and thus obliged him to exchange his natural for a more laſting ſleep, with which the Negro was not yet ſatisfied, but afterwards wounded the dead body in ſeveral places, and then threw away his knife, adding, that he had now taken his revenge, and that it was perfectly indifferent to him what they did to him: "For," continues he, "when my coral was thrown overboard, I was a dead man; and at preſent I am in the ſame condition." The Portugueſe did not venture to puniſh him, but delivered him to the governor of the place, who diſpatched him to the King; and the bark departing, His Majeſty committed him to cloſe priſon, in order to puniſh him very ſeverely in the preſence of the next Portugueſe that ſhould come thither. This very year I ſaw the Negro; and juſt upon my departure, two Portugueſe ſhips came with orders to demand juſtice for their murdered pilot; how they ſucceeded I cannot ſay, becauſe I left that place immediately after; but that it coſt the Negro his life is undeniable.

The King keeps theſe corals in his own poſſeſſion, and the counterfeiting, or having any of them in poſſeſſion without his grant, is puniſhed with death. They are made of a ſort of pale red coctile earth or ſtone, and very well glazed, and are very like ſpeckled red marble.

From the laſt relation it is eaſy to infer, that the Fiadors are the third rank or ſtate of this country; for no perſon is permitted to wear this coral, unleſs honoured by the King with ſome poſt; ſince, as I have already told you, they can have it only from the King.

Beſides the Fiadors, under the ſame rank are alſo reckoned the Mercadors, or merchants; Fulladors, or interceſſors; the Veilles, or elders; all which are diſtinguiſhed by the above-mentioned mark of honour.

And beſides theſe three, I know of no other offices or dignities; wherefore the commonalty take place next; very few of which are laborious or induſtrious, unleſs it be thoſe who are wretchedly poor: the others laying the whole burthen of their work on their wives and ſlaves, whether it be tilling the ground, ſpinning of cotton, weaving of cloaths, or any other handicraft; whilſt they, if they have but the leaſt ſtock, apply themſelves to merchandize alone. Here are very few manual arts, beſides weaving, practiſed or underſtood. The chief workmen here are either ſmiths, carpenters or leather-dreſſers; but all their workmanſhip is ſo very clumſy, that a boy that has been but one month learning in Europe would out-do them.

The inhabitants of this country, if poſſeſſed of any riches, eat and drink very well; that is to ſay, of the beſt. The common diet of the rich is beef, mutton or chickens,

and Jammes for their bread, which, after they have boiled, they beat very fine, in order to make cakes of it. They frequently treat one another, and impart a portion of their ſuperfluity to the neceſſitous.

The meaner ſort content themſelves with ſmoked or dried fiſh; which, if ſalted, is very like what we in Europe call Raf and Reekel. Their bread is alſo Jammes, bananas and beans; they drink water, and Pardon-wine, which is none of the beſt. The richer ſort drink water and brandy, when they can get it.

The King, the great lords, and every governor who is but indifferently rich, ſubſiſt ſeveral poor at their place of reſidence on their charity, employing thoſe who are fit for any work, in order to help them to a maintenance; and the reſt they keep for God's ſake, and to obtain the character of being charitable; ſo that here are no beggars. And this neceſſary care ſucceeds ſo well, that we do not ſee many remarkably poor amongſt them.

They are very liberal in all mutual preſents of all ſorts of goods, and they give the Europeans prodigious quantities of refreſhing proviſions, and more than they really want; nay, ſome in this particular give beyond their ability, only in order to acquire a good reputation amongſt ſtrangers.

The habit of the Negroes here is neat, ornamental, and much more magnificent than that of the Negroes of the Gold Coaſt. The rich amongſt them wear firſt a white calico or cotton cloth about one yard long, and half ſo broad, which ſerves them as drawers; over that they wear a finer white cotton dreſs, that is commonly about ſixteen or twenty yards long, which they very ornamentally plait in the middle, caſting over it a ſcarf of about a yard long and two ſpans broad, the end of which is adorned with fringe or lace, which is ſomewhat like the female Negroes on the Gold Coaſt: the upper part of their body is moſtly naked. Theſe are the cloaths in which they appear abroad; but at home they wear only a coarſe Paan inſtead of drawers, covered with a great painted cloth woven here, which they wear like a cloak. The mean ſort go thus cloathed, but the ſtuff they wear is much coarſer; and as to fine or coarſe, each perſon is governed by his circumſtances.

The wives of the great lords wear calico Paans woven in this country, which are very fine, and very beautifully chequered with ſeveral colours. Theſe Paans or cloaths are not very long, and are buckled together like thoſe which are worn at Fida, but with this difference, that as the Fidaſe Paan is open before, this on the contrary is open behind, or on one ſide, and covered before. The upper part of their body is covered with a beautiful cloth of about a yard long, inſtead of a veil, like that which the women wear on the Gold Coaſt. Their necks are adorned with necklaces of coral, very agreeably diſpoſed or plaited. Their arms are dreſſed up with bright copper or iron armrings; as are alſo the legs of ſome of them, and their fingers are as thickly crouded with copper rings as they can poſſibly wear them. Thus ſet out, ſir, they look pretty tolerable, and may paſs for ſuch for want of better.

The meaner ſort of women as well as the men of the ſame condition, differ from the rich only in the goodneſs of their cloaths.

Almoſt all the children go naked; the boys till they are ten or twelve years old, and the girls till nature diſcovers their maturity; till then they wear nothing but ſome ſtrings of coral twiſted about their middles, which is not ſufficient to hide their nudities.

The men do not curl or adorn their hair, but content themſelves with letting it grow in its natural poſture, except buckling it in two or three places in order to hang a great coral to it. But the women's hair is very artificially turned up into great and ſmall buckles, and divided on the crown of the head, like a cock's comb inverted; by which means

means the ſmall curls are placed in exact order. Some divide their hair into twenty or more plaits or curls, according as it happens to be either thick or thin. Some oil it with the oil which they roaſt out of the kernels of oil-nuts, by which means it loſes its black colour, and in proceſs of time, turns to a ſort of green or yellow, that they are very fond of; notwithſtanding which, in my opinion, it looks hideouſly.

The men here marry as many women as their circumſtances will allow them to keep. They have ſcarcely any, or at moſt very few marriage ceremonies amongſt either poor or rich; except only that one treats the bride's friends more ſplendidly than the other. Their marriages are commonly made in the following manner: if a man like a virgin, he diſcovers his paſſion to one of the moſt conſiderable amongſt his relations, who repairs to her houſe, and aſks her of her relations, who, if ſhe is not before promiſed, ſeldom deny his requeſt; the conſent then of the relations or parents thus obtained, the match goes on, and the bridegroom cloaths his future bride with a rich ſuit of cloaths, necklaces, and bracelets; and after having handſomely treated the relations on both ſides, the wedding is ended without any farther ceremony. The treat I now ſpeak of, is not performed at the houſe of the bridegroom, or indeed any other, but the victuals and drink are dreſſed and prepared, and each hath his part ſent home.

The Negroes are very jealous of their wives with their own countrymen, but not in the leaſt with reſpect to us; for they are very little concerned at our converſing with their wives, whether we rally, ſit, or lie by them, provided we keep within the bounds of modeſty; nay, they have entertained ſo good an opinion of us, that when we viſit them, if their affairs call them away, they not only leave us alone with, but recommend us to their wives for diverſion, whilſt they are out; but no male Negro is allowed to come near the women's apartment, which is a cuſtom very ſtrictly obſerved by them.

All the difference betwixt the wives of the great and thoſe of the meaner ſort is, that the latter go every where, where their work obliges them; but the former are almoſt always ſhut up very cloſe, to obviate all occaſions of tranſgreſſion.

If a man be in his own houſe, accompanied by ſome of his wives, and receives a viſit from any of his acquaintance, the wives immediately retire to another part of the houſe, that they may not be ſeen; but if the viſitants are Europeans, they continue with their huſbands, by reaſon it is their deſire, whom they uſe all arts to pleaſe, becauſe their happineſs depends on them, for the men are here abſolute maſters of their wives.

Adultery is here puniſhed three ſeveral ways: firſt, amongſt the commonalty, in the following manner: if any of them is ſuſpicious of the levity of any of his wives, he tries all poſſible means to ſurpriſe her in the fact, without which he cannot puniſh her; but if he ſucceeds in his endeavours, he is thereby lawfully entitled to all the effects of her paramour, whether conſiſting in ſlaves, Boeſies (their money), elephants' teeth, or any other mercantile commodity; all which he may immediately ſeize and perfectly uſe, occupy, and enjoy as his own. The offending wife is puniſhed very heartily with a cudgel, and driven out of his houſe to ſeek her fortune; but no perſon being very fond of marrying her after this, ſhe retires to another place, where ſhe paſſes for a widow, by way of aiming at another huſband; or elſe ſtrives to ſubſiſt herſelf by a trade not very difficult (for her at leaſt) to learn.

Thus far extends the poor man's ſatisfaction; the rich revenge themſelves much the ſame way; but the woman's relations, to avoid the ſcandal which might thereby accrue to their family, reconcile the offended huſband with a good ſum of money, and thereby prevail upon him to admit her to grace, which they generally do; and then the thus atoned

atoned adultreſs paſſes for as virtuous a woman as before her crime, and is alſo for the future treated with all matrimonial endearments in her turn, as well as his other wives.

The governors puniſh adulterers more ſeverely; for if they ſurpriſe any debauching their wives, they kill both them and their paramours on the very ſpot where they committed the crime, and throw their dead bodies on the dunghill, to be expoſed as a prey to wild beaſts.

Theſe ſevere puniſhments of adultery amongſt all ranks of people deter men from meddling with other's wives ſo much, that this crime is very ſeldom committed here.

The Negroes are very libidinous, which they aſcribe to their pardon-wine and good eating.

The pregnant wife is not allowed even the matrimonial careſſes of her huſband, till ſhe is delivered; after which, if a male infant, it is preſented to the King, as properly and of right belonging to him; and hence all the males of the land are called the King's ſlaves; but the females belong to the father, and live with him, according to his pleaſure, till they are of age; after which he marries them, when and to whom he pleaſes.

Eight or fourteen days, or ſometimes longer, after the birth of their children, both males and females are circumciſed; the former are hereby bereft of their prepuce, and the latter of a ſmall portion of their Clitoris: beſides which, they make ſmall inciſions all over the bodies of the infants, in a ſort of regular manner, expreſſing ſome figures thereby; but the females are more adorned with theſe ornaments than the males, and each at pleaſure of their parents.

You may eaſily gueſs that this mangling the bodies of theſe tender creatures muſt be very painful; but ſince it is the faſhion here, and is thought very ornamental, it is practiſed by every-body.

When the child is ſeven days old, the parents make a ſmall feaſt, imagining that the infant is paſt its greateſt dangers; and in order to prevent the evil ſpirits from doing it any miſchief, they ſtrew all the ways with dreſſed victuals to appeaſe them.

If a woman bear two children at a birth, it is believed to be a good omen, and the King is immediately informed thereof, who cauſes public joy to be expreſſed with all ſorts of their muſic. The father, imagining it too heavy a taſk for the woman to ſuckle both the children, ſearches out a wet-nurſe, whoſe child is dead, whom he perſuades, by the force of money or good words, to nurſe one of his children.

In all parts of the Benin territories, twin-births are eſteemed good omens, except at Arebo, where they are of the contrary opinion, and treat the twin-bearing women very barbarouſly, for they actually kill both mother and infants, and ſacrifice them to a certain devil, which they fondly imagine harbours in a wood near the village. But if the man happens to be more than ordinarily tender, he generally buys off his wife, by ſacrificing a female-ſlave in her place; but the children are, without poſſibility of redemption, obliged to be made the ſatisfactory offerings which this ſavage law requires.

In the year 1699, a merchant's wife, commonly called Ellaroe or Mof, lay in of two children, and her huſband redeemed her with a ſlave, but ſacrificed his children. After which, I had frequent opportunities of ſeeing and talking with the diſconſolate mother, who never could ſee an infant without a very melancholy reflection on the fate of her own, which always extorted briny tears from her.

The following year, the like event happened to a prieſt's wife: ſhe was delivered of two children, which, with a ſlave inſtead of his wife, he was obliged to kill and ſacrifice with his own hands, by reaſon of his ſacerdotal function; and exactly one year

after, as though it had been a puniſhment inflicted from heaven, the ſame woman was, the ſecond time, delivered of two children; but how the prieſt managed himſelf on this occaſion, I have not been informed, but am apt to think that this poor woman was forced to atone her fertility by death.

Theſe diſmal events have, in proceſs of time, made ſuch impreſſions on the men, that when the time of their wives' delivery approaches, they ſend them to another country; which makes me believe, that for the future, they will correct theſe inhumanities.

The wood before-mentioned, in which the devil is ſuppoſed to lurk, is by them eſteemed ſo ſacred, that they never permit a foreign Negro, or any of his wives, to enter it. If any perſon accidentally happen on a path which leads to this wood, he is obliged to go to the end of it, without returning before he comes there: and they are firmly perſuaded, that if this law be violated, or that of offering the children and mother, or at leaſt a female-ſlave in her place, the land will be infeſted with ſome ſevere plague. Notwithſtanding all which, I have frequently gone a ſhooting in this wood, and to ridicule their credulity, deſignedly turned before I had gone half to the end of the path; by which means I not a little ſtaggered the faith of ſome who ſaw that my boldneſs was not attended with any ill conſequences. But the roguiſh prieſts were immediately ready at hand, with an exception, which was, that I being a white man, their god, or rather devil, did not trouble his head with me; but if a Negro ſhould preſume to do ſo, the danger would ſoon appear.

The multiplication of mankind goes forward very ſucceſsfully here; which is not very hard to believe, ſince the women are not barren, and the men vigorous; beſides which, they have the advantage of a choice out of their great number of wives; of which, for their encouragement, the fruitful woman is highly valued, whilſt the barren is deſpiſed.

Menſtruous women are here deemed ſo unclean, that they are not permitted ſo much as to enter their huſbands' houſes, or to touch any thing either to dreſs the domeſtic diet or clean the houſe, or indeed on any other account; nor are they permitted ſo much as to look into, much leſs enter ſeveral houſes, but during this natural uncleanneſs, are obliged to reſide in a ſeparate houſe, though, as ſoon as that is over and they have waſhed themſelves, they are reſtored to their former ſtate. If they are aſked who firſt taught them circumciſion, and to believe menſtruous women unclean; they reply that they do not themſelves know, but that thoſe cuſtoms are traditionally handed to them by their anceſtors: and this is the common anſwer of all the Blacks.

The Negroes of this country do not ſeem ſo much afraid of death as in other lands. They are not uneaſy at the naming of it, and aſcribe the length or brevity of life to their gods. Notwithſtanding which they are very zealous in the uſe of thoſe means which are thought proper for the prolongation of life: for if they fall ſick, the firſt refuge is the prieſt, who here, as well as on the Gold Coaſt, acts the doctor. He firſt adminiſters green herbs; which proving ineffectual, he hath recourſe to ſacrifices. If the patient recovers, the prieſt is very much eſteemed; but if not, he is diſmiſſed, and another from whom better ſucceſs is expected, is called in.

If theſe ſacerdotal doctors happen to cure the patient, they are very much reverenced; but the ſick perſon is no ſooner perfectly recovered, than they are diſcharged without any reſpect: ſo that if the prieſts here have no other dependance, they are generally poor; becauſe each particular perſon offers his own ſacrifices, and performs the ſervice of his idols without giving them any manner of trouble.

When

When any perſon dies, the corpſe is waſhed and cleanſed; and if a native of the city of Benin happens to die at a very diſtant place, the body is perfectly dried up over a gentle fire, and put into a coffin whoſe planks are cloſely joined with glue, and brought with the firſt opportunity to the mentioned city in order to be buried. But ſometimes a convenient conveyance does not offer itſelf in ſeveral years; wherefore the dead corpſe is thus long kept above ground, as I have ſeen ſeveral in my time at Arebo.

The neareſt relations, wives, and ſlaves go into mourning on account of the dead perſon: ſome ſhave their hair, others their beards, or half their heads, &c. The public mourning commonly laſts fourteen days. Their lamentations and cries are accommodated to the tunes of ſeveral muſical inſtruments, though with large intermediate ſtops; during which they drink very plentifully. And when the funeral is over each perſon retires to his own houſe, and the neareſt relations which continue in mourning, bewail the dead in this manner for ſeveral months.

The right of inheritance devolves in the following manner: — When any perſon of condition dies, the eldeſt ſon is ſole heir, but is obliged to preſent a ſlave by way of heriot to the King, and another to the three great lords, with a petition that he may ſucceed his father in the ſame quality; which the King accordingly grants, and he is declared the lawful heir of all his father hath left behind him. He beſtows no more on his younger brothers than what out of his bounty he pleaſes: but if his mother be alive, he allows her a creditable maintenance proportioned to her condition, and allows her beſides to keep whatever ſhe hath gotten from his father. His father's other widows, eſpecially thoſe which have not had any children, the ſon takes home if he likes them, and uſes as his own; but thoſe which he doth not like, he alſo takes them home with their children, and ſets them to work in order to ſubſiſt them the more creditably; but entertains no matrimonial converſation with them. Of this laſt ſort, here are as great numbers as of proſtitutes in other countries. If the deceaſed leaves no children, the brother inherits his effects; and in caſe of deficiency of ſuch heir, the next akin. But if no lawful heir appears, the King inherits.

The government of this country is principally veſted in the King and the three mentioned great lords: the firſt is nominal governor, and the laſt are really ſo. Each province hath its particular governor, all which depend on theſe three chief ſprings, without whoſe conſent they dare not act.

The crimes here committed are puniſhed in the following manner: — Thievery is not rife here, theſe Negroes not being of the ſame pilfering nature as at other places; however, if the thief is taken in the fact, he is obliged to reſtitution of the ſtolen goods, and beſides puniſhed by a pecuniary mulct; but if he is poor, after reſtitution of the ſtolen goods, if in his power, he is very well beaten. But if the robbery be done upon any of the government, it is puniſhed with death: in the mean-time as I have already hinted, this crime ſo ſeldom occurs, that examples are very rare. Murder is a crime that happens here yet more ſeldom than the former. Whoever kills a man is puniſhed with death; but if the murtherer happen to be the King's ſon, or ſome other conſiderable perſon, he is baniſhed to the utmoſt borders of the King's territories, to which he is conveyed under a very ſtrong guard; but none of theſe baniſhed perſons being ever heard of, the Negroes take it for granted, that their guard conduct them to the Elyſian fields. If any perſon with his fiſt, or otherwiſe accidentally and undeſignedly, kill another, and the dead perſon did not bleed, and his death doth not ſeem violent; the offender may then purchaſe his life, by firſt burying the dead creditably at his own charges, and afterwards producing a ſlave to ſuffer in his ſtead. This ſlave doomed to a reconciling offering, he is obliged to touch on his knees with

his forehead as he is killed, after which he is obliged to pay a large ſum to the great lords; and this performed, he obtains his freedom; and the friends of the deceaſed are obliged to reſt ſatisfied with this.

I have already informed you of the puniſhment of adultery; whatever other crimes are committed, they are atoneable with money: and the fine is proportioned to the offence. And he that hath no money, muſt ſatisfy the fine by a corporal puniſhment; ſo that where effects are deficient, the body muſt make good the fine.

In caſe of accuſations which are not clearly proved, the accuſed is obliged to purge himſelf by trial, which is practiſed five ſeveral ways, four of which take place in ſlight offences and civil cauſes, and the fifth in capital and high crimes, as high treaſon, or all crimes of ſo deep a dye: this laſt trial is only allowed to be taken by conſiderable perſons, and that too by the King's eſpecial order.

The firſt ſort of purgation is managed in the following manner: — The accuſed are carried to the prieſt, who greaſes a cock's feather, and therewith pierces the tongue of the accuſed; if it paſſes eaſily through, it is a ſign the man is innocent, and the wound made by the quill will ſoon cloſe and heal up without any pain: but, on the other ſide, if he is guilty, the quill remains ſticking in his tongue, and he is accordingly pronounced guilty.

The ſecond trial of innocence is practiſed in the following manner: — The prieſt takes an oblong clot of earth, in which he ſticks ſeven or nine cock's quills, which the ſuſpected perſon is obliged to draw out ſucceſſively; and if they come out eaſily, it is a ſign of innocence; but if not, the priſoner is convicted of the crimes alledged againſt him.

The third proof is made by ſpurting a certain juice of green herbs into the eyes of the accuſed perſon; which, if it happen to do him no hurt, he is thought innocent; but if his eyes become thereby red and inflamed, he is obliged to pay the fine laid on him.

For the fourth trial the prieſt ſtrokes the priſoner three times over the tongue with a red-hot copper arm-ring, and from his being hurt or not hurt thereby, they pronounce judgment.

I have ſeen all theſe four trials made; but all the accuſed were declared guilty, and not without reaſon; for it would be ſtrange indeed, if red-hot copper ſhould not burn the tongue. The fifth and laſt proof, which doth not happen once in twenty years, I never ſaw, and conſequently have it only by hear-ſay.

If any perſon is accuſed of a very great crime, of which he is deſirous to clear himſelf by oath, the King's leave being firſt aſked and obtained, the accuſer is brought to a certain river, to which is aſcribed the ſtrange quality of gently wafting every innocent perſon plunged therein to land, though never ſo unſkilled in the art of ſwimming; and on the other ſide to ſink the guilty to the bottom, though never ſo good ſwimmers; by which means, if he endeavours to help himſelf out, it would be in vain, and only render his death the more painful. The water (being very calm), immediately upon a guilty perſon's being thrown in, grows and continues as turbulent as a whirl-pool, till the criminal is gotten to the bottom, when, as though perfectly ſatisfied, it returns to its former tranquillity. What think you, ſir, ſhould you rely on this weak proof? I believe not; for my part I ſhould not; for I ſhould, though never ſo innocent, be very much afraid, if not a ſkilful ſwimmer, that my innocence would not ſave me from irrecoverably ſinking to the bottom; and I believe there are ſeveral of my mind.

The fines charged on theſe crimes are divided as follows: — Firſt, the perſon injured by thievery, or any other crime, is ſatisfied out of it; then the governor hath his part;

and laſt of all the before-mentioned great lords have alſo their ſhare: for the King, whoſe ear it never reaches, hath no part thereof. If the three lords are contented with what is ſent them, it is well; but they frequently ſend them back to the governors or viceroys, and in the King's name inform them, that the fines are too ſmall, and conſequently that they have not deported themſelves in that affair according to their duty, giving them alſo to underſtand what they ought to have done. Thoſe to whom theſe orders are ſent, though they very well know that the King never intermeddles in theſe affairs, but that it is only the pleaſure of the lords, are notwithſtanding obliged to a ſtrict obedience, and generally ſend double the ſum they require, otherwiſe the lords would not fail to take an opportunity of revenging their contempt by ſome ill office or other.

Before I ſpeak of their religion, I ſhall employ a few lines in the deſcription of their muſical inſtruments, which chiefly conſiſt in large and ſmall drums, not very different from thoſe of the Gold Coaſt. They are ſhaped like them, covered with leather or ſkins, and beaten in the ſame manner as they are. Beſides theſe drums, they have a ſort of iron bells on which they play, alſo Callebaſſes hung round with Boeſies, which ſerve them inſtead of Caſtagnettes; all which together, afford a very diſagreeable and jarring ſound.

Beſides theſe, they have alſo an inſtrument which will needs be called a harp; it is ſtrung with ſix or ſeven extended reeds, upon which they play very artfully, and ſing ſo finely, and dance ſo juſtly to the tune, that it is very agreeably diverting to ſee it. Theſe are indeed the beſt dancers I ever ſaw amongſt the Negroes. The natives of Axim, in their annual feaſt, when they drive out the devil, have much ſuch a dance, though neither ſo fine, nor near ſo diverting as this.

The natives here are not at all addicted to gaming. Here are no other games than thoſe played with beans, and that only for diverſion and paſtime; but never for money.

Their religion is ſo abſurd and perplexed, that I ſcarce know how to deſcribe it; but however, to begin as well as I can.

They profeſs to worſhip both gods and devils, in human and brutal images, ſome of which are elephants' teeth, claws, dead men's heads, and ſkeletons, &c. Alſo they take every thing which ſeems extraordinary in nature for a god, and make offerings to him; and each is his own prieſt, in order to worſhip his gods in what manner pleaſes him beſt.

It is really the more to be lamented, that the Negroes idolize ſuch worthleſs nothings, by reaſon that ſeveral amongſt them have no very unjuſt idea of the deity; for they aſcribe to God the attributes of omnipreſence, omnipotence, omniſcience and inviſibility; beſides which, they believe that he governs all things by his providence. By reaſon God is inviſible, they ſay, it would be abſurd to make any corporeal repreſentations of him, for it is impoſſible to make any image of what we never ſaw: wherefore they have ſuch multitudes of images of their idol gods, which they take to be ſubordinate deities to the Supreme God, without conſidering what ſort of trifles they are, and only believe there are mediators betwixt God and men, which they take to be their idols. They know enough of the devil to call all that is ill by that name, and believe themſelves obliged to worſhip and ſerve him, to prevent his miſchieving them. The devil is not repreſented by any particular image, or diſtinguiſhed from their idols any otherwiſe than in their intention only; for, to the very ſame image they one time make offerings to God, and at another, to the devil; ſo that one image ſerves them in the two capacities of god and devil.

They

They talk very much concerning the apparition of the ghoſts of their deceaſed anceſtors or relations, which yet happens only to them in their ſleep, when they come and warn them to make this or that offering; which, as ſoon as day approaches, they immediately do; if they are unable, they will, rather than fail in this duty, borrow of others; for they imagine that the neglect hereof would draw on them ſome heavy affliction. If any perſon in raillery tells them they are only idle imaginations and dreams, theſe will agree with them; but add, it is a cuſtom of our forefathers which we are obliged to follow. No other anſwer is to be obtained from them.

Their daily offerings are not of great value, conſiſting only of a few boiled Jammes mixed with oil, which they lay before the images of their gods. Sometimes they offer a cock; but then the idol hath only the blood, becauſe they like the fleſh very well themſelves.

The great men make annual ſacrifices, which are performed in great ſtate, and prove very expenſive; not only by reaſon of their killing great multitudes of cows, ſheep, and all ſorts of cattle, but becauſe that, beſides, they give a ſolemn feaſt, making their friends very merry for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, and withal make them preſents.

The ſeat of bliſs or torment in the future life, they imagine to be the ſea. They call the ſhadow of a man, Paſſadoor, or conductor; which they believe ſhall teſtify whether he hath lived well or ill; if well, he is raiſed to great dignity in the mentioned place; but if ill, he is to periſh with hunger and poverty; ſo that they ſend the happy and the damned to the ſame place.

Their falſe gods, or the traſh which repreſents them, are ſpread all over their houſes, and no place is free from them. Beſides which, there are alſo ſeveral ſmall huts erected without the houſe, which are likewiſe filled with them, and whither they ſometimes go to ſacrifice.

To conclude their ridiculous religion, I ſhall add a ſmall account of their feſtivals, of which they have ſo many, and different ones, that they ought not to give place to the Romaniſts. Their great feaſt, called the Coral-feaſt, happens in May, at which the King himſelf is preſent. The celebration of this pompous feſtival, I this year ſaw at Benin. But of this more at large in the deſcription of that city.

Their Sabbath happens every fifth day, which is very ſolemnly obſerved by the great with the ſlaughter of cows, ſheep, and goats; whilſt the commonalty kill dogs, cats, and chickens, or whatever their money will reach to. And of whatever is killed, large portions are diſtributed to the neceſſitous, in order to enable them, as every perſon is obliged, to celebrate this feſtival.

One day in the year they alſo very expenſively celebrate the deceaſe of their anceſtors or relations, in order to keep up the remembrance of them.

They divide time into years, months, weeks, and days; each of which is diſtinguiſhed by a particular name, and they reckon fourteen months to a year.

Believing that I have ſaid enough of their idolatrous worſhip, it is time to vary the ſubject. I cannot ſay much of their wars; for notwithſtanding that they are continually fallen on by the pirates or robbers, and their neighbours not ſubject to the King of Benin, they yet are ignorant of the art of war; for, being by neceſſity drawn into the field, their conduct is ſo very confuſed, that they themſelves are aſhamed of it. They have no officers or commanders, and each man takes his own courſe, without regarding his neighbour. They are ſo very cowardly, that nothing but the utmoſt neceſſity can oblige them to fight; and even then they had much rather ſuffer the greateſt loſſes than defend themſelves: when their flight is prevented, they return upon the

enemy, but with ſo little courage or conduct, that they ſoon fling down their arms, and either run away or ſurrender themſelves.

Their weapons are cutlaſſes or hangers, ſmall poniards, Aſſaguays, together with bows and arrows, the latter of which are poiſoned. They have alſo ſhields, but ſo light, and made of ſmall bamboos, that they cannot ward off any thing that is forcible; wherefore they are rather ornamental, than really ſerve for defence.

It is now time to treat of the animals of this country. Here is no want of tame beaſts, ſuch as horſes, cows, ſheep, dogs, cats, beſides poultry, &c. all which are equally good and cheap. The cattle here, though very ſmall, are yet very good, eſpecially thoſe parts of them that are eatable with us, which are of a good taſte. As for the remainder, the dogs and cats, the Negroes evince this truth alſo, for they eat them rather than any other beaſt.

Wild beaſts, as well voracious as others, are here alſo in great abundance. Among the fierce kind are reckoned the elephants, and then the lions and tigers. This country is prodigiouſly full of the firſt ſort; but I am not very fond of believing there are many lions or tigers, by reaſon I have never yet ſeen one of them, or indeed ſo much as one of their ſkins; which may nevertheleſs proceed from the great cowardice of the Negroes, who dare not venture on hunting them, and conſequently have none of their hides.

Wild dogs or jackals are reported to be very numerous here; they alſo tell us here are monkeys or baboons, which are extraordinarily large, and will attack a body of men that is not too numerous for them.

Here, as well as on the Gold Coaſt, are all ſorts of apes, beſides eatable wild beaſts, which are here ſo abundant, that a good markſman might live on the ſport alone. Their quadrupeds conſiſt of ſeveral ſorts of harts, wild hogs, and others.

Amongſt their feathered kind, the principal are pheaſants, partridges, both green and blue, turtle and ring-doves, ducks, crooked-bills, ſnipes, divers, water-hens, and a ſort of crown-birds. But by reaſon the Negroes neither very much love, nor are expert in the uſe of fire-arms, ſeldom any wild beaſts or fowl come to hand, except they happen to catch them in a net. They ſometimes kill harts and wild ſwine with their Aſſaguays, but very ſeldom; and whenever it happens, it is looked upon as ſomething rare.

The river, upwards, is not well ſtored with fiſh; all that they eat here, coming from a place called Boca de la Mare, or the mouth of the ſea, where they are dried and ſmoked, but moſt of it not being ſalted, taſtes very ill, and ſtinks abominably.

The fruits of the earth are, firſt, corn, or great Milhio; for they have none of the ſmall ſort. The large Milhio is here cheap, but they do not eſteem it; wherefore but little is ſowed, which yet yields a prodigious quantity of grain, and grows very luxuriantly.

They ſometimes employ the Ardra women to brew beer with this Milhio, but it proves diſagreeable and hot.

Here are not many potatoes, but a prodigious abundant plenty of Jammes, which is alſo their moſt ready diet. They eat them with all ſort of eatables inſtead of bread; wherefore they are very careful that this fruit be planted and gathered in its proper ſeaſon.

Here are two ſorts of beans, both which are very like horſe-beans; they are of a hot diſagreeable taſte and unwholſome.

I never ſaw any rice here, nor do I believe any grows in Benin, though the moraſſy land near the river ſeems very proper for it.

The arboriferous fruits of Benin are two ſorts of cocoa-nuts, Cormantyn apples, Paquovens, bananas, wild figs and ſome others, which are only known here, and are not extraordinary.

The ſoil, a little diſtant from the river, is extraordinarily fruitful; and whatever is planted or ſowed there, grows very well, and yields a rich crop. But cloſe by the river the land is not good; for though what is ſown comes up, yet the contagious damps of the river kill it.

The inhabitants are very well ſkilled in making ſeveral ſorts of dyes, as green, blue, black, red, and yellow. The blue they prepare from indigo, which grows here abundantly; but the remaining colours are extracted from certain trees by friction and decoction.

The Negroes here make ſoap, which is better than any all over Guinea; and by reaſon this waſhes very well, the Negroes' cloaths are very clean. You know it is made upon the Gold Coaſt with palm oil, banana leaves and the aſhes of a ſort of wood. The manner of making it here differs very little. That a prodigious quantity of cotton-trees muſt needs grow here, you may reaſonably conjecture, when I tell you, that not only all the inhabitants are clothed with it, but they annually export thouſands of woven cloaths to other places.

Thus far have I anſwered you on the heads which you propoſed concerning Benin, ſo that I have only two remaining particulars, which are concerning the King's revenue, and whether any tolls are levied here. As for the firſt; the King hath a very rich income, for his territories are very large and full of governors, and each knows how many bags of Boeſies (the money of this country) he muſt annually raiſe to the King, which amounts to a vaſt ſum, which it is impoſſible to make any calculation of. Others of a meaner rank than the former, inſtead of money, deliver to the King, bulls, cows, ſheep, chickens, Jammes and cloaths, in ſhort, whatever he wants for his houſe-keeping; ſo that he is not obliged to one farthing expence on that account, and conſequently he lays up his whole pecuniary revenue untouched.

Duties or tolls on imported and exported wares are not paid here; but every one pays a certain ſum annually to the governor of the place where he lives, for the liberty of trading. The viceroy ſends part of it to the King; ſo that his revenue being determined and ſettled, he can eaſily compute what he hath to expect annually.

The Europeans are here extraordinarily civilly treated; for the cuſtoms which we are obliged to pay for every ſhip to the King, the great lords, the governors of the place where we trade, the Mercadors and Fiadors, or whatever perſons elſe who have any demand upon us, do not amount to above ſix pounds ſterling, for which we become entirely free to trade.

You alſo deſired, that when an opportunity offered to get to the city of Benin, I ſhould give you a particular deſcription of it. I have now twice ſucceſſively had the happineſs to ſee that city, which I ſhall repreſent to you in its preſent ſtate; whence you may judge how far what Dr. Dapper hath ſaid of it agrees with truth.

The village of Benin, for it at preſent ſcarcely deſerves the name of a city, is the reſidence of the great King of Benin, whence the whole land and river alſo borrow their name. It is ſituate about ten miles landwards in from the village of Agatton. The neighbouring country is flat, as is the village itſelf, which is at leaſt about four miles large. The ſtreets are prodigiouſly long and broad, in which continual markets are kept, either of kine, cotton, elephants' teeth, European wares, or in ſhort whatever is to be come at in this country. Theſe markets are kept in the fore and afternoon each day.

Formerly

Formerly this village was very thickly and clofely built, and, in a manner, overcharged with inhabitants, which is yet vifible from the ruins of half remaining houfes; but at prefent the houfes ftand like poor men's corn, widely diftant from each other. The houfes are large and handfome, with clay walls, for here is not a ftone in the whole country fo big as a man's fift. They are covered at the top with reeds, ftraw or leaves. The architecture is paffable, confidering it in compariſon with Negro buildings, and is very like the Axim way of building. The inhabitants of this village are all natives, for foreigners are not permitted to live here.

There are feveral very rich men who live here, and attend continually at court, not troubling themfelves with either trade or agriculture, or any thing elfe, but leaving all their affairs to their wives and flaves, who go to all the circumjacent villages to trade in all forts of merchandizes, or otherwife ferve for daily wages, and are obliged to bring the greateft part of their gain in trade or hire to their maſters. All male flaves here are foreigners, for the natives cannot be fold for flaves, but are all free, and alone bear the name of the King's flaves: nor is it allowed to export any male flaves that are fold in this country, for they muft ftay there; but females may be dealt with at every one's pleafure.

I have already acquainted you with the employment of the great; but that of the ordinary citizens is to loiter about whole days, till they hear of any fhips being come into the river, upon which they go thither to trade with what goods they have in ftore; and if no fhips come, they fend their flaves to Rio Lagos, or other places, to buy fifh, of which they make a very profitable trade farther in-land.

The handicrafts keep to their work, without troubling themfelves with the court or trade. Others employ themfelves in agriculture, or fome fuch thing, in order to get their living.

The ftreets being fo long and wide, as I have faid, are by the women kept very neat; for here, as well as in Holland, every woman cleans her own door.

The women here are as much flaves as in any place in this kingdom. They are obliged to keep the daily markets, look after their houfe-keeping and children, as well as their kitchens, and till the ground; in fhort, they have fo much employment, that they ought not to fit ftill; notwithftanding which, they diſpatch it all very briſkly, and with a great deal of pleafure. They behave themfelves very obligingly to all, but more eſpecially the Europeans, except the Portugueſe, which they do not like very well; but our nation is very much in their favour.

The King's court, which makes a principal part of the city, muft not be forgotten. It is upon a very great plain, about which are no houfes, and hath, befides its wide extent, nothing rare. The firft place we come into, is a very long gallery, if it muft have that name, which is fuftained by fifty-eight ftrong planks, about twelve foot high, inſtead of pillars; thefe are neither fawed nor plained, but only hacked out. As foon as we are paft this gallery, we come to the mud or earthen wall, which hath three gates, at each corner one, and another in the middle; the laft of which is adorned at the top with a wooden turret, like a chimney, about fixty or feventy foot high. At the top of all is fixed a large copper fnake, whofe head hangs downward; this ſerpent is very well caft or carved, and is the fineft I have feen in Benin. Entering one of thefe gates, we come into a plain about a quarter of a mile, almoft fquare, and encloſed with a low wall. Being come to the end of this plain, we meet with fuch another gallery as the firft, except that it hath neither wall nor turret. Some time fince, this gallery was half thrown down by thunder, fince which no hand hath been laid to it to re-build it. This gallery hath a gate at each end, and paſſing through one of them, a third gallery offers

itſelf to view, differing from the former only in that the planks upon which it reſts are human figures; but ſo wretchedly carved, that it is hardly poſſible to diſtinguiſh whether they are moſt like men or beaſts, notwithſtanding which, my guides were able to diſtinguiſh them into merchants, ſoldiers, wild-beaſt hunters, &c. Behind a white carpet we are alſo ſhewn eleven men's heads caſt in copper, by much as good an artiſt as the former carver; and upon each of theſe is an elephant's tooth, theſe being ſome of the King's gods. Going through a gate of this gallery, we enter another great plain and a fourth gallery, beyond which is the King's dwelling-houſe. Here is another ſnake, as upon the firſt wall. In the firſt apartment, at the entrance of the plain, is the King's audience chamber, where, in preſence of his three great lords, I ſaw and ſpoke with him. He was ſitting on an ivory couch under a canopy of Indian ſilk. He was a perſon of an affable mien, and about forty years old. I ſtood, according to cuſtom, about thirty paces diſtant from him; but deſired, in order to obſerve him the better, that I might approach nearer to him, which, though unuſual, he ſmiling granted; and after he had beckoned me, I advanced to within eight or ten paces of him. There was no perſon in the hall beſides the three mentioned great lords, the King, and a Negro with a drawn ſword in his hand, that looked as fierce as a cabin ſentry.

Whatever any perſon would ſay to the King, muſt be firſt told to theſe three, who then report it to him, and bring his anſwer, going thus continually to and from him, without any perſon's being able to determine whether they faithfully report the meſſages on either ſide.

On the King's left hand, againſt a fine tapeſtry, I ſaw ſeven white ſcoured elephants' teeth on pedeſtals of ivory, which is the manner that almoſt all the King's gods are placed within his houſe. I preſented the King with a ſilk night-gown, with which (as I was afterwards told) he was highly pleaſed; but whilſt I was with him, I ſaw no marks of his ſatisfaction, becauſe it was brought to him covered, and he did not ſee what it was till after my departure; for every thing which is brought to the King is in like manner covered with mats, and before and behind theſe preſents ſeveral Negroes march provided with white ſtaves. All thoſe who happen to meet them in this poſture, immediately make haſte out of the way, otherwiſe they would be very well beaten. This precaution is taken to prevent all opportunity of poiſoning the King's goods, or killing him.

The coral-feaſt happened when I was at this great prince's court; which, though it affords nothing very extraordinary, I ſhall yet give you ſome deſcription of, becauſe it is the only day in the year when the King appears publicly. He came moſt magnificently dreſſed to the ſecond plain, where, under a very fine canopy, was placed a ſeat for him; and there alſo his wives and a great number of his officers of the firſt rank, all in their richeſt dreſſes, ranged themſelves around him, and ſoon after began a proceſſion; after which, the King alſo removed from his throne, in order to ſacrifice to the gods in the open air, and thereby begin the feaſt; which action is accompanied with the univerſal loud acclamations of his people. After paſſing about a quarter of an hour in this manner, he returned to, and again ſat down in his place, where he ſtaid two hours, in order to give the remainder of the people time to perform their devotions; which done, he returned home. The remainder of the day was ſpent in ſplendid treating and feaſting, and the King cauſed all ſorts of proviſions and pardon-wine to be diſtributed in common to all, and all the great followed his example; ſo that, on that day, nothing is ſeen throughout the whole city but all poſſible marks of rejoicing.

I was not able to diſcover the nature and intent of this coral-feaſt, becauſe the Negroes would not give me any account or explanation of it; their only anſwer to that queſtion, whenever I put it, being, "We do not know any thing of it."

In

In the beginning of my deſcription of this city, I informed 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 wiſhed, 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 the circumjacent land was occaſioned by the King's cauſing two kings of the ſtreet to be killed, under pretence that they had attempted his life, though all the world was ſatisfied of the contrary, and thoroughly convinced, that their overgrown riches were the true cauſe of their death, that the King might enrich himſelf with their effects, as he did indeed. After this barbarity, the King found alſo a third man that ſtood in his way, who, being univerſally beloved, was timely warned of that prince's intention, and accordingly took his flight, accompanied with three-fourths of the inhabitants of the town; which the King obſerving, immediately aſſembled a number of men from the bordering country, and cauſed the fugitives to be purſued, in order to oblige them to return; but they were ſo warmly received by this king of the ſtreet and his followers, that they forced them to return with bloody noſes, and give their maſter an account of their miſadventure. But he reſolving not to reſt there, makes a freſh attempt, which ſucceeded no better than the former, which was not all; for the fugitive, thoroughly incenſed and fluſhed, came directly to the city, which he plundered and pillaged, ſparing no place but the King's court; after which he retired, but inceſſantly continued 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 pardoned all that was paſt, and earneſtly requeſted by the King to return to his former habitation; however, 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 received by the King, and preferred to honourable offices, in order, by thoſe 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.

This, ſir, is all I can ſay of Benin: nor can I, at preſent, give you any account of Rio de Calbary, becauſe I was not there, by reaſon of the great mortality which happened amongſt our men; but I hope once in my life to meet with an opportunity of going thither. I paſs over Rio de Gabon and Cabo Lopez di Gonſalvez, becauſe you yourſelf have been there; and for the ſame reaſon, I omit our arrival on the Gold Coaſt.

I have now only to add my wiſhes, that theſe obſervations may in the leaſt contribute to your ſatisfaction, and aſſure you, that the writer hereof is very ambitious of being reckoned amongſt your moſt humble ſervants, and ſhall continue ſo whilſt

DAVID VAN NYENDAEL.

From on board the yacht, Johanna Maria,
Sept. 1, 1702.

A DE-

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TOOTH AND GRAIN COAST, &c.

LETTER XXII. — *The Author's Departure from Elmina, and Arrival at Acra, which he leaves, and ſails to Cape Lopez di Gonſalvez, which he leaves after trading there, and ſails along the Equinoctial Line; Arrival at the Upper Coaſt about Cabo Monte; the Author lands, and is very civilly treated by the Inhabitants: a Deſcription of the King's Perſon, his Children, and the Multitude of his Wives. — The Induſtry of the Inhabitants. — The Vegetables, Cattle, and Fiſh of the Country. — They marry as many Wives as they pleaſe; their Habits, Religion, Wars, and Weapons. — Deſcription of Cape Monte, and Departure from thence. — His Arrival at Cape Mizurado, and going on Shore; ſome Inhabitants of this Place robbed by the Engliſh; the Trade there; a Deſcription of the Place, and its Inhabitants; the Women do all the Work, and the Men live idly; ſome Engliſh made Priſoners by them; a very fine River. — His Departure from thence, and Arrival at Rio Junk, before the Town of Corra, where he went on ſhore, and what he obſerved there; a Woman delivered of four Children at a Birth. — The Author's Departure and Arrival at Rio Seſtre; a Deſcription of that and the Village; of the King and his Subjects; great Plenty of Rice; their Trade; Manner of burning the dead. — His Departure; how the Land bears; Anchoring before Sanguin; Trade with the Natives, as alſo with thoſe of Boffoe and Battewa, who are very thieviſh; the Captain of Bottewa comes on board; his Character. — He ſails by Battewa and Sino; Arrival at Seſtro Crou, which is a fine Village; he ſails by Wappo and Cape Das Palmas, and arrives at Druwin, where he trades; the Natives have very ſharp Teeth, are very ſavage, and Lovers of human Fleſh. — Rio St. Andrees is ſo wide and deep, that it is navigable with ſmall Ships; the Inhabitants are barbarous, but the Country pleaſant and fruitful. — The Author's Departure and dropping Anchor before Cape La Hoe, where there is a great Village and River; the Natives affable and very tractable in Buſineſs. — His Departure and paſſing Jaque La Hoe, and the Bottomleſs Pit; Arrival at Aſſine, but ſailing by it; Account of the French Garriſon there; Sailing by Cape Apolonia; Arrival at Axim, and Concluſion of the Voyage.*

SIR,

PURSUANT to your orders, this ſerves to furniſh you with an account of our voyage, and the countries where we traded. But making but a few days' ſtay on ſome of them, I am not, therefore, ſo able to oblige you with a large account of the national conſtitution or manners of the inhabitants, as I could wiſh I were; ſo that I can only deſire you to believe, that if my relation falls ſhort of your expectation, the fault is to be charged on want of opportunity to gratify you, but not in the leaſt to want of inclination.

After having taken our leaves under the ſalvo of a cheerful glaſs, we weighed anchor and began our voyage. Two days after we arrived at Acra, where we executed our commiſſion, left that place, and ſteered our courſe to Cape Lopez di Gonſalvez, where we arrived without any conſiderable accident in our paſſage on the ——. I ſhall not deſcribe this Cape to you, who have viſited it yourſelf, but ſhall only inform you, that after having concluded our trade there, we left it on the ——, and inclined to the weſt, ſailing along the Equinoctial, till we came high enough to make the Upper Coaſt.

About ten in the evening, on the 28th of November, we made land: and in the morning found ourſelves about ten miles above Cape Monte. The land here bears low and flat to the mentioned cape. It is furniſhed with numerous villages; but not one Negro coming on board us, we were reſolved to depart without anchoring and make for the cape, where we happily arrived the following day.

After which I immediately loaded a parcel of goods into the boat, and therewith went on ſhore, intending to try whether I could deal for any elephants' teeth, which ſometimes are plenty there.

As ſoon as I landed I found the whole ſhore filled with Negroes, who very civilly welcomed me, and conducted me to their houſes, juſt beyond the ſhore, making out three ſmall villages, the whole amount of which was not full thirty houſes.

As ſoon as I was come into one of theſe great villages, I was treated with ſeveral pots of wine, and deſired to ſtay the arrival of their King; which I agreeing to, after having paſſed an hour, His Majeſty appeared, accompanied with a party of men. I roſe up in order to meet him before he entered the village, and to ſalute him with a profound reverence.

He, as well as the reſt, bid me heartily welcome, and we went into the village, where we ſat down together. After ſome converſation I aſked His Majeſty, whether there was any probability of trading to any purpoſe here; but was anſwered that they had not at preſent any ſtock of elephants' teeth; wherefore I was obliged to content myſelf with two, there being then no more to be gotten.

This King was an elderly man, as appeared by his grey head and beard. His name was Jan de Cabo Monte, ſo called from the point of that name. He was clothed, or rather hung with a brown cloak, and a woollen cap on his head; ſo that his whole equipage, if ſold to the brokers, would not yield forty ſhillings.

I was informed, that he was bleſſed with ſixteen children, twelve ſons and four daughters. On each of the firſt of which he hath beſtowed the government of a village containing eight huts; for houſes they cannot, with any manner of juſtice, be called.

The daughters alſo did their beſt to paſs honeſtly through the world; but their principal trade lay in relieving the travellers' neceſſities at a very reaſonable price.

If the Negroes are to be credited, the King had not above four hundred wives, who all live with him in one village, about three miles in-land from the river-ſide.

This is a very fine river, which begins juſt beyond the ſhore, without entering the ſea above once in a year, when, by reaſon of the great rains, it overflows. Its courſe is extended far in-land, and according to the report of the Negroes, diſembogues itſelf into the river Sierra Leone, which is a good diſtance from this place.

The inhabitants of Cabo Monte are induſtrious to the laſt degree. Their employments chiefly conſiſt in planting of rice, and boiling of ſalt; both which all the Negroes are obliged to do for the King, whoſe ſlaves they are accounted.

The product of this land conſiſts of a ſmall quantity of great Milhio, Jammes, potatoes and rice. The arboriferous fruits here, as well as on the Gold Coaſt, are Paquovers, bananas, ananas, &c.

They are not very well ſtored with cattle; for they have neither kine nor hogs, and but a few ſheep; alſo not many chickens, but they are good. Here are enough of elephants, tygers, buffaloes, harts, and other wild beaſts. Nor is there here the leaſt want of fiſh; the river is full of them, and they catch them with large nets.

Each man here, at pleaſure, marries as many wives as he can maintain, and by reaſon the women work hard, their keeping is not very expenſive. They ſeem alſo

to live very contentedly with their wives, and not to be much concerned if they ſometimes venture on unlawful pleaſures with other men.

The habit of theſe Negroes is very like ſhifts, with wide ſleeves, which hang down to the knees; or indeed it is more like a ſurplice: but the women do not wear this habit. but inſtead thereof a narrow cloth wound about their middles, and tucked in at their ſides to faſten it, without being at the trouble of doing it by a girdle, as on the Gold Coaſts; nor do they wear garters like them. Sometimes they ſhameleſsly go naked, as if they were proud of what Nature beſtows on them in common with the reſt of their ſex.

I aſked them what religion they profeſſed; and was anſwered that it principally conſiſted in reverencing and obeying their King and the governor ſet over them, without troubling themſelves with what was above them.

When I enquired after their wars with other countries, they told me, they were not often troubled with them; but if any difference happened, they choſe rather to end the diſpute amicably, than to come to arms: wherefore their bows and arrows (their only weapons) ſerve rather for ornament than military uſes.

This being all I have to ſay of Cape Monte, I ſhall take leave of it with only acquainting you that the cape is a very high mountain, which, as we come from the ſea, looks like a lofty iſland ſeparated from the coaſt. The country hereabouts is very pleaſant, and alſo ſeems very fertile. The coaſt of Cape Monte extends ſouth-eaſt and by eaſt, and north-weſt and by weſt, and is all over flat land.

We departed thence, and arrived on the 25th before Cape Mizurado, which is alſo a high hill, though not ſo high as that of Cape Monte. They are about ten miles diſtant from each other.

We caſt anchor, but not one Negro coming on board, I ſtepped into the chalop, and went on ſhore; and after having ſtaid awhile on the ſtrand, ſome Negroes came to us; and being deſirous to be informed why they did not come on board, I was anſwered that about two months before, the Engliſh had been there with two large veſſels, and had ravaged the country, deſtroyed all their canoes, plundered their houſes, and carried off ſome of their people for ſlaves; upon which the remainder fled to the in-land country, where moſt of them were at preſent: ſo that here not being much to be done for us, we were obliged to return on board, having not been able in two days time to come at above three hundred weight of teeth.

The land betwixt both the laſt-mentioned capes is perfectly flat and even; the coaſt bears as above. Two miles weſt of this place are three villages, containing about twenty houſes each, which, indeed, were the fineſt I ſaw in my whole voyage. Each of them had three neat apartments, and covered at the tops, like our hay-ricks in Holland. In one of theſe houſes are commonly lodged fifty or ſixty men, women, and children, all which confuſedly intermix in their lodging: the women are handſome, and, as the men inform me, are permitted to earn what money they pleaſe with their bodies. I found all the inhabitants civil and good-natured people. Two old men here pretended to be captains, and obliged me to pay ſeven pound of copper as cuſtom. By reaſon of the injuries which they received from the Engliſh, they were ſo timorous, that they would not venture on board any ſhip. And if any perſon come armed on ſhore, they immediately fly.

The men do not much trouble themſelves with working, but rather leave that to their wives, as believing they have ſufficiently fatigued themſelves with trading a little, moſtly in palm-wine, which is very plenty and good here. They ſeem to give them-

ſelves no more trouble about religion, than their neighbours of Cape Monte, being very ſolicitous about nothing but eating and drinking, and making merry.

What hath been ſaid of the habits, cattle, and fruit, of the former, may alſo ſerve them: they tell us they live in peace with all their neighbours, and have no notion of any other enemy than the Engliſh, of which nation they had taken ſome then, and publicly declared that they would endeavour to get as many of them as the two-mentioned ſhips had carried off of their natives. Theſe unhappy Engliſh were in danger of being ſacrificed to the memory of their friends, which ſome of their nation carried off.

I ſhould now take leave of Cape Mizurado, if I did not find myſelf obliged to ſay ſomething concerning the river, which diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, and is five or ſix foot deep in the entrance, ſo that in calm weather it is eaſily navigable with ſmall boats or chalops. It takes its courſe weſtwards three miles from hence, and eaſtwards directly to Rio Seſtre, whither the natives daily paſs in their canoes, and trade either in the natural produce of the country, or elephants' teeth, by reaſon that a much greater number of ſhips come to Rio Seſtre than here.

On the 28th of —— we weighed anchor, and left this cape, ſteering eaſt along the ſhore. The coaſt bears, and the land ſhews as above, for five miles from Mizurado, where, at three different places, we diſcover different land; the firſt of which is not very high, the laſt higher, and the middlemoſt higher than both. We did not ſee ſo much as one Negro, or any village, till we were advanced three miles farther eaſtward, where, by reaſon of the calm, we were obliged to anchor, and towards the evening we ſaw fire on the ſhore, whence we conjectured that there was a village, and the natives made that ſign to expreſs their inclination to trade with us, wherefore we continued there till next day; but no perſon coming near us in the morning, we weighed anchor, and purſued our voyage till noon, when we caſt anchor once more in Rio Junk, and ſtayed till evening, but ſaw neither Negroes nor canoes. The land hereabouts ſhews low and flat; but farther in-land, diſcovers three hills; the two firſt of which are ſituate weſt of Rio Junk, appearing perfectly round, and the largeſt in the middle.

The entrance of Rio Junk diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, and at the point four high trees diſcover themſelves, two of which are adorned with crowns or round tops, and the other two, which are the higheſt, are ſomewhat thorny. Hereabouts the land ſhews chiefly even and doubled. A mile eaſt of Rio Junk, are two large clefts, which render this cape very diſtinguiſhable; beſide that, it may be eaſily known by the multitude of rocks, of which the ſhore is full, and againſt which the ſea continually beats in a terrible manner. We ſaw the fires made by the Negroes, to advertiſe one another, that there were ſhips in ſight, but by reaſon nobody came on board us, I am of opinion, that they are ſalt villages. The coaſt here extends from eaſt to ſouth, and from weſt to north.

We ſailed on till three miles weſt of Rio Seſtre, where a canoe full of Negroes came on board us, who deſired us to anchor before their village, which was ſituate in a pleaſant wood, which I did, they informing me that they had a good ſtock of elephants' teeth.

This village is called Corra, and not till this occaſion known to the ſeamen. The burning of the ſea was ſo very fierce here, that it was impoſſible to come aſhore with boat or chalop; wherefore I went into a canoe, in which, though it was filled with water, the Negroes carried me ſafe on ſhore. I was ſo deſirous of ſeeing this new-

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diſcovered country, that I heartily wiſhed to meet with a good opportunity of trading to detain me here.

As ſoon as I was landed, I aſked my black pilot where their village or dwelling was; he led me about a quarter of a mile into the wood, where I diſcovered two ſmall miſerably-built ſalt villages, one of twelve, and the other of ſix houſes, whoſe inhabitants, who were very buſy in boiling ſalt, ſeemed to be wild-men, none of them beſides my guide having ever, I believe, ſeen any white men. I could not ſpeak one word with any of them: my guide, who ſhould have been interpreter, was ſo ignorant of tongues, that it was not without difficulty that I made him underſtand me with words and ſigns. However wild and ſtrange they might ſeem at firſt, they yet afterwards appeared very civil and courteous; for after I had walked through their country, I deſigned to return, becauſe I ſaw no teeth; but an old man, that looked like their governor, would not ſuffer me, but cauſed my canoe to be brought from the ſhore into his village; and deſired, before my departure, that I would eat and drink with him, which, being hungry, I readily conſented to. The old man did every thing he was able to treat me well, after which he conſented to my departure, under condition that I would come again next day.

Theſe Negroes are undoubtedly happy in a numerous iſſue, and the women very fruitful, for I accidentally ſaw a woman laden with four children, and aſking my interpreter whether they all came at one birth, he anſwered in the affirmative, which induced me to beſtow a charitable preſent on the mother and her children; after which I again ſtepped into the canoe, and cauſed myſelf to be carried to our chalop, ſending my thanks to the old gentlemen, and telling them, that if they had any goods to trade with, they might come to Rio Seſtre, where I deſigned to ſpend ſome days.

As ſoon as I came on board, we weighed anchor, and ſailed on to Rio Seſtre, and arrived in the road the 3d of December. Before Rio Seſtre the land is very low, and beyond it there are two high hills, one of which appears like a ſemicircle or rainbow.

About a mile weſt of this place, are two great rocks, and about as far eaſtward a point of land ſtretches into the ſea, ſo that this place is eaſy to be known.

The entrance of this river from the ſea is full of rocks, which yet lie ſix foot under water, wherefore it is eaſy to paſs over them all with laden boats and chalops, except two of them, which appear above water, and are to be avoided.

The village is ſituated cloſe to the ſhore, on a riſing ground, and contains about ſixty houſes, which are very neatly built, and ſo high, that ſome of them appear three miles out at ſea. The buildings here differ from thoſe of Mizurado, only in that here are more ſtories.

Rio Seſtre is a very fine and pleaſant river; the banks on each ſide are thickly ſet with high and low trees. Several rivulets and ſmall ſprings diſcharge themſelves into this river; but what adds to the charms of this river, beſides the trees, is the multitude of villages all along its banks; amongſt which is that of the King, ſituated about three miles up the river, and compoſed of about thirty houſes,

The King, who is a ſilver-haired very old man, declares that all the inhabitants of his village are really deſcended from him, which is very probable, they not being very numerous. He, like the great or principal men hereabouts, aſſumes an European name, which is Peter. He is a very agreeable, obliging man, and all his ſubjects are very civil, as well as very laborious in agriculture and the purſuit of their trade.

Their habit, fruits of the earth, cattle, and fiſh, are the ſame with the beforementioned people.

Theſe countries ſeem to live in perfect peace with other countries, for all hereabouts we hear of no other wars than a few ſkirmiſhes which formerly happened with the inland Negroes, who burned their village by ſurpriſe: but they took moſt of them priſoners, and ſold them, which entirely ended the war.

The inhabitants, as I have already hinted, are very induſtrious, eſpecially in the planting of rice, which is their chief employment. Rice increaſes ſo prodigiouſly here, that in a very ſhort time we eaſily get enough to load a ſhip. Thoſe above the common rank drive a perpetual trade in rice, Malaget, and elephants' teeth, though the quantity of the laſt is very ſmall.

I cannot omit their ſtrange manner of burial, having had the opportunity of obſerving an inſtance of it, in the interment of an old woman, during the time of my trading here. As ſoon as dead, her corpſe was covered with a cloth, and the people of the whole village, neither old nor young excepted, came and ranged themſelves in very good order round the corpſe, and each of them was provided with a few Banana leaves to ſhade and defend the old woman from the heat of the ſun. The men, in a deſperate and diſtracted manner, run about the houſe of the deceaſed, continually and diſmally howling, inſomuch that if ſhe had been but half dead, it had been ſufficient to have accelerated her departure. The women, which ſat round the body, alſo began to lift up their voices, as not being willing to be out-done; and if I were to be judge, I could ſcarcely determine which of the ſexes made the greateſt noiſe. This jarring diſcord continued inceſſant for the ſpace of twenty-four hours. But, on the ſecond day, there was a ſmall ceſſation; by reaſon that an empty canoe was brought juſt before the dwelling of the deceaſed, into which the corpſe was laid; next which was placed a pot of rice, and another of palm-wine, in order to ſupply her, if ſhe happened to be either hungry or thirſty on her journey; and after that the canoe was filled with all ſorts of green plants. After this the mourning cry was renewed, and continued about half an hour; next to which appeared ten young vigorous fellows, who took up the corpſe and canoe, both which they carried to the river, in order to be tranſported to the place of her nativity, and buried there. Which I at firſt conjectured to be in obedience to the laſt teſtament of the deceaſed; but was afterwards informed, that it was cuſtomary for every perſon to be buried at the place of his birth, though he happened to die at never ſo great a diſtance from thence; and that though the deceaſed had not left any effects behind to defray the expence, the neighbours were yet obliged to bear the charge. The old woman was then carried up the river and buried, and three days afterwards the friends and relations returned home, and brought with them a ſheep and a good quantity of palm-wine, to keep the burying-feaſt. I kept near them, in order to obſerve them; but they no ſooner ſaw me, but invited me to participate with them; which I was eaſily perſuaded to, by reaſon I had been dealing for rice the whole day, and had not eaten. I ate and drank very heartily with them, as long as either wine or eatables laſted, thinking I had been very well treated, but next morning found my error; for the relations and the whole Company came and brought me a ſcurvy reckoning, and I could not get rid of them, without making each of them a particular preſent; when I ſummed up the matter, I found that the expence of the whole feaſt was defrayed out of my pocket, which obliged me to clap down as a memorandum in my note-book, never again to venture to an old woman's funeral.

This, ſir, is all I have to ſay concerning Rio Seſtre, which I ſhould have gone farther up, and have more particularly viſited the country, if any-body had been with me to take care of our trade, or we had not been bound farther. But the Engliſh ſhips generally come ſo thick upon this Coaſt, that without utmoſt diligence in my poſt, I could

could not expect to do any thing. Nay, at laſt we found trade here at ſuch a low ebb, that we were obliged to leave this place on the 11th of December, not ſtaying here above eight days.

Sailing then from Rio Seſtre we found the ſhore plain double land. The coaſt extends north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt. Three miles below Rio Seſtre is a great mountainous rock, on which grows a very high tree: this place is called Little Seſtre; and about a mile and half farther eaſt, a point juts into the ſea; on the land next which appears a great rock, which is white at the top, and at ſea looks like a ſhip under ſail.

A little below this we dropped anchor, before the village of Sanguin, where we could deal but to a ſmall value.

Whilſt we lay here the Negroes of Boffoe and Bottewa came on board us with a canoe, laden with Malaget, for which they deſired only Annabaſſes; ſo that I diſpoſed of all I had to them in two days' time.

I found no other difference of the Negroes of Sanguin, than that theſe were bigotted to a very pernicious opinion, that dextrous robbery is very lawful and expedient; wherefore we are obliged to deal very cautiouſly, for they readily buy whatever commodities they ſee, but are ſure never to pay for them.

The land about Sanguin is eaſily diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral high trees, which ſhew themſelves eaſtwards of it.

About a mile eaſt of Sanguin lies Boffoe, which may be known by a plain ſand-point, is environed with large and ſmall rocks. Here a Negro came on board, who called himſelf James, and pretended to be captain of Boffoe; he ſpoke a confuſed ſort of language, being a mixed jargon of Engliſh and Portugueſe. He ſeemed a great lover of the female ſex, which was the whole ſubject with which he entertained us. He told us, unaſked, that he had ten wives, and out of good huſbandry graciouſly now and then beſtowed one of them on his ſon Jooſt, who was on board with him.

When we repreſented to him the wickedneſs of ſuch an action, and told him, that no place in the world allowed it, he laughed aloud, and ſaid, "That they were, then, fools to inſiſt on ſuch a trifle; and that, as his people were better informed, they acted accordingly."

We ſent theſe heroes on ſhore, and left Boffoe, in order to purſue our voyage.

About three miles farther, is the village of Bottewa, ſituate on the ſhore; and half a mile weſt of it, a great rock appears in the ſea; and about a mile below Bottewa, another rock, very like the former, diſcovers itſelf; a mile beyond which, the high land of Bottewa appears, conſiſting of a multitude of high hills. We traded for ſome grain or Malaget, while we were ſailing, without ſo much as anchoring; for which reaſon I had no opportunity of obſerving the country and its inhabitants, though I believe they do not much differ from thoſe of Boffoe.

A mile and a half beyond Bottewa, is the village Sino, which is diſtinguiſhable by a great rock upon a ſand-point, jutting a little into the ſea; behind that is a great river, which, according to the report of the Negroes, extends itſelf far in-land, and is not much leſs conſiderable than Rio Seſtre. I could not come at any farther information, for the Negroes ſpeak ſuch a barbarous language that they are not to be underſtood without difficulty. The coaſt extends itſelf here ſouth-eaſt and by eaſt, and north-weſt and by weſt; the land is very even.

We ſailed from hence, and came the 20th of December to Seſtre Crou. The land is here flat and low, the village is beautiful and large, and rather larger and more extenſive than Elmina. Behind it the land is higher, and adorned with a good number of large,

large, though leafleſs trees. There are two great rocks on the ſhore, about half a mile diſtant from each other, by all which marks this place is eaſily known.

The Negroes here ſeemed to be a good ſort of people, honeſt in their dealings, and much more regular than thoſe who live higher up. Their language is utterly unintelligible; wherefore it is impoſſible to learn any thing of their manners and cuſtoms. The cattle and fruits here are like thoſe at other places, they being well furniſhed with both. The fiſhery and the fiſh are not at all different from thoſe on the Gold Coaſt.

Having finiſhed our trading affairs here, we ſailed on to the village Wappo, about three miles diſtant from Seſtre Crou. The marks of this place are ſeveral high ſtraggling trees, which appear upon a high hill beyond the ſhore; the tops of theſe trees appear very red at a diſtance. Before Wappo a very large rock diſcovers itſelf, which ſeems ſeparated from the ſhore, though really on it. As we ſailed by the land, it appeared but faintly, if at all. The coaſt ſtretches eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and weſt-ſouth-weſt; all, or at leaſt as far as we could ſee of it, flat land, to about three miles weſt of Cabo das Palmas, where a point of land juts into the ſea, which, at a diſtance, looks like a dolphin, and hath a large village on it, and four trees in the midſt of it, which we took to be cocoas.

We made our uſual ſign to invite the Negroes on board us, but none coming, we did our beſt to double the mentioned cape, which ſometimes proves difficult enough, if we are too near the ſhore. We paſſed it notwithſtanding, in the night, the 25th of December, and not obſerving any villages or Negroes next day, we purſued our courſe to Druwin. The coaſt from cape Palm to Druwin bears eaſt and by north, and weſt and by ſouth, about twenty-ſix miles, all high and flat land.

On the 26th ditto, in the evening, and next day, ſome Negroes, in three canoes laden with elephants' teeth, came on board us, and after giving them their Dasje, or preſent, I dealt with them for the ivory at the deareſt rate.

I never yet ſaw more covetous men, or greater ſavages. They begged every thing they ſaw; and if we deny them, or ſpeak warmly to them, as to other Negroes, they immediately leap over-board and make to land; ſo that we can ſcarcely trade with theſe people, otherwiſe than to conſiderable loſs.

Their teeth, with which they eat human fleſh, when they can come at it, were as ſharp as awls; wherefore I ſhould not adviſe any to ſet foot on land here, who is not fond of being buried in their bellies.

The land-marks here are very plain, and render this country eaſily diſtinguiſhable, partly by its height and lofty trees, but principally by reaſon of three or four large villages which there diſcover themſelves, each of which is ſituate about half a mile from the other. Behind the laſt village appears a high point to the eaſt, where the land begins to grow into a promontory, in which is the large river of St. Andrew, which diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, and takes its courſe, according to the Negroes, weſtwards, and is ſo wide and deep, that it is navigable with barks, with which we might come in and trade, if we were but aſſured the natives would not moleſt us, which no perſon is able to give us a ſatisfactory aſſurance of, ſince here the inhabitants are the greateſt brutes on the whole Coaſt; and whoever trades here, ought to keep ſpies aloft to prevent his being ſurprized by them.

Theſe barbarians are poſſeſſed of a country which affords them an envied plenty of all manner of proviſion; for Milhio, Jammes, Paquovens, Bananas, and in ſhort, whatever the Gold Coaſt produces, is here very plenty; and they have beſides great abundance of kine, ſheep, poultry, &c. as alſo wild beaſts, and, indeed, want nothing neceſſary to the ſupport of life; all which we may juſtly grudge them, becauſe out of

pure

pure croſſneſs they will not ſell any, except the worſt part of them, which they do not like themſelves, and that at a very dear rate.

We find even in this age ſeveral who doubt, whether there are any wild men in the world ſo far degenerated from human nature as to kill and eat their own ſpecies; for they ſay, "If there were any ſuch, they would not be diſtinguiſhed from brutes by any thing but their ſpeech, which ſeems to claſh with the divine goodneſs, which endowed man only with a rational ſoul, that he might know what was neceſſary for him:" beſides which, they take it for granted, that no man can properly be called wild, but ſuch a one as like the beaſts, ſeparated from all ſociety, paſſeth his life in woods and wilderneſſes, without any regard to divine or human laws; and that ſince none of theſe men were ever obſerved from the beginning of the world, they venture to conclude, that there never was, nor never will be any ſuch. But this argument ſeems very weak; for experience hath long ſince convinced us, that there are men-eaters in the world. Antiquity hath left us accounts of it; and it is from time to time confirmed by a crowd of authors. Our North Holland preacher hath clearly proved it; and though he is not always in the right, yet what he ſaith of the Brazilians and other neighbouring nations, is undoubted truth. But what need I to apply to other witneſſes, whilſt you yourſelf have experienced the truth of it in thoſe in-land Negroes which come from the country beyond Ardra, who imagine, that we buy them and carry them off only in order to eat them; which jealouſy would not probably enter their thoughts, if they did not certainly know that there were man-eaters in the world: and as to what they farther ſay concerning wild-men, I will readily own, that there are no ſuch wild-men as they deſcribe in the world, if they will but allow on the other ſide, that ſome men differ from the other ſo much, that ſome may be comparatively called wild, or brutes, which doth not proceed from this, that they as well as we are not endowed with a rational ſoul; but from their reaſonable ſouls being degenerated by barbarous uſages, and for want of converſation with civilized nations. Nor are examples wanting of men, who by accidents which happened in their youth, have been obliged to continue ſeveral years in the woods, which in proceſs of time rendered them ſo wild, that they afterwards became afraid of and fled from all men. But enough of this, let every one believe what he pleaſes.

On the 29th we left this progeny of Cham, and ſteered ſouth-eaſt and by ſouth; i. e. after ſailing a mile and a half we came to the Sixteen Red Cliffs, which take up in all about three miles in length, and in clear weather are viſible ſix or ſeven miles out at ſea. I found here neither Negroes nor villages. The Coaſt bears as above; and from Druwyn to Cape Lahoe is about twenty-ſeven miles.

On the 30th ditto, we anchored before Cape Lahoe. The land declines here, and is very low on the ſea-ſide. The village is very large, and ſeems to ſtretch about a mile along the ſhore. Betwixt the houſes throughout the whole place are multitudes of cocoa-trees, as at Axim; and if this land were ſo high as that, and had a fort built in the midſt of the town, it would not be much unlike that in any thing beſides the largeneſs of the village. About three miles on land beyond the village, are ſeveral high hills; and a mile weſt of Cape Lahoe is a large river, which runs to the river of St. Andrew, and a great many miles into the in-land country, as alſo eaſtwards, though not very far; for ſailing but a few miles eaſtward, our courſe is ſtopped by land.

The Negroes ſeem here affable and civil, and were very eaſy to be dealt with, only they held their elephants' teeth ſomewhat dear at that time. But that was occaſioned

by the great numbers of Engliſh and Dutch interlopers, though moſt of the firſt, which had lately been here.

This place is as plentifully bleſſed with proviſions as Druwyn, with this difference only, that it is better and cheaper. I cannot ſay much more concerning this place, only inform you, what the Negroes told me, that they were very populous, and were ruled by one chief captain or governor.

Having done our buſineſs we weighed anchor, and purſued our voyage to Jaque Lahoe, about three miles farther, the Coaſt bearing in the ſame manner. We were informed by the Negroes, that they had no ſtock of elephants' teeth; wherefore we reſolved to ſail to the Bottomleſs Pit (ſo called from an imagination that it really is ſo; but the contrary hath been experienced), about four miles farther.

The land from below, or a little weſtward of Cape Lahoe, to Jaque Lahoe, is diſtinguiſhed in the maps and charts by the name of the Quaqua Coaſt; but wherefore ſo called I cannot determine, unleſs it be, that ſome compare the ſpeech of theſe Negroes to the noiſe of ducks, which I cannot confirm to you, becauſe I could not obſerve ſo remarkable a difference betwixt their language and that of other Negroes, as ſhould make it ſound like Quoaking. The natives call their country Adouw, and themſelves Adouwſians; but we follow our chart and call them Quaquaans.

You are probably acquainted with the expert ſwimming and diving of theſe Negroes, which I have ſeveral times ſeen with ſurprize. Whenever they were on board, and I threw a ſtring of coral, or any thing elſe into the ſea, one of them would immediately dive after it, and though almoſt got to the bottom, fetch it up again. This they ſeldom miſſed of, and were ſure of what they brought up as their reward.

We paſſed the night in the Bottomleſs Pit, and arrived in the morning at Aſſinee, which we gueſs to be about ſeven miles below the mentioned Pit. The Coaſt here bears eaſt by ſouth. Here are no elephants' teeth, but gold to be traded for; but we had no orders to deal in that commodity, wherefore we ſailed by Aſſinee. Notwithſtanding which, ſome Negroes in a canoe come on board me; I aſked them, "How they agreed with the French?" they anſwered, "That all the Caboceroes of Aſſinee, together with their ſubjects, were gone from thence, and had ſettled a mile above the village; where they continued at preſent, without entertaining the leaſt commerce or correſpondence with the French, who had only a bare lodge on the ſhore, encompaſſed with paliſadoes, and provided with five pieces of canon, and then guarded by eight men, who were well furniſhed with proviſions, left there by the French ſhips, but were ſometimes in great want of water, which the Negroes always endeavoured by force to keep them from;" ſo that theſe Negroes were of opinion, that the French, unleſs they received ſome aſſiſtance from Europe, could not long ſubſiſt there, but would be obliged to abandon the place upon the firſt opportunity.

Time will diſcover what part of this relation deſerves credit, though I believe that the French are not in ſuch a wretched condition as they repreſented them.

The Coaſt from Aſſinee to Cape Apollonia bears eaſt-ſouth-eaſt; the Coaſt is in all parts furniſhed with great and ſmall villages: but no Negroes came on board us; wherefore I cannot give you any account of this country or their inhabitants.

The now mentioned Cape appears to be low plain ground; behind it are three high hills, which are its diſtinguiſhing marks; without them it would not deſerve the name of a Cape, than which it is nothing leſs, and would be ſailed by without ever being ſeen. From hence to Axim ſeems to be about ſeven miles, though others think it more. The land betwixt both places is very low, and adorned with thouſands of cocoa-trees. The ſhore is extraordinarily broad, flat, and looks as if paved with bricks,

and

and is a fine road to travel on with coaches, or chaiſes, as in Holland. At the end of this ſhore is Rio Cobre, about half a league above Axim; but you yourſelf being better acquainted with this Coaſt than I can pretend to, I ſhall conclude this account of my voyage, with humbly deſiring your kind acceptance of my relation, aſſuring you, that I have not failed to note every thing which was remarkable. Wherefore, after requeſting the continuance of your favours, I take the liberty to ſubſcribe myſelf,

Your obedient ſervant,

From on board the yacht Johanna Jacoba,
before Axim, Jan. the 2d, 1702.

JOHN SNOEK.

HISTORY
OF
LOANGO, KAKONGO,
AND OTHER KINGDOMS IN AFRICA.

By the Abbé PROYART.*

CHAP. I. — *Design and Division of the Work.*

IT is surprising enough, that though our vessels habitually frequent the coasts of Loango, Congo, and other kingdoms in Africa, and our merchants have warehouses there, yet we know absolutely nothing of what passes in the interior of those states, and what the people are who inhabit them. We land among them, give them European merchandize, take in slaves, and return. No one hitherto had penetrated into the country as an observer; no one at least had remained there a sufficient time to make such observations as might be relied on. We judge of those different people by the inhabitants along the coasts; and because these persons, frequently imposed upon by Europeans, make no scruple of imposing on them in return, we accuse the whole nation of duplicity. They sell men, — we accuse them of inhumanity. Is there, then, so much more humanity in buying them than in selling them? But we do not consider, that the men whom they sell are enemies taken in war, and whom in many cases they might have a right to put to death. We believe that the father sells his son, and the prince his subjects; *he* only who has lived among them can know that it is not even lawful for a master to sell his slave, if he be born in the country, unless he have incurred that penalty by certain crimes specified by law.

But these are not the only imputations on those people; it is pretended that they are as dissolute in their manners as they are perfidious and inhuman in the affairs of life; and without hearing their answer to charges so grave, we proceed to arraign them, and assume conjectures and hearsay, vague and partial relations, as the proofs and testimonies. They are at once accused, tried, and condemned. Persons who have never considered their country but from the top of the observatory, excommunicate them, with map in hand, and pronounce their regions to have fallen from all hope in the religion of the true God. In a sentence so rigorous, founded on so frivolous an accusation, are we to recognize an age in which the dictates of reason and humanity alone are heard?

These people have vices, — what people is exempt from vice? But were they even more wicked and more vicious, they would be so much the more entitled to the commiseration and good offices of their fellow-men; and should the missionary despair of making them Christians, men ought still to endeavour to make them men.

* Paris, 1776.

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This office, ſo worthy of a true philoſopher, was never diſcharged by any but the Chriſtian philoſopher: ſo true is it, that humanity as well as the other ſocial virtues, are more the offspring of the Chriſtian religion than of the philoſophy of the day. Miſſionaries were they, who, notwithſtanding prejudices ſo unfavourable to the people of whom we ſpeak, made no heſitation in leaving their country to eſtabliſh themſelves among them, with the intention, if not of making them perfect, at leaſt of improving them. In this hiſtory we ſhall hazard no conjecture: we ſhall make no ſtatement but upon irreproachable teſtimony. As they knew not the language of the country on their arrival, they had leiſure to be obſervers, before they could become miſſionaries.

It is not to be expected that we ſhould give a very extenſive hiſtory of nations who, as yet, have neither acquired the uſe of letters, nor employ any ſubſtitute for them; ſo that the preſent work will be, not ſo much a recital of what has paſſed among them, as a portraiture of their actual condition.

In this will be found the geographical ſituation of the places and the temperature of the climate; the nature of the ſoil and its moſt common productions, vegetable and animal; the character of the people; their virtues and their vices; their alliances, their occupations, their government and laws, their commerce and their wars, their language and religion.

CHAP. II. — *Of the Situation of the Country, and the Temperature of the Air.*

THE people of whom we treat inhabit the weſtern coaſt of Africa, from the equinoctial line to the river of Zaïra, the mouth of which is about ſix degrees of latitude ſouth.

This extent of country is divided into ſeveral kingdoms, the moſt remarkable of which is that of Loango: it commences at the village of Makanda: not at half a degree from the equator, as ſome travellers have ſtated, but about 4° 5′ ſouth latitude. It has twenty leagues of coaſt, and terminates at the river of Louango-Louiſa, the courſe of which is 5° 5′ of the ſame latitude. Bouali, the capital, commonly called Loango by the French, is ſituated about 4° 45′. The kingdom of Kakongo* called by mariners Malimba, and that of N' Goio which they denominate Cabiuda, are to the ſouth of Loango. To the north is found the kingdom of Iomba, called by mariners and geographers Maiomba, but erroneouſly ſo, becauſe Ma-Iomba ſignifies king of Iomba, as Ma-Loango ſignifies king of Loango. Eaſtward of Loango are ſituated the kingdoms of N' Teka, and another kingdom of Iomba, which is ſometimes confounded with the former. Beyond theſe kingdoms are others, unknown to us, and into which no Europeans have hitherto penetrated.

As theſe different ſtates are ſituated at no conſiderable diſtance from the equinoctial line, the days and nights are pretty nearly equal throughout the year; cold is never felt there. A naturaliſt in his cabinet would conclude that the heats muſt be exceſſive; but perſons on the ſpot find them tolerable; and it is impoſſible to avoid recognizing and admiring that Providence which has anticipated every thing, and which tempers and governs the great whole with wonderful economy. The year in theſe climates is divided into two ſeaſons of nearly equal duration. The moſt agreeable and

* Some geographers call this kingdom Caconda. Malimbo is the port of Kakongo, as Cabiuda is of N' Goio. Thus, to call theſe kingdoms Malimbo and Cabiuda would be the ſame thing as if the Engliſh were to call France the kingdom of Calais, becauſe their veſſels touch at the port of that town.

healthy

healthy commences in the month of April, and terminates in October. During this time no rain falls; but in the night there are dews ſufficiently abundant to promote the vegetation of plants. The ſun, during ſix months of drought, would heat the earth to exceſs, were it not that the ſky is moſt generally covered with vapours which intercept its rays and moderate the heats. The dry ſeaſon is not the hotteſt; the ſummer is reckoned from the month of October to April. The heats in this period are exceſſive, and would be unſupportable, eſpecially to Europeans, if there were nothing to mitigate their violence; but they are accompanied with abundant and almoſt continual rains, which refreſh the atmoſphere; they are all ſtormy rains, and few days paſs in which thunder is not heard.

Theſe rains form marſhes in many places, the exhalations of which corrupt the purity of the air. The natives of the country ſuffer not the ſmalleſt inconvenience from them; but Europeans, who are not inured to the climate, ought to remove as far as poſſible from thoſe marſhy tracts. The kingdom of Kakongo, for this reaſon, is much more wholeſome than that of Loango, becauſe not only the rains are leſs frequent, but the face of the country is ſo diſpoſed, as to favour their efflux.

CHAP. III. — *Of the Soil, the Waters, and the Foreſts.*

THE land is in general light, and rather ſandy; more fit for the growth of maize and millet, than for any of the kinds of grain which we cultivate in Europe. It is alſo very fertile; graſs grows on it naturally to the height of eight or ten feet; but the Negroes know not how to huſband and improve ſuch good means: they merely work the ſurface with a ſort of ſpade or hoe, and this in the rainy ſeaſon. This ſlight culture, however, is ſufficient to make the land yield an hundred fold, and often much more, of whatever grain or plants may be beſtowed on it. A ſingle grain of maize produces as much as eight hundred, and commonly does not yield fewer than ſix hundred.

In the country are ſeen many mountains, and ſome very high ones. They contain neither ſtones nor flints, but conſiſt merely of an accumulation of the ſame earth which covers the plains.

Notwithſtanding ſix months of continual rain, there are vaſt plains uncultivated and lying waſte for want of water. To whatever depth they dig, neither tuffa nor ſtone is found. It is a ſtratum of compact argil, which confines the water to the interior of the earth: it is interrupted in certain places, whence it occurs that the waters ſubſiding gradually undermine the ſurface, and often excavate large and deep abyſſes which open inſtantaneouſly during the fall of the rains. The inhabitants of the country flee as far as poſſible from the vicinity of theſe moving grounds, which are left uncultivated.

The Negroes know not the uſe of wells, nor do they even dig any: it is from the lakes, fountains, and rivers, that they procure the waters they want, and ſometimes they have to fetch it from a great diſtance.

The ſtreams and rivers which water the country, flow, for the moſt part, through deep valleys, and are ſhaded by thick foreſts, which keep the waters cool and freſh. The river Zaira, which forms the ſouthern boundary of the kingdoms of N' Goio and Kakongo, flows with equal abundance and rapidity after the months of drought, and at the end of the rainy ſeaſon. It has been obſerved, that ſuch was the caſe with the little rivers, and even the ſmalleſt rivulets; they are never dried up; nor is there even any perceptible diminution of their waters during the drought. Might it not be ſaid, in explanation of this phenomenon, that the water of the rains with which the earth is impregnated

nated for ſix months in the year, diſcharges itſelf only by degrees, and during a ſimilar ſpace of time, into the rivers, and the reſervoirs which conſtitute their ſources.

Foreſts of perpetual verdure cover a great extent of the country. All the Negroes have the right of hunting there, and may cut as much wood as they think proper: but they content themſelves with collecting the dead wood, which ſerves them for firing. Some of the foreſts are ſo thick, that the hunters cannot penetrate them, except by gaps and avenues which the wild beaſts make, in order to get to the plains to feed during the night, and quench their thirſt in the rivers.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the Plants, eſculent Vegetables, Pulſe, and the Fruits of the Earth.*

THE people of theſe countries, naturally little inclined to labour, attach themſelves particularly to the cultivation of thoſe plants which produce moſt with leaſt trouble; ſuch is the manioc. Its ſtalk is a ſpecies of ſhrub of tender and juicy wood, which bears leaves much reſembling thoſe of the wild vine. A ſtalk of manioc produces every year ten or twelve roots, fifteen or twenty inches long and four or five in diameter. The manioc might be raiſed from ſeed, but as it ſhoots from the end, they cut the ſtalk into ſmall pieces, which they fix in the earth during the rainy ſeaſon, and which bring forth the ſame year. In order that the ſame ſtalk may produce, for ſeveral years in ſucceſſion, nothing is required but to leave in the ground, at the gathering, ſome of the ſmaller roots.

The manioc is the bread of the people, and a conſtant food which the poor have always in plenty; hence no beggars are to be ſeen in the country. If, however, the rain were not to fall at the uſual ſeaſon, which, as they aſſure us, is ſometimes the caſe, there would enſue a moſt cruel famine; for theſe people preſerve no proviſions from year to year, nor have they any means of procuring ſupplies from abroad.

They prepare the root of the manioc in ſeveral ways: after having let it ferment in water for ſome days, they cut it, lengthwiſe, into ſlips, which they parch; otherwiſe they make a ſort of compoſt of it. For this purpoſe, the Negroes have earthen veſſels with two bottoms; they put the manioc upon the upper one, which is perforated like a cullender; the lower bottom is full of water: they cloſe the veſſel hermetically, and place it on the fire: the evaporation of the boiling water cooks the manioc, which would be inſipid if it were not done in water.

There is a ſpecies of acid manioc, which is never eaten till after the juice has been expreſſed, and the juice is a poiſon. It has been obſerved, that the copper veſſels in which they prepared this manioc, did not take the verdegris even for ſeveral days after they had been uſed for this purpoſe. The leaf of the manioc alſo is eaten, after the manner of ſpinage. Beſides the manioc, there is nothing which the Negroes cultivate with more care than the Pinda, which we call Piſtachio: it is a ſpecies of long nut, which incloſes two almonds under a very ſlender film. This fruit is ſown in furrows: it puts forth a ſtalk which at firſt reſembles that of the trefoil; but afterwards filaments ſhoot from it, which, after creeping ſome diſtance on the ſurface of the ground, penetrate into it by the ſummit. The ſtalk then ſhoots out a ſmall yellow flower, which does not fructify: it is at the end of the filaments which have entered the earth that the fruit is found in great quantities. It is very good to the taſte, but is indigeſtible; they have it broiled before they eat it. They alſo bruiſe it in order to make a paſte, which ſerves as a ſeaſoning for their ragouts. They expreſs from it a tolerably delicate oil.

There is found in this country a potatoe entirely ſimilar to thoſe which are cultivated in our own North American colonies. The Africans call it Bala-n'-poutou, a root of Europe; doubtleſs becauſe the Portugueſe muſt have brought it to them from America. It is of better quality and more ſaccharine than our European potatoes. The ſtalk, cut to bits and ſtuck in the earth, reproduces the ſpecies.

The Ignam is a thick ſhapeleſs root covered with knots, which incloſe as many germs. In order to reproduce it, they cut it into ſmall pieces which they rub upon the aſhes, and leave them expoſed to the heat of the ſun; they then put them in the earth: each piece produces a long ſtalk which they ſupport with a prop. The root of the Ignam is more pleaſant to the palate than that of the manioc, but the Negroes neglect the culture of it becauſe it produces little.

In the rainy ſeaſon they plant four or five ſorts of ſmall beans ſimilar to our haricots. There are ſeveral ſpecies of them, of which they can gather three crops in leſs than ſix months. They have alſo an earth pea, the ſtalk of which reſembles that of our wild ſtrawberry plant; it trails along the ground like that of the Pinda, and it enters by filaments, at the ends of which the peas are found; they are agreeable to the taſte, but indigeſtible in European ſtomachs.

The melons, pompions, and cucumbers demand ſcarcely any care. The ſpinage and ſorrel grow in the fields without culture. Near the villages and along the roads is found purſlain quite like ours. Dogs'-graſs is not more uncommon there than with us, and the Negroes alſo uſe its root for making ptiſan when they are ſick.

Our Palma Chriſti is very common on the plains. Tobacco ſeems to be one of the natural productions of the country; the Negroes caſt the ſeed of it at random into their court-yards and gardens, where it fructifies without tillage. Some perſons, in imitation of the Europeans, take the tobacco as ſnuff, but all of them ſmoke; and the men and women have their pipes of potter's earth.

Cabbages, radiſhes, and the greater part of our European table-vegetables accommodate themſelves perfectly well to the ſoil; chicory alſo grows here as fine as in France.

In many provinces they cultivate maize or Turkey-wheat. It grows ſo readily that in the ſpace of ſix or ſeven months they gather ſix or ſeven crops from the ſame land. As the inhabitants of the country know not the uſe of mills, they pound the grains of maize in a wooden mortar and reduce it to meal, which they make into a paſte and bake it under the cinders. Sometimes they parch their grains much in the ſame way as we roaſt our coffee, and eat it without any other preparation.

In the kingdom of Kakongo there is a ſpecies of millet, the ſtalk of which grows as thick as a man's arm; it bears ears which weigh as much as two and even three pounds. This plant is indigenous; they find it the midſt of the deſart plains, but few people beſtow any particular culture upon it.

CHAP. V. — *Of the Trees and Shrubs.*

THE palm-tree, of all fruit-trees, is that which the Negroes account the moſt uſeful: it grows to a height of forty or fifty feet, on a trunk of from fifteen to eighteen inches diameter. It ſends out no branches, but merely a tuft of leaves with the ſpread of a fan at its top. Theſe leaves, before they expand, form a large white lettuce, extremely tender and of a ſaccharine and vinous taſte. The palm-tree produces its fruit in bunches, each grain of which is of the ſize of a nut, and is called the palm-nut; the

the ſkin (or ſhell) is yellowiſh. This nut is eatable; but they generally boil it in water or roaſt it on the coal, then they bruiſe it, and expreſs from it an oil which ſerves to ſeaſon their ragouts, or to anoint their bodies. Each nut bears a kernel, which is very hard, and encloſes an almond, the taſte of which the negroes deem excellent.

They alſo draw from the palm-tree a liquor which the Europeans call palm-wine. In order to do this they make a ſlight inciſion in that part of the tree where the fruit begins to form a ſmall tumour before it blows; they ſtick into the inciſion a leaf folded in the form of a gutter, to ſerve as a vehicle for the liquor, which is received in a calabaſh, attached over night to the palm-tree; it is commonly found full the next morning. This liquor forms the common beverage of the rich; it has the taſte of our wine when brought freſh out of the wine-preſs; it is pectoral and refreſhing: they ſay, that it intoxicates when it is taken to exceſs; it acidulates in a few days. The natives of the country do not prefer any liquor to the palm-wine except the brandy, which is brought to them from Europe.

The cocoa-tree differs from the palm-tree only by its fruit; it alſo produces grapes; but the grains are of the ſize of a ſmall melon. This fruit is clothed with a very hard ſhell, ſufficiently ſolid to admit of beads being cut out of the entire ſubſtance. The milky juice which iſſues in abundance from the opening of the cocoa is a ſweet beverage, and at the ſame time very agreeable and nouriſhing, while the ſolid ſubſtance cut from its ſhell conſtitutes a good and tolerably wholeſome food. It appears that the cocoa-tree is not indigenous, and that it was tranſported from America to Africa by the Europeans, becauſe the cocoa is called *banga n' poutou*, nut of Europe.

The banana is more common than the cocoa-tree; it is rather a plant than a tree, growing however to the height of twelve or fifteen feet on a trunk of eight or ten inches diameter; the fruit puts forth from the middle of this trunk in the form of a cluſter of grapes, which we call *régime*. Each cluſter bears from a hundred to two hundred bananas, and the banana is about eight or ten inches in length by about one inch in diameter; ſo that a good cluſter is a man's burthen. A banana bears only one of them, and it dies as ſoon as the fruit is gathered; hence it is the cuſtom to cut down the tree for the ſake of its produce; but, for one foot which they cut there ſpring up ſeveral others. The trunk of the banana is inveſted with ſeveral layers of a ſpecies of tough rind, of which the young negroes make cords: its leaves are ſeven or eight feet long by eighteen or twenty inches broad; they are almoſt as firm in conſiſtency as our parchment; they fold and unfold in a thouſand ways without cracking; they may be made into paraſols, and are generally uſed for covering pots and great veſſels.

The banana is the bread of the rich as the manioc is that of the poor. It would not however be difficult ſo to multiply the banana as to make it yield an adequate quantity for the ſubſiſtence of the common people. A plain of bananas is never exhauſted; and it requires tillage only the firſt year.

The banana fig-tree does not differ from the banana except by its fruits; they alſo grow in cluſters or bunches, but they are not ſo long by half, and they have neither the ſame taſte nor the ſame properties. The banana is a ſpecies of bread *: the banana

* The Editor of the Biſhop of Tabraca's Memoirs on the Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Siam confounds the banana with the fig banana. I know not whether it be to the memoirs of the prelate or to the overſight of the editor that this error is to be attributed; an error certainly not injurious either to religion or to ſociety. But with regard to thoſe indecent alluſions and the odious parallel which the author draws on the occaſion between the ſuperſtitious obſervances of the Siameſe and the practices authorized or preſcribed by our holy religion, it is to be concluded that he has conſulted the repertory of the modern philoſophy rather than the memoirs of the venerable miſſionary prelate, who, after having preached and teſtified to the faith among idolatrous nations, has juſt gone once more acroſs the ſeas with an infirm body weighed down with the load of ſixty years, in the hope of ſtill ſnatching ſome more victims from hell.

fig is a delicate fruit. The ſubſtance of the banana is hard and farinaceous; that of the banana fig is ſoft and pulpy.

The lolo-tree is a tree which grows to the height of twenty-five or thirty feet on a proportional trunk. They do not give themſelves the trouble of planting it; the pippins of its fruits caſt by chance reproduce it in great quantities around the villages. If its root alone be injured it withers and dies. Its fruit, which the negroes call lolo, and we *papaye*, has an agreeable and ſaccharine taſte; it pretty much reſembles in colour and ſize our green melons; but it has not a ſimilar taſte; and it encloſes a greater quantity of pippins. The *lolo* is of the number of thoſe fruits which belong to the firſt paſſenger who thinks proper to gather them. The miſſionaries uſed to make a pretty good ſoup of it.

The orange and citron trees grow very fine in theſe climates, and produce excellent fruits, but the culture of them is entirely neglected; and there is but a very ſmall number of them to be ſeen in and about the villages.

The *cazou* is a fruit of the ſize of a melon, which holds fifteen or twenty red oblong nuts, nearly of the ſize and form of a pigeon's egg; their ſubſtance is farinaceous and very nouriſhing. The negroes never neglect to carry ſome with them when they go a journey; a moderate quantity of theſe nuts will ſerve for their ſubſiſtence during a whole day. Apparently they are a ſpecies of the cacao, but the beholder is not within reach to verify this conjecture by inſpecting the ſtalk.

The *tonga* is an oblong fruit of the ſize of an egg, which encloſes a quantity of pippins of the ſize of a lentil. From fifty to a hundred grow upon one ſtalk two or three feet high. The *camba* differs only from the tonga by being flat inſtead of round. The fruit grows in Provence; it is there called *berengenne*.

There is found in the kingdom of Kakongo a tree about ten feet high, which in the ſeaſon of drought bears peas little different from ours in the pod, grain, or even in the taſte.

The tomata is a ſmall fruit of the ſize and colour of a cherry; the negroes uſe it as an ingredient in their ragouts as we uſe onions in ours, but it is from motives of economy and for the ſake of filling up rather than of ſeaſoning; this fruit, abſolutely inſipid of itſelf, imbibes the taſte of the ſauce without communicating any to it whatever; it grows on a ſhrub.

The pimento is another ſhrub, which grows to the height of four or five feet; its leaves, pretty much reſembling thoſe of the pomegranate, are of the fineſt green. Its fruit is a grain very like that of barley in ſhape, but thicker and of a dazzling red. This ſhrub charms the ſight when it is covered with fruit; the fruit is the pepper of the country; the negroes put a great deal of it in moſt of their ſauces; but it is ſo violent that it burns the tongue and palate of the Europeans to ſuch a degree as to make the ſkin peel off.

There are found in many wet and marſhy places ſugar canes of the ſame ſpecies with thoſe of St. Domingo, but the negroes have no idea of cultivating them; they ſuck the pith of thoſe which they find, and ſome individuals make a trade of collecting them to carry to market.

On the plains are ſeen baſilics which differ from ours by the height of their ſtalk, which may be about eight feet.

The cotton-tree is a ſhrub of the height of five or ſix-feet; it bears a ſort of large green fruits, which are clad with a down of about a line in thickneſs; this down is the cotton. When the fruit is ripe it opes and diſplays ſeveral rows of pippins, the remainder is good for nothing. The negroes ſuffer the cotton alſo to periſh, although it would not prove inferior in point of quality to that of America.

No vine has been ſeen in the country; but there are ſome in ſeveral provinces beyond the Zaira, and they thrive there very well. The ſoil of Loango, Cacongo, and other circumjacent kingdoms perhaps would not be leſs favourable to it; but the women, who alone take charge of the culture of the earth, and who are already weighed with labour, do not care to augment their taſk by planting the vine, the juice of which, moreover, would not be for them but for their huſbands.

The fruit trees frequently bear fruits and flowers at the ſame time, and in all ſeaſons; the greater part reſume their budding in arid ſoils and even in the greateſt drought.

The trees of the foreſts are covered with leaves at all ſeaſons; the old ones fall only to give place to the new ones; ſome produce fruits fit for eating, others are perennially covered with ſterile flowers, which ſcatter around, to a great diſtance, the moſt agreeable odour. There occurs in the kingdom of Jomba, which is to the north of Loango, a foreſt of red dye-wood. Among an infinite variety of trees of different kinds there is not to be found a ſingle one reſembling thoſe we have in Europe. There are ſome of ſuch prodigious girth that at a diſtance the beholder would take them for towers rather than for trees. The negroes fell thoſe only of middling ſize; they hollow them into canoes of a ſingle piece, which we call pyrogues, with which they go a fiſhing to ſea and on the rivers.

Some of theſe trees are tender and ſpungy; they would reſiſt the hatchet like the bark of the cork-tree; but they might eaſily be cut with a well-whet ſabre; others are of a very hard wood. There are ſome to be found which, at the end of a few months after they have been felled, harden ſo much that they make anvils of them for forging red hot iron; it would be an uſeleſs attempt to drive a nail into the wood with a hammer. The greater part of theſe trees periſh by age and decay; no one thinks of felling them, for no one would know what uſe to make of them.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Animals.*

THE inhabitants of theſe countries, certain of always finding manioc in their garden, trouble themſelves very little about what they might procure wherewith to make good cheer. They prefer to found their hopes for the kitchen on the fortune of hunting or fiſhing, for days of banquet and regaling, to giving themſelves the labour of rearing at their houſes, cattle which the officers of the king might at any inſtant take away. They rear pigs, goats, and ſheep. Their pigs are ſmaller than ours; their goats yield no milk; their ſheep bear no fleeces of wool like thoſe of European climates; in other reſpects they quite reſemble them.

They have ducks which bear creſts, and are twice as large as ours; but their fowls are very ſmall; they do not eat the eggs, becauſe, they ſay, with a little patience an egg becomes a chicken. According to the ſame principle they ſay that the Europeans ought to pay them as dear for a couple of eggs as for a couple of chickens; they however make ſome ſmall abatement in the price, and if you bargain with them too much they anſwer coolly that they will wait until their eggs become chickens. It is in vain to object to them on the ſcore of what theſe chickens will coſt them before they are good to eat, becauſe they do not fatten them; the mother takes them away with her into the plain, where they live with her at large like other birds. Thoſe who ſay that for the value of ſix ſous thirty fowls may be had in the kingdom of Loango, are as groſsly miſtaken as when they pretend that fowls are ſold at a piſtole a-piece in the kingdom of Congo; but I

doubt not that they deceive any body; there is no reader credulous enough to rely on the teſtimony of an hiſtorian, when he tells him that thirty fowls which ſell for a hundred crowns in one kingdom are ſold for ſix ſous in the neighbouring kingdom.

Dogs and cats are to be found in this country. The cats have a longer muzzle than ours; the dogs do not bark. A miſſionary ſaw on the confines of Loango a bay horſe which was bounding over the plain; he was of good height, and very handſome; he ſuffered himſelf to be approached very cloſely. At the moment when the miſſionary was regarding him, the miniſter for foreign affairs was coming by; he ſtopt and told the miſſionary that he knew that the horſe would be very uſeful to him in the journey he propoſed to take through the country; that if he liked he might make a good bargain of him. The miſſionary agreed to it, on condition that he ſhould deliver it to him; but the difficulty of getting to put the bridle on him terminated the buſineſs. The tradition is, that the king of England formerly ſent two horſes, a male and a female, to the king of Loango; that this prince, after having examined them, ordered them to be ſet at liberty; that from that time they had wandered over the plains and foreſts, where they bred young ones; that the horſe, which was ſometimes ſeen near Loango, was the laſt of his ſpecies, the others being dead of old age, or having been worried by the tygers.

The plains feed a number of animals of all kinds; quadrupeds, birds, and inſects. No hares or rabbits have ever been ſeen there; but there are two or three ſorts of partridges to be found; ſome of them have plumage of the brighteſt red; thoſe of every kind are as big as our hens. The quails and larks have nothing which diſtinguiſhes them from thoſe of Europe. Only one kind of pigeon has ever been ſeen there; its plumage is green, but its claws, beak, and eyes, are of a fine red. There is a certain bird of the ſize and pretty nearly the form of a turkey, but has a larger head, and bears, inſtead of a creſt, a pierced horn like a horn *at trictrac*. A negro came one day to the miſſionaries to offer them for ſale an aquatic bird, which was much larger than the largeſt that we ſee in France; he had his load of it; but hearing them anſwer that they would not buy it, he did not leave them much time to examine it; they only ſaw that it had a neck as long as an arm, and that it was as big as a ſheep. The eagles are like thoſe which are ſhown in our fairs. The crow differs in no reſpect from ours. There is a variety of other birds of prey. At the ſeaſon when the negroes ſet fire to the graſs on the plains they are ſeen to fly over the flames. If they perceive any animal which has ſuffered itſelf to be overtaken by the fire, they pounce on him with impetuoſity, and carry him away half roaſted, without getting their wings at all damaged by the blaze. There are many nocturnal birds. The owl is as big as a turkey. The cuckoo is called *coucou*; it is a little bigger than ours, and reſembles it in plumage, but ſings differently. The male begins to chant *coo, coo, coo*, mounting one note above another with as much preciſion as a muſician would ſound his *ut, re, mi*. When he has got to the third note the female takes it up, and aſcends with it to the octave; and they always recommence the ſame ſong. The ſwallow is the ſame with that which we ſee in Europe, but its flight is more uniform.

The ſparrows breed numerouſly; they fly in flocks like ours; they chirp in the ſame way; they are a little ſmaller, their plumage is finer and ſofter, and it ſhines like ſatin.

The graſshopper is of the ſize of a ſmall bird. It has a piercing and importunate cry; it makes a great noiſe in the air; you would think by the beating of its wings that a bird of prey was hovering around. Another inſect, of the ſize of a May-bug, is of the greateſt utility in ſo hot a climate; it is the ſcavenger and duſtman of the whole country. It labours with indefatigable aſſiduity to collect all the filth that might infeſt the air, and makes ſmall balls of it, which it hides very deep in holes which it

has dug in the earth. It breeds in ſufficient numbers to keep the towns and villages clean.

The ſhining or fire-fly flies by night, and bears a pretty ſtrong light. It might be taken in a dark night for one of thoſe exhalations which we call falling ſtars. The miſſionaries have examined ſome which came to reſt on their huts; they remarked their bodies were of the ſize of our glow-worms, and that near the wings they did not differ greatly from them in ſhape; which inclined them to judge that theſe inſects might be a variety of the ſame ſpecies.

The graſs of the plains ſerves as a retreat to an infinite number of rats of different kinds; the largeſt of which are of the ſize of our cats. Here are alſo frogs and toads larger than ours; and a ſnail of the ſize of one's arm.

The woods are filled with all kinds of animals. The elephants of the country differ only from thoſe which have been deſcribed to us by being in general ſmaller. Their largeſt tuſks weigh only from fifty to ſixty pounds. The negroes do not dread them, and they never hunt them. The tuſks they ſell to the Europeans are thoſe which they have found in the woods. The ivory of Loango is in great repute for its fineneſs and whiteneſs.

The miſſionaries have obſerved in paſſing along a foreſt, the track of an animal which they have never ſeen; but it muſt be monſtrous, the prints of its claws are ſeen on the earth, and formed an impreſſion on it of about three feet in circumference. In obſerving the poſture and diſpoſition of the footſteps, they concluded that it did not run in this part of its way, and that it carried its claws at the diſtance of ſeven or eight feet one from the other.

The lion reſembles thoſe of middling ſize which are ſeen in Europe.

The tyger is much more dreaded in theſe countries than the lion; there are two ſpecies of them, without reckoning the tyger cat, which eats field mice, the young of birds, and ſometimes fowls and ducks. The tygers of the firſt ſpecies are called tygers of the woods, the others graſs-tygers, from the place where they are accuſtomed to prowl for food. The graſs-tygers are of the ſize of our great dogs; they hunt rats and other animals which lurk in the graſs, which the uncultivated lands produce; they ſometimes approach the huts by night to carry away fowls and other domeſtic animals; but they take to flight as ſoon as they perceive a man. The wood-tyger is much bigger and taller than the former. He makes prey on the ſtrongeſt animals, ſuch as buffaloes and deer; he couches for them as they paſs, leaps on their croup, tears them with his claws and teeth and never leaves hold until he has made them fall beneath him; when this carnivorous animal is preſſed by hunger, he comes out of the woods, and prowls by night round the villages, ſeeking to devour dogs, pigs, ſheep, and goats.

Near the place where the miſſionaries are ſettled, one of theſe tygers having ſallied forth at duſk from a neighbouring foreſt, carried off a little child whom his mother was bringing from the fields on her back; he then fled with precipitation to devour his prey in the foreſt. It is not ſafe to paſs alone through a wood, without being well armed. The tyger has a keen ſmell and piercing ſight; he ſcents a man from a great diſtance; if he ſees him alone and unarmed, he draws near to attack him; otherwiſe he ſhuns the encounter. It is very rare that a hunter perceives him within gun-ſhot.

When a negro has killed one of theſe tygers, he walks about, as if in triumph, among the villages, ſupported and attended by his friends; he then carries the beaſt to the chief, who immediately pays him a reward propoſed by the government, for him who diminiſhes the number of ſanguinary animals. When a tyger has devoured ſome animal

animal in a village the peaſants are ſure that he will not eſcape them the following night; they tie the remains of his prey (if he has left any) to a ſtake; or they lay a new bait for him; they tie cords to it, which communicate with guns diſpoſed in ſuch a manner that they muſt neceſſarily diſcharge themſelves on the tyger, if he comes to bite at the bait; he ſeldom fails to return on the following night; he falls by his own means. The diſcharge of the guns is the ſignal which bids the negroes go and diſpatch him, ſhould he be ſtill alive.

The buffalo is not reckoned among the domeſtic animals as in China; he is wild and ferocious: he wanders in the woods and deſart plains, which he cauſes to reſound with his diſagreeable lowings and roarings; he is rather taller than our common oxen; from which, in other reſpects, he does not eſſentially differ. The buffalo does not flee before the hunter; and if the latter miſſes his aim, and has not time to climb a tree, he is inſtantly torn to pieces. When this animal cannot wreak his vengeance on him who has wounded him, he runs about ſeeking a chance victim for his fury. Woe to the firſt paſſenger whom he perceives, man, woman or child; it is all over with him! Of a fatality of this kind, the miſſionaries were once witneſſes. One of theſe buffaloes having ſallied from the woods, turned on a woman who was buſied in cultivating her field; he threw her on the ground, and never quitted her until ſhe had expired in a moſt tragical way.

The wild-boars multiply ſlowly; they feed on the roots of trees and tender wood; they are ſmaller and leſs ferocious than thoſe which feed on acorns in our European foreſts.

The animal which the Negroes denominate a wild dog is a ſpecies of wolf, which much reſembles thoſe we ſee in France; as he does not hold rule over the woods he is more modeſt than ours; a man never fears to encounter him. He does not bend his view on the larger prey, theſe he leaves to the lion and the tyger, who do not even ſpare him when he falls under their paws; for want of other food he ſometimes browſes graſs, and eats roots like a goat.

The monkies ſeclude themſelves generally in the interior of the foreſt; they ſeldom walk on the ground; they are always ſeen perching on the higheſt trees. This however does not hinder them, when purſued, from making a deal of way in a ſhort time, leaping from branch to branch and from tree to tree. The negroes aim leſs at killing the monkies than at taking them alive, to ſell to the Europeans. The way to take them is to ſtrew at the foot of the trees, whither they are want to retire, ſuch fruits as they moſt reliſh, under which the ſnares are laid. The ape has always her young one at her ſide; ſhe carries it with her when ſhe is purſued, and never abandons it but when ſhe is mortally wounded. There are in the foreſts of this country baboons four feet high; the negroes affirm that when they are hard puſhed they come down from the trees with ſticks in their hands to defend themſelves againſt thoſe who are hunting them, and that very often they chaſe their purſuers. The miſſionaries never witneſſed this ſingularity.

The roebuck and deer are not rare in the foreſts; they differ in no way from thoſe of Europe. The deer are ſmaller than ours and have no horns; the privation of this attribute is of great advantage to them in the thick foreſts, where they are continually liable to be hunted by carnivorous animals.

On the plains may be ſeen bounding along a ſtag, whom the ſmallneſs of his make renders an object of great curioſity. He reſembles at all points the ſtags of the country; like them he wants horns, he has a forked foot, a fine and limber leg; he is nearly as big as a hare, but ſlenderer; his ſize is from twelve to fifteen inches. Although he runs very

very light, he is ſometimes caught by hand. His moſt ordinary retreat is among the long graſs of untilled lands, which are to him what the trees of the foreſts are to the others. When the negroes perceive him they take up a great quantity of cover, and, cloſing by degrees, hem in the ſtag. When this little animal ſees himſelf ſurrounded, he no longer thinks of eſcaping, but ſuffers himſelf to be taken; but he is unable to ſurvive the loſs of his liberty; if he be not killed he ſoon dies of grief, or he kills himſelf againſt the bars of the cage in which they have confined him; his fleſh affords delicate eating.

The foreſts are filled much more than the plains with an infinity of birds of the prettieſt plumage; but richneſs of colour is all they poſſeſs, one never *ſees* enough of them; one *hears* too much of them; their ſong is feeble and broken; even the nightingale does nothing but warble; he is larger than ours.

Pheaſants and guinea-hens are very common. Parrots and parroquets are not more rare: the negroes take them from their neſts to ſell the Europeans.

They diſtinguiſh two kinds of turtle-dove; there is one not larger than a thruſh which has aſh-coloured plumage; the other is of the figure and ſize of ours; ſhe has the ſame plumage, and her wing is the ſame.

The negroes do not yet know the art of domeſticating bees, and making them labour on their account, by procuring abodes for them. The foreſts are the ordinary retreat of this induſtrious inſect. The hollow of a tree ſerves him for a hive, and he there depoſits his combs. The bees of Africa work like the bees of Europe; and from flowers entirely different extract the ſame honey and the ſame wax; without having their model communicated they copy it perfectly. On both hands there is the ſame wiſdom in the preparations; the ſame regularity in the proportions, the ſame activity in the execution; there is no difficulty in perceiving that they are inſtructed by the ſame maſter. The honey which they yield is very delicate; the negroes make a regale of it; they ſuck the comb and throw away the wax. They do not ſtifle the bees to obtain their honey; they make fire under the tree whoſe hollow ſerves for their retreat. The ſmoke makes them come out; the honey is then taken; the bees then re-enter the ſame tree, or ſeek a dwelling elſewhere.

Here are ants of ſeveral ſpecies; there is one much larger than ours, ſhe has equal foreſight and application to labours; and it is in this country that one might more effectually than in any other ſend men to his ſchool, in the words of the Sage. Theſe inſects in the time of drought eagerly gather food for their ſubſiſtence during the rainy ſeaſon. In order to defend themſelves againſt the inundations, they build, by dint of labour, ſmall houſes of glazed earth (potters' clay) which acquire almoſt the ſolidity of ſtone. The negroes, on overturning them, make chafing-diſhes of them, which are much like our earthen chafing diſhes, and they have no others.

In the thickeſt foreſts, where the rays of the ſun never penetrate, there are many ſerpents. The moſt common is that which they call the ſerpent Boma, which is about fifteen feet long, and thick in proportion; ſometimes there are ſome found of much larger ſize. They told the miſſionaries that ſix months before their arrival in the country a little child had gone to the woods to take birds neſts (almoſt the only occupation of children); his father finding that he tarried long, armed himſelf, as if for the chaſe, with his ſabre and his gun to go and ſeek him; on advancing into the foreſt by the moſt frequented road he perceived a ſerpent of enormous ſize; not doubting that he was the murderer of his ſon he attacked and killed him. Having opened the carcaſe he found the child, encloſed in its belly as in a coffin; it was dead, but had received no wound. The negroes eat the ſerpents which they kill, and the fleſh is not bad. When the Europeans aſk them why they feed on theſe animals? they themſelves aſk, why the Europeans do not feed on them?

them? and they add, that if there is an animal which they ought to eat, it is moſt certainly that which ſeeks to eat them.

The rivers breed fine fiſh in great quantities; that which they fiſh from the ſtream of the Zaire is very delicate. There are alſo fiſh-breeding lakes in this country; there is one near the village of Kilonga, where the miſſionaries formed their firſt eſtabliſhment. It abounds in fiſh of ſeveral ſpecies. Its carps are ſimilar to thoſe of our rivers in France, but more delicate. They fiſh up fine eels, which are much different from ours; they have a flat and very thick head; their teeth are not edged; and they much reſemble in form and ſize the grinders of a man. Some rivers breed ſnakes, which are like ſmall ſerpents.

The ſea coaſts are frequented by regular profeſſed fiſhermen; they take moſt generally a great quantity of ray and ſoles of different kinds. Although they embark only in perogues they ſometimes take very large draughts and great fiſh. I have had in my hands a jaw which muſt have belonged to a monſtrous fiſh; its teeth are twenty-four lines in circumference by twenty-nine in height; they are fixed in ſockets twenty-two lines in depth; they are pretty well-edged at the extremity.

On the coaſts of Loango there is a ſpecies of miſchievous fiſh, which often occcaſions damage to European captains; it has a head three times as large as that of an ox; it has a great paſſion for ſtaving barks and canoes; it approaches the places where the veſſels are at anchor; it raiſes its neck above the water; and if it perceives a canoe it darts up to it with impetuoſity; ſtaves it at the firſt onſet with its head, and takes to flight; it diſdains the perogues; and never attacks them.

The nets of the negroes are wrought much in the ſame way as thoſe of our fiſhermen; they make them of a flax filament, which would not yield in ſtrength to the beſt hemp; and this they procure from the banana-tree and from the bark of ſome other trees. It is not their practice to ſalt their fiſh, in order to preſerve it. They dry it in the ſun; if it be hot enough; but more frequently they ſmoke it.

CHAP. VII. — *Societies.*

THE people of theſe countries, like ourſelves, inhabit towns and villages, and they preſent a moſt ſtriking image of the origin of ſociety. They are not drawn together ſo much by reciprocal wants as by ties of blood, which hinder them from ſeparating. The families do not diſperſe, as with us, ſo that in the ſame town and even in the ſame village you diſcern an infinite number of little hamlets, which are ſo many families, each having its patriarch for a preſident. A family which finds itſelf too crowded and does not wiſh to confound itſelf with the neighbouring one, may go and ſettle on the firſt piece of land which is not already occupied, and there found a hamlet; it is the affair of a ſingle day, in a country where the father of a family is able, with the help of his wife and children, to carry away at one journey his houſe and all his furniture, goods and chattels. The heads of families are the firſt judges of them. When any diſpute has ariſen among them, they confront the parties; and after hearing the pleadings on both ſides, they pronounce a ſort of ſentence in juridical form. This domeſtic tribunal is the model of the other ſuperior tribunals. The laws do not allow a woman to appeal from the ſentence of her huſband, nor a ſon from the judgment of his father; indeed, they never think of doing ſo; but in the ſequel we ſhall ſee that from the tribunal of the chief of each village there is a power of appeal to the governor of the province, and, laſtly, to the king.

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The country is not equally peopled throughout; the towns and villages are moſt frequent along the banks of the rivers, the ſtreamlets, lakes and the fountains; becauſe, doubtleſs, water being one of the moſt eſſential neceſſaries of life, they who have the choice of land give the preference to that which offers it naturally, and leave the care of digging wells to the laſt comers. Thoſe great and ſuperb towns which are to be ſeen, all built along rivers, have had no other origin; and if we could interrogate the firſt founders of Paris, they would anſwer that in erecting their huts on the fame ſpots where we have ſince conſtructed palaces, they, like the people in queſtion, thought of procuring a ſupply of healthy water to quench their thirſt and waſh their flocks; and had not the ſmalleſt idea of building a town, ſtill leſs of kindling its future ſplendour by the eaſe afforded it of extending its commerce.

The towns are, properly ſpeaking, only great villages; they differ from them ſolely in containing a greater number of inhabitants. Graſs grows in them, as in the villages; the ſtreets are merely narrow path-ways. A great town is really a labyrinth; whence a ſtranger could never get out if he had not the precaution to take a guide with him. The citizens have nothing which diſtinguiſhes them from villagers; they are neither better clothed nor better lodged. The female citizens of the capital go to work in the fields like the peaſant girls of the ſmalleſt hamlet.

The vaſt foreſt of which we have been ſpeaking would furniſh the negroes with the means of lodging and ſheltering themſelves very commodiouſly, if they would only give themſelves the trouble; they might even, for want of ſtone, which is nowhere to be found in this country, make uſe of bricks, which might be worked from almoſt all the kinds of earth which the land contains. The woods would ſupply them with the fuel neceſſary for burning them; but they are in no humour to take ſuch great pains for a dwelling. Their houſes, which we call huts, are ſmall cabins made of ruſhes or branches pretty ſkilfully interwoven. The covering correſponds to the ſtructure; it conſiſts merely of leaves; they uſe in preference thoſe of the palm-tree, which are of ſufficient conſiſtency to reſiſt for ſeveral years the rains and the viciſſitudes of the weather. The door of the houſe is worked into one of the gable-ends, which they take care ſhall not be expoſed to the wind in the rainy quarter. The people know not the uſe of windows. It is well known that we ourſelves, not long ago, had only very ſmall ones, as many of our ancient caſtles ſufficiently evince. Even now in many of our provinces old huts are found which admit the light only by a little door cut in the roof.

Any perſon in want of a houſe, goes to market with his wife and children. He buys that which ſuits him. Each one takes an article or piece according to his ſtrength, and they go to put it in order. To hinder it from being blown down by the wind they tie it to ſtakes driven deep into the ground. A houſe of this kind has nothing diſagreeable in its appearance; it is a ſort of large baſket turned upſide down. The rich and knowing ones ſometimes have their dwellings worked with a deal of art, and lined with mats of different colours, which are the ordinary tapeſtry of the country.

They who tell us that the inhabitants of Loango make beams to their houſes of the palm-tree have no idea of ſuch habitations; and they know not that if they wiſhed to erect edifices ſimilar to ours they might find timber of every kind in their foreſts, much preferable to the palm-wood for this uſe: The king of Loango's palace, as ſeveral authors deſcribe it to us, bears leſs reſemblance to the real abode of that prince than our palace of the Thuilleries bears to the convent of the Capuchins. They aſſign to this pretended palace the extent of one ordinary town, yet it is compoſed only of five or ſix huts, rather larger than thoſe we have been ſpeaking of; while the towns, on the contrary, contain thouſands of them.

CHAP. VIII. — *The Character of the People. Their Vices and Virtues.*

THE author of the *General Hiſtory of Voyages* expatiates greatly on the manners of theſe people, and alſo on their cuſtoms and uſages. In his collection he has inſerted different relations of what paſſes among them ; but after having peruſed them one might be led to aſk if thoſe who compoſed them had ever been in the country ? It is from this common ſource that ſeveral writers of our days have drawn the errors which they have publiſhed reſpecting the inhabitants of this country, and they have given us, doubtleſs unintentionally, imaginary portraits for indubitable facts. The more judicious among them, it is true, ſhocked at the manifeſt contradictions which they meet in each page of theſe relations, have contented themſelves with extracting what appeared to them the moſt probable ; but even the little they have extracted is too much for any one who wants nothing but truth, and is ſufficient to demonſtrate to any one who has lived among thoſe people, that they have not been painted to the life.

No one can thoroughly know the genius of the people without ſtudying it, and ſuch a ſtudy is not the work of a few days. A traveller, ſuppoſing one in good earneſt, who travels with his journal in his hand through an unknown country, the language of which he does not underſtand, cannot acquire any thing but a very ſuperficial knowledge of the people who inhabit it. If by chance he ſhould for ſeveral days in ſucceſſion be witneſs of ſome traits of cruelty and perfidy, he will repreſent the people as cruel and perfidious. If he ſhould have taken another route, and witneſſed ſome acts diſplaying oppoſite virtues, he paſſes an eulogium on their love of juſtice and humanity.

The relations of mariners are not always truſtworthy, and ought not to fix our judgment on this matter any more than thoſe of a traveller ſuch as I am ſuppoſing. Not only does their buſineſs deprive them of leiſure to become obſervers, they are not within the reach of becoming ſuch ; having no connection with any except the ſmall number of trafficking negroes who, from a ſpirit of gain and a greater facility of ſatisfying their paſſions, have corrupted the virtues which diſtinguiſh the bulk of the nation.

It muſt be confeſſed that thoſe who dwell along the coaſts, and the only perſons who frequent the Europeans, appear inclined to fraud and libertiniſm ; but can we reaſonably conclude from that, without further examination, as moſt hiſtorians do, that irregularity and double dealing are vices common to all ? We ſhould laugh at the ſimplicity of an African who, after having paſſed ſome time at Paris without ever going a league from the town, ſhould go and tell his own countrymen that our country people do nothing but drink, dance, and divert themſelves ; becauſe in traverſing the villages in the neighbourhood of the capital he might have heard the noiſe of inſtruments, and ſeen written on the wall "*here they keep weddings and feaſts.*" This barbarian would judge of our nation as we judge of his.

Although the kingdom of Congo borders upon thoſe of which we are now ſpeaking, we have no right to judge of its inhabitants by compariſon, and attribute to the one what we know of the other. There may have been a time when theſe people reſembled each other, but that time is no more. No one can deny that the ſtay which the Portugueſe have made in Congo muſt have altered in a great degree the innocence and ſimplicity of the manners of its inhabitants. I ſhall however take great care not to impute to a holy and divine religion abuſes which it condemns, and evils which call forth its groans. We muſt ſhut our eyes to the light of the ſun, and be in fact as ill informed in hiſtory as certain modern philoſophers appear to be in this point, to be ignorant from what an abyſs of corruption the Chriſtian religion has ſnatched mankind. All that can reaſonably

reaſonably be concluded from this decline of manners, which has followed the preaching of the goſpel in Congo and elſewhere, is, that if it be worthy the zeal of a Chriſtian prince to favour the propagation of the faith among infidel nations, it is alſo worthy of his prudence and his duty not to deſtroy with one hand what he builds up with the other, by ſending on the track of the miſſionaries a ſet of men who have nothing of the Chriſtian but the name, which they diſhonour, and whoſe worſe than heatheniſh conduct makes the idolaters doubt whether the gods whom they worſhip be not preferable even to that of the Chriſtian. Religion, ſuch is the might of the empire of grace, had never ceaſed to make ſome progreſs in Congo; and among all the licentiouſneſs to which the Portugueſe abandoned themſelves, barbarians who had become Chriſtians recalled them to a ſenſe of their duty, and condemned their exceſſes by the practice of contrary virtues. But ſince the natives of the country have driven out the Portugueſe, and they no longer receive any but miſſionaries among them; the latter find it a much more eaſy taſk to perſuade them to the practice of evangelical morality. Cardinal Caſtelli, preſident of the congregation of the Propaganda, writes from Rome to the prefect of the miſſion of Loango, that there are actually more than one hundred thouſand Chriſtians in the ſingle kingdom of Congo. But the Capuchins, who, ſince the diſſolution of the Jeſuits, have ſucceeded to the charge of this vaſt and laborious miſſion, beginning themſelves to be in want of ſubjects, this flouriſhing branch of Chriſtianity, if the hand which firſt formed it do not ſtill ſupport it, runs the riſque of ſeeing itſelf deſtitute in a ſhort time of the moſt needful helps.

They who give to the negroes of Loango, Kakongo, and other neighbouring ſtates, the characters and manners of the ſlaves whom we draw from among them for our colonies, are the moſt groſsly miſtaken of all; ſince they judge of a nation by its moſt deadly enemies, and by the moſt deſperate of its ſubjects. If they do ſell us ſome ſlaves of the country, they are thoſe whom their crimes have rendered unworthy of being citizens. But moſt of thoſe whom we buy are taken in war from other ſavage nations, and who ſympathize ſo little with the people in queſtion, that they have never had either peace or truce with them. Thoſe ſlaves in general have many bad qualities without any mixture of good ones: they muſt be made into good men before any thing can be done towards making them Chriſtians. They frequently preſerve during life their native ferocity, and the deſpair of ſlavery ſeems to cloſe their heart againſt virtue.

The miſſionaries, ſince their ſettlement among nations whom the holy ſee has confided to their zeal, have applied themſelves by living and converſing among them, to the taſk of aſcertaining their genius and manners, their qualities of mind and heart, their vices and virtues; and the reſult of their obſervations ſeems to me to form a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion for them.

Theſe people, generally ſpeaking, have no application; but they ſeem capable of acquiring that habit, as it is always neceſſity which commands application; and as they have ſcarcely any neceſſities, it is natural that their minds ſhould remain in a ſort of inertneſs, or that it ſhould be never exerciſed except on frivolous objects, which amuſe without engaging. Thoſe who trade, or who have the management of public affairs, want neither application nor activity, and the people themſelves as ſoon as you preſent to them an object capable of arouſing and intereſting them, ſuch as religion, will engage in and purſue it; as experience has already ſhewn.

Sloth of body with them generally accompanies mental idleneſs. This vice however does not neceſſarily affect the nation, ſince it does not belong to the weaker ſex. The women, inured from childhood to the hardeſt toils of huſbandry, give themſelves up to it with indefatigable ardour. The heat, it is true, invites man to repoſe, but a

powerful intereſt awakes him, and renders him ſuperior to the climate and to himſelf. Our own country people are never more active than in the ſeaſon of the greateſt heats, becauſe it is that of harveſt. It is known that the people of ancient *Latium* inhabited the mild climate of Italy; and their patriotiſm led them to triumph over the warlike hordes of the north. The chriſtian religion, which forbids idleneſs, and which is unwilling that ſociety ſhould ſupport that perſon who refuſes to labour for it, would inſenſibly induce men to labour, as education accuſtoms women to it; this is ſeen among the chriſtians of Congo.

Theſe defects, which are not irremediable, and which circumſtances ſeem ſtill to excuſe, are moreover amply compenſated by natural qualities and moral virtues, which in heathens are truly worthy of admiration. They are remarkable for a ſound and penetrating mind; when the truths of the Faith are explained to them, ſome make objections ſpecious enough; others make reflections full of good ſenſe, or aſk ingenious queſtions, which ſhew that they perfectly comprehend what is propoſed to them.

They are endowed with a happy memory. The miſſionaries ſaw ſome who within a month have repeated God's commandments which they had heard only once recited in a public place. They make no uſe however of this faculty, for tranſmitting to future ages what paſſes among them that is memorable, aſſuming as a principle that they ſhould confine themſelves to what is ſtrictly neceſſary, as well for knowledge as for the wants of life; they all live, with regard to hiſtory, in that indifference which characterizes the inhabitants of our country places, who know no more of what paſſed in France under Louis the Great, than under Julius Cæſar. If you aſk them why they do not preſerve the remembrance of what has been done by their fathers? they anſwer, that it ſignifies little to know how the dead have lived; the main point is, that the living ſhould be honeſt people. According to the ſame principle, they keep no account of their age: "It would be," ſay they, "loading one's memory with an uſeleſs reckoning, ſince it does not hinder us from dying, and gives us no inſight into the term of one's life." They regard death as a precipice to which man haſtens blindfold, ſo that it is of no uſe to him to count his ſteps, becauſe he can neither perceive when he comes to the laſt, nor can he avoid it; that is no bad excuſe for their ignorance and idleneſs.

The people of theſe countries, men and women, are very fond of talking and ſinging; whence it would appear that nature is not conſiſtent with herſelf; for all the other animals are ſilent night and day. No ſong of birds is heard in the foreſts; the cock never awakes his maſter, even the dogs cannot bark. But amid this general ſilence, the women as they till the field make it echo with their ruſtic ſongs; and the men paſs their time in telling ſtories, and in diſcourſing on the moſt trifling topics. The afternoon is their particular time for holding their aſſemblies under the ſhade of a ſpreading tufted tree. They ſit on the ground in circles, croſs legged. Moſt of them have a pipe in their mouths. Thoſe who have palm wine bring ſome with them; and now and then they interrupt the ſpeaking to drink a draught, paſſing the calebaſh round. He who begins the converſation ſometimes ſpeaks a quarter of an hour at a time. Every one liſtens in deep ſilence; another takes up the talk, and they liſten in the ſame manner; no one who ſpeaks is ever interrupted. But when he has ceaſed to utter his tattle, the perſon whoſe turn it is to ſpeak has a right to oppoſe him and utter his own. To ſee the fury which they throw into their declamations one would think they were diſcuſſing the moſt thorny ſubjects, and it is a matter of great ſurpriſe when on lending an ear, one finds that the argument is a wretched earthen pot or a bird's feather, or ſome ridiculous and ſuperſtitious obſervances. Any one who attends their converſation and does not underſtand the language, might eaſily take it for a child's play. The have a

uſage among them ſingular enough, and well deviſed for keeping awake the attention of the hearers, and give a zeſt to converſations in themſelves ſo ſtale; when they ſpeak in public they expreſs numbers by geſtures. He, for example, who would ſay, "I have ſeen ſix parrots and four partridges," ſays ſimply "I have ſeen · · · parrots and · · · · partridges," and he makes at the ſame time two ſigns, one of which tells for ſix and the other for four, at the ſame time all preſent cry out *ſix*, *four*, and the talker goes on. If any one would ſeem puzzled, or pronounces after the reſt, they would ſuppoſe him to have been aſleep or in a reverie, and he would be conſidered impolite.

Theſe people are very mild. Diſputes and conteſts are rare among them; and they ſeldom or never come to blows. If they cannot agree they go and find a judge, who reconciles them in an inſtant. What a modern Hiſtorian ſays *, that the inhabitants of Loango immolate their ſlaves to the manes of their kings, is an aſſertion deſtitute of the ſlighteſt foundation. They have not even an idea of thoſe abominable ſacrifices.

The trafficking negroes, who inhabit the coaſts, are for the greater part miſtruſtful and ſelf-intereſted, even to roguery. Holding as a principle that all the whites are accountable one for another, they would make no ſcruple of cheating a Frenchman if they could; becauſe ten years before they themſelves would have cheated the Engliſh. But rapine and duplicity are by no means the character of the nation. On the contrary it is remarked that thoſe who inhabit the interior of the lands, unite to a great deal of juſtice and frankneſs, a diſintereſtedneſs which may be called exceſſive. They literally follow the precept of the Goſpel, not to take thought for the morrow. They do not even ſurmiſe that food and clothing ever can fail. They are always ready to ſhare the little they have with thoſe whom they know to be in need. If they have been fortunate in hunting or fiſhing, or have procured ſomething rare, they immediately run and tell their friends and neighbours, taking to each his ſhare. They would chooſe to ſtint themſelves rather than not give them this proof of their friendſhip. The reproach of avarice is the moſt cutting that can be made to any of them, and no ſpecies of flattery is more agreeable than to praiſe them for their freedom in giving; and to ſay that they always give with open hand. They call the Europeans *cloſe fiſts*, becauſe they give nothing for nothing.

Politeneſs is not foreign to them. They anticipate each other with reciprocal deferences. They are eſpecially attentive to the manner of giving and receiving ſalutations. If it be an equal that they meet, they make one genuflection, riſe and clap their hands. He who meets a man who is markedly his ſuperior, proſtrates himſelf, bows his head, touches the ground with the ends of his fingers, draws them to his mouth, and, as he lifts them up, claps his hands. The perſon thus ſaluted, be it a prince or even a king, never avoids returning the ſalute, making the genuflection and clapping hands.

They are humane and obliging even to ſtrangers, and to thoſe from whom they have nothing to expect in return. They have no inns among them. A traveller who paſſes through a village at the hour of repaſt, enters, without ceremony, into the firſt hut, and is quite welcome.

The maſter of the houſe regales him with the beſt he has; and after he has repoſed awhile conducts him on his way. The miſſionaries often undertake their journies without proviſions, or merchandize wherewith to procure any; they are humanely and hoſpitably received every where, nor have they ever wanted any of the neceſſaries of life.

* The author of the General Hiſtory of Aſia, Africa, and America, tom. 12.

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When a negro perceives that his gueſt does not eat heartily, he picks out the beſt morſel in the diſh, bites of it, and preſents him the reſt, ſaying "Eat, and take my word for it." This politeneſs is very far from ourmanners, but it is quite true to nature; one may ſee two little children in an orchard give and take the fruits that they have firſt taſted by ſetting their teeth in them.

During the laſt war we had with England, a French ſhip having run aground on the coaſt of Loango, two or three ſailors ſaved themſelves by ſwimming, and retired into a village called Loubou. The inhabitants of the place received them kindly, and provided generouſly for their wants. They lodged, fed and clothed them for ſeveral years, without requiring any labour from them; all their occupation was to go and walk along the coaſt, and when they diſcovered a veſſel, they uſed to inform the negroes, who put them into a perogue to go and reconnoiter her. If ſhe was Engliſh, they returned with great haſte, for fear leſt their gueſts ſhould fall into the hands of their enemies. They conducted themſelves towards the ſailors in this manner until they found a favourable opportunity of returning to France, without ever expreſſing any grudge at the expenſe which their ſojourn occaſioned. It was in the very village where this took place that the miſſionaries heard of it.

In one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſeven, the prefect of the miſſion received a viſit from a naval officer, who ſaid, that having learnt that ſome French prieſts had arrived at Loango, he had repaired thither to confeſs himſelf, and to render thanks unto God along with them, for his having eſcaped the moſt imminent danger. He told them he had embarked in a ſhip from St. Malo; that the captain of it, ſeeing a floating iſland which preſſed cloſe upon his quarter, had ſent out a canoe with four ſailors, to cut graſs on it; but that they, being drawn by the violence of the currents, had ſtruggled againſt the waves for four days and four nights, without being able to regain their ſhip; that at length on the fifth day, the wind drove their boat on ſhore. Of the four ſailors who accompanied the officer, two had died of hunger and fatigue; a third had expired on the coaſt on getting out of the canoe. The officer and the ſailor who were left, trailed on as well as they could to the next village. The inhabitants haſtened to comfort them, and treated them very hoſpitably in every reſpect. When they were diſpoſed to quit the place, the people aſſured them that they might ſtill ſtay as long as they pleaſed, without fear of being chargeable to any one. They laid in no proviſion of food when they ſet out from Loango; the people in all the villages where they ſtopt, offered them liberally whatever they wanted; and this treatment they met with along their whole courſe, to the end of their journey.

Theſe people are poor, compared with us; but in truth, he who wants nothing is as rich as he who has every thing in plenty, and he lives much more contented. In our way of life, we ſhould think that man the moſt to be pitied, who had not the means of procuring a bed to lie on, or ſeat to ſit on: at Loango, it would be ſentencing a man to actual puniſhment to oblige him to paſs one night in a good bed, or to remain two hours in an arm-chair. The Mateïa of Kakongo, one of the moſt powerful princes in the kingdom, has an apartment furniſhed in the European ſtyle; there are beds, commodes, beaufets garniſhed with ſilver mountings. The prince offers ſeats to the Europeans who go to viſit him; as for himſelf, he finds it much more convenient to ſit on the ground, according to the cuſtom of the country. With theſe people, nothing is known either of houſes of office, cellars, granaries or wardrobes. In entering a hut you perceive a mat, which is the maſter's bed, his table, and his ſeats; ſome earthen veſſels, which conſtitute his kitchen tackle; ſome roots and fruits, theſe are his belly-proviſions. When they take a piece of game or a fiſh, they make a ragout of

it, which Europeans deem deteſtable, but to their taſte it is delicious. If hunting or fiſhing furniſhes them nothing for their table, they ſtick to their roots and fruits; and they always appear content with what they are eating. If a ſtranger comes upon them, and they have only manioc to offer him, they make no excuſe for making him partake ſuch poor cheer; ſuppoſing that he ought to think it is becauſe they have nothing better to offer him.

Reared in the midſt of plenty, or at leaſt in a good opinion of our own comforts of life, and of the wealth which procures them, we feel ourſelves naturally led to deſpiſe a people ſo ſimple and poor; but if, they themſelves underſtanding that we are the laborious artiſans of a thouſand wants which they never experienced; if, witneſſing our delicacies, our profuſions, and the luxuries of our tables, they paid us back ſcorn for ſcorn, and ſaid they were wiſer than we were, I ſhould doubt whether an impartial umpire would decide the difference in our favour.

It is an opinion which daily gains credit, that licentiouſneſs of manners among theſe people is carried to very diſſoluteneſs; thus aver the modern authors who treat on this country. Pretended travellers, ſporting with the good faith of the public, are not afraid of ſtating, that proſtitutions, adultery, and the moſt monſtrous exceſſes of debauchery, are tricks of cuſtom among them, to ſuch a degree, that huſbands themſelves favour the lightneſs of their wives, and that the obſequies of their dead are celebrated by abominations and infamy. A mercenary writer has little reſpect for truth, when he finds his account in diſguiſing it. Such is the caſe here; he is ſure of giving pleaſure by licentious tales to that numerous claſs of frivolous and libertine readers, who ſeize with avidity all that ſeems to ennoble their weakneſs, or to extend over thouſands the empire of thoſe paſſions which rule them. And notwithſtanding, it is after theſe calumnious relations that ſyſtems are built, and hence we affirm very gravely, that the Chriſtian religion can never be the religion of all climates; for the chaſtity which it preſcribes, forms an invincible obſtacle to its eſtabliſhment in torrid climates, and under the burning zone.

But they, who from the receſſes of their cabinets, calculate, after their own way, the influence of climate on manners, and who make no difficulty in aſſigning (compaſs in hand) the regions beyond which the worſhip and religion of the true God cannot be extended; thoſe pretended ſages, I ſay, ought to take heed how they thus conſtitute themſelves accuſers and judges of the Divinity; for, ſuppoſing that they belong not to that horde of madmen, who regard the univerſe as the production of a blind agent, or the ſport of chance, I would only wiſh to ſay this, to confound them, "explain to us how it could have happened, that he who has ordained times and formed ſeaſons; who has divided the climates and preſided over the general economy of the univerſe, ſhould have ſo ſtrangely miſcalculated to his own diſadvantage, by offering an abode to a great portion of his creatures, in regions where his name could never be known aright, and where his law would be deſpiſed?" But providence has juſtified itſelf from this reproach, long before any one thought of making it. No one can be ignorant that it was in the hotteſt climates that the Chriſtian religion operated the greateſt miracles; it was in the midſt of the arid deſerts and burning ſands of the Thebaïs, that during many ages, whole millions of ſolitary men, before the admiring eyes of the whole world, preſerved the moſt perfect chaſtity, and led a life totally angelic.

But whatever may be the reſult of obſervations made on other people, they cannot deſtroy thoſe which the miſſionaries have made for many years, on thoſe of whom we are ſpeaking. To ſit in true judgment, we muſt have ſeen every thing, calculated every thing; the heat of the climate, if it is tempered by a ſober and frugal life, will always

always be much leſs hurtful to chaſtity, than other ſtimulants in the coldeſt countries; than the wines, the ſucculent viands, the ſights, the impaſſioned accents of muſic, the licentious writings, the aſſociation and intercourſe of young perſons of both ſexes; baits of voluptuouſneſs which are quite unknown among the people in queſtion. They feed habitually on roots, vegetables, and fruits; they drink water; they lie on hard ſurfaces; they are chaſte as it were, by nature, and without the efforts of virtue. They, however, attach honour to the practice of chaſtity, and ſhame to the contrary vices. An author, cited in the *General Hiſtory of Voyages*, ſays, that at Loango they are perſuaded that the crime of a maid who has not reſiſted ſeduction, would be ſufficient to draw down a total ruin on the whole country, were it not expiated by a public avowal made to the king; and the ſame writer, impelled by I know not what kind of blind bias for calumniating the manners of this people, adds, that this avowal, however, has nothing in it humiliating. But it is eaſy to judge, that a fault which is deemed ſufficiently enormous to provoke the wrath of Heaven, muſt condemn to opprobrium and ſhame, the culprit who is obliged to make the avowal.

A man, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, may marry as many women as he finds willing to attach themſelves to him; but it is an unheard-of thing for a man and woman to cohabit publicly, without being lawfully eſpouſed. There are never ſeen in this country, as in the great towns of Europe, any of thoſe ſocieties of women, who keep a ſchool of debauchery.

They would not ſuffer them to traffic ſhamefully with their honour, by walking in the ſtreets; ſtill leſs would they be allowed to exerciſe the infamous trade of ſeducing and corrupting youth. The language, though very rich, offers no term which correſponds with that of a female debauchee; it is expreſſed by a Portugueze word.

The Negreſſes have, like the Negroes, their arms and boſoms uncovered, eſpecially when at work; but the cuſtom is general; no one thinks of it; no one is ſcandalized at it; and it is wrong with authors to have concluded thence, that they brave all the laws of modeſty. This nudity of a Negreſs, who from morning to night is occupied in cultivating the field under a burning ſun, is leſs inſidious and leſs ſhocking to public decency, in that country, than the half-nakedneſs of our court ladies among us. Whenever the miſſionaries found themſelves among the inhabitants of the country, in the paſſage of rivers where there are no boats, they obſerved, that when a woman entered the water, all the men turned away their eyes until ſhe had got to the other ſide; the women on their part, do the ſame when the men paſs.

The young girls accompany their mothers every where, who require from them the ſtricteſt reſerve. A youth durſt not ſpeak to a girl, except in her mother's preſence; he cannot make her a preſent except when he aſks her in marriage. A miſſionary one day met a little Negreſs returning from the fields with her mother; ſhe ſaid to him in the language of the country, and in a jocular tone, "*Good day, man of God!*" Her mother immediately gave her a ſevere reprimand for having ſpoken to a man, and with ſo little reſerve. Dancing is in this country a daily exerciſe, but the men never dance except with men, nor the women except with women. The ſongs of joy, which generally accompany their dances, have nothing in them offenſive to modeſty.

CHAP. IX.—*Of Marriages and Alliances.*

POLYGAMY is authorized by the national laws, and it is allowable for a man to marry as many women as he thinks proper; but this liberty which the law allows, is reſtrained by nature. The number of women among them does not appear to ſurpaſs

paſs that of the men, perhaps it does not even reach it; ſo that a Grandee of the country cannot marry twenty women, without placing nineteen of his fellow citizens under the neceſſity of obſerving celibacy. Beſides, a woman generally prefers the advantage of being the ſole ſpouſe of an individual, to the honour of being the wife of a lord, who muſt give her a great number of rivals; thus it is only the rich who can uſe the privilege, or rather the abuſe of the law, for that is the only name which can ſuit a diſpoſition which favours one party in ſociety, to the detriment of the other. But as the claſs of rich perſons is far from numerous, all the free men, and even moſt of the ſlaves ſtill find means to marry. Thoſe who ſtated that the commoneſt Negroes in the country have each two or three wives, would have to reckon beforehand, whether the number of women twice or thrice ſurpaſſed that of the men; as thoſe who allot ſeven thouſand to a king of Loango, muſt have aſcertained that there is that number in his whole capital; this, no one who has been upon the ſpot dare aſſure them.

The fathers and mothers leave to their boys the care of chooſing a wife. The marriage of the girls is conſidered a houſehold affair, which concerns the mother only. The wives bring no portion to their huſband; on the contrary, when a boy wants to have a maid in marriage, he goes to find her mother, and makes her thoſe preſents which he judges will be moſt agreeable to her. If theſe preſents, or the hand which offers them, do not pleaſe the mother, ſhe refuſes them. If ſhe accepts them, the young man immediately preſents gifts to the maid alſo, who is ſtill free to receive or reject them. The acceptance of preſents on the part of the mother and daughter is equivalent to a promiſe of marriage. The nuptials, however, are not celebrated until about a month afterwards; and during that time the girl appears in public, with her body painted red, in order that all the world may know, that the man with whom ſhe is ſeen to cohabit is her huſband. Were not this ceremony previouſly obſerved, the marriage would be deemed illegal and ſacrilegious, and the parents of the girl would have a right to puniſh her with death. The term preſcribed by uſage being expired, the girl waſhes away the red colour with which ſhe has been ſtained, and the nuptials are celebrated with dances and ruſtic ſongs.

Marriage thus contracted, forms an indiſſoluble bond. There are only certain particular caſes excepted by the law, which authorize a huſband to divorce his wife; as for inſtance, when a princeſs chooſes him for her huſband. Conjugal chaſtity is ſingularly reſpected among theſe people; adultery is placed in the liſt of the greateſt crimes. By an opinion generally received, the women are perſuaded that if they were to render themſelves guilty of infidelity, the greateſt misfortunes would overwhelm them, unleſs they averted them by an avowal made to their huſbands, and in obtaining their pardon for the injury they might have done. There are ſtill ſome more faults of which the wives think themſelves bound to accuſe themſelves to their huſbands. This accuſation is a ſort of religious ceremony. The huſband takes care to be always eaſily to be intreated to pardon his wife for the faults which ſhe avows to him; but if ſhe names an accomplice, he has a right to proſecute and bring that offender to juſtice; and he never fails to do ſo, eſpecially if the man has carried his audacity ſo far as to ſtain the nuptial couch. When this crime is in agitation, the judge does not require other proofs than the denunciation of the huſband, confirmed by the avowal of the wife; becauſe he ſuppoſes that this avowal, which condemns her to infamy, cannot but be the cry of conſcience. She is acquitted of it at the tribunal of the judge, as ſhe is before her huſband, for the ſake of her repentance and ſhame; but it is not ſo with the ſeducer; the law ordains that he ſhall be placed in the power, and at the diſcretion of the man

whom he has outraged; and he becomes his ſlave, at leaſt unleſs he be rich enough to ranſom himſelf. It is not to be ſuppoſed that ſuch ſlaves are at all ſpared by their maſters.

A princeſs has the double right of chooſing from among the people, ſuch a huſband as ſhe thinks proper, even if he be already married, and to oblige him to have her alone for his ſpouſe. As this laſt condition generally appears too hard to the princes, it is rare that the princeſſes find any of them willing to marry them, even the commoners dread their alliance; but when it is offered them, they are obliged to accept it, on pain of being conſtrained by confiſcation of body and goods. They have alſo a liberty, which none of the women of the people have; they can divorce a huſband who no longer ſuits them, and chooſe another; and it does not appear that they need aſſign any other motive for their divorce, than their will. In order that the divorced huſband of a princeſs may marry, or even take back his former wife, if he had one before his marriage with the princeſs, he muſt obtain the permiſſion of the king, who is generally very free and eaſy on this point.

The little kingdom of n'-Goio acknowledges its dependence on that of Loango, by giving to the king a princeſs of the blood, who is not to be the firſt among his ſpouſes, and has none of the privileges of the other princeſſes.

He on whom the princeſs fixes her choice to become her huſband, begins by rubbing his body with palm oil, and painting himſelf red: this is the firſt exerciſe of a month's retreat, which he paſſes altogether at home, without ever ſtepping outſide the door. During this time he feeds on the commoneſt meat, and drinks only water. At the end of the month he waſhes himſelf, and marries the princeſs with a great deal of magnificence. But the day of his wedding is the laſt of his liberty. The huſband of a princeſs is leſs her ſpouſe than her ſlave and her priſoner. He engages himſelf, in marrying her, never more to look on a woman during the whole time he cohabits with her. Never does he go out, unleſs accompanied by a numerous eſcort of part of his guards before, to drive aſide all the women on the road where he is to paſs. If, in ſpite of theſe precautions, a woman meet him on his way, and he has the ill luck to caſt his eyes upon her, the princeſs, on the depoſition of her ſpies, may have his head chopped off, and ſhe commonly uſes this right. This ſort of libertiniſm, ſuſtained by power, often carries the princeſſes to the greateſt exceſſes: but nothing is dreaded ſo much as their anger. Cruelty ſeems to be their nature, and it might be ſaid, that they wiſh to revenge themſelves on all who approach them, of the ſort of ſervitude to which their ſex is condemned.

The condition of other women actually forms a ſtriking contraſt with that of the princeſſes. While the latter treat their huſbands as imperious miſtreſſes; the former are to theirs in a ſtate of dependence bordering on ſlavery. When they ſpeak to them, it is always kneeling. They alone are charged with the cultivation of the lands, and with all in-door work; it is their buſineſs to provide for their own ſubſiſtence, and that of their children and huſband.

If a man has many wives, each in her turn dreſſes his victuals, and holds herſelf honoured in waiting on him at table, and then in receiving at his hand, the leavings for herſelf and children. The huſband, in order not to excite jealouſy among his wives, uſes no familiarity with any of them. He always dwells alone in his hut, and each of them in hers, with her children. This ſeparation of dwelling does not prevent differences from ariſing among them now and then, which the huſband, according to the uſage of the country, has a right to terminate juridically. On the complaint which has been preferred to him, he orders the two rivals to appear together before him; each

pleads her cauſe kneeling; whilſt he himſelf ſits on the ground with his feet croſſed. After having heard them, he pronounces ſentence; they retire in ſilence, teſtifying the moſt entire ſubmiſſion to his judgment. It appears, that thoſe who have ſeveral wives, make ſome diſtinction among them; and that ſome are wives of the firſt order, others of the ſecond order; of the latter claſs there are ſome who are truly ſlaves. The lot of princes' wives differs much from that of princeſſes; they are not diſpenſed with in domeſtic labour, and they are frequently occupied like others in the cultivation of the lands.

The huſband commonly is at the charge of giving dreſſes to his wife, and maintaining her houſe; he goes a hunting and fiſhing. When thoſe who have many wives have procured a ſufficient quantity of game and fiſh, they diſtribute it among all their wives, ſcrupulouſly obſerving, that the ſhares are equal according to the number of their children. If what they have taken is not ſufficient for all, they divide only with her who has charge of the kitchen that day. The commonalty of goods between huſbands and wives is not held in this country; it is attended with too many inconveniences for the uſage of polygamy. As to ſucceſſions, the children do not inherit from their father; but only from their mother. The goods of the father are reverſible after death to his eldeſt uterine brother, if he has one. In defect of brothers, to the eldeſt ſon of his eldeſt uterine ſiſter, or laſtly, to the eldeſt ſon of his neareſt maternal relation.

Succeſſions among the poor, that is to ſay, the bulk of the nation, are reduced to a houſe, a gun, a ſabre, ſome wooden or earthen veſſels, and a few macoutes; ſometimes they are of ſtill leſs value. Thoſe of the rich, of the princes and kings, conſiſt of ſlaves, cotton cloths covered with ſilver, coral, ſabres, guns, and other effects drawn from Europe. As the king is proprietary of the kingdom, the lands and lordſhips which the great hold by the title of government, do not paſs to their heirs, unleſs they purchaſe the preference by dint of preſents to the king and his miniſters.

CHAP. X.—*Of the Education of the Children.*

THE fathers take no particular care of the education of their children. They content themſelves with inſpiring them with a certain vague fear of the Divinity, of which they themſelves have very confuſed notions. They induce them by example, more than diſcourſe, to reſpect their ſuperſtitious practices; to avoid lying, theft, and perjury. They alſo enjoin them to reſpect the Ganga or miniſters, and the aged. They give them leſſons as occaſion requires. There is no public ſchool among theſe people, either for religion, or for ſciences; and there are few trades to which they can bind their children. The young girls are as laborious as their mothers. Always at their ſide, they ſhare with them the hardeſt toils of the field, and all the cares of the houſehold. They go to gather fire-wood in the foreſts, and draw water from the river, which is frequently a quarter of a league diſtant. But the little boys, following the example of their father, will take no part in the labours with which their ſiſters are overwhelmed; and ſcarcely do they arrive at years of diſcretion, when they aſſume the tone of maſters over them, as they ſee their father do over their mother. A miſſionary one day heard a mother giving a ſmall commiſſion to her ſon. The child was only about eight years old, but he anſwered gravely, "Do you think then that I am a boy?"

Whilſt the mother works with her daughters, the boys amuſe themſelves and idle away their time with children of the ſame age. They play but little; ſometimes they

ſeek ſugar-canes, ananas, and other fruits delicious to the taſte; but their great and almoſt only occupation, is to go a bird-neſting in the foreſts, where they find them in great numbers, and of the fineſt plumage. They alſo take them in traps and with nets, uſing ants' eggs for baits. Many children there are among us, who would more eaſily accuſtom themſelves to this way of life, than to the ſeverities of ſtudy.

When they are come to the age of fifteen or ſixteen, they engage voluntarily in fiſhing; or they go to the chace as ſoon as they can find means to purchaſe a gun. Some of them manufacture macoutes, which are little bits of linen cloth, which paſs for money in the country.

CHAP. XI.—*Of Arts and Trades.*

THESE people have no knowledge of writing, nor any ſigns which may ſtand in its ſtead. They have therefore no records but tradition, which is maintained by certain uſages. The arts among them are ſtill in their infancy; they exerciſe thoſe only which are neceſſary to life, and even thoſe in a very imperfect manner.

Their phyſicians are revered as very eſtimable men, quite eſſential to the welfare of ſociety: their art forms part of the religion. They bear the name of *Ganga*, which in the language of the country ſignifies miniſter. When they come to a patient, they aſk him where his ailment lies? and they ſet to blowing on the part affected; after that they make fomentations, and tie up his limbs in different places with bandages: theſe are the preliminaries uſed in all diſeaſes; they know nothing either of phlebotomy or of medicines. There are caſes in which they employ ſimples of different ſorts, but only topically. The miſſionaries could not get to know the virtues of them. They always chew ſome before they breathe upon their patients, which operation may well, eſpecially in external hurts, produce ſome natural effect. The phyſicians of the country know alſo a very ſalutary remedy, in their opinion, for all diſeaſes; but this they only employ in favour of thoſe who can afford the expenſe; when they are called in to a rich man, they take with them all the performers on muſical inſtruments they can find in the country: they all enter in ſilence; but at the firſt ſignal which they give, the muſical troop begin their performance; ſome are furniſhed with ſtringed inſtruments; others beat on the trunks of hollow trees, covered with ſkin, a ſort of tabor. All of them uniting their voices with the ſound of the inſtruments, round the patient's bed, make a terrible uproar and din; which is often continued for ſeveral days and nights in ſucceſſion. To an European the remedy would be worſe than the diſeaſe; but this muſic, which charms the negroes when they are in good health, cannot make them feel, in ſickneſs, a more diſagreeable ſenſation than the moſt harmonious concert would to one of us; and in this caſe the remedy muſt certainly not be ſo violent as might at firſt be imagined. Be that as it may, when the ſtate of the patient begins to grow worſe, they endeavour to draw from their inſtruments the moſt piercing ſounds, and make the whole neighbourhood reſound with their cries, as if they wanted to frighten Death and put him to flight. If they do not ſucceed in this, as it often happens, they conſole themſelves in the thought, that they have done their duty, and that the relations of the defunct have nothing to reproach them with. All the time the choir of muſicians remain near the deceaſed, the phyſicians pay him frequent viſits, and come at ſtated hours to adminiſter different remedies to him, and to blow upon his pained part.

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The moſt common diſeaſes of theſe climates are fevers, ſmall-pox, meaſles, and palſy. The latter is called the King's diſeaſe; the negroes regard it as the puniſhment for ſome attempt meditated againſt the king; the paralytic, however, is never judicially proſecuted, becauſe it is ſuppoſed that Heaven, who has deprived him of the uſe of ſome of his limbs, has puniſhed him according to the degree of his malicious intention; but he is regarded as a wicked citizen.

The phyſicians preſcribe no particular regimen to their patients; they order them to have every thing they want, either to eat or drink, without any regard to quantity or quality; but if they aſk for nothing, nothing is to be offered them. This method is not without its inconveniences, but it may alſo have its advantages. As ſoon as the patient is dead, or when he is cured, his relations make a gathering on the ſpot, for the profit of the phyſician who has attended him during his illneſs. When the gatherers went to the miſſionaries, they generally aſked them for European brandy, aſſuring them, that it was the thing which would moſt pleaſe the Doctor.

As the greater part of our diſeaſes are occaſioned by exceſſes of the table, the negroes who always lead an uniform, ſober, and frugal life, are rarely ſick, and a great number among them, attain an extreme old age. The actual king of Kakongo, named *Poukouta*, is one hundred and twenty-ſix years of age. He has always been in good health, and it was only in the month of March laſt year, that he felt, for the firſt time, the infirmities of old age, and that his ſight and legs began to weaken; but his head is ſtill ſound, and he habitually employs five or ſix hours a day, in adminiſtering juſtice to his ſubjects. The princeſs *Ma-inteva*, his aunt, is about as old, and in equal health.

When the negroes feel themſelves indiſpoſed, they make a ptiſan of dog's tooth, which is the ſame as ours. Thoſe who have ailings which do not oblige them to keep their bed, go themſelves to the Doctors, who preſcribe to them ſome ſuperſtitious practices, to which they attribute the cure, which nature herſelf operates.

Although theſe phyſicians, as we have juſt now ſufficiently ſhewn, are no great conjurors, the people believe them to be very deeply verſed in the ſecrets of magic; and they alſo do not forbid themſelves the acquiſition of the occult ſciences, which are attributed to them, as well as the commerce, ſuppoſed to be eſtabliſhed between them and the evil ſpirit whom they undertake to appeaſe. The children of the Doctors ſucceed their fathers.

The miſſionaries one day had occaſion to ſee a negro, the lord of a village, whom neither the ſound of inſtruments nor the breathings of the doctors, nor even their topical remedies, had been able to cure. His diſeaſe bore ſymptoms quite ſingular and peculiar; at the moment when the fit ſeized him, day or night, he went out and ran at random over the plains and through the foreſts, making lamentable howlings and cries, like one poſſeſſed with a devil. His eyes were haggard and inflamed, he foamed at the mouth, and when he ſtopped, he appeared ſhaken with violent convulſions, although he did harm to no one. The inhabitants of the country, when he was in this ſtate, dreaded to meet him, more than they dreaded a wild beaſt. When theſe fits of fury ſubſided, the man appeared very rational, and ſpoke ſenſibly; but all that the miſſionaries could draw from him, and what he conſtantly told every body, was, that he was haunted by a great ſpectre, the ſight of which ſhook him and put him beſide himſelf, and then he knew not where he was, nor what he did. The miſſionaries not being able to follow this man, and to examine him in his mad fits, ſuppoſed that the diſorder was occaſioned by organic derangement; though it is not impoſſible that the demon who already poſſeſſes the ſouls of the wretched inhabitants of theſe countries, may alſo

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ſometimes extend his dominion over the bodies; and that, by a juſt judgment of God, he begins to puniſh them, even in this life, for the ſacrilegious worſhip they paid him.

We have ſpoken elſewhere of agriculture; it is the women who carry it on. They have no other inſtrument of tillage than a little pointed ſpade, which is pretty much like the trowels of our maſons. They who ſay they have ſeen a quantity of vine-dreſſers in Loango, ought to have ſeen, that there are no vines in the country. The men, beſides, by an univerſal prejudice, founded no doubt on their indolence, would think they degraded themſelves if they tilled the ground. They prefer to attach honour to more amuſing and leſs toilſome occupations; almoſt all of them are hunters and fiſhers. A great number are alſo carpenters, if we may give that name to thoſe who conſtruct ſuch houſes as we have deſcribed. There are alſo ſmiths among them, as well as potters, weavers, and ſalt-makers.

The ſmiths get their iron from Europe. To heat it they uſe charcoal. They hammer it on anvils made of wood harder than ſtone. There have been ſeen however, ſome ſmall iron anvils in the King's forges at Loango. The workmen are ſlow, and not very ſkilful; they make only ſmall ware. The hammers they uſe are no heavier than thoſe of our upholſterers. Their bellows are of a pretty ingenious make.

The potters make all ſorts of earthen veſſels, which they bake in the midſt of a great fire. They are faſhioned almoſt as well as thoſe of Europe, although no wheel is uſed. The potters alſo make tobacco pipes, the great conſumption of which forms a conſiderable branch of their petty trade.

The weavers make their cloths of a graſs about two feet high, which grows untilled in the deſert plains, and needs no preparation to be put to work. The length of the graſs is the length of the web; they make it rather narrower than long. This cloth is woven like ours; but they make it on their knees, without ſhuttle or loom: having the patience to paſs the woof through the threads with their fingers, in the ſame way that our baſket-makers weave their hurdles. Although they work with ſuch quickneſs that one can ſcarcely follow their fingers with one's eyes, they get ſlowly forward. The beſt workmen do not make more than the length of an ell of cloth in the ſpace of eight days.

Their little pieces, which we call macoutes, ſerve as the current money of the country. The merchants have no right to refuſe in exchange for them the goods they bring to market. Beſides the common cloths, the negroes make little bags, caps, and other articles, ſome of which would be admired in Europe for the variety of the deſign, and the delicacy of the workmanſhip. In the country is found a tree, the inner bark of which is really a cloth, as ſtrong and flexible as ours: the negroes uſe it as macoutes, and as materials for clothes.

The peaſants of the villages near the ſea, are moſtly ſalters. All their art conſiſts in evaporating ſea water over a great fire, which depoſits the ſalt at the bottom of veſſels employed for the purpoſe.

CHAP. XII. — *Of the mode of Dreſs, and of ſome particular Uſages.*

THESE people have no ſpecies of veſtment which anſwers to our ſhirts; they are uncovered down to the waiſt in all ſeaſons; and they go always bare-foot and bare-legged. Their dreſs conſiſts of a ſmall under petticoat which we call pagne, and which reſembles that worn by our bakers' boys and brewers' apprentices. It reaches half way down the leg, ſome of them leave a long tail to it. The poor make it of their own country cloth; the

the rich make it of a cotton cloth, or of other light ſtuffs brought from Europe. This petticoat is ſurmounted with a broad girdle, commonly of red or blue cloth, moſt of them have only one dreſs, which they wear night and day, until it is too much worn or too dirty, for they never waſh their clothes. By a uſage very different from ours, the men have always caps on, and the women go bare-headed; they wear their hair, the men ſhave their heads. The heads of thoſe who aſpire to glory in apparel, reſemble a parterre; you ſee alleys and figures traced on them with a great deal of ſymmetry. Allowing for this difference, the women are dreſſed pretty much like the men; and the author of the General Hiſtory of Aſia, Africa, and America, has been ill informed, when he ſays in Vol. XII. of his work that their petticoats are not ſurmounted by a girdle like thoſe of the men; it is however remarked, that they have leſs inclination than the men for glittering ornaments; on feaſt days, for want of jewelry they attire themſelves in raſcades; the raſcade is a bead of glaſs, of which chaplets are made in Europe. They make collars and bracelets of them, and even put them round their legs: ſome men envy them this brilliant attire; but inſtead of employing the raſcade in collars and bracelets, they make a ſort of bandolier of it. The men as well as the women and even the children carry in their girdle a ſheathed knife, like our head cooks. This knife, which is always well ſharpened, ſerves as a razor for their beard, and as ſciſſars for their poll. A modern hiſtorian, ill informed on the uſages of the country, ſays, that the inhabitants of Loango make their bed poſts of the palm tree. If theſe people uſed bed poſts, they might find in their foreſts many trees preferable to the palm for this purpoſe; but their bed is merely a mat for the poor, and an European carpet for the rich; this does not hinder them from ſleeping ſoundly. The moſt diligent are never up before ſun-riſe, and the greater part not till long afterwards. If they have any work to do, it is commonly done before dinner. They make only two meals; the firſt at ten o'clock, and the ſecond at night-fall. Although they tire themſelves very little in the forenoon, they reſt almoſt the whole afternoon; except when they take a fancy to go a hunting or a fiſhing, we have ſhewn that their moſt common paſtime, is talk. Many of them play at a game very like our games of draughts and cheſs; they amuſe themſelves alſo at a hand game, which conſiſts in beating themſelves in cadences quicker or ſlower, in different parts of the body, ſo as juſt to meet and ſtrike at the ſame time each other's hands; they often gather together in a public place, under the ſhade of a well-tufted tree, to hold concerts. Each is admitted to play his part; they are leſs harmonious, but more noiſy than ours. They uſe all ſorts of ſtringed inſtruments made by themſelves in their own way; trumpets, fifes, and drums, compriſe alſo a part of their ſymphonies; they always mix their verſes with the ſounds of their inſtruments. The more noiſe is made, the better the piece is performed; theſe concerts, which flatter and tranſport the negroes, alſo amuſe the Europeans, who cannot help laughing at this ſtrange reſult of an infinity of voices accompanied by hoarſe braying inſtruments of all kinds. If ſome of our military muſicians were to land in theſe countries, they would become new Orphei, and draw after them the towns and villages; but the tender and impaſſioned airs of our beſt opera muſicians would be laughed at.

Although dancing is a fatiguing exerciſe in ſuch hot countries, it is much practiſed. It is ſometimes a diverſion; but oftener a religious ceremony. The negroes dance when they are in ſorrow, juſt as they do when they are joyful; at the funeral of their fathers, as at their own wedding, the ſong ever accompanies the dance; the moſt qualified of the troop, or he who can ſing beſt, begins alone, and the others repeat the ſong, and dance to it as our provincial peaſants do. They have no ſongs compoſed, they make them off hand; and take their ſubject from exiſting circumſtances. The miſſionaries one day heard of a woman, who, dancing on the occaſion of her huſband's death, deplored his

his lot and that of her children; ſhe compared the defunct to the roof of a houſe, the fall of which ſoon involves that of the whole edifice; "Alas! (cried ſhe, in her language,) the ridge has fallen; there lies the building expoſed to the weather, all is over; the ruin is unavoidable."

The more remote the negroes are from ſweetneſs and nature in their concerts, the more ſentiment and truth they throw into their dances and ruſtic ſongs. Be they provoked by grief, or excited by joy, they are always the faithful expreſſion of nature. The hearer is moved with them, in ſpite of himſelf; eſpecially when he beholds their action. One day, when two miſſionaries were paſſing through a village, they heard of a mother whoſe ſon ſome robbers had ſtolen, and ſold as a ſlave to the Europeans. This woman, in the firſt tranſport of woe, ſallies from her houſe diſſolved in tears, holding her daughter by the hand; ſhe immediately fell to dancing with her, chaunting her misfortune in the moſt piteous and touching tone. Now ſhe curſed the day when ſhe became a mother; then ſhe called her ſon, making imprecations againſt the wretches who had borne him away; at other times ſhe reproached for their moſt cruel avarice thoſe European merchants who buy from all hands thoſe who are offered to them as ſlaves. Struck by the novelty of the ſight, the miſſionaries ſtopped a moment: the ſong of the deſolated mother, the abundance of her tears, the irregular movement which agitated her by turns, even the diſorder of the dance — all rendered the ſentiment, all expreſſed nature with ſuch energy, that the miſſionaries themſelves, pierced with profound grief, felt their tears flow and retired weeping. The women, like the men, have their aſſemblies for diverſion and dancing: but only on feaſt days, or when they have finiſhed their toils of the field, and the buſineſs of the houſehold. They are never confounded with the men; even the wife does not dance with her huſband, nor the ſiſter with her brother. They never work above three days in ſucceſſion; the fourth is for them a general reſt day, during which they are not allowed to buſy themſelves in tillage. The men, who repoſe habitually, work ſtill leſs on that day. They walk, ſport, and go to market. The miſſionaries have never been able to procure from the negroes any explanation of this period of four days, which forms their week. They know neither months nor years. When they reckon time, which they rarely do, it is by moons and ſeaſons; thus to make them underſtand that our Lord offered himſelf for the ſalvation of men at thirty-three years of age, we tell them that he was ſixty-ſix ſeaſons old.

It was matter of ſurpriſe to ſee people who count nothing, not even their age, ſhould have like us the uſe of numbers, which they carry even to infinity. They begin by numerating like us, one, two, three, &c. &c. as far as ten: inſtead of ſaying ten, they ſay tithing, and they continue tithing one, tithing two, tithing three, up to twenty: then they ſay two tithings, next two tithings one, two tithings two, two tithings three, &c. they numerate them as far as nine tithings nine; then they ſay a hundred, and begin again; when they come to ten hundreds, they employ a term which anſwers to a thouſand; and they thus continue to numerate as far as millions and milliards. Numbers are ſometimes matters of entertainment to the ſages of the country.

It is commonly at night-fall that the negroes make their ſecond repaſt; it is not more ſplendid than the firſt. In the evening they light torches, which are of the ſize of thoſe which our lacqueys carry behind carriages; they are made of an odoriferous gum, which diſtils plentifully from one of the foreſt trees, and which petrifie in rollers. Inſtead of putting their wick in the torch, they put the torch into the wick, by inveſting the rollers with flax and bits of dry wood. Theſe torches throw up a light ſmoke, which ſpreads an agreeable odour to a great diſtance. Although the nights are never cold, they commonly light a fire in the evening to purify the air, which by the continual ex-

halations from the earth, is rendered thick and unwholeſome. Their hearth, when no rain falls, is in the middle of the court. That is alſo the place where they take their evening repaſt. Immediately after ſupper they retire to their huts, and lie down on their mats, unleſs ſome neighbour comes to talk, or they have to dance in honour of a dead perſon, which very often happens; becauſe they are accuſtomed, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, to dance for ſeveral months for their neareſt relatives, and in proportion for others, and each for their friends. On theſe occaſions they watch the greater part of the night, and ſleep by day.

CHAP. XIII. — *Of the Government.*

THE government with theſe people is purely deſpotic. They ſay their lives and goods belong to the king; that he may diſpoſe of and deprive them of them when he pleaſes, without form of proceſs, and without their having any thing to complain of.

In his preſence they pay marks of reſpect which reſemble adoration. The individuals of the lower claſſes are perſuaded that his power is not confined to the earth, and that he has credit enough to make rain fall from heaven: hence they fail not, when a continuance of drought makes them fearful about the harveſt, to repreſent to him that if he does not take care to water the lands of his kingdom, they will die of hunger, and will find it impoſſible to make him the uſual preſents.

The king, to ſatisfy the people, without however compromiſing himſelf with heaven, devolves the affair on one of his miniſters, to whom he gives orders to cauſe to fall without delay upon the plains as much rain as is wanted to fertilize them. When the miniſter ſees a cloud which he preſumes muſt ſhed rain, he ſhews himſelf in public, as if to exerciſe the orders of his prince. The women and children troop around him, crying with all their might *Give us rain, give us rain:* and he promiſes them ſome.

The king, who reigns as a deſpot over the people, is often diſturbed in the exerciſe of his power, by the princes his vaſſals, many of whom are not much inferior to him in force. Theſe princes voluntarily acknowledge their dependance ſo long as the king exacts nothing from them which impairs their privileges or pretenſions; but ſhould the ſovereign authority ſeem inclined to conſtrain them, they endeavour to withdraw themſelves from it by open force and by dint of arms.

The ſlaves are not the moſt ill-treated perſons in theſe ſtates: the king and the princes ſpare thoſe who belong to them, under the apprehenſion, leſt, having nothing which attaches them to their native ſoil, they ſhould paſs into the ſervice of foreign princes, who always very willingly ſeize the opportunity of augmenting their poſſeſſions, by aſſuring to fugitive ſlaves who are willing to ſurrender themſelves to them, the ſame lot and condition in life which they have left. The free negroes are more to be pitied, with reſpect to their condition. They are obliged to make preſents to the king, in proportion to the number of their ſlaves, of the lands they till, and the cattle they breed. If the king thinks they do not give enough, he ſends ſlaves to their places to take what they have. Juſt and humane kings do not permit themſelves to make theſe cruel exactions; but their miniſters, the governors of provinces, and other ſubaltern officers, often execute them in their name. The people ſuffer without complaining, being perſuaded that the king in deſpoiling them, only exerciſes his right, and conſole themſelves with the thought that they ſhall always find a few roots of manive to ſubſiſt upon.

This form of adminiſtration, as it may be eaſily imagined, ſtifles the very germ of emulation; the arts do not improve, every thing languiſhes. Even ſuppoſing the king to be ſole proprietary of the whole kingdom, if his ſubjects by paying him a fixed tax, in proportion to the lands they could till, might promiſe themſelves, like the farmers of our lords, to gather in quietneſs the fruits of their labours and their induſtry; their rich plains which are now abandoned would be tilled with care, or covered with cattle; the prince would be the richer for it, and the people would live in a ſtate of enjoyment. But, contented with a ſmall field which yields them a few inſipid roots, and the tillage of which they leave to the females, they paſs their lives in idleneſs, deſpiſing the riches, of which the king when he pleaſes, may ſay, "they are mine."

Though the kings do not employ the moſt proper means for promoting the welfare of their ſubjects, they hold this as a principle, that it is their intereſt as well as their duty, to occupy themſelves with the care of rendering them happy, and maintaining peace and juſtice among them. Every day they paſs ſeveral hours in deciding the proceſſes of thoſe who have appealed with them to their tribunals; they hold frequent councils; but it is rare that they have a real friend, and a diſintereſted man among thoſe whom they invite thither. The miniſters ſtand charged with the execution of whatever has been determined in the king's council; but as this prince blindly defers to them, it frequently happens, that, while occupied with the details of juſtice, he pacifies the differences of a few families, one of his miniſters, in his name, though without his knowledge, ſpreads trouble and deſolation over a whole province.

The principal miniſters are the *ma-ngovo*, the *ma-npontou*, the *ma-kaka*, the *m-fouka*, and the *ma-komba*. The *ma-ngovo*, whom we call *mangove*, is the miniſter for foreign affairs, and the introducer of foreigners at court. The *ma-npontou* is aſſociated to the department of the mangove, and repreſents him when abſent. The *ma-kaka* is miniſter of war, and even generaliſſimo of the armies. It is he who cauſes the troops to be muſtered in time of war, who appoints their officers, reviews them, and alſo leads them to battle. The *m-fouka*, whom the French call mafouque, is miniſter of commerce. He makes frequent voyages on the ſea coaſts, where are the warehouſes and factories of the Europeans. He is obliged, by the nature of his office, to make frequent repreſentations of the ſtate of the exchanges which are made between the Europeans and the Africans, and to take care that no frauds are committed on either ſide. He alſo preſides over the recovery of the droits which the king exacts from ſtrangers who trade in his ſtates; and he is charged with the general police of the markets. The *ma-kimba* is grand maſter of the waters and foreſts. It is he who has the inſpection of all the boatmen, fiſhermen, and hunters; and it is to him that the fiſh and game intended for the king are directed. They reckon alſo in the number of miniſters a *ma-nibanza*, a *main-bile*, and ſome others whoſe functions are unknown.

Theſe miniſters have no offices or houſes of buſineſs as ours have; they even know not how either to read or write: with the exception of a ſmall number of important affairs, they diſpatch all others on the ſpot, and as ſoon as they preſent themſelves, in order not to run the riſk of forgetting them. Their clerks are intelligent ſlaves whom they ſend into the towns and provinces, to ſignify to private individuals, as well as perſons in place, the king's intentions. In all the provinces and in all the towns, there is a governor for the king. The chiefs of the villages are alſo king's officers; they adminiſter juſtice in his name. They are the more exact in requiring that every one ſhall make preſents proportioned to his revenues, inaſmuch as they themſelves are charged with the receipt and tranſmiſſion of them to court. The peaſants are frequently obliged to compound with them, and to make them particular preſents in order to ranſom themſelves

ſelves from the vexations which thoſe officers are diſpoſed to inflict in the name of the king. He, for example, who has four goats, in order not to be conſtrained to give three of them to the king, or even to give up the whole four, begins by making a preſent of the fineſt among them to the chief of the village, who will then content himſelf with a ſecond for the king. The king alone nominates perſons to all ſtate offices, and he does it in council. There is no examination as to who might be the ſubjects moſt worthy of holding them, but who are they who offer moſt for them. The lucrative governments are uſually adjudged to the relatives of the miniſters, or to the miniſters themſelves. The day on which the king has nominated a perſon to an important place, is always a feaſt day in the capital. The province alſo, in which the officer is to exerciſe his charge, makes great rejoicing when he arrives to take poſſeſſion of it: and the poor people, who when they are ſuffering always expect that a change muſt be for the better, run ſinging and dancing before him who has juſt bought, at the higheſt price, the right of deſpoiling them with impunity, and on behalf of the king.

CHAP. XIV. — *Of the Princes and the Rights of the Crown.*

THE crown among theſe people is not hereditary, as ſeveral authors aver, who in this point as well as in an infinite number of others, merely copy each other's errors. There is in each kingdom a family, or if you pleaſe a claſs of princes, for they are very numerous, and they know not the order of their genealogy ſo correctly as to know if they be of a common origin. It is ſufficient to be prince in order to have the right of pretending to the crown: and it muſt neceſſarily be ſo, in order to poſſeſs certain noble fiefs which are held more immediately on that tenure.

No nobles are known in theſe countries, except the princes, and nobility does not deſcend except by the females, ſo that all the children of a princeſs-mother are princes or princeſſes, though begotten by a plebeian father; as, on the other hand, the children of a prince, or even thoſe of a king, are not nobles, unleſs their father has married a princeſs, which ſcarcely ever happens, becauſe the princeſſes, as we have already remarked, have the privilege of obliging their huſbands to have only a ſingle wife, and becauſe the princes and the kings generally prefer marrying plebeian females, and ſeeing their nobility terminate with them, to renouncing the rights of polygamy.

On the death of every king there is always an interregnum, during which are celebrated the obſequies of the defunct, who is commonly interred after the lapſe of ſome years. The kingdom is then governed by a regent, who takes the title of *ma-boman*, that is to ſay, *lord of terror*, becauſe he has the right of making himſelf feared throughout the whole kingdom. It is the king who in his lifetime nominates the *ma-boman:* the law itſelf, in order to prevent the inconveniences of anarchy, obliges him to deſignate two of them, the ſecond of whom, in caſe the firſt dies, is charged with the affairs of ſtate until they have proceeded to the election of a new king. It is during this interregnum that the pretenders to the crown, from their canvaſs, and by means of preſents and promiſes, try to render the electors favourable to themſelves. Theſe electors are the princes, the miniſters, and the regent. The actual king of Loango was not elected till after an interregnum of ſeven years, and his predeceſſor, who died in 1766, is not yet buried; this delay was occaſioned by a conteſt which aroſe between the citizens of Loango, who pretend that the prince ought to be interred in his capital; and thoſe of Loanguilli, the uſual burial place of the kings, who will not cede their privilege. However, as the difference was not made up, and the time

determined by uſage for the interment of the king had expired ſeveral years before, it was thought that the election of his ſucceſſor might be proceeded in, and he has now occupied the throne four years.

In certain kingdoms the prince himſelf deſignates his ſucceſſor; but all the ſovereigns have not this right; it is conteſted againſt the kings of Loango and n'-Goio. The king deſignates his ſucceſſor by putting him in poſſeſſion of a fief which cannot be poſſeſſed except by him who is to ſucceed to the crown. This fief is called *Kaïa*, and the Prince to whom the king gives the inveſtiture of it, quits all other titles to aſſume that of *ma-kaïa*. From the day on which the *ma-kaïa* has taken poſſeſſion of his lordſhip, entrance into the capital is forbidden him, until the king be dead and buried. The king, either in order not to remove to a diſtance from his perſon him whom he loves well enough to make his ſucceſſor, or to hold all the princes ſtrictly attached to his intereſt, by letting each of them enjoy his hope of having the choice fixed on him, defers as long as he can the having a ma-kaïa proclaimed. It even happens ſometimes that not being able to reſolve, on creating a number of mal-contents by preference of one, he dies without having nominated his ſucceſſor. It is but a few years ſince the king of Loango, now very old, declared his. Though according to the laws of certain ſtates the right of the *ma-kaïas* to the crown be inconteſtible, as it has not been conferred but by the choice of one man, it is never reſpected ſo much as that would be, which ſhould be founded on the order of truth; and after a powerful prince, jealous of a preference with which he perhaps had flattered himſelf, raiſes a part of the kingdom in revolt, and declares war on the new king. No one doubts, in the kingdom of Kakongo, that after the death of the actual king the crown may be diſputed againſt the *ma-kaïa* by the *ma-nboukou*, or prince who is below him in dignity, but ſurpaſſes him in power, and neglects nothing to conciliate the favour of the people.

It is here rather than any where elſe, that every one is enabled to feel how advantageous it is for a ſtate, that the ſovereign authority ſhould be perpetuated in the ſame family by an invariable order and ſucceſſion; and if thoſe pretended ſages, who paſs themſelves for protectors of mankind in matters of government as well as of religion, had gone through a courſe of politics in theſe countries in the ſchool of experience, they would doubtleſs not be ſeen to attack with their pens a form of government the moſt wiſely eſtabliſhed for enſuring the happineſs and tranquillity of the people; and they would be forced to agree that hereditary ſovereignty with all its inconveniencies, a neceſſary conſequence of all human eſtabliſhments, has ineſtimable advantages over an elective form of government. In fact when a king dies without having deſignated his ſucceſſor, and in kingdoms where he has no right to deſignate one, it is as it were become cuſtomary to celebrate his obſequies by battles, and for the country to become the theatre of civil war; ſuch reſults are expected and prepared for. This happened very lately in the little kingdom of n'-Goio: The prince who was elected king had to ſuſtain his election with arms in hand, againſt the ma-ntoakou of the ſame kingdom. The latter, finding himſelf too weak to maintain a campaign againſt the royal army with his own forces alone, contracted an alliance with the count of Logno, a powerful prince, feudatory at Congo, the ſtates of which border on the kingdom of n'-Goio. The Count gathered his troops together, led them in perſon to the *m-anboukou*, who by the help of theſe ſuccours ſaw himſelf in a condition to ſeek out his enemy, before whom he was flying previouſly. The armies met, and battle was given, the king's troops were defeated; he himſelf made priſoner, and the *m-anboukou*, who felt no horror at confirming the crime of rebellion by a ſtill greater crime, had his ſovereign's head chopped off. Deeming himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom he had juſt uſurped, he wanted to diſmiſs the army of his allies,

but

but this was what the count of Logno did not underſtand, and aſſuming a tone of authority with the pretended king, told him that every body knew he held the crown by inconteſtible rights; that if he would himſelf acknowledge them, he would treat him as a friend; but if he pretended to diſpute them with him, he knew how to avail himſelf of the arms in his hand. In fact, the war was renewed, and laſted ſeveral years, during which the trade of the Europeans was interrupted on thoſe coaſts; it has juſt been terminated, but no one yet knows whether by a treaty of peace, or by the death of one or both of the combatants.

CHAP. XV. — *Of the Laws, and the manner in which Juſtice is adminiſtered.*

THERE are few laws among theſe people, and they are not written. Theſe are preſerved by uſage and tradition; there is no one ignorant of the caſes which incur pain of death, and of thoſe for which the offender becomes the ſlave of the perſon offended; murder and poiſoning are puniſhed with death, and confiſcation of a part of the culprit's goods to the profit of the heirs of the deceaſed. It is very rare that a negro openly attempts the life of another: but the Europeans, according to an old prejudice, believe that many die among them by poiſon; and they themſelves, through an exceſs of ſimplicity believing their nation capable of hurrying into atrocities which are by no means characthereſtic of it, do not fail to attribute to poiſon all ſudden deaths, and thoſe which are preceded by certain violent diſeaſes. The relatives of the deceaſed on theſe occaſions conſult divines and ſorcerers, and know whom they are to come upon; but it is enough to dwell awhile in the country in order to perceive that they ſlander themſelves, and that theſe vague ſuſpicions of poiſon or malefactions, the pretended authors of which are never convicted, are with them, as with all credulous people in our country places, the pure effect of ignorance, and the chimera of a clouded imagination.

Robbery is not puniſhed with death; but he who is taken in the act of ſtealing, even things of the ſmalleſt value, is condemned to become the ſlave of the perſon he has robbed, unleſs he can make it up with him, by furniſhing him with a ſlave in kind or in value. The ſame penalty lies againſt any one who ſhall inſult a prince, or a miniſter, even by words. We have ſeen that he who was convicted of adultery, was given up as a ſlave to the offended party. Only the princeſſes have the right of inſiſting on the puniſhment of death for the faithleſſneſs of their huſbands.

All the ordinances of the king are arbitrary, and commonly bear the ſtamp of the moſt abſolute deſpotiſm. It is a maxim generally adopted by ſovereigns, and regarded as a cardinal point of their policy, that the multitude may be reſtrained by ſevere rules; but each makes an application of this principle with more or leſs diſcretion, according to his humanity, his ſenſe, or his council. By an ill-judged zeal with regard to order and policy, princes, otherwiſe well-intentioned, ſometimes proſcribe as crimes and on pain of death abuſes which would diſappear on the menace of the ſlighteſt puniſhment. The miſſionaries, on their arrival at Kakongo, having been troubled for ſeveral days in ſucceſſion by ſome individuals who affected to ſing and cry around their dwelling, carried their complaints to the king, when they had occaſion to go and ſee him; he promiſed them that he would reſtore order; in fact, they were very much ſurpriſed on the ſame day to hear proclaimed an ordinance, denouncing pain of death on all perſons, of whatever age or condition they might be, who ſhould dare in future to diſturb the repoſe of the miſſionaries. The firſt time they went to ſalute the prince he aſked them,

them, if any one had ſince moleſted them, and he told them, the firſt man they denounced ſhould loſe his head. The reaſon they aſſign for this ſeverity in puniſhing ſlight faults with the ſame vigour as the greateſt, is, that the eaſier it is to abſtain from the thing forbidden, or to do what is ordained, the leſs excuſable is the diſobedience; and the more of courſe does it deſerve to be ſeverely puniſhed.

When the king is inclined to paſs a law, he aſſembles his miniſters and principal officers, and after having taken their advice, he declares his final will, which they cauſe to be known immediately by the governors of the provinces. The latter publiſh the law, by a herald, in all the markets which they hold in all the towns and villages of their government; and they are charged jointly with the governors of the towns to ſee it duly executed. It is alſo in council that the king appoints perſons to vacant charges and offices; fixes the price of goods, and regulates all that concerns trade and police.

The governors of the towns and the chiefs of villages are at the ſame time judges civil and criminal. They have a right of ſentencing to ſlavery and even to death; but it is open to every one to appeal from their ſentence to the tribunal of the governor general of the province, and in the laſt reſort to the king himſelf.

The room where the king gives his audiences and adminiſters juſtice, is a ſort of hall; he is ſeated on the ground upon a carpet, having round him ſeveral aſſeſſors whom he conſults on difficult caſes. There are always ſeen a great number of negroes at his audiences. Some attend from curioſity, others from the intereſt they take in the affairs that are to be decided. When the king is ready to hear the parties, he orders the officers to confront them in his preſence; often in this country they do not plead by counſel, unleſs in caſe of ſickneſs, when one of the neareſt relatives takes charge of the affair. The pleaders in appearing before the judge always begin by making him a ſmall preſent. The party pretending to be leſed, ſpeaks firſt, and as long as he pleaſes. The women plead their cauſes themſelves, like the men. One party never interrupts the adverſe party; he waits till the other has done, in order to repel falſehoods and bad faith. If the facts be conteſted, and there be witneſſes, the king orders them to make depoſition of what they know; if there be no witneſſes, and the affair be of ſome importance, as thoſe generally are in which appeal is made to the king, the deciſion is deferred until ampler information is brought; then the miniſters charge certain intelligent negroes, whoſe employ pretty nearly anſwers to that of our police ſpies, to diſcover the truth. They repair to the places where the people of the country talk; and ſometimes addreſs the parties themſelves and try to inſinuate themſelves into their confidence, in order to worm out the ſecret. They rarely return without having the information neceſſary to ſerve as foundation for judgement.

When any one is accuſed of a crime of which they cannot convict him, they permit him to juſtify himſelf by drinking the *kaſſa*. The *kaſſa* is prepared by infuſing in water a bit of wood ſo called. This potion is a true poiſon to weak ſtomachs, which have not ſtrength to throw it up immediately. He who ſtands the proof is declared innocent, and his accuſer is condemned as a ſlanderer. If the fault of which the pretended culprit is accuſed does not deſerve death, as ſoon as they perceive him juſt ready to expire they make him take an antidote, which excites vomiting, and brings him back to life; but they condemn him as a culprit to the penalty fixed by law.

The inhabitants of the country have the greateſt faith in this cordial. The princes and lords ſometimes cauſe *kaſſa* to be taken in order to clear up their ſuſpicions, but they muſt firſt obtain the king's permiſſion to do ſo, which is not difficult when the ſuſpicions are of weighty concern.

About two years ago, a prince of the kingdom of Kakongo, who ſuſpected that a deſign had been entertained of poiſoning him, cauſed all the people of his houſehold to take *kaſſa*;

kaſſa; a great number of them died, and among others, a man of his officers whom he moſt loved, and who paſſed in the country for the honeſteſt man in his ſervice.

If the accuſed does not appear to anſwer him who prefers a complaint againſt him, the king ſends ſervants to ſeek him, who are at once tipſtaves, ſerjeants, bailiffs, marſhalmen. Thoſe who have to dread being condemned to death try to quit the kingdom, and take refuge with ſome foreign prince, who receives them among his ſlaves.

There are no public priſons. When the king thinks fit to ſuperintend the execution of any criminals, they are held by the neck to a piece of forked wood, eight or ten feet long, and too heavy for them to bear up in their hands, ſo that they remain captives in the open plain. It has been ſometimes ſeen that not being able to walk forward becauſe the piece of wood cut their breath, they tried to drag themſelves backwards: but no one ran after them, becauſe it is well known they could not go very far. Theſe vagabond priſoners have no other nouriſhment than that which is given them through compaſſion. No one thinks of delivering them; he who did ſo, would be put in their place, if diſcovered.

As there are few laws in this country, the ſcience of juriſprudence is not, properly ſpeaking, any thing but the knowledge of the human heart, which is acquired by experience. The cauſes, moreover, being never diſtorted by the ſubtilties of chicanery; let but the kings apply themſelves; and the neceſſity they are under of terminating every day of themſelves the differences of their ſubjects, puts them in a way to judge with wiſdom and equity. When the king has pronounced ſentence the parties retire, teſtifying by exterior marks of reſpect, that they abide by his judgment. The governors of the provinces, towns, and villages, follow the ſame method as the king in the adminiſtration of juſtice.

CHAP. XVI. — *On ſome particular uſages of the Kings of Kakongo.*

BY an uſage of which the inhabitants are equally ignorant of the origin and the end, and which they regard as holding eſſentially to the conſtitution of their monarchy, the kings of Kakongo cannot poſſeſs or even touch the different ſorts of merchandize which come from Europe, except metals, arms, and articles made of wood and ivory. The Europeans and the negroes who are cloathed in European ſtuffs are not admitted into their palaces.* It is to be preſumed that the firſt legiſlator of the nation muſt have impoſed this law on the ſovereigns in order to retard the progreſs of luxury, and attach the people by the example of their maſters to do without any thing from foreigners, and ſeek ſupplies for their wants in their own induſtry. But as the law binds the king alone, he is the only one who obſerves it. All the ſubjects, even his miniſters, traffic indiſcriminately in all kinds of goods that are brought them; they make uſe of the victuals and liquors of Europe; and thoſe who are clad in foreign ſtuffs are exonerated from the offence by changing their dreſſes when they go to the king's houſes.

This prince eats in one room and goes to drink in another: he eats in private, and drinks in public: his common beverage is palm-wine. The hall where he drinks is cloſed only on three ſides, and is pretty much like a great coach-houſe. There is always a great number of negroes who aſſiſt in the ceremony of the king's drinking; that is the time they

* The king of Kakongo is permitted to receive European goods in his palace, provided he do not touch them. They who wear clothes made of foreign ſtuffs take great care to keep at a certain diſtance from his perſon, for fear of touching him. He drinks to the ſound of a little bell in the Audience Hall. I ſtated the preſent king to be 126 years of age: he is turned 128. A gentleman, M. De Foligny, captain of a veſſel of Nantes, who ſaw him laſt year, and hunted with him, aſſures me, that his age was known to all the navigators who frequent the coaſt of Loango.

chooſe

chooſe for paying court to him. When the king appears, every body places himſelf in the moſt reſpectful attitude; his cup-bearer gives him drink in a veſſel of the country make; and at the ſame time a *ganga*, who is at once his phyſician, his ſorcerer, and his major-domo, begins to ring a little bell, crying with all his might *Tina foua, tina foua, proſtrate yourſelves or begone.* Then all preſent, except the ganga, fall flat with their faces on the ground. They think the king would die if any of his ſubjects were to ſee him drink. When he has drunk the ganga leaves off ringing and crying; every one riſes, clapping his hands, and the king goes to finiſh his dinner.

By an uſage equally ſingular the king of Kakongo is obliged to drink a draught at every cauſe which he decides; and ſometimes he decides fifty at a ſitting; but palm-wine is merely a refreſhing liquor. If he were not to drink the ſentence would not be legal. They then obſerve the ſame ceremonial as when he drinks during his repaſts. He holds his audience daily from ſunriſe, that is to ſay, about ſix o'clock, uhtil there are no more cauſes to try. He is very rarely at liberty before eleven in the forenoon.

The now reigning king is generally beloved and eſteemed by his ſubjects, for his patience in hearing and his wiſdom in judging. His age (one hundred and twenty-ſix years) which gives him the ſuperiority of experience over all the judges in this kingdom, has not weakened the vigour of his mind.

When the king falls ſick the firſt care of his phyſicians is to publiſh the intelligence in all the provinces of his kingdom. At this news every one is obliged to kill a cock, nobody knows why. The moſt ſenſible among them laugh at this foolery, and ſay that the dead cock does more good to them, than to the king, becauſe they eat it. But they raiſe a great outcry againſt a uſage equally whimſical and more hurtful to ſociety; it is, not to till the ground throughout the whole extent of the kingdom for ſeveral months from the date of the king's death, and during a ſimilar ſpace of time in the province where a prince or a princeſs has died. The miſſionaries one day heard ſome negroes ſaying to each other, "We muſt ſurely be very mad to ſubmit to ſuch ridiculous uſages. How! becauſe the king is dead of ſickneſs, ſhall all his ſubjects expoſe themſelves to die of hunger?" Yet uſage and ſuperſtition prevail over reaſon.

CHAP. XVII. — *Of the Trade.*

THE principal trade of theſe people is that in ſlaves, whom they ſell to the Europeans, that is to ſay, to the French, the Engliſh, and the Dutch, who tranſport them to their American Colonies. The ſlaves taken from Loango and other neighbouring kingdoms, paſs for the blackeſt and moſt robuſt in Africa. They are taken in war by thoſe who ſell them. In the interior of the territory there are hoſtile people irreconcilable to thoſe of whom we are ſpeaking. The latter ſay they are cruel and ferocious, that they drink human blood, and eat as many victims as they can take. It is by way of repriſals that they themſelves wage open war on them, and they pretend that they treat them humanely, contenting themſelves with ſelling them to the Europeans at the ſame time when they have a right to deprive them of life. This war, though continual, does not however trouble the tranquillity of the kingdom, becauſe it is carried on far beyond the frontiers by certain individuals, and, properly ſpeaking, it is leſs a war than a chaſe; but one in which the hunter is often liable to become the prey of the game he follows.

Thoſe who have made captives ſell them to merchants of the country, or bring them to the coaſts, but they are not allowed themſelves to ſell them to the Europeans: they are obliged to addreſs themſelves to brokers, nominated by the miniſter of commerce, who treat with the captains of ſhips. Theſe ſlaves are eſtimated according to their age, ſex, and ſtrength; they pay for them in European goods.

Though the different kingdoms of which we are ſpeaking be not far diſtant from each other; the manner of valuing goods and turning ſlaves to account is not uniform among them. On the coaſts of Malimha and Cabinda, that is to ſay, in the kingdoms of Kakongo and n'Goio, they reckon by *goods*; and in Loango by pieces; what they call *goods*, is a piece of cotton or Indian cloth ten or fourteen ells long. The negroes before ſtriking a bargain go and mark off at the captain's ſtore, which is on the ſea ſide, the pieces of ſtuffs they chooſe to take; and he who has ſold four ſlaves at fifteen *goods* a head, goes to receive ſixty pieces of the ſtuffs marked off. In the kingdoms where they buy by goods it is cuſtomary to give for each ſlave what is called *the over and above*, which commonly conſiſts of three or four guns and as many ſwords; fifteen pots of brandy, fifteen pounds of gunpowder, and ſome dozens of knives. If theſe articles be not always given them, others are ſubſtituted as an equivalent.

At Loango they reckon by pieces, and every ſort of goods is entered in a line of the account with the ſtuffs to form the piece; thus, when they ſay a ſlave coſts thirty pieces, it does not mean he coſts thirty pieces of ſtuffs, but thirty times the ideal value which they think fit to fix on, and call a *piece*; ſo that a ſingle piece of ſtuff is ſometimes eſtimated at two or three *pieces*, as ſometimes ſeveral objects muſt form a ſingle piece. This difference in the manner of reckoning is nothing at bottom, and the price of ſlaves is nearly the ſame in all the kingdoms bordering on Loango.

It is poſſible by inſpecting the following account to eſtimate the real value of the piece, and to ſee what are the goods which commonly paſs among the negroes in exchange for ſlaves.

I have paid to the Ma-nboukou, for the ſlave Makviota, twenty-two years of age, whom he has ſold me at thirty pieces,

An *indienne* of fourteen ells valued at two and a half pieces -	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Two guineas (they are cotton cloths dyed deep blue) each valued at two and a half pieces - - -	5
A chaſſelat (white grape), and a bajutapeau (hog's cheek), fourteen ells each (they are cotton cloths), eſtimated at four pieces -	4
A neganopeau of 14 ells and a great nicané of $9\frac{1}{2}$ ells (other cotton cloths), eſtimated at three and a half pieces - -	$3\frac{1}{2}$
A piece of handkerchiefs of 9 ells, eſtimated at a piece and a half	$1\frac{1}{2}$
A rod (about an ell and a quarter of thick woollen ſtuff) eſtimated at a piece - - - -	1
A girdle of red cloth (an ell long by one foot broad) eſtimated at a piece	1
Two common guns, valued at two pieces - -	2
Two barrels of gunpowder (about 5lbs. each) valued at two pieces	2
Two bags of leaden muſket balls, (weight 3lbs. each) valued at half a piece	$0\frac{1}{2}$
Two ſwords, valued at each a quarter of a piece -	$0\frac{1}{2}$
Two dozens of common ſheath knives, eſtimated at half a piece	$0\frac{1}{2}$
Two bars of iron (weight both together 20lb.) valued at a piece	1
Five pots of Dutch ware, valued at half a piece -	$0\frac{1}{2}$
Four barrels of brandy, each containing five pots, valued at four pieces	4
Ten ſtrings of bugles (glaſs beads, of which chaplets are made) valued at half a piece - - - -	$0\frac{1}{2}$
Total	30 pieces.
I have paid moreover to the broker for his trouble the value of ſix pieces in guns, powder, ſwords, and brandy - -	6 pieces.
General total	36 pieces.

Beſides the pieces determined on for each ſlave, the captain muſt alſo, ere the bargain be cloſed, make a preſent to the Mafouka and the brokers who have ſerved him beſt, and whom he is very glad to attach to himſelf: theſe preſents are made in coral, ſervices of plate, carpets, and other moveables, more or leſs precious.

Slaves are at preſent much dearer than formerly, at leaſt to the French; for they may be dear with reſpect to one nation and not to another; the French, Engliſh and Dutch alike make their exchanges with goods, but theſe goods differ; ſo that the dearth of ſlaves to one nation depends on the price which ſhe herſelf puts on the goods ſhe carries to the negroes, and this price, as it may be imagined, muſt vary by reaſon of the better or worſe underſtanding which reigns among individuals engaged in the ſame commerce. It would be eaſy for them not to pay for ſlaves more than their juſt value, or even below it, if it were moreover allowable to exerciſe monopoly and be more unjuſt towards the barbarian and the ſtranger than to the citizen, but through want of good underſtanding among the captains the reverſe always takes place; the ſlaves are bought as it were by auction, and at more than their value. A reaſonable price however is ſometimes fixed, which they agree not to exceed in their purchaſes; but even then, every one for himſelf, deſiring to make a ready bargain, renders this convention illuſory, by a tacit agreement with the brokers, to pay them in ſecret a higher price for him whom they have publicly bargained for, to ſave appearances. The matter at preſent has come to this pitch, that the negroes are themſelves afraid leſt the French ſhould in the end make up their minds to renounce a commerce which becomes daily more and more expenſive to them. An old Mafouka one day came to ſee a miſſionary reſpecting this ſubject, and imagining that the king of France was to be treated with in the ſame way as the king of Kakongo, and that a miſſionary could indiſcriminately preſide over commerce or announce the goſpel; thou muſt, ſays he, "write to the "king of France, and adviſe him, for his own advantage and ours, to eſtabliſh thee "here to ſee that the captains of ſhips do not buy any more of our ſlaves below the "reaſonable price, for we ſee very well, that after having bought them of us too dear "they will finiſh by buying no more of us at all."

The function of the brokers is not limited to facilitating the ſlave trade; they are alſo charged with ſuperintending the execution of the regulations eſtabliſhed by the king or the Mafouka, the moſt important of which is, that there ſhall not be ſold any ſlaves to the Europeans except thoſe which have been taken in war or purchaſed from abroad. Every ſlave born in the kingdom is under the protection of the Mafouka, and may appeal againſt his maſter, ſhould he be inclined to ſell him to the Europeans, unleſs he have given him that right through his own miſconduct; for the law authoriſes a maſter to rid himſelf of a ſlave, who may have been guilty of bad faith, rebellion, or any other crime. The Mafouka of Kakongo, to prevent the violences and frauds which might be exerciſed in this trade, has iſſued prohibitions againſt the brokers from trafficking in ſlaves during the night time, or even from introducing them into the ſtores of the Europeans, under pretext of ſhewing them to the captains. They are equally forbidden to receive, without an expreſs permiſſion, advance or earneſt for the price of the ſlaves who have not as yet been delivered up.*

The ſlave trade is the only one which the French carry on, upon theſe coaſts; that in ivory, monkeys, parrots, and ſome other merchandize of that kind, forms an object of ſo little importance that they reckon nothing of it. The Engliſh obtain yearly from

* The prohibition made by the Mafouka of Kakongo to the brokers, againſt receiving advances on the price of the ſlaves they had to deliver, is habitually tranſgreſſed under the very eye of that miniſter.

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the foreſt of Jomba ſeveral ſhips cargoes of a very good red wood for dying, though of an inferior quality to that of Brazil. The trade carried on upon the coaſts with foreigners, intereſts, as I have juſt obſerved, only the ſmall number of individuals who may be regarded as the rich and mighty ones of the country. As to the people; knowing no need, but that of food and clothing in the groſſeſt and ſimpleſt manner, they confine their traffic to a very few things; there is a market daily in all the towns and great villages, it is held in the public place under the ſhade of ſome thick trees. They ſell ſmoke-dried fiſh, manioc and other roots, ſalt, palm-nuts, ſugar-canes, bananas, fig bananas, and ſome other fruits. It is on feaſt days that the greateſt afflux of buyers and ſellers is ſeen. No fraud is known in the market; a mother ſends thither a child ſix years old, convinced that they will not deceive him. It is not neceſſary to underſtand the language in order to buy, no one ever cheapens or bargains; all goods are divided equally in ſmall portions of the ſtandard weight, and each portion is worth a macouta. There is not much greater riſk of being cheated in the quality than in the quantity; one perſon's ſalt and manioc is worth the ſalt and manioc of another. Thus, without taking the trouble of comparing one dealer's goods with thoſe of another, they take from the firſt they find as many ſmall packets as they have macoutas to give, and make room for others.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Of Wars.*

IN theſe countries where the crown is elective, the death of the kings, according to a remark already made, is as it were the ſignal of a civil war. A prince who, ambitious enough to direct his views to the throne, has no reaſon to count on the favour of the electors, makes his vaſſals take up arms to force their ſuffrages, or to diſpute the crown with him whom they may have preferred. If he fears that his party may not be the ſtrongeſt, he addreſſes himſelf to a foreign prince, who, for a few pieces of European ſtuffs, or veſſels of ſilver, ſends him a whole army.

The reciprocal pretenſions of the ſovereigns to certain provinces, or even on the ſtates bordering on theirs, are the common pretext of all wars between people of different kingdoms. All theſe barbarous kings have their chimæra in this reſpect, which they realize when a favourable opportunity offers; it is thus that the count of Sagos has juſt availed himſelf of his pretenſions to the kingdom of n'Goio. The king of Congo claims the kingdom of Kakongo as a province of his ſtates; and the king of Kakongo, doubtleſs by way of repriſals, never calls himſelf any other title than *Ma-Congo*, king of Congo, inſtead of *Ma-Kakongo* king of Kakongo, a title given him by foreigners, and the only one that ſuits him. Theſe pretenſions are not always unfounded; many ſmall kingdoms or ſovereign ſtates, which at the preſent day ſhare Africa among them, were originally provinces dependent on other kingdoms, the particular governors of which uſurped the ſovereignty. It is not a long time ſince the Sogno ceaſed to be a province of the kingdom of Congo.

The ſovereigns of theſe countries maintain no regular troops. When a king has determined on war, his *Makaka*, miniſter of war and generaliſſimo of his armies, tranſmits orders to the princes and governors of provinces, to levy troops; the latter never fail to lead to the rendezvous the quota demanded of them. If the *Makaka* in the review he makes of his armies thinks it does not cover a ſufficient ſpace of ground, he has only to ſay a word in the king's name and in a few days he finds it more numerous

by half. Among theſe people, as among the ancient Romans, every citizen in a ſtate to bear arms is a ſoldier of need; but a very bad ſoldier.

They who march on ſome military expedition never fail to paint their whole bodies red, confident that this colour will render them invulnerable to fire arms; part of them wear panaches, even greater and richer in colours than thoſe with which our ladies of the great world adorn themſelves at the preſent day; but they regard them leſs as ornaments than as ſcarecrows to inſpire their foes with dread. Many are alſo perſuaded that certain feathers of certain birds arranged in a certain guiſe on their caps have the virtue of putting danger aſide, and placing their head in ſafety. All take with them victuals for a few days, and what arms they can procure, for they have none furniſhed them. Theſe troops advance on either part without order and without diſcipline; and the chiefs who command them ſeem rather to perform the function of ſhepherds or herdſmen, than that of generals of armies. If a meeting take place they fall to directly, and each, regardleſs of rank, inattentive to order, goes right upon the enemy he has in his head; the battle always begins with diſorder and confuſion, ſoon ending by a general rout or a complete victory. All depends on the firſt ſhock, the party that ſuſtains it with moſt vigour cannot fail to remain maſter of the field of battle. The combats are neither bloody nor obſtinate: the action is ſcarce commenced ere fright ſeizes one or both armies. To determine on a general flight, there only needs that of ſome ſoldiers who have ſeen a comrade of theirs fall by their ſides, in an inſtant all is diſſipated, and the whole is diſbanding. Then the victors purſue the vanquiſhed, ſticking to no employ but that of making priſoners, whom they ſell as ſlaves to the Europeans.

But it is very rare that the armies advance thus to encounter each other with the intention of coming to blows. The great art of making war is to avoid an enemy and to pounce on the villages known to be abandoned, in order to pillage them, reduce them to aſhes, and take ſome priſoners there. So that no reſiſtance be found, they advance fiercely, burn and ſack every thing, and often both armies are deſpoiling, each on their ſide, at once, on the hoſtile territories. They then return, always avoiding an encounter except in caſe a favourable opportunity occurs for making priſoners. If the *makaka* hears that a hoſtile party is to paſs along a wood, or through ſome defile, he puts a much ſtronger body in ambuſh, which bounces ſuddenly upon it, ſurrounds it, and maſters it without fighting.

The armies in general do not make long campaigns, a war is ſometimes over in leſs than eight days. When the ſoldiers have eaten the proviſions they brought with them, and find none in the hoſtile country, or when they want powder and lead, nothing can hold them; all, without aſking leave, take the road home; and if the king is not ſatisfied with this expedition, it reſts only with him to prepare another, which terminates by deſolating the country, without however occaſioning any more bloodſhed. The kings ſometimes make war in perſon; but if they be taken, they have no mercy to expect. Their heads are chopped off on the field of battle; a piece of cruelty which always implies weakneſs in him who performs it, a daſtardly and timid ſoul which fears to repent in future of having been generous to an enemy who had fallen into its power.

It is leſs by their ſtrength, as we ſee, than by their reſpective weakneſs that theſe different ſtates maintain themſelves; and becauſe the ſoldiers of one kingdom are neither braver nor better commanded than thoſe of another. Two hundred men of our regular troops, would conquer as much of the country as they could run over; but after triumphing over kings and nations, they ſoon, as if in turn beſieged by the action of the climate, and by all the wants of life, would find themſelves at the diſcretion of thoſe whom they had inſulted but a few days before. It is thus that providence ſeems

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to have wiſhed to protect theſe poor people, by their very miſery and their weakneſs, againſt the ambition and cupidity of poliſhed nations.

Though the Negroes do not pique themſelves on courage and valour in fight, they however paſſionately deſire the reputation of brave men; no greater wrong could be uttered to a man, than to call him a coward; as, on the other hand, no more flattering compliment could be paid him, than to ſay he has an intrepid and martial air. Beauty of countenance is regarded as a defect in men; every one envies him whom the ſmall-pox haye worſt uſed. Many, in order to give themſelves a terrible air, and through a fooliſh oſtentation of firmneſs and courage, make inciſions on their viſages, on their ſhoulders and arms. It might be thought, on ſeeing them after this cruel operation, that they had juſt been engaged in a ſanguinary battle.

They uſe nothing for ſtaunching blood but gunpowder, and their wounds cicatrize in a ſhort time. A Miſſionary one day aſked a Negro, who was getting his viſage furrowed, why he condemned himſelf to ſo much ſuffering? "For honour," ſaid he, "and becauſe, on ſeeing me, people will ſay, there's a man of heart." Doubtleſs, greater and truer courage would be ſhewn, in expoſing the perſon to the ſteel of his foes, than in getting himſelf ſlaſhed with the edge of a knife: but it muſt nevertheleſs be allowed, that men who have conſtancy enough to ſubmit, through vain-glory, to ſuch painful operations, would not be incapable of generous actions of another deſcription. Nor can it be doubted, that the form of the government which naturally invites the people to repoſe and ſloth, is alſo one of the cauſes which moſt contributes to ſuſtain their cowardice. A ſlave, whoſe condition is independent of all revolutions, will never ruſh headlong into dangers, like a ſoldier whoſe intereſt is confounded with that of his ſovereign, and who knows that in fighting for his country, he is alſo fighting for the little inheritance which he has received from his fathers.

CHAP. XIX. — *Of the Language.*

Among that prodigious maſs of narratives, from which has been formed the *general* hiſtory of *Voyages* and *Travels*, and an infinity of others publiſhed every day, no mention is made of the languages which are ſpoken in the different countries, the manners and uſages of which are deſcribed to us; and if the authors did not from time to time put into the mouths of the inhabitants of thoſe diſtant regions, ſome words of which they know the meaning, we ſhould be tempted to believe, that only dumb people had travelled among thoſe nations. All ſeem to have agreed on obſerving the profoundeſt ſilence on this matter, either becauſe it appeared to them foreign to the province of hiſtory, and far from proper to ſtimulate the curioſity of the readers, or more probably, becauſe they had not made a ſtay long enough among the people of whom they ſpeak to us, to learn their language, and undertake to give us an idea of it. Be it as it may, all will agree at leaſt, that whatever relates to the language, its genius, its relation with other known languages, even its mechaniſm and its flow are not traits which would look miſplaced in the hiſtorical picture of a nation; and if we have to dread offending the delicacy of ſome of our readers, by referring them to the *a*, *b*, *c*, we dare hope that the greater number, and thoſe eſpecially who love the ſciences, and cultivate the languages, will not be ſorry to add to their acquirements, ſome ſuccinct notions of a language which, conſidering it to be that of a barbarous people, is not on that account leſs intereſting.

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The idiom of Kakongo, nearly the ſame with that of Loango, n'Goio-ſamba, and other ſmall circumjacent ſtates, differs eſſentially from that of Congo. Several ſimilar articles, and a great number of common roots, ſeem however to indicate that theſe languages had a common origin; but they know not which of the two is the mother tongue. The cleverеſt among the Negroes have not the ſmalleſt idea of the origin and progreſs of their language; they ſpeak, ſay they, as they have heard their fathers ſpeak. It has been thought that there might be perceived ſome marked connections between this language and ſome ancient tongues, eſpecially the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

Though the Miſſionaries, in conſidering the richneſs and beauty of the language, ſuſpected that it was formerly written, nothing however has been found capable of convincing them; they have no where found any traces of writing, nor any veſtiges of ſigns which might ſtand in its ſtead. The Negroes conſider it as a ſort of prodigy, that the Europeans, by means of certain characters, communicate ideas, and converſe at a hundred or a thouſand leagues diſtance, as if they were preſent; but they did not even ſuſpect that it was poſſible to introduce this marvellous art into their language, and ſtill leſs that it could be practiſed even with the moſt limited capacity. Writing, in fact the fineſt invention of the human mind, if its origin be not divine, has ſomething in it which aſtoniſhes reaſon; and, had we not the uſe of it, we ſhould doubtleſs feel the ſame ſentiments as did theſe barbarians, at the recital made to them of its valuable advantages, which often equal and ſometimes ſurpaſs even thoſe of ſpeech.

The Miſſionaries, deeming themſelves the firſt writers of the language, uſed the right which belonged to them in that capacity, of determining the figure of the characters, and of regulating the orthography. They conſulted the pronunciation in order to fix the number of letters which were to be employed in writing. They have taken them from our alphabet, only to the number of eighteen, which ſeemed to them ſufficient; A, B, D, E, F, G, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, S, T, U, V, Z. The S, is put for the C, before the vowels *a, e, i*; the K ſtands for it before *o, u*, and all the conſonants; it alſo ſtands for the Q on all occaſions. The pronunciation of the language is ſoft and eaſy; it excludes the H aſpirate, and hence that letter becomes as uſeleſs as it is with us in the words *horloge*, *hirondelle*, *heures*, and others, the firſt ſyllable of which in nowiſe participates the ſound of the H, with which they are ſpelt. The R is of no uſe to them, their organ admits not the roughneſs of its pronunciation; they change it into L, and if you tell them to pronounce *ra, re, ri*, they ſay *la, le, li*. They know not the ſound of the U, which they pronounce ou. The X is uſeleſs in their alphabet. The J, conſonant, is equally unneceſſary; they never uſe our ſyllables *ja, je, jo, ju*; but they always pronounce it hard, ga, gue, gui, go, gou.

Almoſt all the ſyllables are ſimple, and form only one ſound, this renders the pronunciation light and rapid; there are, however, many words in the language, which begin with *m*, or *n*, as in the words *m-Fouka*, n'Goio, but theſe letters are pronounced ſo ſlightly, that they who are ſtrangers to the language, would pronounce after them *Fouka* and *Goio*. The letters *a* and *o* are often repeated, and terminate a great number of words. Many liquid ſyllables alſo contribute to ſoften the pronunciation.

The language has not, properly ſpeaking, either genders, numbers, or caſes. To expreſs the difference of gender in animated things, they add the word *bakala*, male, or *kento*, female; thus, *n-ſouſou-ba kala* ſignifies a cock; *n-ſouſou-kento*, a hen. We ſay likewiſe, a male or female canary; a ſoft-roe'd or a hard-roe'd carp, &c. The caſes are diſtinguiſhed as with us, by articles, and it is the ſame with the nouns. The nominative of the verb has its caſe diſtinguiſhed by the place it occupies in the phraſe.

The nouns adjective are not of more frequent uſe than in the Hebrew; the qualities of the perſon or thing are expreſſed by ſubſtantives, which gives to their diſcourſe a ſtrength and energy of which our language is not ſuſceptible. They alſo, ſometimes, render the adjectives by verbs; inſtead of ſaying he is a *deſpicable man*, they ſay, *he is a man to be deſpiſed*; 'tis *a monſter to be dreaded*, inſtead of ſaying 'tis a *dreadful monſter*.

The language admits neither of comparatives nor ſuperlatives; verbs joined to ſubſtantives ſupply their places; thus, in order to ſay, *the king is mightier than the makaïa*, they would ſay, the king ſurpaſſes the makaïa in might: *the Zaira is the wideſt of all the rivers*; *the Zaira exceeds in width all the rivers; or all the rivers yield to the Zaira in width.* The ſuperlative is alſo rendered by repetition of the poſitive. In order to ſay, *a very high mountain, a very black cloud*, they would ſay, *a high high mountain, a black black cloud; early in the morning, morning morning*; mênè mênè. It appears that this mode of expreſſion is quite in nature; we ſee among us, that the little children who have not yet learned the uſe of the ſuperlative, make up for it, in their little ſtories, by repeating the poſitive, and ſay, great great for *very great*; *far far* for *very far*, and ſo forth.

There are very few adverbs; there are, however, verbs which ſtand in their ſtead. The greater part of the conjunctions which ſerve to connect diſcourſe are unknown to them; they have no terms which may be rendered by *for*, *then*, nor have they the conjunction *or*; they ſupply them by different turns of phraſes. They alſo want the conjunction *and*; they ſupply it by another, which has the ſignification of our *with*, or otherwiſe they repeat it, and to ſay, for example, he *knows good and evil*, they ſay, *he knows good, he knows evil*; the army was powerful and trained to war; the army was powerful, it was trained to war; a mode of expreſſion which, properly managed, has a fine effect in diſcourſe.

The pronouns which mark poſſeſſion are expreſſed by adverbs; thus, my, is rendered by amê; thy, by *akou*; *his*, *her*, *their*, by *andi*, and ſo forth; my ſheep, *li mêmê*, *li ame*; thy ſciſſors, *tou ziolo tou akou*; his mats, *n'teva vi-andi*. This is as much as to ſay, the mutton to me, the ſciſſars to thee, the mats to him. The nominative pronouns of the verb, I, thou, he, we, ye, they, are rendered by *i*, *ou*, *ka*, *tou*, *lou*, *ba*, when men or women are ſpoken of; and by the articles proper for nouns, when beaſts or inanimate things are ſpoken of.

One of the great difficulties of the language conſiſts in the articles; there are thirteen of them, ſeven for the ſingular and ſix for the plural. Thoſe of the ſingular are *i*, *bou*, *li*, *kou*, *ou*, *lou*, and thoſe for the plural *i*, *ba*, *bi*, *ma*, *tou*, *zi*. Each of theſe articles has under it a claſs of ſubſtantives to which only it can be joined. The article of *ka*, which ſignifies a bed, is *ki* for the ſingular and *bi* for the plural. A perſon would not be underſtood if, changing the articles, he ſaid *li-ka* in the ſingular for *ki-ka*, or *zi-ka* in the plural for *bi-ka*.

Certain ſubſtantives are always preceded by their articles; others muſt have them immediately after them. Lêzè*, for example, which ſignifies a man ſervant, and *oula*, which ſignifies *a toad*, both have *ki* for their article; but lêzè is always followed by that article, and oula has it always before; hence they ſay, *lézè-ki*, a man ſervant, *ki-oula*, a toad. He would be unintelligible, who, tranſpoſing the articles, ſhould ſay *ki-lêzè*, *oula-ki*.

* Lêzè, which I have cited as one of the ſubſtantives always followed by their articles, takes its own before or after it, according to circumſtances.

Several

Several of theſe articles follow particular rules; the article *li*, for example, only precedes its ſubſtantive when it is nominative to the verb; in other circumſtances it follows. The article *ma*, agrees only with the genitive plural, and always precedes its noun: it is of great uſe in the language; beſides its peculiar function, it repreſents the names of *King*, *Prince*, *Governor*, *Chief of a village*, according as it precedes the name of a kingdom, principality, government, or village; thus, *ma-Loango* ſignifies King of Loango; *ma-Kaïa*, Prince of Kaïa; *ma-Singa*, Governor of Singa; *ma-Kibota*, Lord of Kibota. It is evident that this article correſponds in ſignification with our article *de* (of) in the genitive ſingular. When we ſay Monſieur d'Artois, M. d'Orleans, M. de Champigny, we mean the Count of Artois, the Duke of Orleans, the Marquis of Champigny. The plural which the Negroes uſe has ſomething more majeſtic; and *des Artois* would preſent to the imagination a richer image than *d'Artois*; doubtleſs by reaſon, that all which has the air of aggrandizing a man and augmenting his domains, ever flatters his vanity moſt agreeably.

If there is nothing ſo difficult in the language as the articles, there is nothing finer and more ſatisfactory than the verbs. They may be reduced to three claſſes; common verbs, which vary only in their terminations, and theſe are the moſt numerous. The ſecond is that of the verbs, which begin by *kan*, and loſe that firſt ſyllable in many circumſtances. The third comprehends thoſe which begin with L and V, and which change at certain times the L into D, and the V into P. Theſe three claſſes of verbs have common rules for varying their terminations; they have all the tenſes which we have, and many which we have not; *i-mênè-lia* ſignifies, for example, I have eaten; *ia-lili*, I have eaten long ago; *ia-lia*, I have eaten a very great while ago.

Beſides this multiplication of tenſes, which does infinite ſervice towards the preciſion of diſcourſe, and which has ſupplied the want of adverbs, there is in this language a multiplicity of verbs which greatly ſimplify their expreſſions. Each ſimple verb has under it a many other verbs, of which it is the root, and which, beſides the principal ſignification, have an acceſſary one, which we render only by periphraſes; *ſala*, for example, means to work; *ſalila*, to facilitate work; *ſaliſia*, to work along with ſome one; *saliſila* to make a perſon work for ſome one's profit; *ſazia*, to help ſome one to work; *ſalanga*, to be in the habit of working; *ſalaſiana*, to work for each other; *ſalangana*, to be fit for work. There are no radical verbs which do not admit ſimilar modifications; and by means of certain particles or augmentatives, each of theſe verbs and all its affiliations, deſignate alſo whether the action they expreſs be rare or frequent; whether there be in this action difficulty, eaſe, exceſs, and ſo on for other differences. This multiplicity of verbs, joined to all the modifications of which they are ſuſceptible, form an inexhauſtible fountain of riches for the language, and diſplay beauties which cannot be felt and appreciated but by uſe.

In the midſt of this profuſion of verbs, it is ſurpriſing that not one has been found which anſwered to that of *to live*; this is rendered by the periphraſes, *to accompany one's ſoul, to be with one's heart.*

There are to be remarked in the language of the Negroes, many turns of phraſes which appertain to the Hebrew. We have obſerved that they expreſſed, like the latter, by ſubſtantives, the qualities of the perſon or thing which are rendered by adjectives in other languages. Thus in order to ſay *hot water*, they ſay *water of fire*, mazia-ma n'bazou. They ſay alſo a *man of blood*, for a *cruel man*; a *man of riches*, for a *rich man*, and ſo forth. They never expreſs the affections of love or hatred, joy or affliction, by preſent tenſes, but by preterites, like the Hebrews: they ſay *I have loved*, *I have hated*, for *I love*, and *I hate*.

There are alſo found in the language many words pretty much reſembling Hebrew words, and which have the ſame ſignification: in Hebrew, *bana* or *banak* בנה, whence is derived the word *bén* בן, ſon, ſignifies he has built, becauſe they conſidered the children as living ſtones which compoſed the edifice of the family: in Kakongo, *mania* ſignifies ſtones, and *bana* children; *n'tamer* means a rule, a meaſure; and in Hebrew *támam* or *thámam* תמם, fulneſs and perfection; *înſi*, in the language of the negroes, the lower parts, the foundation; in Hebrew *iſa*, which is written *îſhâh* אשה, ſignifies lower parts; foundation. *Kôma*, to approach, to meet; in Hebrew *koum* קום, to riſe up, and go and meet. *Lika*, to eat; in Hebrew *lakam*, which is written *lakham* לחם, ſignifies the ſame thing; and *likem* or *lekhem* לחם, means bread. The letter H, as we have remarked, does not enter into the pronunciation of theſe Africans. The little practice which the compoſitors have in Hebrew, does not permit us to augment, as we might eaſily do, the liſt of ſimilar words.

The connections of this language with the Greek, appear equally marked. Beſides ſeveral conſtructions of ſimilar phraſes, there are, as we have obſerved, ſeveral verbs which change their initials, and take augments and double letters as with the Greeks. There are to be found alſo a great number of words which differ little from Greek words, and ſignify the ſame thing: *Baſita*, which is pronounced *Baſitou*, means, like the *baſileus*, Βασιλευς of the Greeks, chief, man of dignity. *Bembo*, noiſe, ſound of voice; in Greek *bembex* βεμβηξ, noiſe of wind. *Bima*, paſte, *bialia*, victuals; in Greek βιος, life, and what belongs to life. *Doko*, to walk or follow; in Greek *diôko*, διωκω, I purſue. *Foulla*, to blow; in Greek *follis* φολλις, bellows. *Kama*, a mound, an obſtacle; in Greek *kamax*, καμαξ, a ſtake, a prop. *Mazia*, the waters, the ſources; in Greek *mazos* μαζος, the nurſe's teat. *Baia*, poor, little; in Greek *baios*, βαιος, ſmall, ſingle, and without ſupport. *Muna*, ſpace of time; in Greek *mune*, μονη, delay. *Munomai*, μυνομαι, to temporize. *Nota*, cloud, thick fog; in Greek *notis*, νοτις, humidity. *Paka*, ſtable where animals are ſhut up; in Greek *pactoo*, παχτόω, I ſhut up. *Pakoua*, revenues, domains of the king; in Greek *pacus*, παχύς, rich. *Dobo*, gift, preſent; in Greek δοό, δόω, I give. *Pena*, pain, miſery, inquietude; in Greek *penes*, *ponos*, πένης, πόνος, pain, travail, inquietude, &c.

There are alſo to be found ſeveral words which ſeem to have come from the Latin, ſuch as *méſa*, table; *paſſi*, ſuffering; *mongo*, mountain; *mêné*, morning; *bêné*, much, largely, ſtrongly. *N'zala*, zeal, haſte; *zelus* is employed in the ſame ſenſe by ſeveral Latin authors. *Ilia*, the inteſtines; the ſame word ſignifies the ſame thing in Latin.

We pretend not in this place to aſſign all the relations which this language may have with the ancient tongues: we have contented ourſelves with citing ſome of thoſe which ſtruck us moſt, and without deciding of ourſelves, we leave the informed reader, and him who is verſed in antiquities, to decide whether we may not reaſonably ſuſpect ſome analogy between theſe languages; and, ſuppoſing that he judges ſo, to explain how it could have happened that the language of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans, ſhould have concurred to form that of the Africans.

CHAP. XX.—*Of the Religion and its Miniſters.*

THESE people, in order not to expoſe their religion to contempt, are very reſerved in ſpeaking of it to Europeans; and it is only by the long ſojourn that the miſſionaries have

made among them that they have diſcovered, at leaſt in part, what conſtitutes the object of their ſuperſtitions.

They acknowledge a Supreme Being, who, having no origin, is himſelf the origin of all things. They believe he has created all that is fine, all that is good in the univerſe; that being by nature juſt, he loves juſtice in others, and ſeverely puniſhes fraud and perjury. They call him *Zambi*; they take his name in teſtimony of the truth; and they regard perjury as one of the greateſt of crimes; they even pretend that a ſpecies of malady called *Zambi-a-n-pongou*, is the puniſhment of it; and they ſay, when they ſee one attacked with it, "there's a perjured man."

Beſides this juſt and perfect God, they admit another, to whom they give quite different attributes; the firſt created all, the latter would deſtroy all; he delights in the diſorder and evil which he cauſes among men; it is he who counſels them to injuſtice, perjury, thefts, poiſonings, and all crimes; he is the author of accidents, loſſes, diſeaſes, barrenneſs of land, in a word, of all the miſeries which afflict humanity, and even of death itſelf; they call him *Zambi-a-n'bi*, God of wickedneſs. Here may be perceived the error of the Manichæans touching the Divinity. It appears natural enough that man who is not enlightened with the torch of revelation, conſidering the evils of all kinds which beſet him from his entrance into the world to his departure, ſhould ſtudy to diſcover the cauſe, and that, ignorance being one of the greateſt diſorders of his ſoul, he ſhould be bewildered in his conjectures on matters ſo much above his faculties.

It is true, that the philoſophers of antiquity have attained, by dint of reaſon alone, to a ſurmiſe of the truth, and have been able to ſay, that man doubtleſs was not born ſo unhappy except in puniſhment of ſome crime which was imputed to him, though he knew it not; the people of whom we ſpeak did not carry their philoſophy ſo far, and, little ſuppoſing that it was in man himſelf that we muſt ſeek the principle of the evils which afflict man, they believed, while they ſhut their eyes on the want of conſequence to the ſuppoſition, that they could not diſpenſe with acknowledging a maleficent divinity; but no ſooner was a glimpſe of the truth ſhewn them upon this point, than they ſeized it as if of their own accord; the hiſtory of the fall of the firſt man and the dogma of original ſin, which ſhock and ſcandalize the proud reaſon of our modern philoſophers, are to them a ſatisfactory unravelling, and, as it were, the firſt ſtep which conducts them to the faith of a ſole Supreme Being, ſovereignly perfect, who is the author of all good, and who permits evil without participating in it. It appears to them much more reaſonable to believe what is above the reach of reaſon, than what is at variance with it,—a myſtery rather than a contradiction, the exiſtence of original ſin, rather than that of two rival deities.

They who know only the theology of the country, perſuaded that the good God will always be ſufficiently favourable, think only of appeaſing the God of wickedneſs: ſome, to render him propitious to them, never eat fowls or game; others eat only certain ſorts of fiſh, fruits, or vegetables; not one among them but makes profeſſion of abſtaining all his life-time from ſome ſort of nouriſhment. The only way of making him offerings is to let die under their feet, in honour of him, ſome ſhrubs laden with their fruits; the banana tree is that which they conſecrate to him in preference.

They have idols, which they honour leſs as gods than as interpreters of Divinity: they are wooden figures, rudely wrought, ſome of which are as large as life; they are ſhut up in temples which are neither larger nor more richly ornamented than common houſes; ſome of theſe idols are found in their towns and villages; and ſometimes, in woods and by-places, individuals go to conſult them, to learn from them what will be the ſucceſs of their undertakings. Some believe that they now and then ſpeak, but all believe

believe that they inſpire thoſe who conſult them. When a conſiderable robbery has been committed of which they know not the perpetrators, they go to ſeek an idol, which they bring to the public place with ſound of drums and trumpets, in the belief that it will tell them who are guilty; if theſe do not appear, they bring a more celebrated idol, multiplying their ſongs and religious ceremonies; then they who have ſome knowledge of the theft, think themſelves obliged to come and declare it; frequently the culprits themſelves, intimidated by the pomp of the ceremonies, hint to the perſons intereſted to let it ceaſe, and the thing ſtolen ſhall be reſtored, which is done without delay.

Beſides theſe idols of the firſt order, there are others which private perſons keep by them, and which they honour through a vain confidence, without ever addreſſing any prayers to them. Several perſons alſo carry in their girdles ſmall marmoſets, fiſh teeth, and birds' feathers, as preſervatives againſt accidents with which they are or fancy themſelves menaced for miſdeeds. All of them, after having tilled their field, take care, in order to rid it of barrenneſs, to ſtick in the ground in a particular manner, branches of certain trees with ſome bits of broken pots. They perform nearly the ſame operation before their huts, when they have to abſent themſelves for a conſiderable time; and the moſt determined robber dares not croſs the threſhold, when he ſees it defended by theſe myſterious ſigns.

The miniſters of religion are called *Ganga*; they are as ignorant as the reſt of the people, but greater rogues. The oldeſt among them ſubmit to ordeals, and an infinity of ridiculous ceremonies are impoſed on thoſe who wiſh to become members of their body. No one doubts that the *Ganga* hold commerce with the God of wickedneſs, and that they know the fitteſt means of appeaſing him. It appears that there is as much or even more confidence placed in them than in their idols; they are conſulted reſpecting futurity and the diſcovery of the moſt ſecret things; the people aſk of them, as they do of the king, rain and fair weather. It is believed that by virtue of their enchantments, they can render themſelves inviſible, and paſs through cloſed doors, were they of the hardeſt wood or even of iron.

It has never been remarked that the *Ganga* offer any ſort of ſacrifices to the Divinity; and conſidering the functions of their miniſtry, they do not deſerve any names but thoſe of diviners, magicians, or tellers of good fortune. There are ſome among them, as we have obſerved, who practiſe medicine, and who make a trade of curing the ſick by the ſound of inſtruments, by breathings, and by incantations.

At the birth of children the *Ganga* are called in, who impoſe on them ſome ſuperſtitious practices to which they are to be faithful all their lives, and of which their mothers are obliged to remind them when they come to years of diſcretion. Theſe practices are more or leſs auſtere and ridiculous in proportion as the *Ganga* is inſpired at the moment; but whatever they be, thoſe to whom they are preſcribed never fail to adhere to them religiouſly.

The miſſionaries ſaw in the village of Loubou, in the kingdom of Loango, a boy and a girl to whom marriage was forbidden, and who were obliged on pain of death to obſerve a perfect continency all their lives. It is not known whether this law was common with others; whether it had been impoſed from the time of their birth by the Ganga, or whether they had voluntarily preſcribed it to themſelves; in other reſpects nothing diſtinguiſhed them from the common people; they held no miniſtry in the religion. There are ſome families who faithfully obſerve, without knowing why, the practice of circumciſion.

The Ganga, who in other reſpects do not pique themſelves on uniformity in their doctrine, unanimouſly teach every body that there would be an extreme danger in eating

partridges, and no one dare hazard the experiment. All the inhabitants of the country dread them, as fatal and ill-omen'd birds; they eſpecially dread their cry. They who have zeal for the public good kill as many of them as they can; and as they know that the Europeans make no ſcruple in eating them, they carry them to the ſtores which they find on the coaſts, where they obtain liberal ſupplies of powder and ball to kill more. When they are aſked why they have ſuch an averſion to eating game ſo delicate, and of which foreigners make a feaſt? they anſwer, that apparently what is good for one country is not good for another, and as for themſelves they know well that no ſooner ſhould they have eaten of it than their fingers would have dropped from their hands.

Though the people who inhabit theſe climates have ſkins of the fineſt black, there does not however want an example of a child preſerving the colour which all have when they are born, and its preſerving it during life as white as that of an European. It is remarked, that this ſort of whites have always ſandy or red hair and beards, weak eye-ſight, and heſitating looks. This error of nature, far from being a diſgrace to thoſe on whom it falls, conciliates the reſpect and veneration of the people for them; they are placed above the *ganga*, they are regarded as extraordinary men and quite divine; ſo much ſo, that the miſſionaries ſaw one whoſe hairs were ſold as reliques, which, it was ſaid, had the virtue of preſerving the bearer from all kinds of accidents.

The miſſionaries, ever ſince their arrival in theſe countries, employed themſelves in a particular manner, in finding out what was the opinion of the people on the nature of the ſoul, and its deſtiny; and they found, there was only one ſentiment on this head; that all believed the ſoul to be ſpiritual, and that it ſurvived the body; without however knowing what was its ſtate after ſeparation from the body, whether joy or pain; they only ſay, "that they believe it flies from the towns and villages, and flutters in the air above the woods and foreſts, in the way which the Deity pleaſes."

They who inhabit the fartheſt lands, and who have never had any connection with foreigners, think on this point with thoſe who frequent the Europeans, and conſtantly anſwer the miſſionaries, who aſk them what becomes of man after death: "that his body rots in the earth, but that his ſoul, being a ſpiritual ſubſtance, is incapable of diſſolution, and ſubſiſts always."

This ſtatement of the negroes on the immortality of the ſoul, joined to their uncertainty reſpecting its ſtate after ſeparation from the body, inſpires them at once with great reſpect for the dead, and great fear of ghoſts; ſince they never fail, in order to acquit themſelves well toward their parents and friends, to celebrate their obſequies with all the pomp they can afford. As ſoon as the ſick perſon has breathed his laſt, the miniſters of medicine retire, as well as the players of inſtruments; his neareſt relatives take poſſeſſion of the body, which they exalt on a ſcaffold, under which they light a fire, which throws up a thick ſmoke. When the corpſe is ſufficiently ſmoked, they expoſe it for ſome days in the open air, placing beſide it a perſon who has nothing to do but to drive away the flies that want to come nigh it. Then they wrap it in a prodigious quantity of foreign ſtuffs, or ſtuffs of the country. They judge of the riches of the heirs by the quality of their ſtuffs, and of their affection for the dead by the thickneſs of the roller. The mummy thus dreſſed is taken to a public place, and ſometimes lodged in a ſort of niche, where it remains a greater or leſs time according to the rank it occupied in the world when living. The ſhorteſt expoſure is always for ſeveral months, and it often laſts a whole year. During all this time the parents, the neareſt relatives, the friends, and above all, the ſpouſes of the dead, who have placed their huts near the ſpot where it is expoſed, aſſemble regularly every evening to weep, ſing, and dance round the funeral lodge.

On

On the eve of the day fixed for interment, they encloſe the body with all the ſtuffs that envelope it in a large coffin wrought by art, in the form of a tun. On the morrow, when all the relatives and friends are arrived, they put the coffin on a ſort of funeral car, to which men are yoked; and they ſet forward. Care has been taken to level the roads by which the convoy had to paſs. For the illuſtrious dead, ſuch as kings and princes, they cut new ones acroſs the plains, of the breadth of thirty or forty feet; along the road they make the greateſt noiſe poſſible; they dance, ſing, play on inſtruments, and all this is done with the greateſt demonſtrations of grief. Frequently the ſame perſon dances, ſings, and weeps at the ſame time. When they reach the burial place, which is ſometimes very far from the town or village, they lower the coffin into a hole about fifteen feet deep, cut like a well, which they inſtantly fill with earth. The rich often inter with the dead his favourite jewels, ſome pieces of coral or ſilver. There are ſome who raiſe the tomb, and place by it eatables, animals' teeth, or ſome antiquities by which the deceaſed ſet the greateſt ſtore, and which were formerly the inſtruments of his ſuperſtition.

Though theſe people are minute obſervers of the practices of the religion their fathers have taught them, the miſſionaries remarked, that they were not headſtrong in them. They blindly follow prejudices which no one had hitherto undertaken to rid them of; but they have good ſenſe enough to feel the vanity of their obſervances, the ridicule which attaches to their ſuperſtitions, and have too much good faith not to admit it, when occaſion ſerves. All thoſe to whom miſſionaries have ſpoken of religion, even the princes and grandees of the country have confeſſed to them, that they had little confidence in their idols and their miniſters, "but," added they, "no one hitherto has ſpoken to us of the Deity otherwiſe than our fathers did: we know that European miniſters have given ſublime ideas of him to ſeveral of our neighbouring people, and that they have taught them how he muſt be honoured, but they have not come as far as us; ſtay yourſelves; you ſhall make us know the truth, we will be docile in following it."

A VOYAGE

A VOYAGE TO SENEGAL,

THE ISLE OF GOREE, AND THE RIVER GAMBIA.

By M. ADANSON, Correſpondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.—With Notes by an Engliſh Gentleman, who reſided ſome Time in that Country *.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IT is a maxim eſtabliſhed by a celebrated philoſopher of antiquity, *that if a young man is ambitious to raiſe a reputation in the world, or to improve in knowledge and wiſdom, he ſhould travel into foreign countries* †. This ſeems to have been ſtrongly verified by the learned M. Adanſon, author of the following voyage. The love of natural hiſtory, and an ardent deſire of fame, excited this gentleman very early in life to exchange his native ſoil for the burning ſands of Senegal; where he ſpent five years, in making a diligent inquiry into the various curioſities, natural and artificial, of Negroland. Hitherto we had received but very imperfect accounts from that part of Africa, former adventurers having had no notion of improving their minds, but their fortunes; ſo that their relations are confined to the *auri ſacra fames*, the purchaſe of ſlaves, teeth and duſt, with other materials of gain. Our author is the firſt philoſopher, who adventured to viſit the torrid zone, for the propagation of knowledge; and who, in ſearch of this valuable treaſure, may be truly ſaid, to have encountered more monſters, than thoſe ancient heroes, repreſented in fabulous ſtory to have gone in purſuit of the golden fleece.

He begins his obſervations at his departure from Port L'Orient, the third of March, 1749, and does not finiſh them till five years after, in the month of March, 1754. By the general account of his voyage, we find, that during this time he employed himſelf chiefly, in the moſt curious reſearches of natural hiſtory; conſulting rather his zeal for the advancement of learning, than his bodily ſtrength, which was often put to the ſevereſt trials. We ſhudder even at the peruſal of the many hardſhips he went through, to ſatisfy his own and the public curioſity; either in walking over the burning ſands of the deſerts of Africa, expoſed to the ſcorching heats of the ſun; or in traverſing rivers and torrents, upon the back of a negro, who was frequently up to his chin in water; or in defending himſelf againſt tigers, wild boars, crocodiles, ſerpents, and other ſavage beaſts, beſides the many noxious inſects with which thoſe deſerts abound.

A philoſopher like M. Adanſon, whoſe aim in travelling is to ſee and to learn, takes notice of every thing that falls in his way. From ſo exact and judicious a narrative, one may therefore form a juſt idea of this part of Africa; a country overſpread

* London 1759, 8vo.

† Philoſtratus in Apollonio.

with

with misery, the natural consequence of laziness. Thus he informs us of whatever relates to the manners and customs of the negroes, to their dress, habitations, repasts, dances, superstitions, and poverty: neither does he forget to mention their sociability, good-nature, docility, and respect for the French nation, which, we make no doubt, but they will be equally ready to shew to the new conquerors of Senegal *. He likewise takes notice of the Moors of that country, a nation very different from the negroes, but almost as poor and as indolent. Our author lived and conversed with those different people, and met with so kind a reception from them, as must be an encouragement to those, who shall have occasion to trade to that coast, since the French settlements have been so gloriously reduced by the arms of Great Britain.

In regard to the authenticity of this narrative, we may venture to affirm, that nothing of the kind has been published, with such strong marks of veracity, since Lord Anson's voyage. The character of our author, and his learned improvements, are well known at Paris, where he went through a course of study under Messieurs de Jussieu, of the Royal Academy of Sciences. Upon expressing an earnest desire of going over to Africa, with a view of making discoveries in the natural history of that country, he was introduced to M. David, Director of the East India Company, who recommended him in the warmest manner to M. de la Brue †, director general of the factory of Senegal. These are public facts, which evidently prove him to be a man of character and abilities, and every way qualified for this arduous task, so greatly conducive to the advancement of learning and commerce. As to his manner of executing it, we need only to mention the high approbation of the Royal Academy of Sciences, which we shall insert here at full length, as a lasting monument of the author's extraordinary merit.

Extract from the Registers of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Dec. the 4th, 1756.

MESSIEURS de Reaumur and de Jussieu junior, having been appointed to examine a work, written by M. Adanson, correspondent of the Academy, and intitled, *A voyage to Senegal, &c. performed during the Years* 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, *&c.* and having made their report, the Academy is of opinion, that the ingenious notions, exact descriptions, and judicious observations of the author, afford reason to believe, that his work will be acceptable to the public, and deserves the approbation of the Academy. In witness hereof I have signed the present certificate. Paris, Dec. the 4th, 1756.

Grand Jean de Fouchy, perpetual secretary of the Royal Academy of Sciences.

* This is to be understood, provided they meet with the like good usage they have been so long accustomed to.

† This gentleman being mentioned with great respect by our author, in several parts of this voyage, the reader will not perhaps be displeased with a further account of his character. He lived 27 years on his government, during which time his constant study was to serve not only his country, but the whole human species. I shall give but one instance of his universal benevolence. Having learned that the Moors, in the neighbourhood, either made captives, or killed, such Europeans as had the misfortune to be shipwrecked on their coast; he, from a principle of humanity, offered a reward of the value of twenty moidores for every man in that condition, they should bring to him alive. Thus he redeemed, at different times, and sent home to their native country, at his own expense, fourteen British subjects. He is also a man of genius and learning. The author of this note came to France with him, in the first cartel.

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THE reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that the French names of ſeveral places, animals, trees, &c. have been retained in the tranſlation, as well becauſe ſome of them ſeem to be of African original, others have been received in late uſe by the natives, and others, in fine, (which we may ſay of moſt of them) were ſuch as we could not find proper terms to expreſs in our language. In regard to the notes interſperſed throughout this work, they were communicated by an Engliſh gentleman, of high character and reputation, who reſided ſome time in that country, and whoſe name would do us honour, were we at liberty to mention it.

A VOYAGE TO SENEGAL, &c.

IT has been long obſerved, that moſt people come into the world with an inclination to ſome particular ſtudy or profeſſion, which grows up and is ſtrengthened with years. Whatever views our parents may have had in our education, the predominant taſte always prevails, and, generally ſpeaking, determines the purſuits or occupations of the reſt of our life. Having in my very early days felt a particular liking to the ſtudy of philoſophy and natural hiſtory, I found my inclinations averſe from the profeſſion for which my parents deſigned me, which was that of the church; and therefore I reſigned a benefice, with which I had been already provided, that I might be entirely at liberty to purſue the ſtudy of natural philoſophy.

The branch I firſt took up with was that of botany, which I conſidered as one of the moſt engaging ſtudies, not only from its conſiderable uſe in life, but from its agreeable variety. The opportunity I had of attending the lectures of Meſſ. de Juſſieu at the king's gardens, led me thither very often; and the ſtrong paſſion I felt for that ſcience, together with my conſtant application, ſoon made me known to thoſe gentlemen. I cannot ſufficiently expreſs my acknowledgment to thoſe two great maſters, under whoſe direction I firſt began that vaſt career, which I have not yet finiſhed. The ſpirit of obſervation and inquiry, ſo remarkable in M. Bernard de Juſſieu, and which he transfuſes, as it were, into thoſe who ſympathiſe with him in the ſame kind of ſtudies, took with me immediately, and by degrees led me on from the ſtudy of plants to that of minerals, and from thence to that of animals, inſects, and ſhells; in ſhort, to every branch of natural hiſtory.

From that time I had acceſs to the king's cabinet, and to thoſe of M. de Reaumur and Meſſ. de Juſſieu; there I laid a foundation of knowledge, to qualify me for making obſervations of every kind: and as a little aſtronomy ſeemed conducive to my purpoſe, I learnt as much as was neceſſary under M. le Monnier.

After I had gone through a courſe of ſtudy for upwards of ſix years, under the direction of thoſe celebrated academicians, I made known the intention, which I had long ſince formed, of going abroad for further improvement. The obſervations of thoſe gentlemen on different branches of the natural hiſtory of France had very nearly exhauſted the ſubject; I therefore concluded that nothing could be of greater ſervice to me, than to employ a part of my youthful days in a voyage to ſome diſtant and

unfrequented country, from a perſuaſion that I ſhould return with ſeveral diſcoveries, which would be new to Europe. I was ſenſible that the equinoctial parts of Africa had not been viſited by any naturaliſt, conſequently that a vaſt field was open to me, where I might reap a plentiful harveſt of obſervations.

It was not, I confeſs, a ſmall undertaking, for me alone to execute a work, which requires the joint labours of perſons well ſkilled in botany, natural philoſophy, anatomy, and deſign. This conſideration however did not deter me; and I declared my intention to my late father, who introduced me, the beginning of the year 1748, to M. David, knight of the order of St. Michael, and director of the Eaſt-India company, to whom he was very well known. M. David, attentive to whatever may be of uſe to commerce, greatly approved of my deſign, and expreſſed vaſt joy at an undertaking, which might be as ſerviceable to natural philoſophy as to the commerce of the honourable Eaſt-India company. He got me a place in the factory of Senegal, and promiſed me my paſſage on board the firſt ſhip which ſhould ſet out immediately after the publication of the peace. I was greatly charmed to find my wiſhes fulfilled, and I ſet out from Paris the 20th of December the ſame year, in order to take my paſſage at Port l'Orient in one of the company's ſhips.

The winter was ſtill very ſevere when I embarked, the 3d of March 1749, on board the *Chevalier Marin*, commanded by M. Daprès de Mannevillette. We ſet ſail about ten o'clock in the morning, and got out of harbour in company with two ſmall veſſels, which were deſigned for the ſame port with us. The wind being at N. E. ſoon carried us out to ſea; the beauty and ſerenity of which afforded us a moſt delightful proſpect. An infinite number of porpoiſes, or ſea-hogs, dancing about our ſhip, ſeemed to wiſh us a happy voyage.

Theſe fiſhes are ſaid to move conſtantly againſt the wind; and the ſailors can foretell by their motion, which way it is to blow. Though this may not be true on all occaſions, it was ſo at leaſt on this; for we did not long enjoy that agreeable ſerenity. The wind ſoon chopped about, and blew ſo hard from the S. E. that the ſea grew very rough in a ſhort time.

No ſooner had we reached the latitude of 36, than we began to find the ſea more calm. A freſh gale ſprung up at N. N. E. ſo that we had very agreeable weather after the ſtorm, and were enjoying the pleaſure of a fine climate, when we eſpied land the 6th of April. This was the Peak of Teneriff, which appeared to us in the form of a pyramid, or more properly of a ſugar-loaf, the ſides of which were ſtuck with ſeveral points. Though according to our reckoning we were diſtant from thence upwards of fourteen leagues at N. E., it ſeemed to us to be raiſed under an angle of above five degrees. At this diſtance, it had more the appearance of a cloud than of a mountain, by reaſon of its whiteneſs; and nothing but its ſtability could make us diſtinguiſh it. Sometimes it was perceived above, and at other times below the clouds, according as theſe were more or leſs diſtant from us. The nearer we drew towards it, keeping it always to the ſouth-eaſt, the more it ſeemed to be upon a level with the neighbouring mountains; ſo that when we were within four leagues, it was no longer poſſible for us to diſtinguiſh it from the reſt. In this poſition the iſland of Teneriff ſeemed to be a cluſter of mountains, joined ſo cloſe to each other, that we could only diſcern their tops.

The notice we had taken of the iſle of Teneriff, purſuant to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of veſſels trading to the coaſt of Africa, was ſufficient to direct us in the remainder of our courſe to Senegal; and we ſhould have followed it, had our preſent circumſtances permitted. But the greateſt part of our water and proviſions had been conſumed,

during the delay occaſioned by contrary winds off Cape Finiſterre; and what little remained, was inſufficient to complete our voyage; ſo that we were under an abſolute neceſſity of putting into ſome harbour, in order to take in a freſh ſupply of proviſions. Being ſo near land, it would have been imprudent to let ſlip the opportunity: we therefore kept ſailing till night, and then lay by.

The day following we made the harbour of Santa Cruz, in the eaſtern part of the iſland, where we anchored in forty-five fathom water, the length of three cables from land. This place greatly reſembles a road for ſhipping, becauſe it is very open; yet it would be a pretty good harbour, if it had but ſafe anchorage: but being a rocky bottom, it is apt to let the anchors ſlip, and to cut the cables. However, it is a very wholeſome place. The whole day was ſpent in mooring the ſhip, and ſecuring its anchors. We likewiſe amuſed ourſelves with fiſhing for mackrel. This ſeemed to be almoſt the only fiſh that could be found in that ſpot; and there was ſuch plenty thereof, that all the mackrel of the neighbouring ſeas ſeemed to have made this their rendezvous. We had only to throw out our line, and we were ſure of catching fiſh; and frequently without bait.

The people of the country catch this fiſh in a better manner. As ſoon as the night ſets in, and the ſea is calm, they light up flambeaus, and ſpread themſelves with their boats all over the harbour, for about a league in circumference. When they come to the ſpot where there ſeems to be the greateſt plenty of fiſh, they ſtop their boats, holding the flambeau above the water, in ſuch a manner as that it ſhall give light without dazzling their eyes: and as ſoon as they ſee the fiſh ſporting on the ſurface of the waves, and gathering round the light, they caſt their net, and drag it immediately into their boat: thus they continue till their quantity is completed.

While this amuſement laſted, we were viſited every minute by fiſhermen, who came on board our ſhip to ſell their commodity; and indeed we had it very cheap. The Canary mackrel is not of the ſame ſort as that of Europe; it is not ſo broad, but much ſmaller, though very long; the ſkin is of a deep blue on the back, of a ſilver colour on the belly, and agreeably ſtreaked. The fleſh is white and firm, but ſomewhat dry; and though inferior to our European mackrel, ſtill it is very well taſted.

The day following we had leave to go aſhore. The ſea was very calm in the road; but it was quite another thing on the ſea-ſide; where there was a ſurf that would have frightened the moſt intrepid. As it is all covered with pebbles, which form a very ſteep bank, and are alternately impelled and repelled by the ſea, it is very difficult landing. They are obliged to make uſe of the ſurge which drives towards ſhore, and to take care that the boat is not turned about, nor carried back to ſea. For which purpoſe there are ſeveral ſailors waiting on the ſea-ſide; who, as ſoon as they ſee the ſurge approaching, ſtep into the water, lay faſt hold on the boat, then lift it up with the people in it, and carry it aſhore in a moſt dexterous manner.

After we had landed we found, at the diſtance of a hundred paces from the ſea-ſide, the town of Santa Cruz, ſituate in the eaſt part of the iſland, as well as the harbour to which it gives its name. This town is neither fortified, nor ſurrounded with walls. It ſtands on a plain aſcending from the ſea, and terminating in a narrow piece of land, very flat, white, and ſandy, about a league in extent towards the ſouth. The town is four hundred fathoms in length, and fifty in breadth. It contains three hundred houſes, built of ſtone, and three ſtories high. The number of inhabitants is about three thouſand, all Spaniards, who in their cuſtoms and manner of living differ but very little from thoſe of Europe.

Within

Within three leagues weſt of this city, following the gorges of the mountains, which form an inſenſible aſcent, we found the town of Laguna, capital of the iſland. It is ſituated at the foot of the Peak above-mentioned. This mountain, which bears the name of the Peak of Teneriff, is in 28 degrees 12 minutes north latitude, and 18 degrees 52 minutes weſt longitude of Paris. We found its height to be above two thouſand fathoms, that is, near a league perpendicular, which makes it one of the higheſt mountains in the univerſe. It is ſaid that the top of it is covered with ſnow the whole year round, and that it ſometimes throws out combuſtible matter, without much noiſe. It ſtands nearly in the middle of the iſland, and is ſurrounded with a great number of mountains, which are almoſt half a league in perpendicular height. At the foot of theſe mountains you ſee ſeveral gutters like frightful precipices, which are oftentimes above a hundred feet wide, and two hundred deep. They are made by the water-floods precipitated thither during the ſtorms; and as ſoon as thoſe floods are gone, the bottom is left quite bare.

The ſoil of this iſland is of a reddiſh caſt, not at all deep, but extremely fruitful. In the gorges of the mountains to the north and eaſt parts of the town, you ſee the fineſt groves of orange, citron, and lemon-trees of all ſorts. There are alſo pomegranate and fig-trees all over the iſland. Beſides the choiceſt fruits in Europe, the inhabitants of Teneriff have thoſe of Africa, as bananas, papayas, and ananas, or pine apples, which they plant in their gardens. The moſt ungrateful lands produce carob-trees, and melons of every kind, eſpecially water melons. In the vallies you ſee fields of the fineſt corn in the world, variegated at regular diſtances with rows of dragon-trees *, which in their height and figure greatly reſemble the majeſtic tallneſs of the palmetto-tree †.

The mountains are laid out in vineyards, which have acquired a high reputation by their excellent wines, known by the name of Canary and Malmſey. The former is extracted from a large grape, which makes a ſtrong heady liquor, and is the common wine. The latter is made of a ſmall grape, the berry of which is round and vaſtly ſweet; and the juice ſqueezed from it has likewiſe a ſweeter and more agreeable flavour, which gives it greatly the advantage of the other. The quality of theſe wines is commonly attributed to the climate, and to the nature of the ſoil; but I apprehend that the culture and form of the vineyards contributes at leaſt as much to their goodneſs. Their method, as I have ſeen practiſed in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, is as follows: They pitch upon a hill that has an advantageous expoſition to the ſouth, preferable to any other: the lower part they plant with vines, to an aſcent of two hundred feet at the moſt. Upon the whole ground deſigned for the vines, they erect little walls breaſt high, at the diſtance of four or five feet from one another. Theſe ſerve for ſeveral purpoſes; in the firſt place, by upholding the earth, they hinder the roots of the tree from being laid bare; ſecondly, they withhold the rain-waters, which would otherwiſe run down the hills, without ſoaking the earth; laſtly, they increaſe the reflection of the ſun-beams, and procure a greater heat to the vine. True it is, that as theſe walls are made of dry ſtone, ſymmetrically ranged without mortar or mud, part of them tumble down ſometimes in heavy rains: but the miſchief is quickly repaired, and may even be prevented, by laying above the uppermoſt wall a row of large ſtones ſomewhat inclined, to break the force of the waters, and divert their ſtream.

* Draco arbor. *Cluſii.*

† A kind of palm-tree, the leaves of which open like a fan.

The back of theſe mountains, on the north ſide, is barren and uncultivated. The proſpect it affords to the eye, is an amphitheatre of bare rocks, the colour of ſlate, cut into vertical parallelopipedons, from ſix to eight feet high, and from three to four broad, the angles very acute. They may be conſidered as ſo many precipices raiſed one above the other. When you have reached the top, you are ſuddenly raviſhed with a proſpect bounded only by the horizon of the ſea; you find yourſelf raiſed far above the clouds, through which you may deſcry, at the diſtance of twelve leagues to the ſouth, Canary and the other neighbouring iſlands. Here, inſtead of treading upon earth, I was amazed to find nothing under my feet but aſhes, pumices, and burnt ſtones, fragments of which I ſaw likewiſe ſcattered here and there as I deſcended; but the greateſt part of them are fallen down to the foot of the mountains, and even to the ſea-ſide.

Where the earth was open, I perceived under the pumices a ſtone in large maſſes, of the colour of ſlate, and a good deal like the bare rocks which I had obſerved on the ridge of the mountains. This ſtone bears ſo great reſemblance to that which is melted by volcanoes, and the compariſon I made between it and the lavas which M. de Juſſieu had received not only from the volcanoes in Italy, but likewiſe from that of the iſle of Bourbon, confirmed this reſemblance in ſuch a manner, that I think we cannot, nor ought we to give it any other name. The like remark I made in the gutters, and in the quarry that has been dug in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz: there we find the ſame maſſes underneath a very irregular ſtratum of burnt ſtones; and they are cut into pieces for the uſe of building. The external and internal appearance of theſe mountains, the lavas of which they are entirely formed, and the ſeveral burnt ſtones which lie ſcattered as far as the ſea ſhore, leave no room to doubt but that each of the mountains, of which the iſle of Teneriff is compoſed, owes its original to a particular volcano, which, after undermining it inwardly, at length has entirely ſpent itſelf: and this ſubterraneous operation is ſtill continued under the Peak, that huge mountain, which vomits fire from time to time.

There is never a river in this iſland, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of its circumference. The inhabitants ſupply the want thereof by wooden pipes, which communicate with the ſprings in the mountains: and from thence the water is conveyed to the town, the diſtance of about half a league. This water being hard and crude, they filtrate it through a ſtone which is very common in their quarries. It is a kind of lava, of the colour of ſoot, in a medium betwixt the denſity of the grey lava, and the poroſity of the pumice.

The temperate climate of Teneriff, and the richneſs of its paſture, contribute greatly to the goodneſs of the cattle. They have fine herds of oxen, and excellent kid; but mutton is not ſo common. They breed all ſorts of poultry; but game, eſpecially wild fowl, is very rare. I took notice that the Canary-bird, which grows white in France, is here almoſt as grey as a linnet. This change of colour very likely is owing to the coldneſs of our climate.

The paſſion I had for herborizing, made me regret the backwardneſs of the ſeaſon. Moſt of the plants peculiar to this country, were ſtill concealed in the boſom of the earth; nevertheleſs my reſearches were not altogether fruitleſs. Near the ſea-ſhore I found two ſorts of fig-marygolds, otherwiſe called *ficoides* *: the *jaſminoides*, or baſtard

* Ficoidea procumbens, portulacæ folio. *Niſſ. Mem. Acad.* 1711. page 322. pl. 13. fig. 1.
Aizoon foliis cuneiformi-ovatis, floribus ſeſſilibus. *Linn. Hort. Upſ.* page 127.
Ficoides noſtras, kali folio flore albo. *Tournef. Mem. Acad.* 1705. page 241.
Meſembryantheum foliis alternis, teretiuſculis, obtuſis, ciliatis. *Linn. Hort. Upſ.* page 129.

jaſmine *, adorned the tops of precipices and gutters with its pendant branches, which were loaded with ripe fruit: and the corn-flag of † Provence enamelled the valleys and meadows with its flowers. As I traverſed the mountains, I perceived that the plants peculiar to them, ſeemed to affect a certain height. For inſtance, the *kleinia* ‡, and ſome new plants, which I purpoſe to make known, always grow on the lower part, where the vineyards are generally planted. About the middle we ſaw only the *tithymalus* §, or ſpurge; and the top of all was covered with foreſts of *euphorbia* ‖, whoſe ſtalks, though from twelve to fifteen feet high, appeared to me below, like fine moſs. The *euphorbia* and the *tithymalus* were then in flower, and ſurrounded with ſeveral ſorts of bind-weed, which twiſted round their ſtems. In my walks I met with no more than one ſort of land-ſhell, for the deſcription and figure of which I refer to the hiſtory of ſhells, at the end of this relation ¶.

I was every day more in love with this beautiful country. The mildneſs of a climate where it never freezes, the advantageous ſituation of the iſland, and the variety of its productions, all together gave me infinite pleaſure; ſo that I ſhould have ſtaid much longer if circumſtances would have permitted. But as the ſeaſon was advancing, and we had taken in our ſupply of water and proviſions, we were obliged to think of reſuming our voyage.

The fifteenth of April we weighed anchor, and left the iſle of Teneriff after eight days refreſhment. The trade winds at N. E. were ſo gentle as not to ruffle the ſea, ſo that we ſteered a pleaſant courſe till we reached the tropics. There we ſoon found by the bright ſerene days, and exceſſive heats, that we had changed climate the third time: for in leſs than ſix weeks we experienced winter, ſpring, ſummer, and the dog-days. In theſe latitudes the ſea, when agitated in the night, ſeemed as if it were on fire, and marked our courſe by a ſtreak of light which the veſſel left behind it. This phænomenon appeared to me very engaging, and I ſpent ſeveral nights in inquiring into the cauſe of it.

We continued our courſe with the ſame favourable weather till the 25th of April, when we found ourſelves within ſight of the coaſt of Senegal. The land is low, ſandy, and very white, ſo that with great difficulty could we diſcern it, though it was very clear weather, and we were within three or four leagues of ſhore: at length we ſpied a thicket partly covered by the downs, whereby we knew that we were off the wood of Griel, that is, within two leagues north of the iſland of Senegal. Not long after we ſaw hovering over the ſhip, a bird which ſeemed greatly tired, and deſirous of reſt: he pitched upon one of the maſts; but a fowling-piece ſoon brought him down upon deck. This was too beautiful a bird to omit giving a ſhort deſcription of him. He greatly reſembled a jay ** in the ſize of his body, and the figure of his beak and feet; but he differed from him in ſome other reſpects. His belly was of a pale blue, and his back fallow. His tail was adorned with two feathers, as long as the reſt of his body; and the colour both of the tail and of his wings, was the fineſt ſky-blue that eyes could behold. I often had occaſion to ſee this kind of jay in the country of Senegal; but as

* Jaſminoides Africanum, jaſmini aculeati foliis, et facie. *Niſſ. Mem. Acad.* 1711. page 322. pl. 12. fig. 1.
† Gladiolus utrinque floridus, flore rubro. *C. B.* page 41.
‡ Kleinia foliis lanceolatis, planis, caule lævi, ventricoſo. *Linn. Hort. Cliff.* page 395.
§ Tithymalus dendroides linariæ foliis ex inſula Canarina. *Pluk. Phyt.* tab. 319. fig. 1.
‖ Euphorbia aculeata, nuda, ſubquinquangularis, aculeis germinatis. *Linn. Hort. Cliff.* page 196.
¶ Conchæ univalves. 5th ſort, pl. 1. fig. 2. *Pouchet.*
** Garrulus argentoratenſis. *Willug. Ornith.* page 89. tab. 20.

I after-

I afterwards found he is a bird of paſſage, that comes to reſide for ſome months of the ſummer in the ſouthern parts of Europe, and goes back to ſpend the remainder of the year in Senegal, I would not omit mentioning that he is ſometimes met in his paſſage at ſea.

The ſame day we arrived before the factory of Senegal. After having made the uſual ſignals, and ſaluted the fort with our guns, we caſt anchor three leagues higher, at the mouth of the river Niger, in nine fathoms water, a ſlimy bottom, and good holding ground. Though we were within half a league of the bar, the ſea was very high; and the winds blowing off the ſhore, made a prodigious ſurf, which occaſioned our ſhip to roll in a ſtrange manner. Here we were witneſſes to a fatal accident, which but too often happens at ſea. We put out our boat, but unluckily it overſet, and one of the men was drowned. However, we did not ſtay long in the road; a boat was ſent from the iſle of Senegal, to carry us over the bar, and pilot us into the river.

By a bar we underſtand a particular agitation of the waves, which in paſſing over a ſhoal *, ſwell and riſe to a ſheet of water, from ten to twelve feet high, and afterwards break in the fall. No ſooner has the firſt wave had its effect, but it is followed by a ſecond, and this by a third. They begin to be perceptible at a hundred and ſometimes a hundred and fifty fathoms from the coaſt, and are as formidable to large as to ſmall veſſels. A boat runs the danger of being overſet, and a ſhip of being daſhed to pieces. This bar extends all along the coaſt of Senegal; at leaſt there are few places it does not reach. Such was the danger we had to encounter before we could enter this river, the mouth of which was covered by a bank of ſand, againſt which the billows daſhed with great violence. Luckily for us, we arrived at a time of year when the ſea is not ſo boiſterous, conſequently when the bar is leſs difficult to get over: we were piloted by negroes, all hearty fellows, and ſo well acquainted with this navigation, that very rarely any accidents happen.

The pilot boats belonging to the bar are ſmall-decked veſſels, from fifty to ſixty tons, and ſometimes larger. They generally ſail with ballaſt only, and ſeldom draw more than four or five feet water. The care of them is entirely committed to negroes, whom you muſt not pretend either to contradict or adviſe. When we were on the bar, we were obliged to keep profound ſilence, that the pilot might not be in the leaſt interrupted: ſome hid themſelves through fear of being drowned, and ſome through apprehenſion of being wet: others, more intrepid than the reſt, ſtood upon deck to view the agitation of the waves. I, as an obſerver, could not help placing myſelf in this ſtation; and for my pains I got thoroughly wet. We were above half a quarter of an hour in this dangerous paſſage; now lifted up by billows which bended under us; and now toſſed by others which daſhed againſt the ſides of the veſſel, and covered it all over with water. One wave lifted us up very high, and then left us aground; another came and took us up and was followed by others in the like ſucceſſion. At length, after being toſſed in this manner for ſome time, we ſaw ourſelves out of danger. As it is cuſtomary on this occaſion to make a handſome preſent to the negroes of the bar; each paſſenger behaved generouſly towards them, and they were very well ſatisfied.

As ſoon as we entered the river Niger, we found ourſelves in a very gentle ſtream, of above three hundred fathoms in breadth, that is, four or five times broader than the Seine at Pont Royal. Its direction is exactly north and ſouth, parallel to the coaſt,

* Which ſhoal, or bank of ſand, our author ſhould have underſtood by a bar; but what he ſays above, is only the effect of the ſhoal or bar. I only mean, the ſhoal is the bar.

for the ſpace of three leagues, from its mouth to the iſland of Senegal. The land on both ſides is only one continued plain of quick ſands, extremely white, with a few downs ſcattered here and there, and continually ſhifting according to the caprice of the winds. The weſtern bank forms a very low cape or narrow ſlip of land, which ſeparates the river from the ſea, and whoſe greateſt breadth is not a hundred and fifty fathoms: this is called Barbary Point. The eaſtern bank is higher; but they are both equally dry and barren, and produce only a few low plants. We did not perceive any trees, till we advanced two leagues higher, towards the Engliſh iſland; and then we ſpied ſome mangroves, which are almoſt the only tree we ſaw till we arrived at the iſland of Senegal.

This place is ſituated within three leagues of the mouth of the river, and two-thirds of a league from the Engliſh iſland. It is the chief ſettlement of Senegal; and the reſidence of the director general. We arrived by night-fall at the harbour eaſt of the fort, where we landed. As ſoon as I ſet foot on ſhore, I waited upon M. de la Brue, the director general, who gave me a moſt kind reception. I delivered to him the letters of recommendation which I had from his uncle M. David, director of the Eaſt India company, who was pleaſed to intereſt himſelf in my favour: and they operated even beyond what I could poſſibly expect in a country ſubject to ſuch difficulties. In ſhort, he promiſed to aſſiſt me on all occaſions, and he did it accordingly with ſuch readineſs and good nature, as deſerves a grateful acknowledgment from the lovers of natural hiſtory, if I have done any thing towards promoting this branch of learning.

He ſoon was as good as his word: I had the liberty of travelling up the country, and of examining into its various productions. To facilitate my deſign, M. de la Brue procured me a boat, with negroes, and an interpreter, in ſhort all conveniencies, as ſpecified by the Eaſt-India company to the ſuperior council, in a letter wherein they inform him of my intentions.

Being arrived in a country ſo different in every reſpect from my own, and finding myſelf as it were in a new world, whatever I beheld drew my attention, becauſe it afforded me matter of inſtruction. The air, the climate, the inhabitants, the animals, the lands, and vegetables, all were new to me: not one object that offered itſelf to my view, was I accuſtomed to. Which way ſoever I turned my eye, I ſaw nothing but ſandy plains *, burnt by the moſt ſcorching heat of the ſun. Even the very iſland I ſtood upon, is only a bank of ſand, about 1150 fathoms in length, and 150 or 200 at the moſt in breadth, and almoſt level with the ſurface of the water. It divides the river into two branches, one of which to the eaſtward is about 300 fathoms broad, and the other weſtward near 200, with a conſiderable depth.

This iſland, notwithſtanding its ſterility, was inhabited by upwards of three thouſand negroes, invited thither by the generoſity of the whites, into whoſe ſervice moſt of them had entered. Here they have erected houſes or huts, which occupy above one half of the ground. Theſe are a kind of dove or ice houſes, the walls of which are reeds faſtened cloſe together, and ſupported by ſtakes driven into the ground. Theſe ſtakes are from five to ſix feet high, and have a round covering of ſtraw, of the ſame height, and terminating in a point. Thus each hut has only a ground floor, and is from ten to fifteen feet diameter. They have but one ſquare door, very low, and many of them with a threſhold raiſed a foot above the ground; ſo that in going in they muſt incline their bodies, and lift a leg up very high, an attitude not only ridiculous but diſagreeable.

* The author is miſtaken, or has forgot, for the Guinea-ſide is all covered with woods: the iſland and the Barbary ſhore, or tongue of land, are exactly as he deſcribes.

One

One or two beds are frequently ſufficient for a whole family, including domeſtics, who lie pell-mell along with their maſters and the children. Their bed is a hurdle laid on croſs pieces of wood, and ſupported by forkillas, or ſmall forks, a foot above the ground; over this they throw a mat, which ſerves them for a *paillaſſe* or ſtraw bed, for a mattreſs, and generally for ſheets and bed-clothes; as to pillows they have none. Their furniture is not very cumberſome; for it conſiſts only of a few earthen pots, called *canaris*, a few calabaſhes, or gourd-bottles, with wooden bowls, and the like utenſils.

All the huts belonging to the ſame perſon are incloſed with a wall or paliſade of reeds about ſix feet high; to which they give the name of *tapade*. Though the negroes obſerve very little ſymmetry in the ſituation of their houſes, yet the French of the iſland of Senegal have taught them to follow a certain uniformity in the largeneſs of the *tapades*, which they have regulated in ſuch a manner, as to form a ſmall town with ſeveral ſtreets drawn in a direct line. Theſe ſtreets indeed are not paved; and luckily there is no occaſion for it; ſince they would be very much at a loſs to find the ſmalleſt pebble upwards of thirty leagues all round. The inhabitants find a greater conveniency in their ſandy ſoil: for as it is very deep, and ſoft, it ſerves them to ſit upon; it is alſo their ſofa, their couch, their bed. Beſides, it has ſome other good uſes, namely, that there is no danger in falling; and it is always very clean, even after the heavieſt rains, becauſe it imbibes the water with great eaſe, and there needs only an hour of fine weather to dry it. However, this town or village, which ever you pleaſe to call it, is the handſomeſt, the largeſt, and the moſt regular in the country: they reckon, as I have already mentioned, upwards of three thouſand inhabitants: it is about a quarter of a league long, and the breadth equal to that of the iſland, whoſe centre it occupies, being equally ranged on both ſides of the fort by which it is commanded.

We may ſafely affirm, that the negroes of Senegal are the likelieſt men in all Nigritia or Negroland. They are generally above middle ſized, well ſhaped, and well-limbed. There is no ſuch thing ever known among them as cripples, or hump-backs, or bandy legs, unleſs it be by accident. They are ſtrong, robuſt, and of a proper temperament for bearing fatigue. Their hair is black, curled, downy, and extremely fine. Their eyes are large and well cut, with very little beard; their features agreeable enough, and their ſkin the deepeſt black.

Their uſual dreſs conſiſts in a ſmall piece of linen which paſſes between their thighs; and the two ends, being lifted up and folded, form a ſort of drawers, which are tied with a fillet before; and thus they cover their nudity. They have likewiſe a *paan*, that is a piece of calico, made in the form of a large napkin, which they careleſsly throw over their ſhoulders, letting one end of it dangle againſt their knees.

The women are much about the ſame ſize and make as the men. Their ſkin is ſurpriſingly delicate and ſoft; their mouth and lips are ſmall; and their features very regular. There are ſome of them perfect beauties *. They have a great ſhare of vivacity, and a vaſt deal of freedom and eaſe, which renders them extremely agreeable. For their clothing they make uſe of two *paans*, one of which goes round their waiſt, hangs down to the knee, and ſupplies the place of an under-petticoat; the other covers both their ſhoulders, and ſometimes the head. This is a modeſt dreſs enough for ſo hot a country: but they are generally ſatisfied with the *paan* which covers the reins; and they throw off the other whenever they find it troubleſome. One may eaſily judge that they are not long a dreſſing or undreſſing, and that their toilette is ſoon made.

* The vaſt numbers of children, and children's children, the French begat by them, and left there, prove our author is not ſingular in his opinion.

as

As the iſland of Senegal is within the dependance of the kingdom of Oualo, the negroes who live there, eſpecially thoſe who are free, are of that nation. They are, generally ſpeaking, very goodnatured, ſociable, and obliging. Thoſe whom the company entertained in my ſervice, were Oualofes, as they call themſelves, or by corruption, Jallofs.

Immediately after my arrival, I employed ſome months, not only in ſtudying the manners and character of the inhabitants, but likewiſe in learning the Oualofe language which obtained moſt generally in that country: for I was ſenſible that it would be of great ſervice to me, and even indiſpenſably neceſſary in regard to the reſearches I purpoſed to make. With this view I frequented their company, and was among them as often as poſſible. At length when I looked upon myſelf as ſufficiently acquainted with their uſages and manners, and able to judge how to conduct myſelf in a country which had long been the object of my moſt ardent wiſhes, I determined to ſet out upon a ramble.

The quick ſands of the iſland of Senegal, their dogs-graſs, mangroves, and bind-weed, could not long afford ſufficient employment for a naturaliſt. There was no way to get further inſtruction, but by croſſing the river in order to viſit the continent. With this view I went over as often as I could in my boat, and ſeveral days ſucceſſively. The iſland of Sor is the firſt land that offers itſelf on the eaſtern bank of the river, and is oppoſite to the iſle of Senegal. It is above a league in length, and interſected by ſmall rivers, which are called *marigots*. The ſoil is ſandy like that of the iſland of Senegal, but of ſurpriſing fertility. In the middle of the iſland there are ſeveral hills of a very gentle aſcent, covered with white and red gum trees*, and others of the ſpinous kind, and of very difficult acceſs.

I landed the firſt time on that iſland the 10th of May, attended by my interpreter, and the two negroes, who had rowed my boat. It is bordered by a very thick wood, where with a good deal of difficulty I found a path, which is the only paſſage to the inner part of the iſland. This would be no great harm, if a perſon was not ſtopped every moment by thorns, which are apt to catch his clothes, and tear his legs: for my part I came off with loſing a few ſcraps of my waiſtcoat or ſhirt, the only apparel one can bear in ſo ſultry a country, and where a ſhirt alone is very cumberſome. But my negroes, with all their agility, oftentimes left ſome bits of ſkin behind them, not to mention the thorns which ſtuck in their feet, moſt of them going without ſandals. Is it not amazing that the inhabitants of this iſland ſhould have traded with thoſe of Senegal more than thirty years, and all this while not have given themſelves the trouble to open a convenient road! Can there be a ſtronger proof of the lazineſs and indolence of the negroes? Their high road, the great thoroughfare of this iſland, is a path, which does not even merit that name; ſince a perſon is often obliged to creep on all four in order to get through it. Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties I forced my way.

My negroes informed me, that there was ſome game in this place. I had my gun, and each of them had theirs. I courſed for ſome time without being diſcouraged by the curvatures I was obliged to make every moment under the thorns. I killed a few partridges and hares, which made me amends for my pains. The hares of this country are not altogether like thoſe of France: they are not ſo large; and their colour is ſomething between a hare and a rabbet. Their fleſh is white, which gives them a greater reſemblance to a rabbet; but they do not burrow: they are tender, and extremely well taſted. The ſame cannot be ſaid of their partridges: they are ſo tough, as to be good for

* A ſort of *acacia* or Egyptian thorn, on which they gather two ſorts of gum, the white and the red, heretofore known by the name of gum Arabic, and at preſent by that of gum Senega.

nothing. I doubt much whether we ought not rather to call them wood-hens, for they are the ſame ſize, and much about the ſame colour. They are ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed from other birds of this kind, by two ſtrong ſpurs to their feet.

Pleaſed with my ſport, I proceeded as far as the village of Sor, which gives name to the iſland. Before I could get thither, I was obliged to croſs two *marigots:* theſe are rivulets with which the whole country is interſected in ſuch a manner, that one cannot advance above two or three paces, without being obſtructed. I had contrived an expedient, when they were not too deep; which was, to make my negroes carry me over. On this occaſion I made uſe of it: one of them took me upon his ſhoulders, and as his clothes did not incommode him greatly, he was quickly up to his breaſt in water; ſo that he wafted me in an inſtant, as if he was running a race, over the firſt *marigot*, which was broader than the Seine at Pont Royal. Thus was I mounted, if I may be permitted the term: and it is the ſafeſt method of croſſing, becauſe the negroes are uſed to walk through theſe watry plains, as upon land, and they know all the roads; and indeed, as I had no other conveyance in croſſing a river or a lake of a middling depth; I ſhall repeat it no more.

Notwithſtanding the care I had taken, my ſhoes got wet, but were not long a drying. I had to walk on ſands, which it would be incorrect to call by any other epithet than *burning*, ſince even in the moſt moderate weather, they experience there a heat of 60 degrees and upwards as I afterwards found by the obſervations which I ſcrupulouſly followed with M. de Reaumur's thermometer. A perſon may make an eſſay by getting ſuch a heat in his feet, at a time when that of the ambient air is 22 degrees in the ſhade, as it was then in the iſland of Senegal the 10th of May, one of the coldeſt winter days in that country: it is eaſy then to judge of the extreme ſenſibility of an European, tranſplanted from a temperate climate, to the hotteſt part of the globe. My ſhoes grew tough like a horn, then cracked, and fell away to powder: even the feet of my negroes were chopped. The very reflection of the heat of the ſun peeled the ſkin off my face, and gave me a ſmarting, which ſometimes laſted five or ſix days. Such were the ordinary effects of the great heat I had to ſuffer, when I undertook this ramble over the diſtrict of Senegal: effects which increaſe in ſuch a manner, that the heat of the place inſtead of 22 degrees, mounted to 34 in the ſhade, that is, in the coldeſt air. To theſe inconveniencies I muſt add that of the quick ſands, which are exceſſively fatiguing, becauſe you ſink up to your ancle; and your ſhoes being filled therewith, become intolerably heavy and troubleſome. Then, for the firſt time, I perceived the uſe of that thick ſkin, thicker than the breadth of a finger, with which nature has ſtrengthened the ſoles of the negroes feet, whereby they are ſecured againſt the hardneſs of external bodies, ſo as to have no occaſion for ſhoes. Yet I accuſtomed myſelf by degrees to this kind of fatigue; for there is nothing but what one may compaſs with a good will; and this was not wanting.

After theſe viciſſitudes of a paſſage through thorns, rivers, and burning ſands, where I courſed and herborized all the way, I arrived at length at the village of Sor. There I found the governor, whom the negroes diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Borom-dek*, that is, maſter of the village. He was a venerable old man, about fifty, with a grey beard and hoary locks. When I call him an old man, of fifty, this is becauſe the negroes of Senegal are really old at the age of forty-five, and oftentimes ſooner: and I remember to have heard the French inhabitants of Senegal ſay ſeveral times, that according to the beſt of their obſervation, the negroes of that country ſeldom lived to be older than ſixty, which agrees exactly with the remarks I endeavoured to aſcertain during my ſtay at Senegal. But to return to the maſter of the village of Sor; he was a luſty, well looking man,

man, whoſe phyſiognomy beſpoke him a perſon of gentle manners and great good nature. His name was *Baba-Sec*: he was ſitting on the ſand, under the ſhade of a jujube*, planted before his hut, where he was ſmoaking and converſing with a few friends. As ſoon as he ſaw me, he roſe up, preſented his hand to me thrice, then laid it upon his forehead, and afterwards upon his breaſt, aſking me each time, in his language, how I did. I performed the ſame ceremony myſelf at the ſame time, becauſe I underſtood that ſuch was the manner of ſaluting in this country. He did not take off his cap, for he wore none: as to my part I followed the French cuſtom, which is never to take off our hats to people of his complexion. He ordered a mat to be ſet before me, and I ſat down: then he placed himſelf in one of the corners; and notwithſtanding all I could do, there was no prevailing on him to draw towards the middle. This is a mark of reſpect they ſhew the French, whom they look upon as great people; that is, as great lords, and far their ſuperiors. Indeed they are not much in the wrong; and this kind of ſubmiſſion ought to be encouraged as much as poſſible; ſo I did not preſs him hard. Two of his wives (for polygamy is eſtabliſhed in that country) came immediately after with their children, to pay their compliments to me, and they brought me a few bowls full of milk, with eggs and fowls. I drank ſome of the milk, and thanked them for the reſt.

It was near their dinner time, and *Baba-Sec* depended upon my ſtaying. In the mean time, my curioſity led me to ſee the village. The huts were neither ſo large nor ſo neat as thoſe I had ſeen in the iſle of Senegal. In ſome, the covering came down almoſt to the ground, and was kept up before the door by a few ſtakes, to form a kind of pent-houſe, which ſheltered them from the rays of the ſun. In others, the walls were done over with thick mud, mixed with cow-dung, which ſtunk abominably. The latter had two oppoſite entrances, each of which was only an oval made in the wall, of a foot and half diameter, and two feet from the ground. I had found the ſquare doors of the iſland of Senegal very uneaſy; but theſe were ſtill more ſo, ſince there was no ſuch thing as entering them without doubling my chin to my knees. The inſide was in every reſpect like what I had ſeen in Senegal. The ſtreets were as irregular as the huts, and very narrow. Notwithſtanding the little proportion obſerved by thoſe architects, the villages ſtill are very agreeable, becauſe they are planted with trees, which beſides the coolneſs of their ſhade, refreſh the eye with a perpetual verdure.

The children of both ſexes, even ſuch as were nine or ten years old, an age at which the marks of puberty begin to ſhew themſelves, were ſtark naked. The girls had for ornament round their waiſt a girdle of glaſs toys, or, where thoſe could not be had, of a *requien*'s† knuckle-bones, or of cockle-ſhells ſtringed like a pair of beads. Some perhaps will imagine that thoſe children, in this ſtate of nakedneſs, muſt be daſhed at the ſight of a ſtranger: but far from it; you may go up to them, and even play with them, they will give themſelves no ſawcy airs; and though they are neither ſhame-faced nor baſhful, yet there is nothing in their countenance but what is natural and eaſy. No doubt but it will be alſo ſurpriſing to many, that children, who were ſcarce ſix months old, ſhould begin to walk by themſelves. It was pleaſant to ſee thoſe little creatures tumbling on the ſand before the ſun, and creeping on all four like little monkeys, and to hear them utter inarticulately a few words between their teeth, with an air of contentment and pleaſure. The women had all a *half-paan* round their waiſt, which ſerved them for a petticoat; but from their waiſt upwards they were naked.

* Jujuba aculeata, nervoſis foliis infra ſericeis flavirs. *Burm. Thez. Zeyl.* p. 131. *Tab.* 61.

† A voracious fiſh, of the nature of a ſea dog. The young *requiens* are a diſh very much liked by the negroes.

Being generally well made, they have a very good air in this diſhabille, eſpecially when a perſon is uſed to their colour: thoſe who are not accuſtomed to them, muſt be content with admiring their ſhape, which is extremely fine.

Which way ſoever I turned my eyes on this pleaſant ſpot, I beheld a perfect image of pure nature: an agreeable ſolitude, bounded on every ſide by a charming landſcape; the rural ſituation of cottages in the midſt of trees; the eaſe and indolence of the negroes, reclined under the ſhade of their ſpreading foliage; the ſimplicity of their dreſs and manners; the whole revived in my mind, the idea of our firſt parents, and I ſeemed to contemplate the world in its primeval ſtate.

My mind was agreeably amuſed with theſe reveries, when word was brought me, from the governor of the village, that dinner waited for me. Upon which I turned back with my negroes, who conducted me through that labyrinth of cottages, where otherwiſe I ſhould have been eaſily loſt. I found the governor juſt on the very ſpot where I left him, with his children, and a few friends. They ſat croſs-legged on the ſand, round a large wooden bowl full of *couſcous*; which is a thick-grained pap, made of two ſorts of millet. He made me ſit down by him; then he began to fall to, and thruſting his hand into the diſh, he took a handful of *couſcous*, which he rolled about with his fingers, for want of a fork and ſpoon, a conveniency they have not yet learnt. He invited me afterwards to do the ſame. I did not let him preſs me hard, but followed his example: for I never departed from this principle, that nothing contributes more to gain the confidence and friendſhip of ſtrangers among whom you reſide, than to conform to their cuſtoms and manner of living; and I always found my account in it. The *couſcous* was judged excellent; and one of the moſt convincing proofs thereof, was, that the diſh was ſoon emptied. For my part I did not judge ſo favourably of it; nothing that I can think of is more inſipid than this diſh; and the manner of eating it is every whit as diſagreeable. However, I uſed myſelf to it; and found it afterwards very good. This ſingle courſe conſtituted our whole feaſt.

When dinner was over, a young ſhe-ſlave, in her natural habit, preſented us all round a bowl full of water, out of which each perſon drank; and then they made uſe of it to waſh the hand that had performed the office of a ſpoon, which is always the right; the left being deſigned for uſes inconſiſtent with cleanlineſs. Theſe practices, like polygamy, are a conſequence of the precepts of the Mahometan religion, which they have ſo far embraced, as its principles are agreeable to their own cuſtoms and eaſy manner of living. I was very much ſurprized, not to ſee any of my landlord's wives eating in company with him, but I was told, that ſuch was the cuſtom of the country, and that no woman ever had that honour done her; becauſe they are perſuaded, like good Mahometans, that there is no paradiſe for the female ſex. Therefore they dined after us, and in the ſame manner; that is, without table, plates, table-cloth, ſpoons, knives, forks, or napkins.

In order to make my hoſt amends for his good entertainment, I preſented him with a few *pattes** of iron, and I diſtributed ſome glaſs toys among his wives and children. He wanted to keep me for a ball which was juſt going to begin; but I begged him to poſtpone it till another time, becauſe it was near ſun-ſet. We parted extremely well ſatisfied with each other. The *guiriots*†, in return for the generoſity with which I had behaved towards them, attended me upwards of two hundred paces, beating on the drum, to the ſound of which all the young people danced in cadence,

* The *patte* of iron is the twelfth part of a bar nine feet long; and ſerves for money in this country.
† This is the name the negroes give to the muſicians and drummers of the country.

expreſſing

expreſſing their joy. At length I loſt ſight of them, and made all the haſte I could back to the iſland of Senegal.

I was not a little pleaſed with this my firſt reception at the lord of Sor's. It convinced me, that there ought to be conſiderable abatements made, in the accounts I had read and heard every where, of the ſavage character of the Africans; and I was of opinion, that this ſhould not extend to the natives of Senegal. This gave me great encouragement to go oftener amongſt them; and I was highly delighted to hear a little while after, that a veſſel was to ſet out the month following, to buy ſome oxen at the Muſketoe trading-place. An agent belonging to the company who was entruſted with this commiſſion, engaged me to perform the voyage with him. Accordingly we embarked the 16th of June, early in the morning, upon the river Niger. We aſcended the ſtream, and when we came to the point of the iſle of Bifeche, we began to loſe ſight of the iſland of Senegal, which is about a league diſtant from thence. To the right we had the iſle of Bifeche, and the wood iſland to the left: they were both bordered with mangroves; ſo that our navigation was as pleaſant as if we had been ſailing through a large avenue of beautiful trees. The mangroves* have ſomething ſo extraordinary in their nature, that I cannot paſs them over in ſilence. The largeſt of theſe trees are generally no more than fifty feet high; they grow only in the water, and on the banks of rivers where the tide goes up twice a-day. They preſerve the verdure of their leaves throughout the year, which may be ſaid alſo of moſt of the trees of this country: but what renders them more remarkable, is the long roots, which iſſuing out of their loweſt branches, hang down to the water, and penetrate into the earth. Then they reſemble ſo many arcades from five to ten feet high, which ſerve to ſupport the body of the tree, and even to advance it daily into the bed of the river. Theſe arcades are ſo cloſe, and intertwiſted, one with another, that they form a kind of natural and tranſparent terrace, raiſed with ſuch ſolidity over the water, that one might walk upon them, were it not that the branches are too much encumbered with leaves.

Thus we advanced three leagues through mangroves, after which from the *marigot* of Kiala to that of Torkhod, within four leagues and a half of the iſland of Senegal, we ſaw nothing on both banks of the river, but ruſhes or weeds from ten to fifteen feet high†. Torkhod is a village ſituate on the left ſide of the river Niger, upon a hill of red ſand, at the foot of which paſſeth the *marigot* that bears its name. This is the only village we could ſee the whole way from the iſland of Senegal. The mangroves had intercepted the proſpect of the others, which are ſcattered about the low lands overflown by the Niger. The advantageous ſituation of Torkhod, the red colour of the hill, the beauty of the trees, with which it is adorned, and the meadows which it commands, all together afford a very agreeable proſpect. The fiſhermen belonging to the place brought us ſome ſhell-fiſh by the French called *machoirans*‡, with eels and other fiſh which they had catched in their little river. We bought about five dozen, which did not ſtand us in three *deniers* a piece. From whence we continued our voyage, meeting with a few more mangroves, on the right bank of the river, till we came within a league of a village called Maka, where theſe trees terminate.

The ſame day we arrived before ſun-ſet at the Muſketoe trading-place; where was to be the ſale of cattle. This being the firſt port we meet with, in going up the Niger,

* Mangles aquatica, foliis ſubrotundis & punctatis. *Plum. gen.* pag. 13.
† Gramen dactylon bicorne tomentoſum maximum, ſpicis numeroſiſſimis. *Sloan. Jam.* vol. 1. tab. 15.
‡ Nhamdia Braſilienſibus, bagre do Rio Luſitanis. *Marogr.* p. 149.
Myſtus cirrhis ſex longiſſimis, pinnâ dorſi ſecundâ triangulari. *Gronov. Muſ. Ichth.* p. 35. n. 84.

the

the ſame is practiſed here, as at ſea by thoſe who paſs the tropic: the French, the firſt time they come this way, are bound to make a preſent to the *laptots** ; and therefore I gave them the uſual gratuity. The Muſketoe trading-place is only thirteen leagues to the north $\frac{1}{4}$ north-eaſt of the iſland of Senegal. This is a fruitful plain extending on both ſides the river as far as the village of Maka, which we left behind us: the whole tract of ground, upwards of ſeven leagues in length, is laid out in ſpacious meadows, where the inhabitants breed a vaſt number of cattle. The name of *marigot*, of the Muſketoes, is given to a ſmall river, which falls into the Niger, a little below the trading-place; becauſe it is full of very high and thick weeds, which ſerve to harbour a kind of Muſketoes called *maringoins*. Sometimes thoſe little inſects iſſue forth from theſe inacceſſible places, in ſuch ſwarms, that they darken the air. It is very difficult to guard againſt them, becauſe their ſting will penetrate through the compacteſt woollen ſtuffs; and the multitudes of them that attack a perſon all at the ſame time, cauſe a prodigious pain, and throw the whole body, as it were, into a ferment. This is one of the greateſt inconveniences that all aquatic places are ſubject to.

The Moors waited for us, within two hundred paces of the north bank of the river, where they were encamped. All over the country, nothing was to be ſeen but numerous flocks of oxen, wethers, kid, and camels, which ranged about in full liberty. The day following I went on ſhore to view the oxen, which ſeemed to me very different from thoſe of Europe; for moſt of them were larger and higher legged; but they were particularly remarkable for a lump of fleſh, which roſe above a foot on the withers, between the two ſhoulders. The rams (which they are not uſed to caſtrate) are alſo of a very peculiar ſort. They bear no reſemblance to our French rams, except in their head and tail; but as to their ſize, and hair, they are more like a goat: the latter animal has nothing remarkable. The fleſh of both is extremely delicate, but often too perfumed. It ſeems that a fleece of wool would have been inconvenient to ſheep in ſo hot a country; and therefore, nature has changed it for thin hair of moderate length.

As I rambled among thoſe numerous flocks, I found myſelf approaching towards the *adouar*; a name they give to a cluſter of tents, where the Moors are lodged. Theſe tents are all round in the form of a cone, and made of goats and camels hair, impenetrable to the rain. They were ranged near to one another, in a circular form, each ſupported by a pole in the middle, and fixed all round with thongs of ox ſkin, faſtened to ſtakes about a foot from the ground. The inſide of them was hung with ſeveral rows of mats, ſecured on one ſide by the tents, and on the other by their moveables: the latter conſiſt of a few borrachoes containing their cloaths, their milk, and butter; in ſhort, all their proviſions, and a few pieces of calabaſhes, which ſerve for utenſils.

While the men looked after their cattle, the women were confined to their tents, where they employed their time in churning butter, in ſpinning, and taking care of their children and other domeſtic concerns. They are of an olive complexion, with very regular features, and large ſparkling eyes; their hair is long and plaited; ſome have it hanging down, and others tied up. They ſeemed to be well made, though ſmall; and a great deal more reſerved than the negroe women. The men are not much taller than the negroes; but they differ in their colour, which is red or a red brown; in their hair, which is of a middling length, curled, and much thicker; and

* This is the name given to the negroes in the ſervice of the Eaſt India company.

eſpecially

eſpecially in their muſcles, which appear more under their ſkin : they have alſo a more meager face, with leſs fleſh, and their ſkin is not ſo ſmooth, The dreſs both of men and women, conſiſts in a long ſhirt of black linen, and a *paan*, with which the women cover their head and ſhoulders ; the men ſometimes roll it about their bodies like a waiſt-band, and ſometimes round their heads, in imitation of a turbant. This *paan* is not always black and made of cotton ; there are a great many men who wear it of white wool, and oftentimes edged with red. I ſpoke once already of the repaſt I made with the Negroes ; but the Moors are no way inferior to them in frugality. Their ordinary food is milk, either of camels, cows, goats, or ſheep, with millet ; and very often milk and gum alone is their whole repaſt, and ſerves them for meat and drink.

Though two months were not yet elapſed ſince my coming to Senegal, I nevertheleſs had an opportunity of ſeeing, and forming ſome judgement, at leaſt as much as was neceſſary, for the time preſent, of two nations, the moſt diſtant in their cuſtoms and manner of living, of all thoſe that inhabit this part of Africa, namely, the Moors and the Negroes. In both, I had obſerved great humanity and ſociableneſs, which gave me ſtrong hopes, that I ſhould be very ſafe among them, and meet with the ſucceſs I deſired in my inquiry after the curioſities of their country.

The next day I went a herborizing and courſing over the beautiful fields on the oppoſite bank of the river. At that time they were covered with a large kind of millet, called *guiar-natt**, or *guinea corn :* it was now almoſt ripe, and the Negroes had covered the ears with its own leaves, to ſhelter it from the ſparrows, which do a great deal of miſchief in this country. It was no ſmall labour to walk acroſs thoſe ſpacious fields of millet, the ſtalks being very large and compact, and full eight feet high. The heat was quite ſtifling, for not the leaſt breath of air could be perceived amidſt thoſe high plants ; and the ſun, at a very little diſtance from the zenith, darted his rays almoſt perpendicularly. My Negroes, in order to amuſe themſelves in this long walk, and to quench their thirſt, plucked ſeveral intire ſtalks of millet, and ſucked the juice, after ſtripping it of its huſk. They gave me ſome to taſte, and I found it ſo ſweet and pleaſant, that I quickly followed their example. I do not at all doubt but the ſtalks of millet, prepared in the ſame manner as ſugar canes, would afford a very proper juice for making ſugar.

At length, after walking half an hour without ſeeing any thing but plants all round me, I arrived at the foot of a little hill, whereon was built a village, which the Negroes call Depleur. I had viewed it from the bank of the river, where it afforded a moſt delightful proſpect. The foot of this hill was all of pure red ſand, and entirely planted with gardens. At that time there were *giromons*, a ſort of muſhrooms peculiar to hot countries, and not at all inferior in ſize to thoſe of cold climates, but greatly ſuperior in ſweetneſs and delicacy of taſte. The two ſpecies of Indian *ketmia* †, the green and the red, grow there extremely well ; they are ſhrubs four or five feet high, and reſemble ours only in the taſte. The reſt of the ground is covered with tobacco and French beans.

From theſe gardens, I proceeded to the village, without intending to make any ſtay there, becauſe it did not appear to me, to differ from thoſe I had ſeen already. As it is not much frequented by the French, by reaſon of its diſtance from the river, the little children, who had never beheld any white people, were frightened greatly at ſeeing me ; and ran away as faſt as they could, to ſeek for ſhelter between their mothers legs :

* Milium arundinaceum, ſubrotundo ſemine ſorgo nominatum. *C. B. Pin.* 26.
† Ketmia Indica, goſſypii folio, acetoſæ ſapore. *Plum. Cat. p.* 2.

at the ſame time they gave very loud cries, which did not frighten me much, becauſe I ſoon diſcovered the cauſe. Yet I got a little out of the way, to avoid the frighful noiſe occaſioned by my preſence; when a woman who ſaw me gathering fruit in the garden, thought to oblige me, by bringing me ſome of a ſort greatly eſteemed in that country. At the ſame time ſhe conducted me into the middle of the village, where ſtood the tree from which ſhe had plucked them. It was very large, but not high: by its ſupple pendant boughs, and long thorns, I knew it to be the *agihalid* of Proſper Alpinus *: The Negroes call it *ſoumpe*. As I ſtopped to view this tree, I was quickly ſurrounded by a number of boys and girls, whom curioſity had drawn together. Some out of reſpect, and ſome out of fear, keep themſelves at a diſtance: others were familiar enough to come near me, and to aſk for glaſs trinkets; for theſe, as I obſerved before, are the merchandiſe and ornament which the Negroes chiefly delight in. Moſt of them had never ſeen a white man ſo near; ſome touched my cloaths and my linen; others took hold of my hat, and of my hair which I wore in a bag, thinking it impoſſible it ſhould grow to ſuch a length as they ſaw it about my ears; others in ſhort, felt the bag itſelf, and aſked me for tobacco, with which they thought it to be filled, becauſe of its being ſo very like a little ſquare leather bag, wherein they are accuſtomed to carry tobacco upon their breaſts; but how great was their ſurpriſe, upon ſeeing me take off my bag, when my hair fell down to my waiſt. The liberty I gave them to examine both, ſoon undeceived them, as well in regard to the pretended uſe of the bag, as to my hair, the length of which they no longer doubted of, when they ſaw it really faſtened to my head.

This extraordinary and unexpected ſcene, occaſioned my making ſeveral reflections as I went from thence. It came into my head, that my colour ſo oppoſite to the blackneſs of the Africans, was the firſt thing that ſtruck the children: theſe poor little creatures were then in the ſame caſe as our infants, the firſt time they ſee a Negro. I recalled to mind alſo, that the ſecond thing which ſurpriſed the reſt, was the length and thickneſs of my hair, compared to theirs, which looks like very fine curled wool: and in the laſt place, the weight and conſtraint of my apparel, which after all, conſiſted only of a very light callico waiſtcoat. The reader will no longer be ſurpriſed that ſome of them ſhould aſk me for merchandize, and others for tobacco, when he is informed, that Negroes of every age, ſex, and condition, are uſed to aſk even the ſmalleſt trifles of the whites, when they cannot pilfer them; it is with good reaſon ſaid, that they are the moſt artful beggars, and the moſt dextrous thieves in the univerſe.

Inſtead of following the road I had taken acroſs the tireſome fields of millet, to go to Depleur, I returned by the meadow above them. I ſaw there only a few gum trees, a prodigious quantity of tamariſks like thoſe of Narbonne, the ſhrub *ſeſban* †, and a large ſpecies of ſenſitive plant, which the Negroes call *guerackiao*, that is, *good morrow*, becauſe, they ſay, when you touch it, or draw near to ſpeak to it, the plant immediately inclines its leaves to wiſh you, as it were, a good morrow, and to ſhew, that it is ſenſible of the politeneſs done it. Among the herbs with which the meadow is ſtrewed, I took notice of the *juſſiæa* ‡, of arſmart ¶, chickweed §, and ſeveral ſpecies of *mollugo*; of a great many ſorts of graſs, of the *coldenia* ‖, and a ſmall ſenſitive plant, rampant, and not ſpinous, infinitely more delicate and ſenſible than all the ſpecies that I know.

* Aghalid. *P. Alp. Ægyp. vol.* 2. *p.* 20. † Seſban. *P. Alp. Ægypt. v.* 2. *p.* 12.
‡ Juſſiæa erecta, floribus tetrapetalis octandris ſeſſilibus. *Linn. H. Zeyl.* 170.
¶ Perſicaria maderaſpatana, longiore folio ſurſuto. *Pluk. Phytogr. tab.* 210. *fig.* 7.
§ Alſine lotoides ſicula. *Boc. rar. pl.* 20. ‖ Coldenia. *Linn. H. Zeyl.* 69.

I did not neglect, the following days, to viſit the neighbouring villages and fields, where I found great plenty of a kind of ſhrub hitherto unknown to botaniſts which the Moors call *guerzim*. I likewiſe diſcovered a conſiderable number of other new plants; but it would be of no uſe to mention them here.

There are a great many wild boars in thoſe parts, but I never could come up with any of them. I killed ſeveral of thoſe birds, which the French call *large eyes*: and, indeed, they are of a largeneſs that has no ſort of proportion to the head. In the form of their body, and of their feet, which are ſplit into three toes, they are very like a buſtard: they are as large as a hen, and their feathers are of an aſh-grey, mixed with white. Their fleſh is tender, and may be eaten. I could not avoid having very good ſport in the meadow, for there is plenty of game: but it was interrupted every moment by the loud and importunate cries of a kind of bird, which the Negroes call *uett-uett*, the French *ſquallers* or *bawlers*, becauſe as ſoon as they ſee a man, they ſet up a loud ſcreaming, and keep flying round him, as if their intent was to warn the other birds which upon hearing the cry immediately take wing. Theſe birds are the bane of ſportſmen, who are ſure to find the place clear of all game ſoon after their arrival. In ſhort, they put me into a paſſion, which coſt them very dear; for, as they always fly in pairs, I killed ſeveral brace. There were two ſorts; and neither of them hardly exceeded the bigneſs of a pigeon; but they were high-legged, and had a very long neck. The colour of one was aſh-grey on the back and wings, the reſt of their body was altogether white. The other had their wings and part of the tail black, and their ſhoulders were armed with a ſmall horn of the ſame colour, very long, of the ſhape and hard conſiſtency of a ſpur, which ſerved them as an offenſive and defenſive weapon againſt the other birds.

We were now in the eighth day of our voyage, when we finiſhed our buſineſs, and thought of returning to the iſland of Senegal. The Moors, who had repaired to this place only to ſell their cattle, having foraged the country all round, were preparing to encamp on another ſpot, and even to retire towards the mountains, at a great diſtance northward of the river, to avoid the inundations with which the firſt rains of the month of June had lately threatened them. Their tents were already ſtruck, and, they had put them, together with their furniture and utenſils, into ſacks of leather neatly dreſſed. The whole was loaded on the backs of camels and oxen, which carried their houſes, moveables, wives and children. Such is the life the Moors lead; they are never fixed to a ſpot: their flocks, in which conſiſts their whole wealth, oblige them to change quarters, according as the ſeaſons and the nature of their paſturage require.

Soon after my return to the iſland of Senegal, an opportunity offered of going to Podor, a factory belonging to the company, diſtant from this iſland ſixty leagues or thereabouts, on the river Niger. The veſſel was to go and return without ſtopping; yet I went on board. My Negroes did not want ſolicitation to follow me; ſo they joined with the ſhip's company. We ſet ſail the 30th of June, aſcending the river nearly from weſt to eaſt. The winds were ſo favourable, that we arrived in three days at Podor. As ſo expeditious a navigation did not allow me time to go on ſhore, I embraced this opportunity of taking a plan of the courſe of the river. I obſerved the different widths of its bed, and of the mouths of rivers that empty themſelves into it, the angle which the latter form in their diſemboguing, the iſlands we found by the way, and their length: I likewiſe ſounded their depth; in ſhort, I neglected nothing that was capable of rendering my obſervations moſt accurate. For this purpoſe I made uſe of the compaſs to mark the changes of direction in its courſe, meaſuring from time to time its velocity or that of the veſſel: ſometimes I added to theſe two methods an eſtimate of the great-

neſs of the diſtances, in which I had every conveniency, and met with all the ſucceſs I could wiſh. If we except a few ſhoals here and there in the bed of the Niger, which may be eaſily avoided when the winds are not quite contrary, one is ſure of finding it navigable throughout. Though it was then at its greateſt ebb, yet it was from twenty to thirty feet and more deep. The ſea-water, which flows every common year as high up as the *marigot* of the Muſketoes, that is, about fifteen leagues from the mouth of the river, had reached this year as far as the deſert, that is, upwards of thirty leagues. This is about the diſtance where the ſalt water ſtops: but the tide is perceived a great deal higher up; it reaches as far as Podor, where it is viſible by the riſing of the freſh water, which is ſubject to the ſame viciſſitudes of tide, but at leſs equal periods. The higheſt flood which I meaſured on the banks of the ſea, near the iſland of Senegal, is but two feet and a half in the great equinoctial tides. It ſeems therefore that the Niger from Podor to the ſea, that is, in the courſe of ſixty leagues, has not an inclination of above two feet and a half; ſo that there is reaſon to believe that this entire tract of land, excepting the ſand-hills ſcattered here and there, forms a plain exceſſively low and flat, and of ſuch a level, that if the ſea was to riſe every where alike from twenty to thirty feet, the whole country would be overflowed.

The fort of Podor is built on the ſouth bank of the river Niger, on a ſpot heretofore covered with wood; but the great quantity which the French have cut down for upwards of ten years, that they have been ſettled there, has removed the foreſt farther back to the diſtance of a ſmall half league. Here are moſt beautiful tamariſks, red gum-trees, and ſeveral other ſorts of thorny *acacias*, the wood of which is extremely hard, and in the colour and beauty of its veins not unlike thoſe which we uſe in inlaid work. The button-tree, of a very different ſpecies from that of America, grows here very common. The eaſe with which this tree receives the tool, and its fine yellow, render it preferable to all other ſorts of wood in joiners' work. It is known among the Negroes by the name of *khoſs*. The rich ſoil of this country is a great encouragement to gardening. And indeed the French have planted ſeveral which thrive amazingly, ſuch as orange, citron, lemon, fig, and pomegranate-trees, beſides guavas, ananas, papaws, and ſour-ſops *, and a ſpecies of caſhew-nut, which paſſeth for one of the beſt fruit-trees that grow in hot countries. The different legumes of Europe thrive here in great perfection. They have plenty of potatoes which multiply greatly in wet marſhy lands, where they have been once planted. This root ſerves them inſtead of cheſnuts, which it greatly excels in goodneſs and delicacy of taſte. The acidity of the other fruits furniſhes them with a juice, more ſuited to the inhabitants of a warm climate.

During the few days that I ſtaid at Podor, the thermometer gave me one degree of heat more than I had felt on the iſland of Senegal before my departure: it marked from thirty to thirty-one degrees. The fifth of July, it was ſtill at thirty degrees at ſeven o'clock in the evening after ſun-ſet, in the coldeſt expoſition of the open air to the north, declining to the eaſt.

The ſame day two oſtriches, which had been bred near two years in the factory, afforded me a ſight of ſo extraordinary a nature, as to deſerve a place in this narrative. Theſe gigantic birds I had ſeen only by the way, as I travelled over the burning ſands on the left of the Niger, but now I had a full view of them at my eaſe. Though they were but young, ſtill they were very near of an equal ſize with the largeſt. They were ſo tame, that two little blacks mounted both together on the back of the largeſt: no ſooner did he feel their weight, than he began to run as faſt as ever he could, till he carried them ſeveral times round the village; and it was impoſſible to ſtop him, other-

* Anona maxima, foliis latis ſplendentibus, fructu maximo, viridi conoide, tuberculis ſeu ſpinulis innocentibus aſpero. *Sloan. Jam. vol. 2. tab. 225.*

wiſe

wiſe than by obſtructing the paſſage. This ſight pleaſed me ſo well, that I would have it repeated: and to try their ſtrength, I made a full-grown Negro mount the ſmalleſt, and two others the largeſt. This burden did not ſeem to me at all diſproportioned to their ſtrength. At firſt they went a moderate gallop; when they were heated a little, they expanded their wings as if it were to catch the wind, and they moved with ſuch fleetneſs, that they ſeemed to be off the ground. Every body muſt ſome time or other have ſeen a partridge run, conſequently muſt know there is no man whatever able to keep up with it; and it is eaſy to imagine, that if this bird had a longer ſtep, its ſpeed would be conſiderably augmented. The oſtrich moves like the partridge, with both theſe advantages; and I am ſatisfied that thoſe I am ſpeaking of, would have diſtanced the fleeteſt race-horſes that were ever bred in England. It is true they would not hold out ſo long as a horſe; but without all doubt they would be able to perform the race in leſs time. I have frequently beheld this ſight, which is capable of giving one an idea of the prodigious ſtrength of an oſtrich; and of ſhewing what uſe it might be of, had we but the method of breaking and managing it as we do a horſe.

I was not ſo long in falling down the river to the iſland of Senegal, as I had been in going up to Podor. The north-eaſt winds, and the current of the ſtreams, which had been conſiderably ſwelled by the late rains, proved ſo favourable to us, that we ſeized the opportunity to make the beſt of our way back, without ſtopping or going aſhore. Yet I did not repent this firſt voyage; for I learnt thereby the many advantages I might derive from a ſecond, and even from a third. In taking a plan of the river Niger, I had reckoned nine or ten villages on the north bank, and forty-ſeven on the ſouth. A river from two to three hundred fathoms broad, the banks planted with trees of various kinds, and the leaves in perpetual verdure; the numerous droves of elephants walking on its borders; the ſea horſes, the crocodiles, with an infinite multitude of other very extraordinary animals, and a far greater number of birds remarkable for the brightneſs and variety of their colours; all this together ſeemed to open an ample field for new and important obſervations.

At my return to the iſland of Senegal the 15th of July, I perceived the effect of the rains, which had fallen in vaſt abundance for ſome days. The ſwell of the river was ſo ſudden, that the 19th there was a return of freſh water at its mouth; where, two days before, the water was perfectly ſalt. This term ſerves to divide the year into two ſeaſons, which differ very little from one another. The firſt is, when it does not rain at all, and when the waters of the Niger are ſpoiled by thoſe of the ſea: this begins in December, and ends in June or July. The ſecond is, when it is ſubject to rains, and the river water is freſh. The rains ſeldom laſt more than three months; they begin at the end of June, and end in the month of September.

If the word Summer belongs to the hotteſt, and that of Winter, to the coldeſt weather, I cannot ſee the reaſon why all our ancient voyagers give the name of ſummer to the dry ſeaſon under the torrid ſeaſon, and that of winter to the rainy ſeaſon: for it is certain, and I know it by obſervations performed with the thermometer, during the ſpace of five years, that the greateſt heats are generally in the rainy ſeaſon, to which they have given the name of winter. The French at Senegal, who perceived the error into which voyagers were fallen, attempted modeſtly to correct it, by changing the word *ſummer* into that of *low ſeaſon*, that is, when the waters of the Niger are low; and they have given the name of *high ſeaſon*, to the winter of the ancients, becauſe the waters of the Niger are then very high. Without examining into this error, which has been blindly embraced by moſt of the writers on natural hiſtory in our time, and being diffuſed through their principal works, has long had a conſiderable effect on the ſtudy of natural philoſophy, and particularly on meteorological knowledge, a branch at this time ſo greatly

embroiled: I ſhall be ſatisfied here with obſerving, that this miſtake requires a ſevere animadverſion. I ſhall therefore, with the French inhabiting Senegal, give the name of *low ſeaſon* to that of drought, and *high ſeaſon* to that of the rains: or ſtill, in order to conform to the terms received in Europe, and to be underſtood by all the world, I ſhall diſtinguiſh the former by the name of Summer, and the latter by that of Winter; ſo that theſe two ſeaſons will be at Senegal, pretty much about the ſame time as in France. Theſe two are therefore the only ſeaſons they are ſubject to; they know neither ſpring nor autumn. When I make uſe of the word Winter, the reader is not to imagine that they have any hail, ſnow, or ice: theſe are things they are ſtrangers to at Senegal; nor is it poſſible, whatever compariſon you make, to give the natives of the country the leaſt idea of them. The winter in Senegal is only a ſeaſon not ſo warm as the reſt of the year, though it is always warmer than our ſummers in France, in which we rarely ſee any ſnow or hail.

To return to the waters of the Niger, which gave occaſion to this ſhort digreſſion: they are ſalt one half of the year towards the iſland of Senegal. As the country is very low, and has neither rocks, or ſtones, but only quickſands, for this very reaſon it has no ſprings: they are therefore obliged to dig wells, which indeed do not give them much trouble, for they find water within three or four, and oftentimes within two feet depth; but then it is brackiſh, that is, it has a ſaltiſh taſte, communicated to the ſands by the proximity of the ſea.

The 8th of Auguſt the ſun paſſed perpendicularly over our heads; and our ſhadows were exactly under our feet. This was the ſecond time I beheld this phænomenon ſince my arrival at Senegal: the firſt time I ſaw it was on the fourth of May; and it was to return every year much about the ſame time. The heat it occaſioned at its return from the tropic of cancer towards the equator, was much greater than that which we felt at its firſt paſſage: for the thermometer marked the nights of the month of May at 22 degrees, and the days from 26 to 28; whereas the nights of Auguſt were at 26 degrees, and the days at 32.

The ninth of Auguſt, and the following days, I walked about in the neighbourhood of the iſland of Senegal, and returned to the iſland of Sor, of which mention has been made already. Our European boats appearing to me too heavy and cumberſome, to make uſe of them every day in paſſing that river; I therefore thought proper to exchange them for a kind of Negro canoe, which the French call *pirogue*. Theſe little boats are made all of one piece of wood, that is, of the trunk of a tree cut into a hollow veſſel, and very light. They are from ten to thirty feet long, from one to two feet in breadth and depth, and both ends terminate in a point. Mine was one of the largeſt. As ſoon as I got into it, my two Negroes placed themſelves at both extremities, one at the prow and the other at the ſtern. For my part I put myſelf in the middle, where I had no other ſeat but a piece of wood laid acroſs, which was faſtened at both ends into the ſides of the *pirogue*. My Negroes had each a paddle in their hands: theſe are ſmall flat boards, laid acroſs one another, and fixed to the end of a ſtick, which they make uſe of for rowing. The Negro at the prow was ſtanding, and beat the water behind him with his paddle: the other was ſeated, and ſteered with his. As ſoon as we reached the oppoſite ſhore, they drew the *pirogue* aground: this is the only way the people of the country have to ſecure theſe little veſſels againſt the waves, which would ſoon fill them with water; whereas they cannot ſo much as wet them, when they are far enough from the ſhore.

I was not long in croſſing over, and immediately I directed my ſteps to the village of Sor. There I met with a very good reception, according to cuſtom; and I deſired they would ſhew me the propereſt places for courſing. That very day I had diſmiſſed my interpreter; becauſe I had acquired a ſufficient ſmattering in the language of the country, to

be able to underſtand all that the Negroes ſaid to me, and to explain my mind to them. They carried me to a particular ſpot, where I ſaw a herd of antelopes; but I laid aſide all thoughts of ſport, as ſoon as I perceived a tree of a prodigious thickneſs, which drew my whole attention. This was a calabaſh-tree *, which the Jaloffes call *goui* in their language. There was nothing extraordinary in its height; for it was only about ſixty feet: but its trunk was of a prodigious thickneſs. I extended my arms, as wide as poſſibly I could, thirteen times, before I embraced its circumference; and for greater exactneſs, I meaſured it afterwards round with packthread, and found it to be ſixty-five feet: conſequently the diameter was near twenty-two. I do not believe that the like was ever ſeen in any other part of the world; and I am perſuaded, that if our ancient voyagers had been acquainted with this tree, they would have added ſome ſurpriſing circumſtances to its deſcription. It is very extraordinary, that this tree ſhould have been entirely forgot by thoſe who have given us the hiſtory of Senegal; eſpecially as there is hardly any other ſo common in the country. Out of the trunk I have been deſcribing, of twenty-two feet in diameter, and from eight to twelve feet high, there iſſued forth ſeveral branches, ſome of which extended themſelves horizontally, ſo that the ends of them reached the ground: theſe being the largeſt, were from forty-five to fifty-five feet in length. Each of thoſe branches would have made one of the largeſt trees in Europe; in ſhort, the whole of this calabaſh-tree ſeemed to form a foreſt of itſelf. This was not all: the Negro, my guide, led me to a ſecond, which was ſixty-three feet in circumference, that is, one and twenty in diameter: and one of its roots, which had been for the moſt part laid bare by a neighbouring river, was a hundred and ten feet in length, without reckoning the part that lay hid under the water, and which I could not uncover. The ſame Negro ſhewed me a third, not very far from thence; and moreover added, that without going out of the iſland, I might ſee a great many more, not at all inferior to thoſe in magnitude. My ſurprize was then at an end; and ſatisfied with ſeeing three, I got ready for the chace.

I was prevented from going farther by an eaſterly wind, which roſe all of a ſudden with ſuch fury, that it ſeemed as if it would tear up the trees by the root. Theſe guſts of wind are generally forerunners of rain; and this brought a thick cloud along with it, which burſt immediately. The village was at ſome diſtance, ſo that there were no hopes of reaching it time enough. My Negroes ſeeing there was no place of ſhelter for them, threw off their *paans*, and plunged into a little river which paſſed cloſe by the ſpot. This is their cuſtom, whenever they are caught in a ſtorm, to jump into the water, rather than run the riſk of being wet by the rain, dreading its bad effects. For my part, having neither time nor inclination to follow them, I retired under one of largeſt calabaſh-trees then in ſight, reckoning I ſhould be as ſafe there as under the roof of a houſe. The rain poured down with ſuch violence, that it ſeemed as if heaven and earth were coming together; every drop that fell, expanded itſelf a whole hand's breadth on the ground. I felt nothing of the firſt efforts of this ſtorm: but a few minutes after, when the tree came to be well ſoaked, I was overwhelmed by the water that guſhed out of its branches; and their different ſinuations formed ſo many beds, from whence ruſhed forth whole torrents, which uniting on the vaſt ſurface of the trunk, diſcharged themſelves from thence like a river. The reader may eaſily imagine, I could have no fine time of it, to ſtay under this tree; I therefore got away from thence as quick as poſſible, and ſtood in the open field, where I did not fare much better: for I was expoſed to the whole violence of the ſtorm, which laſted a full hour, and at my return to the iſland of Senegal, I was informed, that there fell two inches three lines of water.

* Bahobab. P. Alp. vol. ii. p. 37.

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The river Niger being arrived at its higheſt increaſe, overflowed all the country round the iſland of Senegal, ſo as to render it impaſſable. Being therefore obliged to relinquiſh my walks, I ſaw but one way to employ the long interval of time that the inundation was to laſt; and this was, to go over to a country not ſubject to be overflown. A veſſel was ready to ſail for Goree, a ſmall iſland, diſtant about thirty-five ſea leagues, ſouth-ſouth-eaſt from the iſland of Senegal, and very near Cape Verd. I thought I could do nothing better than to embrace ſo favourable an opportunity; and therefore I embarked. We put to ſea the 27th of Auguſt, with the wind to the weſtward, and not all favourable; but a ſudden ſtorm * burſting upon us one night, with a terrible eaſt wind, drove us with ſuch violence, that only putting right before the wind, without any ſail at all, we made more way than we had done for ſeven days before. During this tempeſt we ſaw a light, which the mariners call the fire of St. Elme: it winded near a minute about the top of the maſt, and the extremity of the weather-flag, and then it diſperſed. The ſailors looked upon it as a lucky omen, which encouraged them to hope that the tempeſt was near at an end, and they were not deceived in their expectations. The wind ſubſided ſoon after, and the ſea was reſtored to its former tranquillity.

The fourth of September, by break of day, we found ourſelves off Cape Verd: this to me was a new ſight, who during four months that I had been at Senegal, had ſeen no ſuch thing as hills, and eſpecially of ſtone. Soon after this, we eſpied the Magdalen iſlands, and that morning we caſt anchor in the bay of Goree. This iſland conſiſts of a low narrow piece of land, and a ſmall but very ſteep mountain, the whole the ſixth part of a league in length. Notwithſtanding its confined extent, the ſituation renders it a very agreeable place: towards the ſouth you enjoy a proſpect, terminated only by the ſea; northward, you diſcover at a diſtance Cape Verd, and all the other capes and neighbouring promontories. Though it is in the torrid zone, yet they breathe a cool and temperate air almoſt the whole year round: which is owing to the equality of days and nights, and its being continually refreſhed by alternate breezes from the land and ſea. M. de S. Jean, the director of this iſland, has embelliſhed it with ſeveral fine buildings: he has likewiſe fortified it, and is adding every day to the works; ſo that it is now become impregnable †. By his diligence, ſeveral freſh ſprings have been diſcovered; the gardens have been planted with excellent fruit-trees; legumes have been made to grow in great plenty; in ſhort, by theſe different advantages, of a ſmall barren iſland, he has made it a ſafe and delightful reſidence. I had been recommended to him by M. de la Brue, his brother, director-general of the Settlement, and I could not but in conſequence meet with every kind of encouragement.

The rocks with which the iſland of Goree is ſurrounded, produce an infinite number of ſhell and other fiſh, which amuſed me for ſome days; after which I embarked, the 13th of the ſame month, on board a ſmall veſſel bound to Portudal, in order to trade for oxen and millet. This port, which the Negroes called *Sali*, is only nine leagues ſouth of the iſle of Goree. The bar obliged us to anchor within half a league of the ſhore, that we might not be daſhed to pieces. A *pirogue* landed me without any accident. I found the ſoil ſandy, but of amazing fertility, and all covered with wood. The *grewia* ‡, a ſpecies of *polygala*, the *rebreup* ‡, and the *dembouttonn* ‡, formed a kind of copſe, over which the *monbins* ‖, or hog-plum-trees, known by the name of *ſob* in the language of that country, raiſe their heads, loaded with fruit. By its leaves, this

* We give this name to all tempeſtuous guſts of wind, accompanied with rain, thunder, and lightning; and we make uſe of the word *dry ſtorm*, to diſtinguiſh thoſe guſts that are without rain.

† Commodore Kepple has lately demonſtrated our author's miſtake. ‡ Trees unknown to Europe.

‖ Monbin arbor foliis fraxini, fructu luteo racemoſo. *Plum. gen p.* 44.

has

has ſomething of the appearance of an aſh-tree; but it is ſoon known by its fruit, which in ſize, ſhape and colour, reſemble the plums of St. Catherine: they were ripe at that time; and I ate ſome of them, which had a ſharp, aromatic and very agreeable taſte. I ſaw alſo in thoſe parts ſeveral ſpinous ſilk cotton-trees *, known to the inhabitants by the name of *benten*, and many other large trees. The Negroes had cut down a good deal of this wood to ſow fields of ſmall millet; and it was then almoſt at its full maturity.

All this fine country abounded with birds of the greateſt beauty. The jay, which I mentioned already, was there in flocks: the brightneſs of its azure feathers, joined to the lively yellowneſs of the birds called cardinal ſparrows, with which all the fields were covered, had an admirable effect. Here was the only kind of ſnail † that ever I obſerved in the whole country. I found it very frequently in an open meadow, full of ruſhes and ſea ambroſia: I ſaw even many of them alive, at the foot of the neighbouring trees, where they were enjoying the ſhade. It is a thing worthy of obſervation, and which doubtleſs will appear ſurpriſing, that in ſuch a vaſt extent of wooded country, there ſhould be but one ſort of ſnail, while we meet with ſo great a variety in temperate climates.

The French have never a factory at Portudal; but when they go to trade there, they land at the *Alker's*, or the governor of the village, who owns a great number of cottages. He appointed one for me, where I took up my quarters. One night when I was faſt aſleep, I was wakened by a horrid ſhrieking, which threw the whole village into an uproar. Immediately I inquired what was the matter; and was told, that they were bewailing the death of a young woman, who had been bit about four leagues off by a ſerpent, and died of the poiſon in leſs than two hours; and that her body had been juſt now removed to her cottage. The firſt ſhriek was made, according to cuſtom, by one of the female relations of the deceaſed, before her door, which was very near to mine. At this ſignal, all the women in the village came out, and ſetting up a moſt terrible howl, they flocked about the place from whence the firſt noiſe had iſſued. One would have imagined that they were all related to the deceaſed, ſo greatly did they ſeem to grieve and mourn; and, undoubtedly, this would have been a ſtrong proof of their concern, if thoſe lamentations had come from the bottom of their hearts: but they were no more than outward ſhow, and merely the effect of national cuſtom. This ſhocking noiſe laſted ſome hours, that is, till break of day: then the relations of the deceaſed, coming into the cottage, took hold of her hand, and aſked her ſeveral queſtions, which were followed by offers of ſervice: but finding that ſhe made them no anſwer, they withdrew, ſaying: Alas! ſhe is dead. Her friends did the ſame; afterwards they conveyed her body into the ground; and on each ſide they put an earthen pot, one full of water, and the other of *couſcous*: this without doubt was intended for her nouriſhment, in caſe ſhe ſhould once more take it into her head to eat or to drink. When the burial was over, the cries and lamentations ceaſed. Thus ended the lugubrious ceremony: their thoughts were now turned towards making an entertainment in honour of the deceaſed; and that ſame evening they had a *folgar*, or a dance, which they continued for three nights ſucceſſively; it was conducted in this manner:

All the young people of the village gathered together in a large area, in the middle of which they had lighted a great fire. The ſpectators formed a long ſquare, at both ends of which the dancers were ranged in two oppoſite lines, the men on one ſide, the women on the other. There were two tabors to regulate the dance; and as ſoon as

* Ceyba viticis folio, caudice aculeato. *Plum gen. p* 42.

† See the natural hiſtory of *univalve ſhells*, kind 5th; the ſnail, plate 1, fig. 1. *Kambeul.*

they had beat a march, the performers began a ſong, the burden of which was repeated by all the ſpectators. At the ſame time a dancer ſtepping forth from each line, advanced towards the oppoſite perſon that pleaſed him moſt, to the diſtance of two or three feet, and preſently drew back in cadence, till the ſound of the tabor ſerved as a ſignal for them to come cloſe, and to ſtrike their thighs againſt each other, that is, man to woman, and woman to man: this done, they drew back once more, and ſoon after renewed the ſame monkey tricks, diverſifying their movements as often as the tabor directed them, till at length they returned to their place. The other performers did the ſame, each in their turn, but without a repetition; then the two lines drew near to one another, and acted their part in the ſame manner. That theſe geſtures are very immodeſt, is obvious; but the other movements, which are hardly perceived, unleſs one is uſed to them, muſt be much more ſo. The Negroes do not dance a ſtep, but every member of their body, every joint, and even the head itſelf, expreſſeth a different motion, always keeping time, let it be never ſo quick. And it is in the exact proportioning of this infinite number of motions, that the Negroes dexterity in dancing chiefly conſiſts: none but thoſe that are as ſupple as they, can poſſibly imitate their agility. Notwithſtanding the violence of this exerciſe, it laſted a good part of the night, during which they drank off ſeveral pots of a very ſtrong ſort of beer made of millet. They began the ſame ſcene the two nights following, and the third their entertainments ceaſed. An European, on ſuch an occaſion, would have gone into mourning for ſome months; while the African ſeizes this opportunity to rejoice: ſuch are the whimſical cuſtoms of different nations; what produceth joy and pleaſure to one, is a ſubject of grief to another.

I had landed very eaſily upon my arrival at Portudal, becauſe the ſea was gentle and calm: but at my return I was much embarraſſed how to reach our veſſel; as there was then a great ſwell, and the agitation of the waves upon the bar rendered it very dangerous and difficult to get over. We ventured nevertheleſs in a large *pirogue*, the agent for the company, a few paſſengers, and myſelf; who were prepared to empty the water as faſt as it came in, with half calabaſhes. The boat was thus laden, when a wave drove on ſhore, and lifted it off, with the aſſiſtance of four Negroes, all good ſwimmers; they puſhed it forwards with their whole might, and leaped in as faſt as the part where they were to row entered the water. We ſoon found ourſelves in a very high ſea, when the waves ſwelling like a ridge of hills, drove againſt the *pirogue*, and waſhed it all over. We worked hard, and with great reſolution, to empty it again; and indeed we had enough upon our hands, while the Negroes rowed with all their might, to avoid the waves, which came rolling upon them. Now the *pirogue* raiſed its prow upon the back of a billow, while its ſtern ſunk deep into the water: now it was ſupported as it were at both ends on the edge of two different waves: now only the middle of it was ſuſpended upon a rolling ſurge, ſo that the extremities ſeemed to be poiſed in the air. In this manner, apprehending every moment to be overſet and inevitably loſt, we got over the bar with great good fortune, and went on board the veſſel, which carried us to the Iſle of Goree, where we arrived the 24th of September, about night-fall.

Two days after, M. de Saint Jean, intending to favour me with an excurſion to the Magdalen iſlands, diſtant a league from Goree, fitted out a veſſel on which I embarked along with him and ſome officers of his department. Of theſe two iſlands only one is acceſſible; the other is a naked ſteep rock, very high above the ſurface of the water, and all white with the ordure, which plungeons, gulls, and other ſea-fowls, leave behind them. The chief Magdalen iſland, though ſmall, might be inhabited, if it had but a harbour; but it is acceſſible only by a ſmall creek, full of rocks, and generally tempeſtuous. This creek forms a kind of long canal, which terminates in a natural baſon

of

of an oval figure, hollowed in the rock, twelve feet deep, and twelve fathoms long, with tranſparent water, where one may bathe in ſafety. The iſland is only one continued mountain, almoſt round, and like that of Goree: it has alſo two ſmall ſprings, which are dried up in the winter. The proſpect from thence is very beautiful and extenſive, and the air extremely freſh: but it would not be worth while to ſtay there for this alone. Its rocks ſerve for a receptacle to an infinite number of ring-doves, natural to that country, and which differ from thoſe of Europe only in the ſuperior delicacy and taſte of their fleſh.

Having already obſerved that the Negroes are negligent and idle to exceſs, I ſhall give here another proof of it. M. de Saint Jean had cauſed ſome potatoes to be planted in this iſland, in order to engage the neighbouring Negroes, who come hither very often, to continue and improve the culture of them, by which means they might ſell them afterwards to the company. Accordingly, they came a few days before us, and carried away all the potatoes, without minding to plant the off-ſets again, which we found lying upon the ground, dried up with the heat of the ſun.

The moſt remarkable plants on this iſland, were the ſame as thoſe which I had obſerved at Goree. Below I ſaw ſeveral new ſpecies of *ſpermacoce* and *helianthemoides*, which the French call *ſalade de matelots*, that is, ſailor's ſallet, becauſe they eat the leaves of it like purſlane, which it reſembles in taſte. Higher up, there were *corchorus's*, or Jew's mallows*, and a great deal of bindweed with cut leaves. The ſummit of the mountain was covered with variety of ſhrubs, ſuch as *palma Chriſti's*, *tapia's*†, and ſtinking caſſia, among which there was great plenty of *dracunculus*‡, as alſo of *ornithogalum* with green leaves, and a very pretty ſpecies of amaranthus ‖. There were alſo ſome calabaſh trees from five to ſix feet diameter: they had all of them European names, with the letters cut very deep into the bark. We did not chuſe to deviate from the cuſtom, therefore each man cut his name. For my part, I was ſatisfied with repairing two of them, which were old enough to deſerve the trouble: one was dated the fifteenth, and the other the ſixteenth century. The letters were about ſix inches long; but in breadth they occupied only a very ſmall part of the circumference of the trunk; from whence I concluded they had not been cut when thoſe trees were young. However, theſe inſcriptions are ſufficient, I think, to determine pretty nearly the age which theſe calabaſh trees may live to; for, if we ſuppoſe, that thoſe in queſtion were cut in their early years, and that they grew ſix feet in the ſpace of two centuries, one may reckon how many centuries are requiſite, for their ſhooting up to five and twenty feet, which is the laſt term of their growth.

After ſpending three days agreeably in herborizing on the iſland of Magdalen, and in obſerving the beautiful ſhells which it produces, we returned to Goree, from whence I ſet ſail the 2d of October for the iſland of Senegal. Ten days was I detained at ſea, by contrary winds at N. E. which would have made me extremely uneaſy, had they not afforded me an opportunity of making a very important obſervation. The 6th of the ſame month, at half an hour paſt ſix in the evening, we were about fifty leagues from the coaſt, when four ſwallows came to take their night's lodging in our veſſel, and pitched upon the ſhrouds. I catched them all four with great eaſe, and found them to be European ſwallows. This lucky incident confirmed me in the ſuſpicion I had formerly entertained, that thoſe birds croſſed the ſea to get into the torrid zone, as ſoon

* Corchorus ſive melochia. *J. B.* 2. 982.

† Tapia arborea triphylla. *Plum. gen. pag.* 22. In Engliſh, The garlic pear-tree.

‡ Arum polyphyllum ceylanicum, caule ſcabro, viridi diluto, maculis albicantibus notato. *Comm. Hort. Amſt. vol.* i. *tab.* 52.

‖ Amaranthus verticillatus minor, Bengalenſis ſerpylli foliis incalis. *Plut. phytog. tab.* 10. *fig.* 3.

as the winter approached: and indeed I have obſerved ſince, that they are never ſeen but at this time of the year at Senegal, along with quails, wagtails, kites and ſome other birds of paſſage, which go thither every year, when the cold drives them away from the temperate countries of Europe. Another fact not leſs worthy of remark is, that the ſwallows do not build their neſts in Senegal as in Europe; they lie every night, two and two, or ſingle, on the ſea-ſhore, which they ſeem to like better than inland places.

I was likewiſe amuſed in this long paſſage with looking at the flying fiſhes. It was then their ſeaſon, and the ſea was, in ſome meaſure, filled with them. In ſize they are equal to a gudgeon or a whiting: they have two fins almoſt as long as their whole body, which ſerve them for wings to fly upon the water. The gold fiſh and bonitoe are extremely greedy of the flying fiſh, and at that time were in full purſuit of them; ſo that every minute you might ſee little clouds of the latter riſing above the water, and endeavouring to avoid their cruel enemies. As they balance themſelves in the air, merely by the humidity of their wings, their flight was very ſhort: a great many of thoſe that had flown above the ſhip, fell down again; and we caught a conſiderable number of them, without any further trouble. I ate ſome, which I found very tender and well taſted.

I arrived at Senegal the 12th of October, when the trees, the fields and the meadows, felt equally the effects of the freſhneſs of the ſeaſon, occaſioned by the rain; and the eye was delighted with an agreeable verdure, which had ſucceeded a frightful drought. The rains were over: and as the bed of the Niger began to fall, the voyage to Podor ſeemed of courſe more practicable. I could not ſeize on a better opportunity for my reſearches on the banks of that river; and therefore I thought of taking a ſecond trip to that place. I knew that as the winds are ſeldom favourable at this ſeaſon of the year, our voyage would not be very expeditious. Flattering myſelf therefore, with the hopes of great ſucceſs in the obſervations I was about to make, I embarked the twenty-third of the ſame month. It is common for the veſſels that undertake this voyage, to provide themſelves with wood over againſt the point of the iſle Biféche, in a place that has ſince retained the name of the Wood-iſland, within a ſhort league of Senegal. Here we ſtopt at a very agreeable ſpot, where the veſſel entered with all eaſe among the mangroves, and was ſhaded with their verdant foliage. While we were taking in our wood, I went aſhore on the iſland, which by the inundation had been rendered one continued ſlough or moraſs. On each ſide I ſmelt a delicious fragrancy, the cauſe of which I could not divine, till advancing into the wood, I arrived half-knee deep in water, at a ſpot which I ſaw all covered with a kind of muſhroom, different from the Ægyptian. It was then in bloſſom, and diffuſed, as I obſerved before, a moſt pleaſing odour.

From this place to the village of Maka, both banks of the Niger are ſo covered with mangroves, that it is impoſſible to walk on foot. As we had no wind, the *laptots* were obliged to hawl the veſſel with a rope up to their waiſt in water, and ſometimes deeper. At firſt we advanced five or ſix leagues a day, before we reached the Muſketoe trading-place, becauſe the river runs almoſt north and ſouth, till it comes to that place, and the winds were not quite contrary: but from thence to Podor, it changes its direction from weſt to eaſt, and with a good deal of difficulty could we proceed three leagues a day. One time we were retarded by a ſhoal; another time the trees along the banks hindered the hawling of the veſſel, and a good part of the day was ſpent in towing it*.

* To tow a veſſel, is to draw it by a rope faſtened to a tree, or to an anchor, which is let drop into the water.

As

As theſe obſtructions afforded me time and opportunity to reconnoitre the country, I went on ſhore morning and evening, where I pierced my way through the woods, and traverſed the moraſſes and the fields, herborizing and courſing all the way; ſo that I never returned empty handed. In one place, a plant or an inſect, ſtopped me; in another, ſome extraordinary quadruped, or ſome bird decked with the moſt beautiful feathers; every object that offered itſelf to my ſight, was new to me.

A little above the Muſketoe trading-place, I began to ſee crocodiles: when I ſay I began to ſee them, I mean by hundreds; for there are ſome towards the iſland of Senegal. But this ſpot ſeems to be their general rendezvous, even of the very largeſt: for I have beheld ſome that were from fifteen to eighteen feet long; and I do not know that there are any above this ſize. There were upwards of two hundred, which appeared all at the ſame time above water. As the veſſel paſſed that way, they were frightened, and immediately plunged their heads into the river, but roſe again very ſoon to take breath, becauſe they cannot keep more than a few minutes under water. When they ſwim on the ſurface, you ſee only the upper part of their head, and a ſmall part of the back; at which time they bear not the leaſt reſemblance to live creatures; but one would take them for the trunks of trees floating on the river. In this attitude, which leaves them the uſe of their eyes, they ſee what paſſes on both banks; and as ſoon as they perceive any animal coming to drink, they plunge under water, and ſwim up to it with the greateſt expedition; then ſeizing it by the leg, they drag it into the ſtream, where it is ſoon drowned, and then they devour it.

We had not yet advanced five and twenty leagues the 30th October. That morning I eſpied a very beautiful plain to the left of the river Niger, oppoſite the village of Gandor; pleaſed with the proſpect, I went a-ſhore, but ſoon had reaſon to repent it. After having walked about an hour, I found the paſſage ſtopped up by the *marigot* of Ouaſoul, which was then very conſiderable. The river makes an elbow a little above this ſpot. The ſhip's company finding the wind favourable, had gained above a league upon me, and had no thoughts of waiting, not knowing the perplexity I was under; and yet I was obliged to come up with them. I had taken with me only a Negroe of Banbara, who had offered his ſervice on the occaſion: for it is not to be imagined what difficulty I had to prevail on any of thoſe, who had once made an excurſion with me to attend me again: they were but too ſenſible of the riſks I ran; and they did not receive pleaſure enough to like a ſhare of my toils.

With my Banbara I advanced about half a league through a moraſs, formed by an inundation of the waters of the *marigot* on thoſe low lands, from whence I extricated myſelf with difficulty, wading up to my knees in water, and meeting every minute with prodigious large ſerpents, eſpecially of that ſpecies whoſe bodies are ſurprizingly thick in compariſon to their length. I avoided thoſe animals as ſoon as I eſpied them; but my Negroe heartened me, by affirming they were not noxious. I ſhot one very near me, that was almoſt a foot in diameter, and eight and a half in length. The Negroe threw it over his ſhoulder, reckoning to feaſt upon it with his comrades.

When I had advanced a few ſteps towards the bed of the *marigot*, I entered, though I had my clothes on, into the water up to my waiſt; but I did not care to go further, as I might have met with ſome hole, which would have embarraſſed me greatly. I therefore ſent my Negroe to ſound the bottom; and in the meanwhile I got upon a tree, in order to avoid the ſerpents and the water, which began to fatigue me. After ſounding three different places, he was of opinion he could carry me over a particular ſpot, where the water came up only to his noſtrils, when he ſtood on tip-toe. The fellow was tall, being ſix feet ſome inches. I mounted upon his ſhoulders, with my gun in

my hand, a few birds, and a bundle of plants. He was ſoon in the water up to his neck; and I was not without ſome apprehenſion, when I ſaw myſelf deſcend gradually up to my waiſt: however, I reſigned myſelf to his ſkilful guidance, or rather to my own good fortune, and I let him do as he pleaſed. He waded through the middle of the *marigot* with amazing reſolution, without being in the leaſt daunted, though he was obliged to ſwallow three large gulps of water, which for ſome time took away his breath. As ſoon as I eſcaped this danger, I eſpied a plant of very extraordinary beauty, floating on the water: this was a *cadelari**, with ſoft ſilver leaves. That moment I forgot every other object, and though my Banbara was ſtill up to his chin in water, I ventured to pluck the charming plant. Thus I eſcaped very luckily out of the *marigot* of Ouaſoul, which at that time was very near a hundred and twenty fathoms broad, that is, about twice the breadth of the Seine at Pont Royal; and I overtook the veſſel before noon.

That very evening, doubting whether I ſhould be able to find my way on the ſide of the river, where I had run ſuch a riſk in the morning, I landed on the oppoſite bank, but was not more fortunate. Every now and then I met with foreſts of reeds from ten to twelve feet high, which tried my patience to the full, when I was obliged to go through them. There was no ſort of path; and in many places the reeds ſtood ſo thick, as to deprive me, in a manner, from ſeeing either ſky or land.

The following days I ſpent more agreeably; we arrived in thoſe parts, where the hippopotami or ſea horſes, are very common. This is the largeſt of all amphibious animals, and is to be found no where but in the African rivers, in freſh water: and one thing worthy of obſervation is, that it has been never ſeen any where elſe but in this part of the world, to which it ſeems particularly to belong. It is commonly drawn in the figure of an ox, which indeed is the animal it reſembles moſt; but its legs are much ſhorter, and its head is monſtrous large. In regard to its ſize, the ſea horſe may take precedency after the elephant and the rhinoceros. Its jaws are armed with four large tuſks, wherewith it looſens the roots of trees, on which it feeds. It cannot abide long under water, for want of reſpiration; which obliges it to carry its head now and then above the ſurface, in the ſame manner as the crocodile. It neighs much in the ſame manner as a horſe, but with ſuch vehemence, that it may be heard very diſtinctly a quarter of a league off.

In this very neighbourhood, beſides the ſea horſe there is a ſecond ſpecies of crocodile, not at all inferior to the other in dimenſions. It is diſtinguiſhed by its colour, which is black; and by its jaws, which are a great deal longer than the others: it is alſo more carnivorous, and is even ſaid to be greedy after human fleſh.

The veſſel ſometimes plied on one, and ſometimes on the other bank of the river, which were all along bordered with ſhrubs, commonly of willows, or ſeſbans, covered with bind-weeds, or dog's bane, of ſeveral kinds, which after creeping round their branches, hung their ſprigs, loaded with flowers of various colours. At the foot of theſe ſhrubs waved the perſicaria, alſo in flower. Thus I ſailed along a charming meadow, on which were feeding a multitude of graſs-hoppers, whoſe beautiful green, variegated with the livelieſt red, had an admirable effect. Further on, the palmettos reared their lofty heads above the *ſemeliers*† and *acacia's*, which overſpread the reſt of the ground. In ſhort, nothing could be more beautiful than the proſpect with which my eye was refreſhed, the ſpace of fifteen leagues and upwards, from the deſert to the village of Bokol. And indeed this would be the moſt agreeable river in the world,

* Cadelari. *Hort. Mal. part.* 10. *pag.* 155. *tab.* 78.

† A ſpecies of *bauhinia* not deſcribed.

were

were it not from the continual apprehenſion from the crocodiles, and ſometimes from the ſea horſes with which it abounds.

The above-mentioned palmetto is what the Negroes call *ronn**, a name which the French have been pleaſed to change into that of *rondier*. Its trunk is very large and ſtraight, like a column from fifty to ſixty feet high, from the upper end whereof iſſues forth a bundle of leaves, which, in turning off, form a round head: each leaf repreſents a fan of five or ſix feet in expanſion, ſupported by a tail of the ſame length. Of theſe trees ſome produce male flowers, which are barren: others, called female, are loaded with fruit, which ſucceed each other uninterruptedly, almoſt the whole year round. They brought me ſeveral of the bigneſs of an ordinary melon, but ſomewhat rounder. They were inveloped in two ſkins as tough as leather, and thick as ſtrong parchment; within-ſide the fruit was yellowiſh, and full of filaments, faſtened to three large kernels in the middle. The Negroes are very fond of this fruit: when it is baked under the aſhes, it taſtes very much like a quince; it has a pretty ſtrong ſcent, but extremely agreeable.

The Niger willow is different from the European. It has the trunk and the weakneſs of the oſier; but its leaves are very ſhort, and made round at the ends. The Negroes give it the name of *kelele:* of all the trees in the country, it is one of the moſt reſpected; its younger branches paſs into the hands of the ladies, who make pick-tooths of them; and for want of theſe, which leave a little bitterneſs in the mouth, they uſe the branches of ſome other fine ſcented trees. Theſe different ſorts of pick-tooths are called *ſokiou*.

I ſaw every day ſo great a number of elephants all along the banks of the river, that the ſight was no longer a ſurprize to me. The fifth of November, as I was walking in the woods over againſt the village of Dagana, I perceived a number of their footſteps very freſh. I traced them cloſe almoſt two leagues, and at length I diſcovered five of thoſe animals, three of which were weltering in their filth like ſwine, and the fourth was ſtanding up with its little one, eating the ends of the branches of an *acacia*, which it had but juſt broke. By comparing the height of the tree againſt which this elephant ſtood, I judged that it was at leaſt eleven or twelve feet, from the ſole of its foot to the buttocks; its tuſks projected the length of near three feet. Though thoſe animals did not appear to be affected at ſeeing me, yet I thought it adviſable to retire. Continuing my journey, I found very ſtrong impreſſions of their footſteps, which I meaſured, and they were near a foot and a half diameter. Their dung was a good deal like that of a horſe, and formed balls ſeven or eight inches thick.

The next day I had an infinite pleaſure in viſiting the beautiful fields on the ſide of Bokol. Firſt of all I walked under trees full of green monkeys, whoſe gambols were very diverting. Next I came to a place abounding with game, where I had excellent ſport. From thence I entered into a little thicket near a moraſs, which drew whole flocks of Guinea-hens. While I was lying in ambuſh on this ſpot, I eſpied one of thoſe enormous wild boars, peculiar to Africa, and of which I do not remember, that any natural hiſtorian has made mention. He was coming full drive at me, and would have certainly overtaken me if I had not warned him, as it were, to direct his ſteps another way, by the noiſe I made in taking aim at him. He was black like our European wild boars, but a vaſt deal larger. He had four great tuſks, the two uppermoſt of which were bent into a ſemicircle towards the forehead, where they reſembled the horns worn by other animals.

The nearer I drew to Podor, the more I was expoſed to danger, becauſe the banks of the Niger are more loneſome, eſpecially that towards the north. Yet neither the dangers I was expoſed to from wild beaſts, nor the toil of courſing in the woods,

* Carin-pana. *Hort. Malab. vol.* i. *p.* 11. *tab.* 9.

which

which are rendered inacceſſible by thorns; nor the ſultry heats of the eaſt wind, that obliged me every inſtant to have recourſe to the river waters, in order to quench my violent thirſt; none of all theſe inconveniences deterred me; nothing was capable of cooling my courage. I had an amazing good ſtate of health; and this bore me up in the midſt of ſo many perils and toils, under which a great many would have ſunk.

The ſeventh of November there happened to me an adventure, far more critical and more terrifying than any I had hitherto met with. I uſed alternately to walk on either bank of the river, but that day I happened to be on the north ſide. I walked and courſed in a deſert country, that had never been cultivated, over-run with wood, as ancient as the country itſelf, and the thickneſs of which, independently of the wild beaſts that lurk there, ought naturally to have filled me with horror. In ſpite of the dangers and inconveniencies inſeparable from this kind of ſport, my curioſity led me into the thickeſt parts of the wood, invited by the animals, plants, and birds, of which there was prodigious plenty. The negroe, whom I had taken with me as a companion, followed me at a great diſtance. It was now noon-day, and I had ſcarcely loaded my piece, after killing two *toucans*, when I beheld a tiger at a little diſtance. He had not as yet eſpied me, for there was a tree between us; but he walked with a very ſlow pace, his head inclining towards the ground. Inſtantly I clapped a ball into my piece, in order to take aim of him behind a tree, and in my left hand I held a hanger. Hearing theſe motions, the tiger turned quickly towards where I was, and darted his angry eyes at me. Though I was not twelve feet diſtant from him, ſtill I thought it imprudent to fire, becauſe I was alone, and ſhould have run a very great riſk, if I did not lay him dead upon the ſpot. I therefore took the reſolution, which ſeemed to me the moſt prudent on the like occaſion: this was ſtill to keep full aim at him, with one knee bent for greater ſecurity, and to beat the ground with the other foot without appearing diſmayed, in order to determine him to purſue his way. This he did in an inſtant; and taking ſuch a leap, as I never beheld in my life, he freed me from the uneaſineſs into which his diſagreeable preſence had thrown me.

That very inſtant I quitted the wood, to draw near the river-ſide, where my negroe did not come to me till an hour after. We waited a long time for the veſſel without hearing any tidings of it: we likewiſe went on a little further; but all to no purpoſe. We had left it above two leagues behind us, and there was no probability of its arrival before ſun-ſet. It was four o'clock in the afternoon; and from ſix in the morning that I had been toiling, I had taſted nothing but water, of which I had drank a great quantity, to temper the heats I felt from the ſcorching rays of the ſun. Being now oppreſſed with hunger, as well as my negroe, I determined to dine after the ſavage faſhion. All the requiſites were at hand. I had killed in my walks more game than four hungry men could devour at one meal. My negroe was not embarraſſed to roaſt it: he rubbed two ſticks together, which took fire in an inſtant; then he made a wooden ſpit, and garniſhed it with a *toucan*, two partridges, and two Guinea-hens. As ſoon as I had dined, which I may be ſaid to have done with more frugality and leſs ceremony than the negroes themſelves; I thought I could do no greater ſervice to myſelf, and to every Frenchman that ſhould happen hereafter to walk in this dangerous neighbourhood, than to ſet fire to the wood, in the manner practiſed by the negroes. During the ſpace of two hours that I ſtaid there, I threw in fuel ſufficient to ſpread the conflagration for ſeveral leagues through this vaſt deſert, which extends from the village called *Ndounnmangas* as far as Podor, for a ſpace of above twenty leagues; it is frequented but very rarely by the Moors, who encamp in ſome places, which they previouſly ſet on fire. At ſeven in the even, the long wiſhed-for veſſel arrived; when I went on board with great ſatisfaction, by the blaze of the bonfire:

eight days afterwards I heard, that it was ſtill burning, and had laid the country open for ſeveral leagues.

The eighth we arrived at Lamnai, a ſmall iſland, which very juſtly might be called the iſland of birds: it lies very low, and is not two hundred fathoms in length. The trees were covered with ſuch a prodigious number of cormorants and herons of every kind, that the *laptots*, in going up a rivulet, filled a boat, in leſs than half an hour, as well with the young ones, which they took either with their hands, or knocked down with ſticks; as with the old ones, of which every ſhot brought down ſeveral dozens.

In this iſland I found a plant, which I had not yet ſeen; it is well known by the name of the *ſtratiote* of Egypt, that ſurprizing plant, which is ſaid to move on the waters of the Nile, ſeeking for nutrition in the ſame manner as animals. Surely this is a made ſtory, or perhaps the looſe deſcriptions which travellers have given of it, have been interpreted in a wrong ſenſe. The *ſtratiote* of the Niger is the ſame as that of the Nile, of which we have a figure in *Proſper Alpinus* *, and in the garden of Malabar †: and its roots are ſo deeply fixed in the earth, that it is with difficulty they can be plucked up. What has given riſe to this error is, that the above-mentioned plant produces ſmall tufts of leaves, at a very great diſtance from each other, and ſupported by a ſtem, which, after floating on the water, loſes itſelf inſenſibly in the earth; much in the ſame manner as the *potamogetons*, the *nymphoides*, and even the leaves of the *nenufar*, or water-lilly.

Being ſo near to Podor, which we deſcried from afar, over the low lands, I began the more ardently to wiſh for the happy hour of landing, as the veſſel hardly advanced above three or four leagues a day. At length this hour came the tenth of November; and the nineteenth day put a period to this tedious and laborious voyage, which I had performed in the hotteſt month of the year. The thermometer could not be expoſed with any ſafety, except in the ſhips cabin; where it marked by twelve at noon from 40 to 45 degrees. This cabin was ſo greatly warmed by the ſun, that even in the night-time it ſtill preſerved from 30 to 32 degrees of heat: it was like a ſtove, or rather a fiery furnace; the pitch and tar were melted to ſuch a degree, as to paſs through all the joints of the veſſel. In ſhort, the heat I endured in this voyage, was ſuch, that I do not think it can poſſibly be more violent in any other part of the world: hence I am not at all ſurprized, that moſt of the French, who are near two months in performing the voyage of Galam ‡ in July and Auguſt, ſhould ſeldom get there without being ſeized with burning fevers. And therefore it is that thoſe, whom experience or a thorough knowledge of the country has rendered more prudent, do not fail to embark in the month of June, as ſoon as the waters are high enough. Then they have a great deal leſs to ſuffer from the intemperateneſs of the rainy ſeaſon, and of the heats, which increaſe daily from the month of June to November; ſo that they would never be able to bear them, were they to ſet out in September or October.

Another inconveniency of the voyage to Podor or Galam, in the month of October, is owing to the muſketoes and bees. I have elſewhere mentioned how troubleſome the former are: but the latter are ſtill more ſo. Every day towards twelve o'clock, I was ſure of being viſited by one, two, and ſometimes more ſwarms, which made their entrance into the cabbin, attracted, in all probability, by the penetrating and reſinous ſmell of the pitch and tar. Such tormenting viſitors obliged me to quit the veſſel, and to ſeek for peace on ſhore.

* Hay alem el maovi, id eſt, ſtratiotes. *Proſp. Alp. Ægypt. v. 2. p. 51.*

† Kadda-pail. *Hort. Mal. vol. 11. p. 32. tab. 63.*

‡ Galam is upwards of 700 miles above the mouth of the River, and the principal place of trade for gold, ſlaves, &c.

The

The ſame thing happened to me at Podor in November and December. It is very likely, that during thoſe three months the ſwarms quit their old hives to build new ones: for at that time, you frequently meet with very conſiderable heaps of them. One day I ſaw the roof of a houſe, the ſurface of which was ſixteen ſquare feet, covered with a lay or bed, four fingers thick, of bees heaped up in this manner. This is an evident proof of the prodigious number of thoſe inſects. They lodge every where, but more particularly in the trunks of trees made hollow by time. This year they had three hives at our ſettlement at Podor; one between the ſhutters and the window of the room on the firſt floor: the other on the ground floor, in a ſmall preſs full of old iron, a leaf of which was opened every day; and it ſtood at the bottom of a very dark warehouſe: the third was in the ceiling of another warehouſe, juſt behind the door. With difficulty could we drive away thoſe inſects, even in the night and with the help of fire: they know how to diſtinguiſh in the dark thoſe who moleſt them, and they ſhew their revenge by moſt pungent ſtings.

Theſe bees differ from thoſe of Europe only in ſize. There is this ſingularity in their honey, that it never acquires a conſiſtency like ours; but is always liquid and like a brown ſyrup. We may affirm, it is infinitely ſuperior, both in delicacy and taſte, to the beſt honey collected in the ſouthern parts of France.

The country about Podor had now a very different face from what it wore at the time of my firſt voyage. Inſtead of a dry barren plain, I beheld an agreeable champaign, interſected with moraſſes, where rice grew naturally without being ſown. The higher grounds were covered with millet: and there alſo the indigo and cotton plants diſplayed a moſt lovely verdure. Almoſt all the aquatic plants of warm climates, paſſed in review before me: I obſerved the *water-lilly* *, two ſorts of *pontederia* †, the *juſſiæa's* ‡, the *lemmas* and the *pongati* §, of the garden of Malabar. I likewiſe met with ſeveral ſpecies of *aliſma*, *bindweed*, *nenuphar*, *utriculaire*, *hottonia* ‖, *adhatoda*, beſides a great multitude of cyperuſes, or galingales, and other, moſtly unknown, plants.

My curioſity was not confined to the adjacent fields; it extended alſo to the woods and *marigots* two leagues all round. There I found many new ſpecies of trees and birds of exquiſite beauty. But of all the extraordinary things I obſerved, nothing ſtruck me more than certain eminencies, which, by their height and regularity, made me take them at a diſtance, for an aſſemblage of Negroes huts, or a conſiderable village: and yet they were only the neſts of certain inſects. They are round pyramids, from eight to ten feet high, upon nearly the ſame baſe, with a ſmooth ſurface of rich clay, exceſſively hard and well built. The inſide is a labyrinth of little galleries, interwoven one with the other, and anſwering to a ſmall opening, which gives ingreſs and regreſs to the inſects that inhabit it. They are called *vag-vagues*; and perhaps are the ſame as thoſe which go by the name of wood-lice and white ants in America and the Eaſt Indies. They are ſhaped like the common ants; but their members are not ſo diſtinct. Their body, beſides being of a dirty white, is alſo much ſofter, fuller, and as it were, of an unctuous nature. Theſe creatures multiply prodigiouſly; and when they want to make a lodgment, they attack ſome dead trunk of a tree, into which they quickly eat their way.

In my two voyages I had carefully drawn a plan of the river Niger, from its mouth to Podor: ſo that there remained only for me, to know the latitude of this place. The difference I found between my plan, and that of the ancient and modern charts,

* Nymphæa Indica minor lævis. *Rumph. Herb. Amb. v.* 6. *p.* 167. *tab.* 72. *fig.* 3.
† Pontederia floribus umbellatis. *Lin. fl. Zeyl.* 129. ‡ New ſpecies.
§ Pongati. *Hort. Maleb. v.* 11. *p.* 47. *tab.* 24.
‖ Hottonia flore ſolitario, ex foliorum alis proveniente. *Burm. Th. Zeyl. pag.* 121. *tab.* 55. *fig.* 1.

made me ſuſpect that the latitude had not been rightly determined; if it be true that they worked upon it at all. In order to be certain, I fixed, with the requiſite precautions, a gnomon eight feet one inch and a line in height, upon a platform, reduced to a very exact level. During the month of November and part of December, I obſerved thereon different points of the ſun's ſhadow, which by calculation gave me its height. Thence I concluded Podor to be 16 degrees 44½ minutes north latitude, according to the account I tranſmitted at that time to M. Le Monnier, who was pleaſed to communicate it to the academy of ſciences *. This obſervation is of ſome importance, ſince it corrects an error of above 15 minutes, by which all other maps place Podor too far north; and it greatly diminiſhes the length of this river, whoſe direction has been alſo wrong laid down by moſt geographers. Thus, beſides the advantage I reaped from my ſecond voyage to Podor, in informing myſelf of the natural hiſtory of the country; it likewiſe enabled me to verify and correct an eſſential point of geography, with regard to the courſe of the Niger, of which we know but a very ſmall part as yet.

In ſailing down this river, the winds were as favourable to us as they had been adverſe in aſcending. I left Podor the 17th of December, and arrived the 21ſt at the iſland of Senegal; ſo that I was only five days in my return, whereas I had been nineteen in going to Podor. As the waters decreaſed, they left on the banks of the river a ſlime, which the Negroes know how to make the moſt of; for they had ſown every part of it with large millet, tobacco, and ſeveral ſorts of French beans.

I did not ſtay long upon the iſland of Senegal; for I left it the 11th of January the enſuing year, to return a ſecond time to the iſland of Goree, where I arrived the 15th. From thence I was to make the voyage of Gambia, with Meſſ. de la Brue and de Saint Jean; one the director of the ſettlement of Senegal, the other of the iſle of Goree. They were going to reſtore the French factory of Albreda, ſituate upon this river, within ſix or ſeven leagues of its mouth, and about fifty from the iſle of Goree. Three veſſels ſet ſail together the 10th of February, and entered the river Gambia the 20th. Its mouth does not begin, properly ſpeaking, till you are at the point of the bar; though its bed advances a good way into the ſea, by means of the ſand banks or flats betwixt the Iſland of Birds and Cape St. Mary. The cape is a high land, which you leave upon your right. From the point of the bar to the factory of Albreda, the river has a very unequal breadth; in ſome places it is a league over, and a little more in others. Its banks are very high, and bordered on both ſides with tall trees, which plainly ſhew the goodneſs of the ſoil.

We caſt anchor over againſt the factory, and ſtaid a few days in the road, without going aſhore. There we lived very well: the negroes brought us plenty of excellent fiſh, as thornbacks, ſoles, monſtrous large rock fiſh and a great many *tree-oyſters* †, which abound in that river. Here they have every thing requiſite for their ſuſtenance. The banks of the river being lined with mangroves, they faſten to the roots thereof: and the ſea water never loſeth its ſaltneſs in this ſpot. What is very extraordinary, every where elſe, oyſters are looſened from rocks; here they are gathered upon trees! At low water, they are left bare, and ſeen hanging at their roots. This is what made ſome voyagers, who had ſeen the like in America, affirm, that they perched upon trees. The Negroes have not ſo much difficulty as one would imagine, in gathering them; they need only to cut off the branch, to which the oyſters are faſtened. A ſingle root

* This obſervation was printed in the ſecond volume of the memoirs preſented to the Academy by divers learned men, pag. 605.

† See the natural hiſtory of bivalvous ſhells. *Species* 1. *oyſters, plate* 14. *fig.* 1.

bears ſometimes upwards of two hundred; and if it has ſeveral branches, it forms a cluſter which one man would find difficult to carry. The ſhells of theſe oyſters differ from thoſe of Europe, being longer, narrower and thinner; but as to the delicacy and reliſh of the meat, connoiſſeurs know no difference.

In this voyage I was witneſs myſelf, for the firſt time, to the miſchief done by locuſts, that ſcourge, ſo dreadful to hot climates. The third day after our arrival we were ſtill in the road; when there ſuddenly aroſe over our heads, towards eight o'clock in the morning, a thick cloud, which darkened the air and deprived us of the rays of the ſun. Every body was ſurprized at ſo ſudden a change in the ſky, which is ſeldom overcaſt in this ſeaſon: but we ſoon found that it was owing to a cloud of locuſts, raiſed about twenty or thirty fathoms from the ground, and covering an extent of ſeveral leagues, upon which it poured a ſhower of thoſe inſects, which fell to devouring while they reſted themſelves, and then reſumed their flight. This cloud was brought by a very ſtrong eaſt wind; it was all the morning in paſſing over the adjacent country; and we imagined that the ſame wind drove the locuſts into the ſea. They ſpread deſolation wherever they came: after devouring the herbage, with the fruits and leaves of trees, they attacked even the buds and the very bark: they did not ſo much as ſpare the reeds, with which the huts were thatched, notwithſtanding that theſe were ſo dry: in ſhort, they did all the miſchief that can be dreaded from ſo voracious an inſect. I took a great number of them, which are ſtill to be ſeen in my cabinet: they were intirely brown, of the breadth and length of one's finger, and armed with two ſtrong jaw bones, dented like a ſaw. Their wings were much longer than thoſe of any locuſts I had ever ſeen before: and no doubt, but it was owing to the largeneſs of thoſe wings, that they could fly with ſuch eaſe, and poiſe themſelves in the air.

One would not imagine that ſo ſhocking an inſect, as the locuſt, ſhould ever be food for man. And yet it is an undoubted fact, that in ſeveral parts of this country, the people eat of it: nay they have different ways of dreſſing this extraordinary diſh. Some pound them, and boil them with milk; others only broil them on the coals, and think them excellent food. There is no diſputing of taſtes: for my part I ſhould willingly reſign whole clouds of locuſts to the Negroes of Gambia, for the meaneſt of their fiſhes.

One thing which always ſurprized me, is the prodigious rapidity, with which the ſap of trees repairs any loſs they may happen to ſuſtain in that country: and I was never more aſtoniſhed, than when, upon landing four days after that terrible invaſion of locuſts, I ſaw the trees covered with new leaves; and they did not ſeem to me to have ſuffered much. The herbs bore marks of the devaſtation ſomewhat longer; but a few days were ſufficient to repair all the miſchief.

The people inhabiting the country along the Gambia, are Mandingoes or Soſes, to expreſs myſelf in their way. Their manner of life, and dreſs, is not preferable to that of the other blacks; but their huts are better built: and perhaps they are obliged for their taſte of architecture to the Portugueſe, who were formerly ſettled in thoſe parts. The walls are made of a fat binding clay, which ſoon hardens. They are all thatched with ſtraw, which hangs down to another little wall breaſt high; and this makes a ſmall gallery round the hut, where they are ſheltered from the rays of the ſun. The village having taken fire a little after my arrival, the walls of thoſe huts that withſtood it, were partly of a beautiful red, and partly vitrified by the violence of the fire: at a diſtance they ſeemed to be done over with a very bright enamel.

The hut where I lodged was large and commodious, but as dark as a ſubterraneous cavern, even at noon-day, becauſe it had no other opening but a door pierced at each

end. Here I muſt obſerve, leſt I ſhould forget it, that a great number of our European ſwallows reſorted hither every evening, and paſſed the night upon the rafters; for, as I have elſewhere mentioned, they do not build neſts in this country, but only come to ſpend the winter.

As my view in going up the Gambia was to make experiments in natural hiſtory, I wanted a lightſome place to perform my operations: and the huts throughout the village were all too dark; I contrived therefore to make uſe of a tamarind-tree in the middle of the garden, which belonged to my hut, and was planted with fine orange, citron, papaws, and other fruit-trees. I made an incloſure of ſtraw under its verdant foliage, which, beſides affording me a cool retreat, invited the feathered choriſters to warble out their notes. In ſhort, it was a real cabinet of natural philoſophy, and I queſtion whether ſo rural a one was ever ſeen before. For my part the memory thereof is ſtill dear to me, becauſe of the knowledge I thereby acquired of an infinite multitude of new and curious plants, the growth of this country, which is doubtleſs one of the fineſt ſpots of all Africa.

The ſoil is rich and deep, and amazingly fertile: it produces ſpontaneouſly and almoſt without cultivation, all the neceſſaries of life, as grain, fruits, legumes, and roots. On the high and ſomewhat drier grounds you ſee guavas, acajous, two ſorts of papaws with orange and citron trees of exquiſite beauty: I meaſured ſome myſelf that were above five and twenty feet high, and a foot and a half the diameter of the trunk. The roots of manioc, igname, and batatee multiply greatly in open places. The black and moiſt clays are taken up with foreſts of bananas, at the feet of which both pepper and ginger grow. Every thing matures to perfection, and is excellent in its kind. They likewiſe make a great deal of date-wine, which is very delicious.

The pepper of this place is not the ſame as that of India. It is a round berry about the bigneſs of a hemp-ſeed, which ripens to a red colour, and has a ſweetiſh taſte. It contains a ſeed of the ſhape and bigneſs of a grain of cabbage, but very hard, and in taſte like aromatic pepper, which has an agreeable poignancy. This fruit grows in ſmall bunches on a ſhrub three or four feet high, whoſe thin ſupple branches are furniſhed with oval leaves, pointed at the ends, very greaſy, and pretty much like thoſe of the privet or prime print.

Rice is almoſt the only grain ſown at Gambia in the lands overflown by the rains of the high ſeaſon. The negroes cut all theſe lands with ſmall cauſeys which with-hold the waters in ſuch a manner, that their rice is always moiſtened. They had got in their crop long before my arrival; ſo that the rice fields in the month of February were a ſort of drained moraſſes, on which grew a few wild herbs. Every night we ſaw ſhining flies which flew on all ſides; and, wherever they paſſed, they diffuſed a light ſimilar to that of twinkling ſtars. I walked there ſeveral times at night fall, and perceived that they came out of crevices or gaps formed in that marſhy ſoil when dried by the ſun, and in which they had made their neſts. I obſerved alſo, that thoſe which had wings, emitted light as well as thoſe which had none; contrary to what we ſee in France, where the former have not this advantage. In ſhort, they flew about only for three or four hours at the moſt, after which they returned to their holes. I gathered a great number of them, which I kept for ſome days in ſmall phials, where they gave a light ſo long as they lived; but it grew dim in proportion as the inſect drew towards its end. This little creature is improperly called a glow-worm or fire-fly; ſince it is neither a worm nor fly; but a ſmall beetle, of a brown colour, and its body flat and ſcaly, like that of other beetles. Its wings are covered with two caſes, alſo ſcaly, though very ſoft. The light with which it is furniſhed, is lodged only in the three laſt rings of its body; and ſome motion muſt be impreſſed on them, for the light to ſhew itſelf outwardly.

Leaving the river, we found a rich ſoil, of red ſand, extremely fine, and unconceiveably fruitful: this appears by the trees with which it is covered. Here you ſee thickets impenetrable, not becauſe of the thorns, for there are very few; but by reaſon the trees ſtand ſo cloſe; among the reſt I met with ſome wild vines, not unlike the European. There you behold a foreſt of lofty trees, bending under the weight of the *ciſſus's* * which would be called ivy in America, from the manner in which they faſten themſelves, aſcending and deſcending, intertwined with each other, and ſeeming to bend downwards and to ſubmit their branches, juſt like the tackling of a ſhip in regard to its yards and maſts. It was in theſe fine fields I beheld thoſe trees of ſuch prodigious dimenſions, *viz.* father Plumier's *ceyba's* † which, as I have elſewhere obſerved, the negroes of Senegal call *benten*.

The *benten* ſurpaſſes all the trees of Senegal in height, as the calabaſh-tree ſurpaſſes them in thickneſs. There are ſome a hundred and ten, and even a hundred and twenty feet high, the trunk of which is from eight to ten feet at the moſt in diameter, and extremely erect; between the root and branches, it is fifty or ſixty feet, and oftentimes more, in length. The chamferings or kind of ſmall wings, which ſometimes grow the whole length of the trunk, do not in the leaſt diminiſh the beauty of its white bark, nor the boldneſs with which it carries its round ſpreading top. It is of this tree the negroes make their *pirogues*, by hollowing its trunk; the wood being very ſoft, denſe, and extremely light. Thoſe who inhabit the banks of the Gambia being poſſeſſed of the largeſt *bentens*, make likewiſe the largeſt *pirogues*: they have ſome from forty to fifty feet long, and from four to five feet in breadth, and ſomewhat leſs in depth.

The *farobier* is another large tree alſo as common as the *benten*, but of quite a different uſe, becauſe of the hardneſs and weight of the wood. The negroes are very fond of its fruit, which is a kind of cod or huſk like that of a French bean, but above a foot in length, containing a black flat ſeed, like large lentils, enveloped in a yellow farinaceous ſubſtance. This fruit frequently ſerves them inſtead of every other ſuſtenance, eſpecially when they travel: it is extremely good, and nouriſhing; and taſtes much like the beſt ginger-bread cake.

At the eaſt end of the village of Albreda, I ſaw a wild fig-tree of an extraordinary ſhape and ſize. It was not very high; but its trunk was about ten feet diameter, and cut with ſo many chamferings, that it ſeemed to be compoſed of ſeveral trees, whoſe trunks joined to each other, moſt of them ſpreading chiefly more towards the roots, where they formed a kind of buttreſs. This trunk was not above fifteen feet high, but it was divided into ſeveral large branches, well covered with leaves, which made it very agreeable, as it afforded a moſt refreſhing ſhade. The inhabitants had pitched upon this ſpot to build a *caldé*, that is, a public hall. This conſiſted of a floor raiſed two or three feet above the earth, and compoſed of ſeveral forked ſhoots planted near to one another, over which croſs ſhoots were laid. The whole was covered with hurdles put cloſe together, and ſome mats over them. This was the place where their aſſemblies were held: here the lazy and the indolent met to ſmoke and converſe; here the newſmongers ſat loitering; in a word, here they tranſacted all the affairs and concerns of the village.

It is not at all ſurpriſing that in a moiſt country there ſhould be plenty of frogs: but ſurely I had great reaſon to be ſurpriſed, not having met as yet with any in all my excurſions. From Podor to Gambia, which, including the iſle of Senegal, and that of

* Cereo affinis ſcandens planta aphylla; caule rotundo, articulato, glabro, ſucculento, ſaturatè, viridi. *Sloan. Jam. vol. ii. tab.* 224. *fig.* 3 & 4.

† Ceyba viticis folio caudice glabro. *Plum. Gen. pag.* 42.

Goree,

Goree, with Portudal, and ſeveral other places where I had been, contains a ſpace of a hundred and fifty leagues, and a country that I was well acquainted with, I had as yet ſeen none but toads. It was in a well, which had been dug at the weſt end of the village of Albreda, that I diſcovered the firſt frogs: and theſe could not get away from thence, the borders being raiſed ſix feet, and cut vertically. I ſaw none except in this well, which contained ſuch a prodigious multitude of them, that, when they roſe above the water, they abſolutely hid the whole ſurface of it, covering one another over again, nearly in the ſame manner as tiles are laid on the tops of houſes. Their bodies were ſmaller, but more compact than thoſe of our European frogs; their colour was green, agreeably variegated with black ſpots; ſo that I looked upon them as a very particular ſpecies.

Botany, and every other branch of natural hiſtory, had greatly improved under my care in this fruitful country; and I ſhould have conſiderably added to my ſtore of obſervations, if I had been permitted to continue there for any time: but the circumſtances, and difficulties attending a new ſettlement, prevented my tarrying any longer. I therefore ſet out on the 12th of March upon my return to Goree, along with the directors of that iſland, and of Senegal, who had taken care that I ſhould want for nothing while I was at Gambia.

Our paſſage was tedious, ſo that we had full leiſure to take a very near view of two whales, which we had ſeen already in our firſt voyage. They followed us a great deal longer in this, and we had the pleaſure of ſeeing the ſports and majeſtic movements of thoſe monſtrous animals, which amuſed us with their company, only when they did not come too near our veſſel. I reckoned their length to have been about a hundred and fifty-five or ſixty feet: the part of their back which they held always above water, was twelve feet long, and from four to five broad, without reckoning the head, which it raiſed ſometimes for reſpiration, but made no more noiſe than a horſe, that puffs and blows when he is drinking. They did not throw water out of their noſtrils, after the manner of all blowing whales, which are alſo very common in the tropic ſeas: in ſhort I ſaw no appearance of fins on their back. No doubt but a vertebre of fourteen inches diameter and eight high, which I had occaſion to ſee afterwards on the ſea ſhore, with ſome ribs upwards of ten feet in length, muſt have formerly belonged to this ſpecies of whale. Some perhaps will be ſurprized that I ſhould take notice of theſe animals, when I have nothing more particular to ſay about them: yet as they are to be found in latitudes where the negroes are neither deſirous nor accuſtomed to fiſh for them; and as there is no probability that there ever will be any ſeen nearer, or more conveniently than theſe were beheld by me; I thought it my duty to communicate the preſent remarks, in order to ſhew how large the whales of the torrid zone are, ſuppoſing them to be a diſtinct ſort from thoſe of the northern climates.

By day we were diverted with the whales, and by night with the luſtre of the ſea. As ſoon as the ſun dipped beneath the horizon, and night overſpread the earth with darkneſs, the ſea lent us its friendly light. While the prow of our veſſel ploughed the foaming ſurges, it ſeemed to ſet them all on fire: thus we ſailed in a luminous incloſure, which ſurrounded us like a large circle of rays, from whence darted in the wake of the ſhip a long ſtream of light, which followed us to the iſle of Goree, where we landed the twenty-third of the ſame month.

Inſtead of returning directly to the iſland of Senegal, I reſolved to ſtay at Goree, in order to complete the obſervations on plants, and particularly on ſhells and other ſea bodies, which had eſcaped me in my two former voyages. It was then the fiſh ſeaſon, at leaſt, for fiſh of a moderate ſize. The ſea ſeemed to be full of the latter: when they

happened

happened to be purſued by the large ones, you might ſee them in ſholes approaching towards land; and oftemtimes they ran aſhore. Some of thoſe ſholes were fifty fathoms ſquare, and the fiſhes crowded together in ſuch a manner, as to roll upon one another without being able to ſwim. As ſoon as the negroes perceive them coming towards land, they jump into the water, with a baſket in one hand to catch the fiſh, and ſwim with the other. It is curious to behold them in this uneaſy attitude, penetrating through the finny ſwarm; they need only to plunge and to lift up their baſkets, and they are ſure to return loaded with fiſh.

I was preſent at a very extraordinary capture of fiſh made the ſame month, on the coaſt of Ben, within a league of the iſland of Goree, by the company belonging to one of the French Eaſt-India ſhips, which had anchored in the road. They had only a net of about ſixty fathoms, which they threw at a venture into the ſea; for they were not ſo lucky as to eſpy any of thoſe ſholes of fiſhes: yet they had ſuch ſurpriſing ſucceſs, that the ſhore was covered, the whole length of the net, with the fiſh they caught, though the net was in a bad condition. I reckoned part of them, and judged, that they might in all be upwards of ſix thouſand, the leaſt of them as large as a fine carp. There you might ſee pilchards, rock-fiſh, mullets or gull fiſh of different ſorts; molebats, with other fiſhes very little known. The negroes of the neighbouring village took each their load, and the ſhip's crew filled their boat till it was ready to ſink, leaving the reſt on the ſea ſhore. In any other country, ſuch a capture of fiſh would, without all doubt, paſs for a miracle.

I have already obſerved that, in the iſland of Goree, there is a low land called Savana. There I lodged in a hut of ſtraw, built in a negroe manner: it was new when I went into it; but in leſs than a month you might ſee through it. I inquired into the cauſe of this, which I found to be as follows. The earth hereabouts was all filled with a ſpecies of white ant, called *vag-vague*, different from that which I have elſewhere deſcribed. This, here, inſtead of raiſing pyramids, continues buried under ground, and never makes itſelf known but by ſmall cylindrical galleries, of the thickneſs of a gooſe quill, which it erects againſt the ſeveral bodies it deſigns to attack. Theſe galleries are formed of earth with infinite delicacy of workmanſhip. The *vag-vagues* make uſe of them, as of covert-ways, to work without being ſeen: and whatever they faſten themſelves to, whether it be leather, cloth, linen, books or wood, it is ſurely gnawed and conſumed. I ſhould have thought myſelf pretty well off, had they only attacked the reeds of my hut; but they pierced through a trunk which ſtood on treſtles a foot above the ground, and gnawed moſt of my books. Even my bed was not ſpared, and though I took care every evening to beat down the galleries, yet they were frequently erected again, in the middle of the night, up to my bolſter; and the *vag-vagues* got into the bed, where, after cutting the linen and mattreſs, they came to my fleſh and bit me moſt cruelly. I ſhall be excuſed from mentioning the ſwellings and acute pains which followed. Their ſize is hardly bigger than that of our large European ants; yet they are of ſuch a conſtitution, that neither freſh nor ſalt water, nor vinegar, nor any other ſtrong liquors, with which I often covered the floor of my chamber, were able to deſtroy them; ſo that every method I took to extirpate the breed proved ineffectual. The infinite havock which theſe inſects make, has ſet people upon thinking of different contrivances to exterminate them. Among others, Arſenic has been propoſed as an infallible remedy; but it would not be prudent to adviſe and much leſs to practiſe it. If fire was not apt to cauſe greater miſchief than that ariſing from the *vag-vagues*, it would be a cheaper and more effectual remedy; for we ſeldom ſee thoſe inſects in places that have undergone this operation.

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Though I ſuffered greatly from the hoſtilities of the *vag-vagues*, yet I muſt confeſs, they contributed to a conſiderable number of obſervations; and were the cauſe of a frequent repetition of experiments, which perhaps I ſhould otherwiſe have performed but very ſeldom. My room was full of pails of ſea water, where I conſtantly kept live fiſh, which in the night time emitted a light, not unlike that of phoſphorus. The mugs full of ſhells, and even the fiſh that lay dead on the table, gave the ſame light. All theſe illuminations put together, and reflected upon different parts of the room, made it appear as if it was on fire; and I muſt own, that I was of that opinion the firſt time I ſaw this ſtrange phænomenon: for it made the impreſſion on me, which it is natural for every man to feel in the like caſe. The *vag-vagues*, by awaking me ſuddenly out of my ſleep, renewed my fright, much oftener than I could have wiſhed in the beginning, but my apprehenſion gradually ceaſed, by ſeeing the thing often repeated; till I at length received a pleaſure from this extraordinary ſight. What was moſt engaging, each fiſh ſhewed itſelf plainly to the eye, by the light emitted from its body; and the ſame effect was produced by the ſhells and other ſea bodies which I had with me; even the pails themſelves looked like a burning ſurface. This was not all: every day the ſight was new, becauſe I had new fiſhes and new ſhells to obſerve: now it was a pilchard, now a molebat: one time a purple fiſh, another time a periwinkle: one time a polypus, a crab, or a ſtar-fiſh, that ſhewed its luminous rays in the dark: in ſhort, I perfectly diſtinguiſhed the ſhape of all thoſe different fiſhes, by rays of light, which darted from every part of their bodies; and, as I could place them in a thouſand different poſitions, I had it in my power to give an infinite variety to this beautiful illumination.

When the *vag-vagues* obliged me to quit this glittering manſion, and to look for relief abroad, the angry ocean preſented me with the ſame phænomenon in great. The foaming billows ſeemed to metamorphoſe themſelves into mountains of fire, and exhibited to my view a moſt amazing ſpectacle, more capable of exciting admiration than fear, even in the minds of perſons expoſed to their fury.

Notwithſtanding the ſea about the iſland of Goree was moſt violently agitated at this time, in conſequence of the vernal equinox, yet I croſſed it very often in a ſmall boat, in going over to the continent. One day I was bound for Cape Bernard, I had like to have loſt my life. This cape is not above the third part of a league from Goree; and this was the firſt time I thought of landing there. At a diſtance it ſeemed to me, as if it formed a creek, ſomewhat like a ſmall haven; and I made no doubt, but I ſhould be able to get on ſhore with all eaſe: but the nearer I drew, the more difficult I found it; for the ſurf ran ſo high, that I could ſee no ſafe place to land. During this uncertainty, the waves were driving us towards ſhore; when all of a ſudden I ſaw myſelf environed by a huge ſurge, which threw the boat upon a rock where it overſet! Luckily I did not loſe my preſence of mind, notwithſtanding this diſaſter; and, as the boat overſet, it ſtuck to the rock, where it was ſupported like an arch, under which my two negroes made their eſcape. I did not wait for another wave to come and ſet it right again, and perhaps to overwhelm me, which would have inevitably happened: but I made uſe of my legs, to get to the further end of the beach, where I walked in the ſun to dry myſelf, and that was all the harm I ſuffered.

Hitherto no difficulty had been able to ſtop me in my career; yet this accident, together with the ſea-ſickneſs with which I was always afflicted, occaſioned me to make very ſerious reflections, on the riſks I underwent, in croſſing every day from Goree to the continent, on board ſo ſmall a veſſel. M. de Saint Jean, director of the iſland, having the greateſt regard for me, and even more than I had for myſelf, was

deſirous

desirous to prevent the trouble and danger to which I exposed myself daily: for which reason he proposed to the master of Ben, a small village on the continent, within a league north of Goree, to entertain me at his house, and to procure me all necessary safe-guards in walking over his lands, or in any other excursion I should chuse to make. This negroe lord, having a very high affection for the French nation, was overjoyed at the opportunity of entertaining a native of that country for some months. The 24th of April, upon arriving at the village, I found a very convenient hut, which he had lately built for his own use. It was surrounded by several courts and gardens, where he had likewise got a small but light closet for me, in such a situation as I had desired on account of my observations. Nothing could be more conducive to my purpose, than the advantageous situation of the village. On the one side, the sea furnished me with every thing I could wish in regard to fishes and shells; and on the other I had plains, a considerable forest, and, two leagues further, the mountains of Cape Verd. Here I had an ample field for my curiosity, as well concerning plants, as every species of animals.

This is quite a sandy country like the neighbourhood of Senegal; but it forms a more rising ground. Besides the same plants, it produces a great number of others particular to itself; and a vast many acaciæ and calabash trees. Going from Ben to Cape Verd, I met upon the road, about half way, with two of the latter still larger than those I had admired in the neighbourhood of the island of Senegal. I measured their trunks with a packthread, and found the one to be seventy-four feet, and the other seventy-seven in circumference, that is, upwards of five and twenty feet diameter. These were the thickest I ever saw of the kind: and as Africa may boast of producing the largest of animals, viz. the ostrich and the elephant; so it may be said, not to degenerate with regard to vegetables, since it gives birth to calabash trees, which are immensely larger than any other tree now existing, at least that we know of; and probably the largest on the terrestrial globe.

I saw on the branches of those trees some birds nests, so vastly capacious as to surprize me as much as the trees themselves! They were at least three feet long, and resembled oval baskets, open below, and confusedly interwoven with very large twigs. I had not the pleasure of seeing the birds that built them; but the people of the village assured me, they had pretty much the figure of that kind of eagle which they call *ntann*. To judge of the size of those birds by their nests, they cannot be much inferior to an ostrich.

The double mountain of Cape Verd was the only land-mark I had, to steer my course through this vast plain; for the sands were tossed so impetuously from one place to another by the winds, that it was impossible to distinguish any path or trace whatever: and even the eminences, which I met now and then, served only to bewilder me and my negroes, by being so uniform. The only verdure they had upon them, was some shrubs known in India by the name of *bois de renette**. Sometimes I walked through spacious fields, naturally sown with a kind of herb basil, peculiar to the country. But what seemed worthy of observation to me, was, wherever it grew, it was very thick; and that very rarely any other plants whatever could be seen there, not even on those spots that were thinnest sown; as if the proximity thereof was hurtful to them. This herb basil is ligneous and lively: it forms a shrub two feet high, whose stem and leaves are of a reddish green, and diffuse a citron fragrancy, extremely pleasing. The sands, though tost to and fro every instant, produced a great

* Dodonæa. *Linn. hort. Cliff.* 148. Staphylodendrum foliis lauri angustis. *Plum. cat. pag.* 18.

many other plants, and eſpecially dog-graſs, with which nearly their whole ſurface was covered.

My moſt uſual walk was in the foreſt of Krampſane, which I likewiſe called the foreſt of palmetto trees, becauſe indeed there is hardly any other to be ſeen in that neighbourhood. It begins within half a league of the village of Ben, and extends two leagues north-eaſt, making a ſemicircle, and paſſing within a quarter of a league of a ruinous village, called *Mabao*, ſituate on the ſea-ſhore within a league and a half of Ben. Its breadth is, throughout, nearly a quarter of a league. The ſoil is low, and in ſome places hollow like a canal, and ſeems to have been heretofore either a baſon overflown by the ocean, or at leaſt a ſalt-pan, which in drying up retained a black ſlimy ſand, from whence the rain waters imbibe a ſaline taſte, that prevents their being drinkable. I would even venture to affirm that this canal was formerly a branch of the marigot of Kann, whoſe communication has, without all manner of doubt, been interrupted by a ſand-bank, which the winds have thrown up near its mouth.

From the ſide towards Ben, as far as two-thirds of its extent in length, this foreſt conſiſts entirely of date-trees, at the entrance of which there are ſmall groves of oily palms: in the other part you ſee only the latter ſort. The date-tree of this country is wild, and grows without any culture. The Serera negroes of the kingdom of Kaior, which includes Cape Verd, call it *Kionkomm*; and the natives of the country of Oualo, towards the iſland of Senegal, give it the name of *Sor-ſor*. It ſeldom riſes higher than from twenty to thirty feet: its trunk is round and upright, of a dun colour, and ſix inches at the moſt in diameter. From the top of it there iſſues forth a cluſter of leaves from eight to nine feet in length, which extend all round like a paraſol, and bend a little towards the earth. The bottom part produces an infinite number of ſtalks like that of the middle; but they ſeldom ſhoot ſo high as four or five feet. Theſe ſtalks ſpread the tree very conſiderably, ſo that, wherever it naturally grows in foreſts, you find it difficult to open a paſſage through its prickly leaves. The fruit thereof is ſhorter than that of the other ſort of date-tree; but the pulp is much thicker. It has a ſugary and agreeable taſte, infinitely ſuperior to the very beſt dates of the Levant; perhaps becauſe it ripens better on the tree.

The oily palm* is of all others that which ſhoots to the greateſt height. Here are ſome from ſixty to eighty feet in the ſtalk, without any branches. The trunk is outwardly black, equally large through the whole length of it, and from one to two feet in diameter. Its head is loaded with leaves pretty much like the date-tree. It bears a round fruit the ſize of a ſmall nut, and covered with a yellow pulp of which they make the palm oil. The negroes call it *tir*.

It is from theſe two trees they extract the palm wine, which is exactly the colour of whey. There are ſeveral methods of extracting it: the firſt practiſed by the negroes, and which I have often followed, after their example, in regard to the date-tree of the foreſt of Krampſane, is this: They cut a ſtalk a few inches under the crown, and leave only ſome leaves ſtanding: then they lay the leaves above the inciſion, and faſten them with a peg to the tree. The extremity of thoſe leaves is folded afterwards into a calabaſh, or into a ſmall earthen pot, narrow-mouthed, and ſuſpended ſo as not to quit the leaves, or to fall. By this method the ſap which iſſues from the ſtalk, diſtils along the leaves, and is collected together in the earthen pot.

The ſecond method of extracting the palm wine conſiſts in making a round hole under the head of the tree, inſtead of cutting it; and in introducing into this

* Palma altiſſima, non ſpinoſa, fructu pruniformi minore, racemoſo, ſparſo. *Sloan Jam.* vol. ii. tab. 215.

hole a few folded leaves, which ſerve as a gutter or paſſage to convey the liquor into the pot or veſſel faſtened to it.

Theſe two methods are eaſy to practiſe in regard to the date-tree, as they only make an inciſion in the ſtalk, which is not above five feet high. But when they are obliged to extract the wine from a very tall tree, as from the oily palm, there is a great deal more difficulty in the operation. The negroes have an admirable way of doing it. They take a girth of the bark of *bauhinia*, or of the leaves of a palmetto tree, dried in the ſun, beaten and twiſted, the breadth of thrice the thickneſs of one's finger. At one end they make an oilet-hole, into which they put a little ſtick faſtened acroſs the other end, to ſerve as a button. This girth muſt be neither too pliant nor too ſtiff, but ſhould have a ſufficient elaſticity to hinder it from giving way too much. It makes a ſort of circle of two feet and a half diameter; and, when ſtretched by the man's body and the tree, it becomes an oval, leaving the diſtance of a foot and half between both. With this girth, they tie themſelves as it were to the oily palm, and climb up at firſt with their feet, then working with their hands and knees, till the part of the girth faſtened to the tree becomes lower than that which ſupports their reins and thighs, and ſerves them as a ſeat to reſt upon: then they draw near the tree, in order to raiſe the oppoſite end, which is ſoon after brought down below the part that ſuſtains their reins, which have been raiſed by working with the feet and knees. The girth cannot ſlip, becauſe it is always very tight between the man and the trunk, and the latter is moreover very rough. In this manner they ſoon get to the top: there they ſit on their girth, and, enjoying the liberty of their arms, they firſt cut the bottom of thoſe fruits which they think are ripe; then faſtening them to calabaſhes, they fill theſe with wine, and let them down by a cord: for they never forget, in going up, to carry with them a bandolier, containing every thing requiſite for this kind of work; ſuch as a cord, a knife, and empty calabaſhes, to ſupply the place of thoſe which they have filled with liquor. When they want to come down, they go a contrary way to work, to what they did in climbing up; that is, they lower the girth from time to time inſtead of raiſing it. Their quickneſs and reſolution in this toilſome taſk, ſhew plainly how ſupple and dextrous they muſt be: for it is never mentioned that any accident has happened them; and they have nothing to fear but the breaking of the girth.

This kind of vintage muſt coſt the negroes very little trouble, ſince their wine is ſo cheap, that you have above forty pints upon the ſpot for ten ſous, and very often for half that price. It is not all made at the ſame time, according to the cuſtom of making wine of the juice of the grape in temperate countries. The trees furniſh daily but a ſmall quantity of this liquor; and they are obliged to conſume it directly, becauſe it ſoon grows ſour. The negroes do not drink it till twenty-four hours after it is drawn, that is, till it has fermented enough to ſtimulate the palate agreeably. It is drinkable till the third day, but then it grows heady, and there is danger in being intoxicated with it. After that time it turns into bad vinegar, which ſoon contracts an abominable ſmell. For my part, and it will be ever the ſame with ſuch as deſire rather delicacy than ſtrength in wine, I always obſerved that it is delicious when new; and the newer the better: I have drunk of it a hundred times out of the calabaſhes faſtened to the trees, and I never found it better than immediately after it is firſt extracted: then it has every good quality; which cannot be expected twelve hours after. It has as ſweet a taſte as is requiſite, heightened oftentimes with a light tartneſs, extremely grateful to the palate. In ſhort, the only fault we can reproach this liquor with, is that it will not keep for exportation to our part of the world, where it would be much more eſteemed than in its native ſoil. I muſt own notwithſtanding that, as

pleaſing

pleaſing as this wine may be, yet it has not the good qualities of the juice of the grape. In what condition ſoever it may be when you drink it, ſweet or ſour, there is always a corroſive quality in it; at leaſt I have reaſon to paſs this judgment upon it, after having made it my only drink during the fifteen days that I ſtaid at Ben. For, ſo long as it continues ſweet, it is not dangerous, whatever quantity you drink of it: and perhaps I was more affected with its corroſive quality, becauſe I had not been uſed to any ſort of wine.

Among the prodigious multitude of palmettos with which the foreſt of Krampſane abounded, I ſaw a great many ſcarce trees and plants. There were two ſpecies of *tabernæmontana*, which I diſtinguiſhed by the beauty of their foliage, of a lively bright green: there was likewiſe a new ſpecies of *bignonia*, remarkable for the bulk of its flowers and the ſingularity of its fruit, which hung like large cucumbers at the end of its branches. Near the village of *Mbao*, I found the pepper plant of Æthiopia, that aromatic tree, which the French who are ſettled at Senegal diſtinguiſh by the name of *maniguette*. Towards the extremity of the foreſt, I ſaw ſeveral ſpecies of anonas or *coroſoliers*, the largeſt of which were in the woods, the middling ones on the hills, and the ſmalleſt in the plains expoſed to the ſun, moſt of them loaded with excellent fruit. Following the ſea-coaſt from Mbao as far as Rufiſk, which is a conſiderable village two leagues and a half from thence, I walked on ſands all covered with ſophora *, and with the Guinea aloe †, of which the negroes in that neighbourhood make very good ropes, not ſo apt to rot in the water.

From the iſle of Goree to Rufiſk they reckon three leagues in a direct line. This voyage I had made by ſea: but it is very difficult to land at the village, eſpecially when the ſea runs high, becauſe the coaſt is low, and full of ſharp rocks. When you come to anchor oppoſite the place, you have a moſt agreeable proſpect: the ſituation upon a hill planted with trees; the little rivulet whoſe brackiſh waters wind to the right, and form a peninſula; the foreſt with perpetual verdure, riſing behind you in the form of an amphitheatre, conſtitute altogether a moſt delightful landſcape, hardly to be matched in any other part of the world.

The negroes hereabouts ſeem to me to be very induſtrious: ſome of them were buſy in beating the leaves of the Guinea aloe, to get out the hemp; others were twiſting it, and making fiſhing lines and nets; others in fine were employed in framing bows and arrows for the chace. After viſiting all the houſes in Rufiſk, I was very much ſurprized upon entering as it were into a ſecond village: this was a cluſter of huts not quite ſo large as the others, covered with ſand, and like ſo many mauſoleums or tombs erected over the dead bodies, that had been interred there, according to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed among the ſeveral clans of the Serera nation.

I had never as yet met with any attack from the negroes till the 4th of May, when walking along the ſea-ſide from Rufiſk to Ben, which is above three leagues from thence, I was purſued by a Serera negro, who, ruſhing out of the neighbouring woods, ſhot his poiſoned arrows againſt me and my negro ſervant. I was above two hundred paces before him; beſides, I was a very good walker, and uſed to thoſe fatiguing ſands, into which a perſon often ſinks up to the calf of his leg. I therefore went on, but doubled my pace, without putting myſelf out of breath, or ſeeming to mind the menacing ſigns, by which he hoped to intimidate me and oblige me to ſtop; for I had another

* Sophora tomentoſa, foliis ſubrotundis, *Linn. Fl. Zeyl.* 163.

† Aloe Guineenſis, radice geniculatâ, foliis eviridi & atro undulatim variegatis. *Comm. hort. Amſt.* vol. ii. pag. 39. tab. 20.

reſource in my gun, ſuppoſe he had come within reach. Doubtleſs this was one of thoſe Serera ſavages, who are united under the form of a petty republic within ten leagues from thence; and he was come out of his own country in queſt of plunder. Nothing could have tempted him but my gun; and, had he been more alert and crafty, he would not certainly have ſpared my life to come at it. This manner of attacking is very common with a race of Moors called *Azounas*, who follow no other profeſſion than that of lying in ambuſh behind a tree, either with a gun or a bow, in order to ſhoot a perſon whom they want to rob of his arms. The like accident had happened to me in my ſecond voyage to Podor; but the Moor whom I eſpied, looked ſeveral times before he would attack me; and ſeemed greatly diſconcerted, when he perceived that I was upon my guard, and aimed my piece at him.

As ſoon as I was out of danger from the Serera ſavage, I had all the pleaſure in the world in walking along a very white ſhore, where the ſea continually throws up an infinite number of ſhells. There I beheld two ſpecies of what we call the *concha Perſica* *, which is the largeſt upon the coaſt: the fiſh it contains weighs ſometimes five or ſix pounds. The negroes broil and preſerve it for times of famine, when they have recourſe to this meat, which is tough and inſipid, yet a great relief in caſe of urgent want. There was alſo plenty of cockles †, and *tonnes* ‡, and a vaſt number of *bivalvous* ſhells, particularly what we call the *concha mucronata* §.

As often as I went to the foreſt of Krampſane, I took different and round-abou ways. Sometimes I directed my ſteps along the ſea-ſide, and found the *ſpartium* ‖t and the *ketmia* with leaves like thoſe of a linden tree, on the banks of the *marigot* of Kann: I likewiſe met with the *ximenia* ¶, the *rimbot*, the *fagara*, and ſome *acacias* or thorny plants upon hills. At other times I traverſed the fertile fields, which were filled with a ſmall ſpecies of anonas, and ſeveral of thoſe *citron* trees, called *toll* by the negroes. Their fruit reſembles very much that of the *manguier* of India, and has both the figure and taſte of a citron. There was no want of game in thoſe parts: there was likewiſe a great number of antelopes, and of a ſmall ſpecies of hinds**, hardly as big as a hare. The latter ſtarted as it were, wherever I trod: one of my negroes happened twice to dart his haſſagaye at them, and twice he hit his aim: he aſſured me that he never courſed this animal any other way. The haſſagaye is a kind of ſpear ſeven or eight feet long, with a piece of iron at the end of it like a pike. This is the weapon which the negroes moſt commonly uſe; and they dart it with their hand. My negro threw his with great force and dexterity; and I learnt a few leſſons of him, which gave me great pleaſure.

My time was divided among plants, animals, and ſhells; but the latter occupied me as much as all the reſt. I availed myſelf of the opportunity of being in a country, where they are in great plenty. The rocks of Cape Bernard and Cape Manuel, oppoſite the iſland of Goree, furniſhed me with a vaſt number of very beautiful ſhells, ſuch as the purple fiſh, the largeſt ſpecies of ſtar-fiſh; and ſeveral ſoft fiſhes, as ſea hares, cuttle fiſh, and polypus. Among the ſands of the creek of Ben, I met with ſome cockles

* See the natural hiſtory of *univalve ſhells*, *ſpecies* 8. plate 3. fig. 1 and 2.
† Ibid. *ſpecies*. 9. plat. 4. fig. 5. *Favel.*
‡ Ibid. of *conchæ operculatæ*, *ſpecies* 2. plat. 7. fig. 5. *Teſan.*
§ Ibid. of *bivalvous ſhells*, *ſpecies* 6, plat. 18. fig. 2. *Koman.*
‖ Spartium ſcandens, citri foliis, floribus albis, ad nodos confertim naſcentibus. *Plum. cat.* p. 19.
¶ Ximenia aculeata, flore villoſo, fructu luteo. *Plum. ſpec.* pag. 6.
** Cervus juveucus, perpuſillus Guineenſis. *Seba*. vol. 1. p. 70, tab. 43. fig. 1, 2, and 3.

and

and *holothuria*. Sometimes I entered the water up to my knees, to extract the ſhells hidden under the ſand, while the negroes went further out to fiſh. They are accuſtomed to catch them in this ſpot with the haſſagaye, wading through the water up to the waiſt, and oftentimes deeper. When they perceive the tunny, the *capitaine*, the ſore mullet, or ſome ſuch large fiſh, they dart their haſſagaye with a marvellous dexterity, and ſeldom miſs their aim. This bay ſupplies them likewiſe with a multitude of middling fiſh, which they catch with nets. They ſplit them in two, and lay them before the ſun to dry, and then they ſell them to the Moors; theſe in exchange ſupply them with millet, which is wanting in their country.

Theſe fiſhes procured me an obſervation, which would not perhaps have offered itſelf elſewhere. As the negroes leave them to dry on the top of their huts, the lions, tygers and wolves, which inceſſantly roam in the neighbourhood, are frequently enticed, by the ſight and ſmell thereof, into the village: and then woe be to the children, or even to the men that are found abroad. One night a lion and a wolf happened to enter, both together, into the yard belonging to the hut where I lay: they raiſed alternately their fore feet up to the roof, which I could eaſily hear them do, and they carried off their proviſion. The next day we were certain, by the impreſſion of their feet, which was ſtrongly marked in the ſand, that they came together; and we diſcovered the place from whence they had taken the two fiſhes; and no doubt but each of them ſeized his prey. This was very moderate for two ſuch voracious animals; but indeed they had not pitched upon the ſmalleſt. I know not whether this remark was ever made before, that the lion and the wolf prowl together: yet it is not an uncommon thing; there are daily inſtances of it in thoſe parts; almoſt every night the wolf is heard to howl cloſe by the lion. The ſame thing I have obſerved, myſelf, a hundred times, in my excurſions up the Niger; and I am perfectly ſure, that the wolf frequently aſſociates with the lion, without having any apprehenſion of danger. Not that the ſize of the African wolf, which is much ſuperior to that of the European, makes any impreſſion on the lion; but the reaſon is, he is no way tempted by the wolf's fleſh. And what confirms me in this opinion, is, that I never obſerved, that the two lions which were brought up in the village of Senegal, ever attacked the dogs that were expoſed to them, or that fell in their way, when they were unchained; whereas they darted inſtantly upon the firſt horſe, or the firſt child they happened to meet.

A few days after this viſit from the lion and the wolf, we received another from a tigreſs, which came to the ſame hut along with her young one, and likewiſe carried off two fiſhes. There need only theſe two inſtances to ſhew how lazy and indifferent are the negroes, in regard to the damage theſe animals do them, and the danger to which their own perſons are continually expoſed. When one aſks them for what reaſon they do not either chace away thoſe animals, or withdraw their fiſh at leaſt in the night; they are ſatisfied with anſwering, that all the world muſt live, and that it would be a greater ſlavery for them to lock up their fiſh every night than to catch them. And indeed we muſt own that the fiſhery on this coaſt is carried on with amazing facility.

Their lands lie entirely uncultivated; either, becauſe the ſands are too ungrateful, or becauſe, being accuſtomed to the fiſhing trade, which coſts them leſs trouble, they neglect all agriculture, and rely on the Moors for every ſort of neceſſaries. Theſe people were here at that time, and had brought their baggage and proviſions with them, not loaded upon oxen and camels; as I had ſeen before to the north of the Niger, but only on aſſes, of which they had great plenty. With difficulty did I know this animal,

he had ſo fine a coat and looked ſo handſome in compariſon to thoſe of Europe; which I believe nevertheleſs would make as good a figure, if the drudgery they are put to, did not greatly contribute to deform them. The hair of the Mooriſh aſſes was of a fine bright mouſe colour, over which the black leather thong which is laid along their backs, and afterwards croſſes over their ſhoulders, has a very good effect. Theſe animals are ſomewhat larger than ours, but they have likewiſe ſomething in the make of their heads, that diſtinguiſhes them from a horſe, and eſpecially from a Barbary horſe, which is the natural growth of the country, like themſelves, but of a larger ſize.

I had ſome time before ſpent a few days among the negroes; but I never made ſuch a long ſtay with them as at preſent by myſelf, and remote from any communication with my own countrymen. Then it was, that I had an opportunity of being perfectly acquainted with their character, cuſtoms, and manner of living: I was even preſent once at their ceremony of marriage; but this would make me digreſs too far from my ſubject; I ſhall only obſerve that in general they are very humane and hoſpitable.

The ninth of May, I returned from Ben to Goree, from whence I ſet out the 10th of the enſuing month for the iſland of Senegal. I arrived the 15th at the bar, where I was obliged to wait for wind four whole days. The reader may judge, what uneaſineſs I muſt have ſuffered in a ſmall veſſel, toſſed to and fro by the rolling billows. There I had leiſure to conſider the ſurpriſing effect of the waves off the bar, and to direct my eye all round me, without perceiving any thing elſe but dazzling ſands on one ſide, and the liquid main on the other. True it is, that this ſameneſs of proſpect was varied a little, by ſeeing the *pirogues* of the negro fiſhermen, who bravely ventured over the bar, to bring us proviſions on board. Though the ſea runs very high upon the coaſt, yet there is a great deal of fiſh in the road. Our ſailors catched abundance with their line, eſpecially a ſort of ſea truſh, which is very common in that ſea. This fiſh is very ready to bite; and, as ſoon as it has laid hold of the hook, it is pleaſant to ſee what jerks and leaps it makes to get free; to ſuch a degree, that it inverts its ſtomach, which you ſee iſſuing out of its mouth in the ſhape of a carp's bladder: theſe ſtrugglings are alſo attended with a hollow rumbling noiſe, which has given it the name of *grondin*, or *grumbler*, whereby it is known on this coaſt.

A weſterly wind reſcued me from this wretched ſituation, and carried me over the bar to the iſland of Senegal the 20th of June. I ſtood in great need of repoſe, after the fatigues I had undergone in my voyage, from which I ſuffered much more than I ſhould have done from a long fit of illneſs. Every body knows, that the ſea ſickneſs is a kind of weakneſs or faintneſs, which cauſeth a nauſeouſneſs and vomiting, more or leſs, according to the difference of conſtitutions expoſed to that element. Some people are never ſeized with it: others feel the effects of it but the firſt day or two, and then it leaves behind it a certain dizzineſs: others are never ſeized with this diſorder, except when the ſea is very much agitated, and the motion of the ſhip becomes extremely violent: others, in ſhort, and of this number was I, are troubled with it the whole time they are at ſea, in ſhort voyages even of two hours, as well as in long ones; in calms as well as in ſtormy weather. Robuſt and feeble conſtitutions are attacked with it all the ſame: there are only ſome particular habits of body, thoſe of children for example, and perſons weakened by ſickneſs, and a few others in health, that are exempt from it. But of the latter, why ſome ſhould be ſubject to, and others free from this illneſs, is not yet known. The general utility that would reſult from this knowledge, which, in ſo learned an age, might paſs for a real diſcovery, deſerves the

attention of the gentlemen of the faculty *, who have occaſion to perform a voyage by ſea, or an opportunity of making theſe experiments. If once the cauſe of this malady were known, ſome ſafe preſervative might be found out, which would render this element acceſſible to perſons, who, with abilities and the beſt diſpoſition in the world for ſea voyages, are often diſcouraged merely by this obſtruction.

To ſuch a degree had this complaint (which does not however meet with its due degree of pity) ruined and diſordered my ſtomach, that, upon my arrival at the iſland of Senegal, I ſaw no other way to re-eſtabliſh my health, than by fixing my abode there, and renouncing all ſea voyages, with a firm reſolution not to go to ſea again, till my return to France. Beſides, I had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the voyages I had already made, as they had turned out ſo greatly to the advancement of natural hiſtory, ſo far as it regards the ſouthern parts of our ſettlement: and the neighbourhood of the iſland of Senegal, and the Niger, was likely to furniſh me with many obſervations in phyſics and natural hiſtory, which had eſcaped me before. I ſtaid therefore on this ſpot ſome years longer, during which time, beſides theſe remarks, I had leiſure to draw a few topographical charts, by which I deſigned to ſteer my courſe in my little voyages. In the ſequel of this narrative, I ſhall only take notice of the moſt remarkable occurrences in thoſe excurſions in the neighbourhood of the iſland of Senegal.

I had been long deſirous of making a viſit to the village of Kionk, which is in the Wood Iſland, within a league north of the iſland of Senegal. Thither at length I went the fourth of September in a ſhallop; but I was not fortunate in my return, for, when we were in the middle of the river, a violent eaſt-wind aroſe, which warned us to make the beſt of our way to land, in order to avoid the impending ſtorm. And indeed, I had hardly croſſed the point of the *Wood Iſland*, when the tempeſt burſt. As it was impoſſible for me to reach the ſhore, make what haſte I would, and the danger was imminent, I immediately made for the ſand-bank, which joins this point to the iſland of Senegal. The negroes belonging to a *pirogue*, which had been alſo catched in the ſtorm, leaped into the water up to their waiſt on this very ſand-bank, and upheld it againſt the violence of the waves, which had overwhelmed it in the beginning; their example was followed by the ſix negroes belonging to my ſhallop, and by ten other men and women paſſengers, who jumped immediately into the water, and dividing themſelves all round the boat, ſupported it againſt the raging elements. This was the ſureſt way to hinder it from being overſet, or thrown upon the bank, where it would have been infallibly broke to pieces; and we had reaſon to be afraid of one or other of thoſe accidents, the bed of the Niger being conſiderably widened in this ſpot by the junction of its two branches, which form a kind of lake, of ſo ſpacious an extent, as to be open on every ſide to raving tempeſts. The preſent weather might really deſerve that name, the wind and rain being attended with flaſhes of lightning and loud claps of thunder. Notwithſtanding that the negroes were ſo careful as to uphold my

* To ſerve the gentlemen of the faculty, who may chance to ſet about an inquiry into the cauſe of this diſorder, I ſhall inſert here a few more remarks which I have made on this ſubject. 1. Thoſe who were ſick during the whole voyage, the firſt time they embarked on board a middling ſhip of 500 tons, did not feel a dizzineſs or head-ache, till after four hours were expired; the vomiting did not come on till the ſeventh hour, and continued the whole time of the voyage, which was two months. 2. When I did not ſtay long enough at ſea to be troubled with a vomiting, it ſeized me an hour or two after I went on ſhore, whether I had eaten or not at my landing. 3. It very rarely happens that a ſea ſickneſs produceth a fever; it only diſorders the ſtomach, without taking away the appetite. 4. I obſerved that more women by far than men, eſcaped this illneſs; and more of thoſe who are ſhort-ſighted than otherwiſe. 5. Finally, I took notice, that thoſe who have been moſt afflicted with this complaint at ſea, have always much better health on ſhore, than ſuch as ſeemed to be the moſt vigorous and hearty at ſea.

boat,

boat, yet this did not hinder it from making a foot and a half of water, partly with what fell from the heavens, and partly with the waves, which ſometimes inwrapped it in the form of a ſheet, in which I was alſo enveloped. Beſides, I was waſhed, and, as it were, ſcowered by the rain, which the wind impelled againſt me with the utmoſt violence; and it came ſo very quick upon me, as almoſt to take away my breath, though I had ſheltered myſelf under one of the ſailor's cloaks. Thus the boiſterous elements drove my negroes and the boat with ſuch force, that I began to be afraid both for them and for myſelf. Yet they did not let go their hold; their courage ſupported them upwards of two hours, and preſerved us from ruin.

This whirlwind began at three o'clock in the afternoon, but did not afford matter of obſervation, till towards the end. The wind ceaſing about five, gave us an opportunity to ſteer to the north point of the iſland of Senegal. This was the neareſt land, and I was in a hurry to reach it, in order to dry myſelf as ſoon as poſſible; for the boat was ſtill half full of water, notwithſtanding the pains the ten paſſengers had taken to empty it, as faſt as the waves broke over it, which was almoſt every inſtant. While we were advancing with our oars, there appeared a phænomenon, which I had never ſeen before ſo near; and I do not remember, that any writer has ever mentioned it. This was a kind of ball, like unto a column of ſmoke, that turned round upon itſelf; it was from ten to twelve feet broad, and about two hundred and fifty in height; its baſe was upon the water, and an eaſterly wind was wafting it towards us. As ſoon as the negroes ſaw it, they rowed as hard as they could to avoid it. They were better acquainted than I with the danger to which we muſt have been expoſed, had this whirlwind burſt over us; its uſual effect being to ſtifle thoſe it envelopes, with heat, and ſometimes to ſet ſome of their houſes on fire; and they knew ſeveral inſtances of people who had loſt their lives by the like accident. They were ſo fortunate as to leave this dangerous phænomenon upwards of eighteen fathoms behind the ſhallop; and they congratulated each other upon having ſo luckily eſcaped a torrent of fire, which by day-light appeared only as a thick ſmoke. The heat thereof, though at the diſtance of above a hundred feet, was very ſtrong, ſo as to make my clothes ſmoke, though it had not time to dry them. The atmoſphere had then 25 degrees of heat; and I believe that the column of ſmoke muſt at leaſt have had fifty, to render the humidity ſenſible to us. It left behind it a very ſtrong ſmell, more nitrous than ſulphureous, which annoyed us a long time, and the firſt impreſſion was made by a light ſtimulation in the noſtrils. This occaſioned ſome to ſneeze, but in me it produced a heavineſs and difficulty of reſpiration.

In the month of March, in the year 1751, I began to take the plan of the neighbourhood of the iſland of Senegal. The eighth, I ſet out in my *pirogue*, with my two *cubalots*, (the name uſually given to the negro fiſhermen) intending to make a tour round the iſland of Sor by water, as I was well acquainted with the inland parts. I therefore went up the Niger, keeping cloſe along the iſland up to its northern point, in order to enter the *marigot* of Kantai, which waſhes its eaſtern ſhore, and to trace its courſe. As ſoon as I entered it, I thought myſelf rather in a fiſh-pond, than in a river from fifteen to twenty fathoms broad; ſo greatly did it abound with fiſh. It was a pleaſure to ſail along a ſtream as tranſparent and ſmooth as glaſs, while the banks were planted with very high mangroves, which afforded a verdant ſhade above the ſpace of a league. The fiſh bounced and leaped on every ſide of us; but what was moſt extraordinary, wherever we paſſed, ſome of them were continually leaping into the boat. The largeſt, as the beſt jumpers, paſſed over us; but almoſt all the middling ones fell in. As their motions in whirling about did not ſeem natural or voluntary, I examined

examined into them, in order to diſcover their cauſe; and I found, moſt of them had received the impreſſion of teeth on ſome parts of their bodies; from whence I concluded, that they had been purſued by the larger fiſh that wanted to prey upon them. For two hours that I kept ſailing along this *marigot*, I reckoned two hundred and thirty fiſhes called *carpets**, which were catched in this manner without any other artifice. This was a moderate fiſhing to my Negroes: as they were *cubalots*, that is, fiſhermen by trade, they did not ſeem to be much ſurprized at it: nay, they told me, that when they fiſhed for the large fiſh with the line or rod, they let their *pirogue* go down the current of theſe little rivers, and frequently depended more on the ſmall fiſh that were taken in this manner, than on the chance of the large ones.

Never had cormorants, duckers, and falcon-fiſhers, finer ſport; and indeed all the mangroves were covered with them. The falcon-fiſher, which the Jaloffs call by the name of *nguiarkol*, and the French by that of *nanette*, is a bird about the bigneſs of a gooſe, with brown feathers, except the head, neck, breaſt, and tail, which are a beautiful white. It has a ſtrong hooked bill like an eagle, with ſharp talons, incurvated in a ſemicircular form, which it uſes moſt dexterouſly in fiſhing. It generally perches on trees near the water; where, as ſoon as it ſees a fiſh draw near the ſurface, it darts upon and ſeizes it with its talons. I killed one of them, which made my negroes look upon me with a very bad eye, becauſe they fear and reverence this bird; they even carry their ſuperſtition ſo far, as to place it among the number of their *marabous*, that is, of their prieſts, whom they look upon as perſons ſacred and divine. Yet they were appeaſed, when they ſaw, I had got them a fiſh of above four pounds, which this pretended *marabou* had carried to the bank of the river, in order to feaſt upon it.

There happened to me another adventure, of much the ſame nature, on the 22d of April, at the village of Sor. I was ſitting on a mat in the middle of a court yard, with the governor of the village, and his whole family; when a viper of the miſchievous kind, after winding round the company, was drawing near to me. This familiarity I did not at all reliſh; and, to prevent any accident, I thought proper to kill it directly, with a ſtick I had in my hand. Inſtantly, the whole company ſtarting up, made loud outcries, as if I had committed murder; and they all flew away, ſo that the place was ſoon deſerted. As the affair grew ſerious, and the report thereof was ſpread over the village, I laid hold of this opportunity, now that I was by myſelf, to put the viper into my handkerchief, and to hide it in my waiſtcoat pocket. This was the beſt method to make ſure of this animal, which is ſo difficult to be had in that country; and at the ſame time the way to calm their minds, by removing it out of ſight. I was not very ſafe upon that ſpot; and, perhaps they would have done me ſome miſchief; but the maſter of the village, a man of good ſenſe, in whoſe houſe this whole affair had paſſed, ſoon reflected that both his honour and intereſt called upon him to quiet the tumult, and to ſilence the report. This he did effectually by means of his authority as governor; though his prudent conduct, and his character as *marabou*, were of no ſmall aſſiſtance to him. This ſpecimen ſhews how zealouſly the negroes are attached to their religion, and to their ſuperſtitious obſervances. They do not look upon ſerpents as deities, yet they reſpect them enough not to kill them: they let them grow and multiply in their huts, though theſe animals frequently eat their chickens, and dare to lie, as it were, with themſelves. True it is, they ſeldom hurt any body; they muſt be either attacked, or wounded, or trod upon, before they will be provoked to bite.

* A ſort of fiſh like a carp, but ſhorter.

The 7th of May, I fell down the Niger, in order to viſit the *marigot* of Del, which is not very far from its mouth. The wind was favourable; and my negroes, to avoid the trouble of rowing, put up their ſail. A *pirogue* only thirty feet in length could not want a very large ſail; and indeed they were not much at a loſs to find one. A negro erected a pole of about ten feet, in the fore part of the boat, and then ſet another ſmall one acroſs the top of it, whereon he hung his *paan*. Theſe *paans* are very uſeful: their ſhape is ſuch, that you may occaſionally make them ſerve for a ſail, a ſheet, a bed covering, a cloak, a petticoat, or a faſh. I cannot compare the figure of this ſail to any thing better than that of a banner or ſtandard, with the two lower ends faſtened to each ſide of the *pirogue*. The negro who was upon the poop, ſteered with his paddle; while the other managed the ſail, and turned it to the wind. With this feeble aid, I advanced near two leagues in leſs than an hour's time, and arrived at the entrance of the *marigot* of Del. Juſt where it diſcharges itſelf into the Niger, it is ſtopped up by a bar of ſand, where the river is ſometimes ſo rough, when a north wind blows, as to hinder the large *pirogues* from entering. My people concerted their matters ſo well, that they got over the difficulty, and, after conducting me through all the windings of the *marigot*, they landed me at the village of Del, which was built on the extremity of a bank of ſhells, that extended near a league to the northward. It appeared remarkable, that this bank was entirely bare to the ſurface, and that all the ſhells were of one ſpecies of oyſters, which had heretofore lived on the mangroves of the neighbouring *marigots*, in the ſame manner as I had obſerved of theſe in the river *Gambia*.

The ſea had brought into the Niger a prodigious quantity of ſea *poumons* and *velettes*, which upon my return I had leiſure to ſee floating on the water. The former of thoſe fiſhes are known in this country by the name of Flemiſh caps, and the latter by that of *galeres**. Nothing can bear a nearer reſemblance to a bladder filled with air, and painted a beautiful red, than the body of the *galere*. You can hardly diſtinguiſh any other part of it than a fringe upon the back, and eight fillets under the belly, that deſcend downwards, to ſerve, as it were, for a ballaſt to the bladder which floats above water, and is toſſed to and fro by the winds. This animal, though unſhapen and almoſt without any ſenſible motion, is cauſtic to ſuch a degree, that, when you touch it, you immediately feel a pain as if you were burnt. I took one into my hand to make a trial, and held it till I began to feel its effect: this appeared externally by a little redneſs, followed by a pricking and an inflammation, which did not ceaſe till four hours after. The pain was communicated to all the tender parts of the body, as to the face, and eſpecially to the eye-brows, by a very ſlender contact of the hand inflamed.

The remarks I had made for ſome years, with great attention, and with particular views, in regard to the heats of the country, appeared to me important enough to be enlarged, in ſuch a manner as to render them ſuſceptible of compariſon. I reſolved therefore to obſerve, during the hotteſt days in the year, the degrees marked by M. *de Reaumur*'s thermometer, when expoſed to the open air; and thoſe which a ſecond inſtrument of the like nature would mark, during the ſame time, in the ſands expoſed to the ſun. M. *Andriot*, who, beſides being extremely well ſkilled in natural philoſophy, is a very accurate obſerver, was of great aſſiſtance to me on this occaſion; for he was ſo good as to be at equal trouble with me, whenever I wanted a perſon to make experiments in one place correſpondent to thoſe I was performing in another. Such was the tribute we mutually paid to the friendſhip, which had ſo cloſely united us ever ſince our youth.

* Urtica marina ſoluta purpurea, oblonga, cirrhis longiſſimis. *Sloan. Jam.* Vol. 1. pag. 7. Tab. 4. Fig. 5.

I pitched

I pitched upon the 4th of July, to make one of thoſe important obſervations on the iſland of Senegal. The ſun was then diſtant from our zenith, no more than ſeven degrees north, ſo that it might be looked upon as vertical towards noon-day. The Savanna which extends weſt of the fort St. Lewis, like a great plain, level with the neighbouring ſea, and expoſed to the winds on all ſides, eſpecially to the weſt, which blew that day, afforded me the beſt place I could deſire for my purpoſe, becauſe it has no ſhelter. A little ſand-hill about four feet high, that ſtood very conveniently in the middle of the plain, was the ſpot on which I ſet an exact thermometer before the ſun, fixing the ball in the ſand. I placed it towards ten o'clock in the morning, and there it ſtaid till three in the afternoon. During this whole time, I obſerved the degrees of aſcenſion in the liquor of the thermometer every five minutes. M. *Andriot* kept an account thereof, under a ſmall ſhed of ſtraw, whither I retired from time to time, to ſkreen myſelf from the rays of the ſun, which made my head very dizzy. He ſtaid to watch this inſtrument, and to make his obſervations, while I went to the fort, in order to conſult another thermometer, which I held continually ſuſpended in the open air, in the ſhade eighteen feet from the ground, to avoid the reflection of heat. This marked 30 degrees for the heat of the open air, in the coldeſt expoſition of the iſland, while the other marked the heat of the ſand at 60 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$. I had put three eggs into the ground, and covered them with ſand, where I left them about three hours, in order to know for certain what effect this heat would produce upon them: I perceived they were not hard, but the white ſtuck a little round the ſhell; and they were fit for eating: accordingly we dined upon them, and found them very good. There is reaſon to believe that, if the tube of the thermometer had been long enough to give more room for the liquor to play, it would have aſcended a great deal higher than 60 degrees $\frac{1}{3}$, as I perceived afterwards, upon repeating theſe obſervations with other thermometers graduated up to boiling water. I ſhall not deſcant any further on theſe experiments; it will ſuffice at preſent to have only hinted at them. as I intend to enter into a more minute detail, in my treatiſe of obſervations on natural hiſtory.

The ninth of September, there aroſe in the night a violent eaſt wind, which brought on a very heavy rain, attended with ſuch quick flaſhes of lightning, that they ſeemed to be one continued coruſcation. The thunder burſt at the ſame time in two different places in the iſland of Senegal; one was the maſt of a veſſel; the other the hoſpital; within two hundred fathoms of one another on the ſame bank of the Niger. That which fell on the hoſpital, did no other harm than breaking two weather-cocks on the ſame pavillion, knocking a few tiles off the top of the houſe, ſplitting ſeveral of the rafters, and burſting three ſtones on the floor, where it ſpent itſelf on the lime, without hurting any of the ſick that were very near. There was ſomething more remarkable in what happened to the maſt of the ſhip, which was about forty feet high, and done all over with pitch and tar. The thunder furrowed it two inches deep, but unequally, from one end to the other, without touching the iron work, the tackling, or any of the pitched cordage with which it was ſurrounded; and it ſpent itſelf on the quarter-deck, which was covered with a large tarpawling of thick canvaſs, alſo done over with pitch and tar. It ſeems as if the roſin broke the violence of the thunder, and diverted it another way. It is well known, that the outſides of thoſe veſſels are well ſecured with pitch and tar, ſo that their external ſurface may be conſidered as one continued lay of roſin. A negro, who had been entruſted with the care of the ſhip that night, having laid himſelf down to ſleep in the back cabin, felt a ſudden ſhock, of which there remained very ſtrong impreſſions the next day, in every part of his body. I leave it to philoſophers, curious about this ſort of phænomena, to judge

whether there can be a greater analogy between the ordinary effects of electricity, and thoſe produced on this occaſion by thunder.

The waters of the Niger were ſo ſwelled with this ſtorm of rain, and ruſhed on with ſuch precipitation, that they looſened, four or five leagues from thence, a little ſlip of land which floated along with the ſtream. The next morning it was ſeen like another Delos, following the current of the Niger, and ſteering its courſe towards the ſea. Its agreeable verdure, and the beautiful diſpoſition of the trees with which it was covered, gave it the air of an enchanted iſland, and raiſed a deſire in the inhabitants of Senegal to get it into their poſſeſſion. Immediately a boat was ſent, and overtook it; the ſailors faſtened ſeveral ropes to the trees, and obliged it, in ſpite of all the reſiſtance it could make, to join the ſands of Senegal. The whole village flocked to ſee this curious ſpectacle; never had they beheld ſo delightful an iſland: they all ſeemed eager to go upon it, but were afraid of its roots, which they took for ſerpents. I meaſured it, and found it but four fathoms diameter: it was round, and bore only a ſpinous ſhrub ten feet high, to which the negroes give the name of *billeur**. Its roots were extremely cloſe and intertwiſted one within the other: they held but very little clay together, which the water could not waſh away. The wood of this plant is a vaſt deal lighter than cork: the inhabitants of the country make uſe of it in fiſhing, when they want to ſwim over the river, where it happens to be too broad.

The negroes are all excellent ſwimmers; and nothing can be a ſtronger proof of this, than the intrepidity, with which they expoſe themſelves on the bar. The twenty-fifth of the ſame month, I was on the ſea ſhore, buſied in obſerving the height of the equinoctial tides, when a French veſſel arrived oppoſite to the fort of Senegal. The ſhip's boat advanced towards the bar; and there waited till ſomebody from ſhore came to ſee what diſpatches it brought. The negro, who was uſed to this buſineſs, jumped into the water to fetch the letters, though there was a greater ſwell than uſual, becauſe the tides roſe to a higher pitch. To behold the violent agitation of the ſea, the billows riſing above ten feet, and then falling like ſo many ſheets of water, with prodigious noiſe and weight, one would never imagine that he could poſſibly ſurmount them: yet he paſſed them all, riding upon the backs of ſome, and plunging under others, where he ſeemed to be buried, till at length he happily got on ſhore, with the diſpatches committed to his care. Neither is the ſea the object moſt to be dreaded during this paſſage; there are ſuch terrible *requiens* on the bar, that they oftentimes devour the divers. No doubt but it was owing to ſome accident of this kind, that a negro diſappeared this very month, and was never more heard of.

The next day we catched a fiſh in the river, that has very little relation to any of the known inhabitants of the liquid element. Its body is round, without ſcales, and ſmooth as an eel, but much thicker in proportion to its length. The negroes call it *ouaniear*, and the French *trembleur*, or *quaker*, from the effect it produces, which is not a numbneſs like that ariſing from the cramp-fiſh, but a very painful trembling in the limbs of thoſe who touch it. This effect did not appear to differ ſenſibly from the electrical motion of the Leyden experiment, which I had felt ſeveral times: and it is communicated in the ſame manner by ſimple contact, with a ſtick or iron rod five or ſix feet long; ſo as to make you inſtantly drop whatever you hold in your hand. I have tried this experiment ſeveral times, as well as that of eating of this fiſh, which, though very well taſted, is not equally proper for all conſtitutions.

The iſland of Senegal, as I have ſeveral times obſerved, is no more than a naked ſand-bank, which produces but a few herbs, and whoſe inſufficient and improper to

* A new ſpecies of ſeſban

feed

feed the Company's flocks. This has obliged them to look out for a place, where the cattle might find paſture, and ſecurity againſt the depredations of the Moors and the negroes. Theſe advantages are in ſome meaſure found on a pretty large iſland, called Griel, within two leagues north of Senegal. The conveniency of getting to this place by means of a ſmall river of the ſame name, and the agreeable deſcription I had heard of it, induced me to take a trip thither for a few days. I ſet out the 2d of October, by the ſame canal which is parallel to the principal branch of the Niger, and ſeparated all along from the ſea, only by a narrow neck of ſand, about a hundred fathoms at moſt in breadth. It was covered with pelicans, or wide-throats, which moved with great ſtate, like ſwans upon the water. Without doubt, theſe are the largeſt birds in the country, next to the oſtrich. I killed one, whoſe wings, meaſuring from one end to the other, were above ten feet wide. Its bill was upwards of a foot and a half long; and the bag, faſtened underneath, held near two and twenty pints of water. This bag is not only for fiſhing; but is like a kind of caſting net, which nature hath given thoſe birds, to facilitate the means of providing for their wants. It could not be given to any animal that knows how to make better uſe of it, for they may be ſaid to fiſh in perfection. They generally ſwim in flocks in deep water, and form at firſt a large circle, but contract it afterwards, by drawing near to one another gradually, in order to bring the fiſh along with them, which the motion of their feet has confined within that ſpace; and as ſoon as they ſee a ſufficient number of them together, they plunge their bill wide open into the water, and ſhut it again as quick as a fiſherman caſts and draws his net. In order to empty their bag of the water with which it is filled, they only lean their bill on one ſide, and open it gently; then the water runs out, and leaves the fiſhes dry, which they eat very quietly on ſhore.

When we were within a quarter of a league of the iſland of Griel, we thought we ſaw a beautiful avenue of trees, which preſents itſelf ſideways: their ſymmetry would even make one imagine, that they were planted on purpoſe to form a delightful viſta; yet they were only calabaſhes, ſown by the hands of nature, and eaſily known by their make and ſize. Except theſe trees, of which there is a great number on this point, and a few mangroves, there are hardly any others on the iſland. The meadow is on this ſame ſide, on a red ſand-hill, which is ſown here and there with a few ſhrubs, and eſpecially with tithymals, whoſe white flowers are agreeably intermixed with the lively colours of the ſuperb lily* by which they are topped. The reſt of the iſland is a ſmooth even plain, the greateſt part of which is laid under water during the rainy ſeaſon: it is uncovered in the winter by draining the waters into a ſmall rivulet, which ſeems to form a little iſle in the larger iſland of Griel. This part balances the good qualities of the other; for it produces only two ſorts of plants†, of which the cattle do not ſeem to be very fond.

After paſſing the rivulet that ſeparates the little iſle from the larger iſland of Griel, I found towards the north the village of Dounn on a reddiſh ſand, the ground ſomewhat higher and ſurprizingly fruitful. Proceeding ſtill further north, I came to the village of Nguiago, from whence I perceived, at the diſtance of a league to the right, the village of Torkrod, which is ſeparated from thence all the way by a moraſs. As this moraſs is full of water and reeds, it abounds with aquatic birds, ſuch as curlews, woodcocks, teals, and wild ducks. The latter are of a ſmall ſize, and a little different from our European wild duck: there is ſuch plenty or them in this neighbourhood, as to cover a very large tract of ground: they ſhew themſelves by thouſands, and you kill them, as it were, by thouſands. It is not uncommon to ſee thirty of them drop at one ſhot, and oftentimes twice the number. True it is, that theſe

* A new ſpecies of *methonica*. † The marina criſta or ſalicornia, and Linnæus's *creſſa*. *Spec. Plant.* p. 223.

lucky ſhots are reſerved for the negroes: for beſides their being very good markſmen and their making uſe only of thoſe large fowling-pieces called buccaneers, and aiming at thoſe birds only upon level ground and in large plains, they have ſtill another advantage over Europeans: they can draw near the game by means of the colour of their bodies, which, being black from head to foot, are confounded with the verdure of the field; whereas the white face of the Europeans, or the ſmalleſt bit of a ſleeve or neck-cloth, is perceived afar off by thoſe birds, and the leaſt noiſe in the world frightens them away, before you come within reach of them.

The negroes of this neighbourhood are obliged to lie on very high beds, in order to be ſheltered from the muſketoes, of which there are great ſwarms, eſpecially in this month. Theſe beds are from five to ſix feet ſquare, and conſiſt of a double texture of ſticks laid very cloſe together, and ſupported by four poſts, which are raiſed eight or nine feet from the ground. They mount this kind of platform by ſtep-ladders, faſtened to two of the poſts perpendicularly over one another. This ſituation is far from being convenient; for it is very difficult to aſcend thoſe ladders, moſt of them being out of order by frequent mounting; and one's foot is apt to ſlip towards that ſide which they incline to: yet the negroes climb them with great eaſe. At ſun-ſet, the muſketoes iſſue forth in ſwarms, and then the negroes betake themſelves to their platform. There they ſup and ſmoke, and chat for a great part of the night, after which they ſleep till day in the open air. I had never uſed the precaution to take a tent with me; ſo that I lay with them and in their manner, that is, almoſt naked, the great heat not permitting me to wear any ſort of garment. The muſketoes indeed were not ſo troubleſome here as under cover; ſtill they ſucked a good deal of blood, and every morning I had my face diſfigured with pimples. This, however, did not hinder me from paſſing my nights very agreeably.

Beſides the amuſement I received from the fables, dialogues, and witty ſtories, with which the negroes entertained each other alternately, according to their cuſtom; I was raviſhed with beholding a ſky ever blue and ſerene, and beſpangled with ſtars that ſhone forth with the brighteſt luſtre. Raiſed on this platform as on a ſmall obſervatory, open on all ſides, I could eaſily accompany thoſe luminaries with my eye in their common revolution from eaſt to weſt. Oftentimes, I did not loſe ſight of the upper edge of the diſk of the ſun and of the larger ſtars, till they plunged under the horizon of the ocean: and it was not uncommon for me, to pay the ſame attendance upon ſome ſtars, much below the ſecond magnitude; though they could not be diſcerned after their riſe, till towards the third or fourth degree of their aſcenſion above the horizon, by reaſon of the vapours, which are more frequent upon land.

The negroes likewiſe pointed to me a conſiderable number of the ſtars, that form the chief conſtellations, as Leo, Scorpio, Aquile, Pegaſus, Orion, Sirius, Procyon, Spica, Canopus, beſides moſt of the planets, wherewith they were well acquainted. Nay, they went ſo far, as to diſtinguiſh the ſcintillations of the ſtars, which at that time began to be viſible to the eye. It is amazing, that ſuch a rude and illiterate people ſhould reaſon ſo pertinently in regard to thoſe heavenly bodies; for there is no manner of doubt but that, with proper inſtruments and a good will, they would become excellent aſtronomers; by reaſon that they live in a climate that enjoys a clear ſky, almoſt the year round; and, as they ſpend their time out of doors, they have all manner of conveniencies for examining, every moment, into what paſſes in the ſtarry regions.

A few days after my return to the iſland of Senegal, the north part of the village was burnt down to the ground. The reader may eaſily imagine what havock the flames, eſpecially when fanned by a very ſtrong north-eaſt wind, muſt have made among a

parcel of ſtraw huts, that ſtood extremely cloſe to each other, and had been dried by the heat of the ſun. In vain did the marabous climb on the top of the cottages, and ſpit into the blaze; in vain did they mumble over their prayers, and act a thouſand ridiculous mummeries; not one of the huts, over which they performed thoſe charms, eſcaped: neither was the fury of the flames aſſuaged, till the inhabitants, finding the inutility of thoſe ſuperſtitious incantations, beſtirred themſelves with all their might, in throwing water and ſand to extinguiſh the fire. The day following, they endeavoured to repair their loſs; new cottages were raiſed on the ſame ſpot; and in a few days there were no veſtiges remaining of the damage done by this conflagration. So common are theſe accidents in this country, that I remember ſome years, wherein not a month, nay ſometimes not above a week or a fortnight elapſed, witout one hut or another taking fire: and ſometimes it ſpreads with ſuch fury, that in the ſpace of five years, one half of the village of Senegal, extending very near four hundred fathoms, was twice burnt down to the ground, in leſs than four and twenty hours. The cauſe of theſe misfortunes is frequently unknown, for they commonly happen in the day-time, during the moſt ſcorching heats of the ſun; and the negroes are ſo uſed to them, that they ſeldom loſe either their lives or effects, ſo that they expect them continually, without living under any great apprehenſion.

The iſland of Sor is divided into two unequal parts by a ſmall *marigot*, the mouth of which is oppoſite to the fort on the iſland of Senegal. I entered it the firſt time, in my *pirogue*, the 8th of December. This rivulet is ſo narrow, that the branches of the mangroves on each ſide join together, and form a kind of iſle or covered alley, which extends almoſt a quarter of a league in length. I paid dearly for the ſervice thoſe trees did me, in ſheltering me from the heat of the ſun; for in an inſtant I was attacked by a prodigious ſwarm of muſketoes, and large flies *, whoſe ſtings are as painful as thoſe of bees. My negroes, being naked, ſuffered infinitely more than I; their bodies were covered with theſe inſects in ſuch a manner, that they made ſeveral rows cloſe upon one another. I really believe ſuch a ſpectacle was never ſeen before; and that all theſe ſtingings drained them of as much blood, as they would have loſt by a copious bleeding. This canal muſt have been the great thoroughfare for the muſketoes coming from the bottom of the wood, which ſeems to be the general magazine of the country, from whence they iſſue out in ſwarms, and ſpread themſelves among the villages and other places inhabited by man or beaſt.

Were it not for the above inconveniency, this rivulet would be the fineſt place in the world for a trip on the water. The breadth of it is from two to four fathoms; with as many, and ſometimes more in depth. It is frequented by a great number of birds, all excelling each other in beauty; and eſpecially by ſeveral ſpecies of the king-fiſher, whoſe plumage is agreeably depicted with variety of the moſt lively colours. There you hear alſo a continual warbling of birds, with repeated echoes from the many trunks of trees, with which the banks are lined. The two extremities thereof are ſtopped up with a ſhoal, which admits of none but *pirogues* to enter: yet taking the opportunity of the tide, ſhallops might be ſent up it by the *marigot* of Kantai, to cut down a conſiderable quantity of mangroves, moſt of which are from twelve to fifteen inches in diameter, and might be of excellent uſe for timber to build houſes. The bank at the eaſt end of the rivulet is a ſlimy ſand, which is bare at low water. When I paſſed that way, half a dozen crocodiles lay ſtretched out before the ſun, immoveable, like ſo many pieces of log-wood, on the ground. Whenever the negroes come near this place, they are ſure to find theſe animals here; and thence it is that they call this rivulet the *marigot* of the *diaſiks*, which, in their language, ſignifies the rivulet of the crocodiles.

* Tabanus; the gad-fly.

To

To the right of this ſhoal, I entered the *marigot* of Kantai, where the negroes were at that time very buſy in fiſhing for the lamantin, or ſea-cow. This fiſh, which has been mentioned by all voyagers, and which many have deſcribed without being well acquainted with it, and which probably gave riſe to the fable of the mermaids, deſerves ſo particular a deſcription, that I ſhall be excuſed from ſaying any thing more about it in this compendious narrative. There does not paſs a year in which the negro inhabitants of this neighbourhood, who have reſerved the fiſhery to themſelves, excluſive of all others, do not catch half a dozen, the greateſt part of which they ſell to the fort of Senegal. It is caught only in December and January, which are the moſt favourable months. The fleſh of it is fine eating; being of the colour of veal or pork, and in taſte partaking of both; but it ſeldom is ſo tender.

Aſcending the Niger, as we came out of the *marigots* of Kantai and Guaira, I ſaw along the coaſt of Barbary the ſeveral gutters, which the ſea had made the day before by daſhing with ſuch violence againſt the ſands. It was ſtill high enough to pour its waters into the river; and what is very remarkable, in regard to this effect of a ſwelling ſea, is, its having appeared ſeveral years ſucceſſively during the winter ſolſtice, and not in the equinoxes, as if the tides were ſtronger in that ſeaſon of the year than in this.

Notwithſtanding that I made all the haſte I could, yet I did not get back to the point of the iſland of Senegal till ſix in the evening; and when I reached the fort, it was night. For in thoſe countries, where the nights and days are almoſt equal the year round, they have but very little twilight, and there is not the difference of a quarter of an hour between ſun-ſet and darkneſs: ſo that, as ſoon as it is ten or fifteen degrees below the horizon, an opake gloom ſpreads itſelf over the ſurface of the earth, and it is then as dark as midnight.

Pleaſed with what I had learned by a conſtant navigation for ſeveral months ſucceſſively in all the ſmall rivers of the neighbourhood of the iſle of Sor, I was not willing to loſe the opportunity of ſeeing their method of tillage, which was to be in the beginning of the month of June the next year, in that iſland. Early in the morning, the 8th of June, all the inhabitants attended the lord of the village into the field, ſinging and dancing as on a great feſtival: ſome carried their tabor and pipe; others had no other tool or inſtrument than a ſmall ſpade helved with a ſtick, which was bent in the middle, and long enough to prevent their being obliged to ſtoop to work. After they had all danced a few minutes on the very ſpot, the latter, without interrupting the cadence, began to throw up the ground with their ſpades, in order to root out the weeds. During this operation they accorded ſo well with the ſound and meaſure of the inſtruments in their motions and ſinging, that you would have concluded all thoſe huſbandmen to be profeſſed dancers and ſingers. It was pleaſing to ſee how they toſſed their arms and legs, and into what contorſions they threw themſelves with an air of content, according as the ſound of the tabor was more or leſs quick, and as the *guiriots* gave more life to their ſinging. They were not to leave off working till night; in two days they were to reſume their work again: and then their taſk conſiſts in digging with the ſame ſpade a few holes, into which they throw a few grains of millet, over which they immediately ſpread the earth with their feet. When this is done, they rely upon the rains for every thing elſe, and they are excuſed from all kind of labour till harveſt time. Their *lougans*, for ſuch is the name they have given to their ploughed lands, are generally incloſed with a hedge of thorns, or a kind of tithymallus, or herb ſpurge, which is never very large, nor tall. The bark of it is ſo white as to render it remarkable above all other trees. It grows very faſt after the manner of all ſoft wood, and when cut, it ſheds a large quantity of white thick liquor like milk, which flows in great abundance.

When

When theſe huſbandmen were ſet about their work, I left them to go a ſhooting as far as the village of Sornguiann, which is within a ſmall half-league of Sor, or Sor-baba. I killed ſome woodpeckers, partridges, larks, and a few geeſe. The geeſe of this country, which the negroes call *bitt*, have nothing pleaſing in the colour of their feathers; but they are remarkable for a large bunch on their head, crowned with ſeveral caruncles, which ſerve for an ornament. Their ſhoulders, juſt on the ſpot where the inflection of the wing is made, are alſo armed with a horn like a prickle, near an inch in length: and they uſe it very dexterouſly againſt birds of prey that want to attack them.

My courſing was greatly improved by the diſcovery I made, keeping along the bank of the neighbouring *marigot* of Sor-baba. There were freſh traces impreſſed in the ſand, which I eaſily found to have been made by a crocodile: this excited my curioſity: I wanted to follow the ſcent, in order to find out this animal; but after ſeeking for it in vain, I came to a place about fifty paces diſtant from the rivulet, where the ſand ſeemed to have been diſturbed. My negroes judged that this might be the place where the crocodile layed its eggs; and they were not miſtaken: for, after digging about half a foot, they found thirty eggs, which they carried away, intending to make good cheer with them. They were hardly larger than gooſe eggs, but caſt a ſmall ſcent of muſk, which would doubtleſs have been very agreeable to thoſe who like that ſmell.

I had been now upwards of three years in the country without having had any opportunity of ſeeing the *lime-kiln*. This is a place ſo called from the lime made of ſhells, of which there is prodigious plenty in that neighbourhood. As it is on the bank of a ſmall river which communicates with the Niger, the paſſage to it, from the iſland of Senegal, is eaſy by water. I arrived there the 20th of Auguſt, on board a veſſel which was going to load with lime. This is one of the moſt delicious countries upon earth, being diverſified with large plains, agreeable valleys, excellent paſturage at all times for black and for ſmall cattle, and with little rivers, the banks of which are covered with mangroves and other trees in perpetual verdure. The chief of thoſe rivers bears the name of the *lime-marigot*: it is large, and very full of fiſh, abounding eſpecially with fine eels, carp, and *macheirans*. The latter is very good fiſh, and extremely fat; but it is dangerous while alive, being armed on the two fins of each ſide, and on that of the back, with a very ſharp dart, wherewith it wounds thoſe who attempt to catch it. Theſe wounds are venomous, and difficult to cure.

Going aſhore on the ſouth ſide of this *marigot*, I found myſelf on a bank of ſhells, where a number of lime-kilns had been dug very near the ſea-ſide. This bank, though bare of earth, was covered with a very thick wood; there were even ſome calabaſh-trees of above three feet diameter. I kept walking among the ſhells as far as the village called Montel, which is more than half a league from thence ſouthward; and I came back another way, in order to diſcover the breadth of it. What diverted me moſt in in this expedition was, to ſee the manner in which one of my negroes killed a crocodile ſeven feet long. Having ſpied this animal aſleep among brambles, at the foot of a tree that grew near the bank of a river, he approached ſo ſoftly as not to awake him, and then ſtruck him very dexterouſly with his knife in that part of the neck where there are no bones nor ſcales, and pierced him nearly quite through. The animal, mortally wounded, and curling himſelf, though with ſome difficulty, hit the negro on the legs with the end of his tail; and ſuch was the violence of the blow, that he laid him flat upon the ground. The latter, without letting go his hold, roſe up again immediately; and, that he might have nothing to fear from the crocodile's devouring jaw, he enwrapped it with a *paan*, while his comrade held the tail, and I got upon his body in order to keep him down. Then the negro drew out his knife again, and cut off the

head quite clean from the body. This expedition was ſoon over. The negroes did all they could to drag the body of the crocodile as far as the veſſel, for it was too heavy for them to carry; but finding their endeavours ineffectual, they got it into a boat in order to put it on board. By this exploit my negro acquired high applauſe from all the *laptots* of the veſſel, and from the neighbouring inhabitants, who had been long acquainted with his dexterity in hunting the crocodile. They did honour to their prey; for that very evening they ate ſeveral ſlices of it. I taſted ſome, which to me did not appear to have ſo ſtrong a ſcent of muſk, as it is generally ſaid to have, and I found it tolerable good eating.

The day following I made an excurſion on the other ſide the *lime-marigot*, and was not a little ſurpriſed to find a great number of hills of red ſand upwards of thirty feet high. The * *néous*, the * *dethars*, and ſeveral other fruit-trees, gave undoubted proofs of the fecundity of this ſoil: I ſaw cameleons on every ſhrub; and when they were touched, they changed from a green colour into black. They had fine ſport at that time in hunting of graſshoppers, with which the earth was in ſome meaſure covered; for it is a miſtake to imagine that this animal does not eat. Let not its meagre body impoſe on us: as many as I found, had their ſtomachs filled with butterflies, and eſpecially with graſshoppers; which ſhews that they do not faſt ſo rigidly as the vulgar formerly imagined: but this is not the only error from which they ought to be ſet free.

To return to the banks of oyſter-ſhells which cover the lime-fields upwards of half a league; the negroes have alſo their prejudices. Some of them tell us, that this bank was the work of monkeys in former ages; and that theſe animals, being then more numerous than they are at preſent, ate up thoſe oyſters. Others will have them to be the ſhells of oyſters which their forefathers ſmoak-dried, as they themſelves uſed to do not a great many years ago, when the mangroves of this river furniſhed them with wood, as thoſe of the river Gambia do to this very day. The French, who have examined theſe banks, and heard the reaſonings of the negroes in regard to their formation, are of the latter opinion. But even were we to grant both theſe points, ſtill they will be puzzled to account how theſe ſhells ſhould be arranged thus in the regular manner we find them, without any intermixture. Beſides, the quantity of oyſters that could be ſhelled and dried in a day, is ſo very ſmall in compariſon to the immenſe heap of ſhells in queſtion, and would ſuppoſe ſuch a ſeries of ages to form this bank, that the thing loſeth all probability in the ſupputation. Without having recourſe to ſuch precarious proofs, in order to explain in what manner this and ſuch other heaps of ſhells have been formed, we have only to reflect on what paſſeth in the river Gambia, where the oyſters conſiderably multiply on the roots of mangroves, and in ſeveral parts have formed many high banks of ſhells: and we ſhall have reaſon to believe, that theſe ſpots were formerly the beds of rivers, where the oyſters alſo lived on mangroves; that theſe beds ſucceſſively changed place, and that the ſea retiring left theſe banks bare, and upon a level, eight or ten feet above its ſurface.

The 23d I returned to the iſland of Senegal in my *pirogue*: though it was very light and tottering, yet I choſe rather to make uſe of it, than to wait for the conveniency of the veſſel that had brought me from thence. My negroes ſtrove who ſhould ſwim the faſteſt, and re-conducted me, in leſs than two hours, two leagues and a half, which is the diſtance from the lime-kiln to the iſland of Senegal. Notwithſtanding the roughneſs of the water, and a ſtrong guſt of wind which blew from the eaſt as we got out of the *marigot*; yet not a ſingle wave broke in upon us, nor did we perceive the leaſt ſprinkling, becauſe we were ſheltered under the mangroves. The

* New ſpecies of trees never yet deſcribed.

wind

wind was now quite down, and there were only a few large waves here and there when a *pirogue* put off to croſs the river: the *pirogue* was ſmall, and had three men in it; two of them rowed with a paddle, during which exerciſe they ſung a kind of ſong, the burden of which I heard at a great diſtance, and it was not diſagreeable. The negro, who ſteered with his paddle, was probably in the fault; or elſe he who was employed in the middle to empty the water which entered the *pirogue*, muſt have inclined too much on one ſide, and deſtroyed its equilibrium; or, whatever other cauſe it might be, the boat overſet, with the negroes in it. Though they were very active fellows, they had all the difficulty in the world to ſet it right again; yet, at length, by puſhing it backwards and forwards, and ſtill continuing to ſwim, they emptied the water out of it, and got into it once more. In any other circumſtance it would have been a diverſion to ſee their manner of acting, as well as the dexterity and ſtrength with which they extricated themſelves out of danger; and it may be ſaid, that they ſucceeded extremely well. This accident is not uncommon; but as they are all excellent ſwimmers, there is no inſtance that any of them ever periſhed.

Towards the middle of the next month, I had a preſent made me of a young ſerpent of the gigantic ſpecies. This preſent gave me great pleaſure, becauſe it was the firſt of the kind that I had ſeen; and I have ſtill preſerved the ſkin of it entire in my cabinet. It had been lately caught in the *marigot* of the iſland of Senegal, and was yet quite alive. The length of it was three feet and ſomewhat more: its colour was a yellow livid ground, with a large blackiſh band all along its back, on which were ſcattered a few yellow irregular ſpots. There was a gloſſineſs over its whole body, which gave it a ſmooth poliſh as if it was varniſhed. Its head was neither flat nor triangular like that of a viper, but round and ſomewhat long. This ſerpent, ſmall as it was, gave me a ſufficient idea to diſtinguiſh it from all the other ſpecies; yet it was only an imperfect repreſentation of the large ones, of which I ſhould never have formed an adequate notion, if a little while after they had not brought me, at different times, two of a middling ſize, the largeſt of which was twenty-two feet and a few inches long, and eight inches broad. The colour of its ſkin was a dark grey, with a few yellowiſh lines not very apparent: the ſkin, ſtretched out, was from five-and-twenty to ſix-and-twenty inches broad. They left it with me entire, with a ſlice of its fleſh, the remainder of which was to ſerve as a regale for ſeveral days, to the perſon who caught it, together with the reſt of the village. The head, which was ſtill to it, was of the ſame ſize as that of a crocodile from five to ſix feet; its teeth were upwards of half an inch long, ſtrong and ſharp; and its throat was more than wide enough to ſwallow a hare, or even a pretty large dog, without having any occaſion to chew it.

By ſeeing thoſe two ſerpents, which, according to the teſtimony of my negroes and of all thoſe who had beheld great numbers of them, were but of an indifferent ſize, I had no longer the leaſt room to doubt of the truth of what I had heard a thouſand times in that country, and which I had always looked upon as a fable. Even the negroes themſelves, to whom I was indebted for theſe, aſſured me, that I had ſeen nothing extraordinary, and that it was not unuſual to meet with ſome, within a few leagues eaſt of the iſland of Senegal, as large and as long as the maſt of a common ſhip. The people of Biſſao told me, they had ſeen ſome in their country, that were a great deal longer than maſts. It was not difficult for me to judge, by comparing their accounts to the ſerpents I had before me, that the largeſt of that ſpecies, upon a juſt computation, muſt be from forty to fifty feet long, and from one foot to one and a half broad.

The manner in which this animal ſeeks his prey, is not leſs extraordinary than his enormous ſize. He lurks in moraſſes and places not far from the water. His tail is

curled two or three rounds of a circle, which include a circumference from five to ſix feet diameter, over which he rears his head with part of his body. In this attitude, and as it were immoveable, he throws his eyes all round, and when he perceives an animal within reach, he darts upon it by means of the circumvolutions of his tail, which have the ſame effect as a ſtrong ſpring. If the animal he has ſeized is too large to be ſwallowed up entire, (as for inſtance, an ox, an antelope, or a large African ram), after giving it a few bites with his deſtructive teeth, he cruſhes and breaks its bones, either by ſqueezing it with a few twiſts, or by preſſing it with the weight of his whole body, which he ſlides over it; then he takes it up again into his mouth, and covers it with a frothy ſpittle, to render it more eaſy to ſwallow without chewing; for he has this in common with a great many more ſerpents and lizards, which never chew their food, but ſwallow it up entire.

This monſter, terrible as he may ſeem by his ſize and ſtrength, does not make the ravage that one would naturally imagine. He is eaſily diſcovered, by reaſon of his voluminous ſize, from whence ariſeth the ſecurity of animals weaker than himſelf. His body, writhed in ſpiral curls, appears at a great diſtance like the brink of a well; and this is warning enough to travellers, and even to the cattle themſelves, to turn another way. We never hear that he attacks the human ſpecies; at leaſt, examples of this ſort are very rare. Beſides, the hunting of large animals, ſuch as horſes, oxen, ſtags, and other the like quadrupeds, whoſe ſafety depends upon their legs, is not very agreeable to him, either becauſe he finds it too troubleſome, or it is not ſo ſure, or their fleſh is not agreeable to his palate. He is much better pleaſed with devouring other leſſer ſerpents, lizards, and eſpecially toads and locuſts, which ſeem to riſe in clouds in this country, only to ſatisfy his all-devouring jaws. Upon the whole, it may be ſaid of theſe ſerpents, that they do more good than harm, ſince they cleanſe the earth of an innumerable number of noxious inſects and reptiles, which would otherwiſe oblige the inhabitants to deſert thoſe fruitful countries, where they are now ſettled; ſo that it is the intereſt of the negroes, to ſuffer thoſe monſters to live unmoleſted.

But to reſume the thread of my narration: The neceſſity I was under of returning ten times to the ſame places, and in different ſeaſons, gave me an opportunity, the 12th of the month of October, of diſcovering a thing which was very remote from my thoughts. Croſſing, at leaſt the twentieth time, the Wood Iſland, in order to reach the village of Kionk, I perceived ſeveral ſmall fiſhes in moraſſes formed by rain-water. They were all of the ſame ſpecies; and, by their lively red, I knew them to be the leſſer kind of roaches. The rains had ſubſided, and the water was beginning to dry up in thoſe ponds; a ſure ſign that the fiſh were not long-lived. They muſt have died very ſoon, for I ſaw the ground two days after, when the waters were dried up. One would imagine, that the ſpecies was loſt for ever in regard to that particular ſpot; but, far from it, the next year new ones appeared, entirely like thoſe of the preceding years. Here is a fact the more worthy of notice, as it does not appear by what means the fiſh could be conveyed to that place; for, on the one hand, the ponds, though deep, have no communication with the waters of the Niger, which is about three hundred fathoms from thence; and beſides, this ſpecies of fiſh is unknown to that river: ſo that it cannot be ſuppoſed, that any of the aquatic birds ſhould bring away the eggs. Surely nobody will pretend to ſay, that the roaches lay their eggs every year in the bottom of thoſe ponds, where they are preſerved during the nine months of drought, till the return of the rain; becauſe the ſame difficulty would ſtill ſubſiſt in regard to the origin of the firſt. It would be at leaſt equally abſurd to imagine, that their ſeeds were

conveyed to other places by vapours, which, as they fell down, ſcattered them here and there into different baſons.

I ſtopped on this moraſs no longer than was neceſſary to croſs it, becauſe it was very late. Thence I proceeded to a fine country, where, in the midſt of a prodigious quantity of uncommon plants, the *narciſſus ceylanicus* * diſtinguiſhed itſelf, as well by its agreeable flavour, as by the whiteneſs of its flowers. I arrived at Kionk juſt as the night came on, which the muſketoes made me paſs very diſagreeably. Notwithſtanding all the precautions which the governor of the village had taken to ſcreen me from their purſuits, by making me lodge in one of his own huts, newly plaiſtered with mud and cow-dung, and filling it all night with ſmoke; ſtill there entered a ſufficient number of thoſe noiſome inſects to drive me almoſt mad. This, together with the ſtink of the dung and the ſmoke, inſupportable to any other of the human ſpecies but negroes, obliged me to decamp. I ran all over the village from hut to hut, to look for better quarters. Wherever I entered, I found the beds all full: without regard to ſex, age, kindred, or condition, they all lay promiſcuouſly ſide by ſide, ſometimes five or ſix, and even eight in the ſame bed, naked as they came out of their mother's womb. But what ſurprized me the moſt was, the profound quiet with which they ſlept in the midſt of ſo thick a ſmoke, that one would imagine it muſt have ſuffocated them. In ſhort, after rambling about a good deal, I had no other reſource left, than to lay myſelf down in the open air on two mats, extended between two fires; and even here, the muſketoes made me pay very dear for a few moments of reſt.

With impatience I waited for day; and as ſoon as it began to peep, the lord of the village, deſirous of diverting me with a walk, conducted me into his gardens. The whole neighbourhood was very agreeable; the fallow grounds formed large meadows, checkered with mangroves and calabaſh-trees, which made a delightful landſcape. At that time the ſmall millet, which the negroes live upon, and which in their language they call *dougoup-nioul*†, ſhewed its golden ears. The grain was almoſt ripe, and drew an infinite number of birds, that made a vaſt havock. In order to ſcare them away, the inhabitants had croſſed their *lougans* with a great number of threads, to which they hung ſhells, bones, and other ſuch bodies, that are apt to make a noiſe upon the leaſt colliſion. The whole was to be put in motion by four cords, which were ſtretched to four corners of the field, where juſt as many women or children kept watch upon ſheds or covered platforms, from ſeven to eight feet high, and each of them drew a cord, as ſoon as they ſaw the birds come near. Beſides this noiſe, they made a loud hallooing, and kept clapping their hands. This watch was to continue till the millet was fit to cut; yet in ſpite of all their care and vigilance, they were often deceived by the feathered plunderers. Small *bengalis*, black and red ſparrows, and other pretty birds, which change their colour once a year, and which the French call *ſenegalis*, flocked thither every morning in vaſt numbers. But the moſt terrible ſcourge of all was a large ſpecies of yellow and black ſparrows, clouds of which fell like hail upon the grain; and when they had ſpread deſolation in one quarter, they flew to another. Let their ſtay be never ſo ſhort, and very often before the negroes had time to put their ſcare-crow in motion, theſe birds did irreparable miſchief. I have read in ſome relation, that the Ægyptians have no other remedy; but either they muſt ſow more grain, or the deſtructive ſparrows muſt be leſs numerous in their country, ſince we do not hear that they occaſion famines ſo frequently as among our negroes.

* Narciſſus ceylanicus, flore albo hexagono odorato. *Com. Hort. Amſt.* vol. 1. page 75. tab. 39.
† Panicum Indicum, ſpicâ longiſſimâ. *C. B. Pin.* pag. 27.

Near

Near thoſe fields of millet there were *lougans* of cotton, indigo, tobacco, water-melons, French-beans, and other legumes. Each of them was incloſed with a hedge of brambles, with which was entwined a ſpecies of wild cucumber, known in the country by the name of *moi-moi* *. This plant was loaded with a ſmall fruit, which is of a fine coral red when it comes to full maturity; and ſome of it had been plundered by the ſerpents, lizards, and birds. My people perceiving the fruit, gathered a good deal of it, which they preſented to me, after taſting of it themſelves. I had known it a long time; and had ſeen the people of the country eat of it often; nay I had ſeveral times eat as many as a dozen, to quench my thirſt in the violent heats, without ever feeling any bad conſequence, or the leaſt inconveniency: but that day I thought proper to eat a much larger quantity of it. I dined towards noon with a very good appetite; and I likewiſe ſupped without feeling any bad ſymptom. It was not till nine o'clock that this fruit began to operate, when I was ſuddenly ſeized with a ſuffocating, or ſtoppage of breath; afterwards it worked me as violently as any emetic I ever took in my life; and this operation laſted near eight hours. One of my negroes, who was twenty years of age, and who had eaten more plentifully of this fruit than I, was ſeized in like manner towards midnight; but did not get off ſo cheap. This emetic continued to work him above four and twenty hours, with ſuch violence, that he did not know whereabouts he was all the time; and it had like to have coſt him his life. Had ſuch an experiment been made on purpoſe, I do not think a more favourable ſucceſs could be expected from it: and what is moſt remarkable, each ſuffered in proportion to the quantity he had eaten of this fruit; but it had no effect at all on him who eat only a dozen; and even he who ſuffered moſt by it, was as well two days after, as if he had not been ill at all.

Tired with going through ſo may hardſhips at Kionk, I returned to the iſland of Senegal, where I arrived time enough to be preſent at the feaſt of the *tabaſke*. The Mahometans, of the ſect of Sina-Ali, founded this feaſt to commemorate the nativity of their prophet: it falls yearly towards the middle of the October moon; and this year it was celebrated the 18th. The whole day was ſpent in feaſting and merriment, during which time the Saint, in whoſe honour the feſtival had been inſtituted, ſeemed to be very remote from their thoughts. It ended with a general dance in the *ſavana*, over-againſt the forts, whither people of all ages and ſexes repaired. The ball was opened at four in the afternoon, with tabor and pipe and vocal muſic. The young people, in their gayeſt array, diſplayed their ſeveral abilities in this kind of diverſion. When they had tired themſelves for two hours, in dancing according to the manner of the country, that is, in poſtures and movements the moſt indecent, and moſt oppoſite to our ideas of modeſty and ſhame, the ſcene varied: they made a large circle, to give place to lords and perſons of diſtinction, who were mounted on horſes magnificently capariſoned. Nothing could be more entertaining than to ſee thoſe proud courſers, forgetting their mettle and fire, and conforming to the intent of the feſtival: they raiſed their feet and touched the ground lightly and in cadence; all the movements of their bodies exactly accorded with the ſound of the inſtruments; in a word, their geſtures bore a perfect reſemblance to a moſt regular dance. The feſtival ſeemed to be intended for them only, ſo greatly were they affected with it, and ſo ſenſible of applauſe. I do not think there can be a nobler ſight than that of horſes trained to this exerciſe, and eſpecially of ſuch fine beautiful creatures as our Arabian horſes of Senegal. The horſemen themſelves greatly added to thoſe ſports; for they managed

* Bryonia folio anguloſo acuto glabro. *Burm. Theſ. Zeyl.* pag. 48. tab. 19. fig. 1.

their horſes, and made them imitate whatever they pleaſed, feigning by their geſture and attitude, ſometimes a combat, and other times a juſtling, a chace, or dance. The ſpectators, wrapped in admiration, were diſpleaſed at the too rapid approach of night, which put an end to amuſements, where nought was heard but joy, feſtivity, and mirth.

A journey over land from the iſland of Senegal to *la Chaux*, or the *lime-kiln*, was likely to give me a further knowledge of a country, that had pleaſed me ſo greatly at my firſt viſit. I undertook it the 4th of November: my *pirogue* carried me a league and a quarter by water, as far as the port of Galel, where I went aſhore, intending to walk to the village of the ſame name, about five hundred fathoms from the river ſide. The way was over barren ſands, and that day was remarkable for one of the ſultrieſt eaſt winds that had been ever felt in this ſeaſon: but the heat I endured in travelling over thoſe ſands was nothing, when compared to what I ſuffered in the road to the lime-kiln.

I had now a long league to reach that place. In ſetting out I went over a ſandy diſagreeable plain, where, among other ſpinous ſhrubs that are fond of a very dry ſoil, I met with what the Jallofs call the *niotoutt*: it has a good deal of that reſinous gum, known by the name of *bdellium*; and its branches ſerve for a *ſokiou*, that is, for a tooth-picker to the women of the country. Though the ſun had not yet reached the meridian, the ſands were all on fire; and my ſhoes were ſoon cracked and burnt with the ſcorching heat. At any other time I ſhould have moiſtened thoſe burning ſands with drops of ſweat; but the eaſt wind is naturally ſo parching, that, notwithſtanding the violent heat of the air and the ſun, my ſkin was dried up, before the ſweat had time to ſhew itſelf. I had violent prickings over all my body; and the blood often-times opened itſelf a paſſage through my pores, which the ſweat could not pervade. My negroes were no longer of a black complexion, but as red as copper: they were tormented with thirſt, the inſeparable companion of parching heat, which obliged them to hang out their tongues, in order to breathe more freely. I was as thirſty as they; and I may venture to affirm, that this is one of the greateſt miſeries a perſon is expoſed to in theſe ſcorching plains, where there is not a drop of water to be had. No doubt but it would have been very great relief to us, almoſt periſhing with thirſt, and broiled in the ſun: but the inhabitants of that country are not like thoſe of more temperate climates; they keep no reſervoirs of water on the high roads for the accommodation of travellers.

After having walked an hour over thoſe ſands, expoſed to the ſcorching rays of the ſun, I came to a dry meadow, full of thick ruſhes, from three to four feet high, which greatly tried my patience. What little water there was, I found it ſaltiſh, ſtagnated, and ſpoilt by crabs. Never did I behold ſuch a ſight of thoſe animals as on this very ſpot: ſome were red, others dark grey, with ſuch prodigious claws, that they could eaſily ſpan my leg, without ſqueezing it. In fine, this continued foreſt of ruſhes (for I met with nothing elſe for the ſpace of half a league) brought me as far as the lime-bank.

I was ſo tired that I wanted to reſt myſelf: for which reaſon I ſtaid here ſome time, and dined under the trees, with a few proviſions and a water-melon, which I had brought with me from Galel. This is a very wholeſome fruit, eſpecially after repaſt; and I have often eat for my own deſert, from five to ſix pounds of it, without any inconveniency or ſurfeit, though I had made a hearty dinner. While I was ſeated under thoſe trees, I heard the parakites and parrots over my head; and ſome of the kernels of acacias and gum-trees, which they were eating, dropped down at my feet.

In

In the mean time my negroes, who had ſuffered greatly by the exceſſive heat, were rubbing their foreheads with live toads, a few of which they found under the briars: this is their uſual remedy, when they are afflicted with a megrim or dizzineſs; and it gave them relief. I ſuffered as much from the ſame complaint as they, and ſhould readily have followed their example: but the want of being uſed to thoſe animals, together with an almoſt invincible repugnance, which I look upon as natural to every body that has not been accuſtomed to handle them, hindered me from having recourſe to this innocent and wholeſome remedy.

I came back the ſame way I went to the lime-kiln, for there is no other. In the meadow I killed a *flamant* *, and a buſtard of a different ſpecies from the European: it differs in the colour of its feathers, which are generally of a dark grey; its neck is alſo very long; and, like the lark, it has a kind of tuft on the back part of its head. The French in that country call it a flying-oſtrich: whether this name ſuits it or not, this is not a fit place to examine; it may be ſaid, however, that the above bird reſembles an oſtrich in many reſpects.

It was very late when I paſſed within ſight of Galel; and the negroes had ſet fire to the herbs and brambles, as well to render the country paſſable, as to prepare it for being ſown the next year. Thus the heat of nocturnal fire ſucceeded to that of the ſun; and I walked by the light thereof as far as the port, where I embarked for the iſland of Senegal. There I arrived ſo fatigued and exhauſted, which was alſo the caſe with my negroes, that I do not think I ever ſtood more in need of repoſe in my whole life.

In this and every expedition I made ſince the month of June, my principal view was to acquire ſome knowledge of the plantations of indigo. I was curious to know what quantity and quality the negroes ſow in the neighbourhood of the iſland of Senegal, beeauſe I had a mind to repeat ſome experiments, which I had imparted in proper time to the Eaſt-India Company. Thoſe people do not take much pains to draw the die out of this plant: they are ſatisfied with gathering the leaves at any time of the year, with pounding them in a mortar to reduce them to a paſte, and with making them up into loaves, in order to preſerve them dry. When they want to make uſe of them, they diſſolve them in a kind of lye, made of the aſhes of an unctuous plant which grows in their fields, and by them is called *rheme* †. This diſſolution imbibes a tincture of the indigo, into which they dip their linen cold, as often as they think neceſſary, according to the deepneſs of the colour.

I know what ſympathy there is between the *cacrelats* and indigo; but, as often as I happened to leave a bundle of this plant in my room in the night time, I was ſure to find ſome hundreds of thoſe inſects lodged in it the next day; and it ſeemed as if they were all got together. They are as troubleſome as they are common in the iſland of Senegal. Though they are ſcarce an inch thick, they do an incredible deal of miſchief. They gnaw linen, ſheets, wood, paper, books, and, in ſhort, whatever comes in their way: they attack even the aloes, the bitterneſs of which keeps off all other inſects. They are likewiſe very diſagreeable by the ſtench that comes from their bodies; and they are moſt horrid enemies to the perſons with whom they take up their quarters; for they never ſtir out till night, then they hover round the room, and make as great a noiſe as if there was a large cage full of birds. In ſhort the *cacrelat* multiplies ſo faſt, that it would be a moſt dangerous inſect, had it not a great number of enemies.

Thoſe it has the moſt reaſon to be afraid of, are the ſpider and the *ſourd:* the latter is a ſpecies of lizard, ſaid to be venomous, and as lickeriſh after the *cacrelat* as

* Phœnicopterus Bahamenſis. *Cateſby, vol. i. tab.* 73 & 74.
† Portulaca marina latifolia, flore ſuave rubenti. *Plum. Cat. pag.* 6.

the

the ſpider. They both reſide in bed-chambers as well as that inſect, and are at continual war with it; which ſecures the tranquillity of thoſe with whom they have once taken up their quarters. The hedge-hog likewiſe perſecutes it: that of Senegal differs from the European in ſize only: it paſſes, like the latter, ſome part of the low ſeaſon, that is, of the cold and dry ſeaſon, in a ſpecies of lethargy, during which it abſtains from nouriſhment, rarely going abroad in ſearch of any; but it knows very well how to repair this loſs in the ſummer nights. I kept one for above three years in my chamber, where it did me immenſe ſervice, by freeing me from ſpiders, *cacrelats*, *ſourds*, ants, and other inſects, with which the room had been infeſted. The hedge-hog is exceeding good eating, and very tender, eſpecially if you take it about the time when it begins to enter into its lethargic ſleep.

Another inconveniency, eſpecially during the winter or low ſeaſon, are the ſand-fleas, which are ſo called becauſe they lodge in the ſand of inhabited huts. Theſe are ſo full of them, that as ſoon as you ſet foot therein, they cover you all over; and they are ſo very ſmall, that you can perceive them only by their numbers. They do not bite hard; yet, when there are great multitudes of them, they produce an itching or ſtinging almoſt intolerable. What is moſt extraordinary in this inſect, it never leaps or jumps higher than three or four inches: ſo that, when a perſon takes care to keep himſelf half a foot above ground, he is ſure there is nothing to fear from that quarter.

This, I believe, is the proper place, ſince I am upon the article of Senegal, to take notice alſo of ſome of its advantages. Though the heats of this climate are exceſſive, to ſuch a degree, that their winter is much warmer than our ſummer in France, yet they are ſupportable. One is accuſtomed to them by degrees; becauſe the air is every day refreſhed with ſea and land breezes, which blow alternately. The way therefore for a perſon to cool himſelf, is to catch the fanning breezes, or to take ſhelter within doors, when there is a thorough air, and the windows are made of fine linen.

It is to theſe heats that they are partly indebted for the fertility of their lands. The ſands of this iſland are converted into gardens of conſiderable produce. Independently of the legumes and fruits of the country, ſuch as the Guinea *oſeille*, batates, ananas, guavas, and ſome others, they likewiſe plant, in the winter ſeaſon, moſt of the European herbs and legumes. The fig-tree, the pomegranate, and the vine, are loaded every year with excellent fruit. With a little labour and care, there is no fruit nor grain but would grow there in great plenty: they might raiſe whatever they want, and generally all the neceſſaries of life. In ſhort, the ſoil of the iſland of Senegal, notwithſtanding its being ſo ſandy, is yet ſo very fruitful, that a great many plants yield ſeveral times a year. This I ſaw myſelf, in a garden which I kept on purpoſe for ſuch experiments: and what without all manner of doubt will appear very ſurpriſing, is, my having ſown particular legumes of which I had above twelve crops the ſame year. But this curious detail I refer to another work.

There is not perhaps a country in the world where poultry are more common. They breed turkeys, Guinea-hens, geeſe, ducks, and a prodigious number of fowls. Their pigeons are in admirable perfection; and their hogs multiply very faſt. There is alſo plenty of fiſh, and eſpecially in the Niger, where you may catch carps with your hand. This rivers, beſides the lamantin or ſea-cow, abounds in captains, * mullets, ſurmullets, ſoles, rays, and other excellent fiſh: it has alſo plenty of crabs and lobſters. Moſt of theſe fiſh come from the ſea: and it is ſaid, that when they are caught in the river

* A fiſh ſo called, becauſe it is very red, and its fins reſemble a feather: it is very like a carp, but larger.

it improves them; becauſe the mixture of the freſh with the ſalt water makes them more delicate and tender. To all theſe advantages we may add the pleaſure of ſporting; for this iſland is furniſhed with little moor-hens, with larks, thruſhes, ſea-partridges, and yellow wag-tails, or, to expreſs myſelf better, the ortolans of the country: theſe are ſmall lumps of fat, exceedingly well taſted.

The only thing wanting in the iſland of Senegal, are walks; for they ſay it is too ſmall, and too naked. They might, without doubt, have umbrageous avenues for the ſake of a ſhady walk, were they to plant calabaſh-trees, and the like, which delight in moiſt ſands: but of what uſe would it be, to make a harbour for the muſketoes, that is, for a greater plague than the moſt exceſſive heats? Of what ſervice would thoſe avenues be in a country, where the time of walking is not till ſun-ſet? Ought they to regret this loſs, when they have gardens enamelled with perpetual verdure, which every day preſent the eye with new decorations, where ſuch a multitude of flowers, as agreeable by their fragrant odours as by the variety of their colours, ſhoot up almoſt without care or culture? There you ſee, ſweet baſil of all ſizes and colours, tuberoſes, daffodills, aſphodel-lilies; among which the night-ſhade, the African pink, the amaranth, and pomegranates in bloſſom, produce an excellent effect. The blue and gilt lizards, with butterflies and other inſects, all equally beautiful, delight in coming hither to mix their different colours, and to diverſify that ſameneſs which one ſees in moſt gardens.

I had taken a plan of the Wood Iſland, as well as of that of Griel, the lime-kiln, the iſlands of Sor, Bokos, and ſeveral others; and nothing further remained for me than to add the point of Barbary and the ſalt-pans to it: then I ſhould have a complete map of the neighbourhood of the iſland of Senegal, from the village of Mouitt to the mouth of the Niger, as far as the village of Torkhod, ſeven leagues to the north. The deſire I had of finiſhing a work already far advanced, and which had coſt me ſuch a deal of trouble, and ſo many excurſions over the burning ſands, induced me to undertake an expedition to the ſalt-pans. I therefore embarked the 15th of June, 1753, on board a veſſel that was going to trade there for ſalt. As it was well equipped, and the wind proved favourable, we ſoon got beyond the Engliſh iſland, which is only a ſlip of marſhy land, a hundred fathoms in diameter, covered with reeds and almoſt impenetrable mangroves. We paſſed the iſle of Bokos with the ſame quickneſs; and as ſoon as we came acroſs the ſouth point of the *marigot* of Del, I went on ſhore in order to fathom the neighbouring parts, while the veſſel continued its courſe to the place where it was to anchor.

Walking over the ſands of this point, I met with ſuch a multitude of ſerpents, that they ſeemed to grow wherever I trod: fortunately for me they were neither large nor venomous, being hardly ſo big as one's little finger; ſo that their bite could not be dangerous. Theſe ſands brought me to the ſalt-pans, which were two-thirds of a league from the *marigot*; they are a kind of moraſs, from two to three hundred fathoms long, and one third broad, filled with a ſalt water extremely ſharp. It is ſo impregnated with ſalt, as to yield one third of its quantity, and rather more; and, when congealed, it covers the bottom with a thick ſolid cruſt. The negroes enter up to the knee, and oftentimes deeper, into this water, which may be ſaid almoſt to boil with the heat of the ſun. They are provided with ſtakes of hard wood, with which they break the ſalt; and afterwards they carry it to the river ſide, where the French traffick with them. This ſalt is generally ſo white as to dazzle the eye: ſome of it is alſo of a carnation colour: but it has always a bitter ſharpneſs, diſagreeable to the taſte; and it is this corroſive quality, that renders it not ſo proper for ſalting of freſh meat and fiſh.

One would imagine, that theſe ſalt moraſſes have ſome communication with the ſea. I had been of this opinion, before I viſited the ſpot; but then I perceived the impoſſibility of it. They are ſeparated from the Niger by a neck of land, of above five hundred fathoms, where a chain of ſand-hills riſeth, which neither the waters of the river, nor even thoſe of the ſea, when moſt tempeſtuous, do ever reach. The ſurvey I took of this ground that day, convinced me further, that the bottom of this moraſs is higher than the ſurface of the river: whence I concluded, that we muſt trace the origin of this ſalt, which is every year produced in ſuch abundance, up to ſome other cauſe than the actual communication of the ſea-water.

When I had examined the ſalt-pans, and finiſhed all my ſurveying, I went to the trading place called by the name of Piquet, where the exchange of goods was to be made, and oppoſite to which the veſſel had anchored. The agent for this buſineſs had already cauſed a tent to be pitched upon the ſhore, and ſome huts to be built of leaves of trees, under which we were to lie. The negro lord, maſter of the ſalt-pans, otherwiſe called *korom-aſſou*, or *kram-aſſou*, having notice of his arrival, came to pay him a viſit. He ſeemed to be about forty; was large, and well made: his complexion was not a deep black, but with a little tincture of red: he had a noble air, though not handſome; a quick conception, an eaſy carriage, and a ſoft agreeable tone of voice: he explained himſelf very well, and with gravity. After half an hour's converſation, when he had agreed with the agent, he conducted us a quarter of a league off to the village of Guebenn, of which he was governor. There he received us very civilly, and even with a politeneſs which one could hardly have expected from a man of his colour. He gave us a collation of new milk, palm wine, *icaque* plums, called *ourai*, and other fruits of the country. He had ſummoned all the young people of the village to give us a ball; and accordingly they attended us, dancing to vocal and inſtrumental muſic, as far as the trading place, where they continued theſe ſports till midnight. Dancing is the favourite entertainment of the negroes; they ſometimes bring young children with them that can hardly ſtand: one would be apt to ſay, that they are born dancing, to ſee the exactneſs of their movements. The ſame amuſements were renewed every evening. In ſhort, this good man did all he could to procure us diverſion; and this was not a ſmall comfort to us in ſo deſert and forlorn a place.

The next day I went to reconnoitre the neighbourhood of Mouitt, which is within two thirds of a league to the ſouthward of Piquet. It is a pretty large trading village, advantageouſly ſituate on a hill well planted with calabaſh-trees, and wild figs, of a very great height; the latter bear a ſtrong reſemblance to the ſycamore of the ancients. By the way I paſſed near a great number of ſmall ſalt-pans, full of a ſtrong red ſalt, infinitely more ſharp and more corroſive than that of the large ſalt-pans of Guebenn. I likewiſe met with foxes, antelopes, and the footſteps of wild boars and wolves lately imprinted on the ſand: but the ſhooting of thoſe animals, with which I was well acquainted, did not tempt me ſo much as that of certain black birds, which I deſcried eaſtward of the village. They were ſo like a turkey, both as to ſize and feathers, that one might very eaſily miſtake them. I killed two with the ſame ſhot, one male, and the other female. They had both a kind of black hollow helmet on the head, of the ſame bulk and figure as that of the *caſoar*: upon their neck they had a long plate like a very bright vellum, which was red in the male, and blue in the female. This bird might be the *gallinache* of the Portugueſe, or what the French in the American iſlands call *marchan*; but the negroes give it the name of *guinar*. The inhabitants of this neigh-

bourhood look upon it as a *marabou*, that is, as a ſacred animal; perhaps, becauſe it generally lives longer than the ſmall ſerpents, ſo common in the neighbourhood, and for which the negroes have a ſuperſtitious veneration. They could not bear that I ſhould be ſo audacious as to ſacrifice their marabous to my pleaſure: nay, they looked upon me as a conjurer, when I brought them to the ground with the very firſt ſhot; for they imagined thoſe birds to be invulnerable. They carried their ſuperſtition ſo far, as to tell me, that I ſhould infallibly die on my journey, for having committed ſo heinous a crime.

This action did not gain me the eſteem of the inhabitants of Mouitt: however, I got away from thence without any harm, and continued my journey towards the village of Guioel and Guebenn, where I found a ſhrub, called *foudenn* in the country; it is a kind of *alkanna* *, the leaves of which are uſed by the negro men and women to give a red die to their nails, and they never loſe this colour till they come to grow again. From thence I continued my journey as far as the village of Del, and then I returned to the trading place. The banks of the Niger were at that time covered in this ſpot with a ſmall kind of fiſh, ſcarce ſo large as half a gooſe quill: they were white and tranſparent as chryſtal, and each ſide of them was marked with a narrow ſilver line.

After ſpending three days at the ſalt-pans of Guebenn, I ſet out from thence the 18th in the evening, and returned to the iſland of Senegal, directing my courſe by the point of Barbary, in order to be able to ſettle it in my map. I travelled very near three leagues on foot, coaſting its ſands through all their windings, from the bar upon the weſtern bank of the Niger, as far as the village of Gueutt, which is parallel to the middle of the iſland of Senegal. My canoe followed me along ſhore, and kept as near to land as poſſible, in order to take me in, if I ſhould happen to be ſtopped by a rivulet, or by any of thoſe thickets of tamariſk and ſanar, which are ſcattered upon the coaſt. All the way I ſaw nothing but yellow crabs, which covered the earth in ſuch a manner, that ſometimes I went over plains of above fifty fathoms, without being able to diſcover one foot of bare ground. On thoſe white ſands the ſea bind-weed † expanding its purple flowers, amidſt the agreeable verdure of its trailing ſtalks, formed altogether an admirable embroidery. The ſhrubs I ſaw there were a few tamariſks, the *beidel-oſſar* ‡, the paretuiver §, the ſanar §, the ſpartium ‖, the conocarpus ¶; and great numbers of *lobelia* **, and *icaque* ††. The latter is a receptacle for a kind of red ants, which lodge in its branches: among the leaves they form a kind of neſt, from whence they aſſail thoſe who are ſo imprudent as to draw near to gather the fruit; and they bite them moſt unmercifully. I could not eſcape thoſe inſects, as I had a good deal of the wood to traverſe. There was ſomething ſo venomous in their ſting, that my face and hands were covered with bliſters, as if they had been ſcalded: the pain was not aſſuaged, till I got thoroughly wet with a heavy rain, which fell in the beginning of the night, and was attended with thunder and lightning, by the help of which I ſaw my way to croſs the river, and got back to the iſland of Senegal.

* Liguſtrum Ægyptium, el henne vel tamar-endi. *P. Alp. Ægyp. pag.* 23.
† Convolvulus marinus catharticus, folio rotundo, flore purpureo. *Plum. Plant. de l'Amérique, pag.* 89, *pla.* 104.
‡ Beidel-oſſar. *P. Alp. Ægyp. pag.* 85.
§ Trees which have not been yet deſcribed.
‖ Spartium ſcandens, citreis foliis, floribus albis, ad nodos confertim naſcentibus. *Plum. Cat. pag.* 19.
¶ Conocarpus. *Linn. Hort. Cliff. pag.* 485.
** Lobelia fruteſcens, portulacæ folio. *Plum. Gen. pag.* 21.
†† Icaco fructu ex albo rubeſcente. *Plum. Gen. pag.* 43.

As

As ſoon as I arrived there, I began to think of returning to France. I had been abſent from home upwards of four years; and during that time I had had occaſion to make as numerous a ſeries of obſervations, as could reaſonably be expected in the ſettlement of Senegal: at leaſt if there were any more remaining, they were only ſuch as might be deemed a mere matter of curioſity, or generally eſcape the eye of even the moſt clear-ſighted, or require too long a ſtay to finiſh. Theſe conſiderations were ſufficient to determine me; and as ſeveral veſſels were expected that very ſame month, I reſolved to embrace that opportunity.

Though I had ſent yearly into France to Meſſieurs de Reaumur and de Juſſieu, a great number of animals, birds, fiſhes, inſects, herbs, ſeeds of plants and other productions of the country, according as they fell in my way; yet I was ſenſible that many things were ſtill wanting, eſpecially ſeveral trees and ſhrubs which had never yet been ſeen in Europe, not even in the king's gardens. Being apprized of the particular encouragement his majeſty vouchſafes to give to botaniſts, and excited moreover by the orders of the Duke d'Ayen, which I received by means of M. B. de Juſſieu, I thought my honour concerned, as a naturaliſt, not to return to France, without bringing along with me the moſt remarkable plants that grow in the ſcorching climate of Senegal, to add them to thoſe which his majeſty has collected, from both hemiſpheres, and which are preſerved with ſuch taſte and magnificence in the green-houſes at Trianon, Choiſi, and Paris.

With this view I reſolved to take one trip more to Podor; and accordingly I ſet out the tenth of July with a favourable wind. Since I had been in the country, I had never ſeen but two European plants, the tamariſk and purſlane: and this third expedition gave me an opportunity to obſerve, that of all the trees which line the banks of the Niger, there is not an eighth part, but what are of a very hard ſpinous wood, chiefly acacias, taller and ſlenderer in proportion as they are more remote from the ſea-coaſt. But what ſtruck me moſt, was the ſhooting of monkeys, which I enjoyed within ſix leagues this ſide of Podor, on the lands to the ſouth of Donai, otherwiſe called Coq; and I do not think there ever was better ſport. The veſſel being obliged to ſtay there one morning, I went on ſhore, to divert myſelf with my gun. The place was very woody, and full of green monkeys, which I did not perceive but by their breaking the boughs on the tops of the trees, from whence they tumbled down upon me: for in other reſpects they were ſo ſilent and nimble in their tricks, that it would have been difficult to hear them. Here I ſtopped, and killed two or three of them, before the others ſeemed to be much frighted: however, when they found themſelves wounded, they began to look for ſhelter; ſome by hiding themſelves among the large boughs; others by coming down upon the ground; others, in fine, and theſe were the greateſt number, by jumping from one tree to another. Nothing could be more entertaining, when ſeveral of them jumped together on the ſame bough, than to ſee it bend under them, and the hithermoſt to drop down to the ground, while the reſt got further on, and others were ſtill ſuſpended in the air. As this game was going on, I continued ſtill to ſhoot at them; and though I killed no leſs than three and twenty in leſs than an hour, and within the ſpace of twenty fathoms, yet not one of them ſcreeched the whole time, notwithſtanding that they united in companies, knit their brows, gnaſhed their teeth, and ſeemed as if they intended to attack me.

My firſt care, upon my arrival at Podor, was to gather as many plants as poſſible for the king's garden; and I had great ſucceſs in collecting and putting into two large cheſts three hundred different trees, before I left the factory: for the laſt time I went a

ſhooting, upon my return to the neighbourhood of Bokol, which was on the ſecond of Auguſt, by walking in the heat of the ſun, I had been ſeized with a burning fever, of that malignant ſort which carries off moſt Europeans in leſs than two days. Thus this voyage proved more dangerous to me, than all my former expeditions and fatigues, in the ſpace of four years, during which time I never had the leaſt illneſs. I was three days without any aſſiſtance, before I arrived at the iſland of Senegal, where I ſtruggled with the diſtemper a whole month; and after a relapſe, which brought me within an inch of my grave, at length I totally recovered. My youth, and a ſound conſtitution, which had never been hurt by debauch, together with the generous aſſiſtance of the tendereſt of friends*, preſerved my life.

Of all the veſſels that came this year upon the coaſt, there was only one left, with which I could return to France. I went on board her in a ſtate of convaleſcence, after paſſing the bar the ſixth time, and we weighed from the road of Senegal the 6th of September. The contrary winds which prevail at that time of the year did not promiſe us a ſhort voyage; and as they blew from the north and north-eaſt, we could not ſtretch northward, but were conſtantly obliged to bear to the weſt. Upon our way, within ten leagues of the iſlands of Cape Verd, perceiving a very white ſea, we ſounded a hundred fathoms or more, without finding any bottom: after which the ſea having reſumed its uſual colour, we imagined we had paſſed over a white ſand-bank, which the Dutch charts mark at eighty fathoms.

At a time when we were within two hundred leagues of the coaſt, between the 17th and 18th degree of latitude, a calm came on, which laſted almoſt fifteen days, with ſuffocating heats: it was ſo ſtill, that the ſhip did not ſeem to change ſituation, though the current had carried us a great way ſouthward. This was the propereſt place in the world to find the ſea water in its full ſaltneſs; ſince we were at ſufficient diſtance from land, to be under no apprehenſion that the river waters could communicate any of their freſhneſs to it; I therefore filled a bottle, which I ſealed hermetically, with an intention of making an analyſis of it at my return to France.

There is nothing more tireſome than to be in a veſſel becalmed; and nothing more dreadful than to be far out at ſea, when proviſions begin to fall ſhort. We made uſe of this unlucky accident to catch ſome fiſh, and were very much in the right; for the ſmall quantity of freſh proviſions we had taken in at Senegal, was conſumed; ſo that we were now reduced to ſalt meat, and likely to be ſtill a long time at ſea.

At that time there was great plenty of requiens, bonites, grand oreilles, and goldennis: the three latter live only on flying fiſh, of which they are ſo greedy, that if you only counterfeit one of them, by covering the hook with a little linen, and two white feathers, and let it hang at the end of a rod, or behind the ſtern, they will be ſure to bite directly. We uſed no other bait, and it ſucceeded ſo well, that we took a prodigious quantity of them, part of which we ſalted, for fear of ſcarcity. The *bonite* and *grand oreille* are a middling ſpecies of tunny-fiſh, and have altogether the ſame taſte: the *goldennis* is ſomewhat inferior to them in this reſpect, but greatly ſurpaſſes them in beauty; and without doubt it is the beautifulleſt fiſh in the ſea. The colour of its body is a dark blue ground, which in the water appears like an azure blue, and after paſſing through all the gradations of green and violet, is loſt in a gold luſtre, diffuſed all round its ſides, which gives it the richeſt dreſs that can poſſibly be imagined.

* M. Andriot, whom I have already mentioned.

To

To this firſt calm ſucceeded ſeveral others, the ſhorteſt of which were from three to eight days; nor did they leave us till we had paſſed the 30th degree of latitude. There we had ſouth-weſt winds, by the help of which we intended to put into the neareſt of the Azores. This was the beſt thing we could do in our preſent ſituation, when we wanted both biſcuit and freſh water, and the greateſt part of our ſhip's company were unfit for ſervice.

A few days after we deſcried a very high foggy land, which we found to be the iſle of Pico; and near it was that of Fayal. We made all the ſail we could towards the latter, and entered the harbour to the eaſtward the 20th of October. There we caſt anchor in fifteen fathoms, afterwards in nine, a ſandy bottom, ſubject to magnetical attraction, and a bad holding ground. This is the only port in the iſland of Fayal; and though it ſeems to be ſheltered by two great mountains, yet it is expoſed to the north-eaſt and ſouth-eaſt winds, which occaſion a very rough ſea, eſpecially in autumn, and drive the ſhips off the coaſt, unleſs they are well moored with three and even four anchors. From the weſt winds it is covered by the iſland itſelf, out of which it is ſcooped, as it were, in a ſemicircle, four hundred fathoms wide, and three hundred deep. The iſland of Pico, which is two leagues over againſt it, ſhelters it alſo from the general eaſt winds; but on the other hand, it is the cauſe of its being annoyed by others far more dangerous; for it reflects the ſouth-weſt and north-weſt winds that come towards it; and it ſtops the clouds, which occaſion ſuch a variation of winds. I obſerved during my ſtay at Fayal, and the inhabitants aſſured me, they had long experienced it, that as often as the iſle of Pico is darkened by a fog, it is productive of wind; and this they look upon as their moſt faithful anemoſcope*. It is likely that this mountain has the ſame effect as an unelectrified body, which attracteth the clouds; whence it happens, that the ambient air, being preſſed unequally on all ſides, is forced to take an irregular courſe.

The Pico of the Azores is hardly more than half a league in perpendicular height: when viewed from the ſide of Fayal, it has the form of a ſhort cone, terminating in a ſharp nipple, and is in 38 deg. 35 m. north latitude, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ deg. weſt longitude. This is the only mountain in the iſland of the ſame name, which may be looked upon as the vineyard plot of Fayal: for the latter depends thereon, and all its inhabitants have their country houſes there, with their farms and vineyards, which they cultivate with great care. Thither they go every year to attend their vintage, which produceth two ſorts of white wine, like ſack, but of an inferior quality. Their malmſey is not ſo luſcious: but the dry or table wine is almoſt as ſtrong as brandy, and quickly mounts up to the head. As ſoon as their wines are made, they convey them in September and October to their cellars in Fayal, from whence they are exported to Brazil and ſome other parts of the world, by the name of wines of Fayal, though this iſland produceth none, and they all come from Pico.

If Fayal was not expoſed to ſuch frequent guſts of wind, it would be one of the moſt beautiful harbours in the world, becauſe of the delightful proſpect it affords, to thoſe who approach it by ſea. The ſtay we made there, before we went on ſhore, gave me an opportunity to view it at my full leiſure. It appears like a mountain ſcooped into a ſemicircle, and divided into four or five ſummits, covered with trees, which deſcend down as far as the ſea, by a very gentle declivity. At the foot of this mountain the town winds along the port, and is ſurrounded with a great number of gardens, ranged

* An inſtrument which ſhews from what ſide the winds blow.

one

one over the other in the form of an amphitheatre, which even in its irregularity affords a moſt charming view to the eye. The anchoring place is like that of Santa Cruz in the iſland of Tenerif, with this difference, that the ſhore is leſs ſteep, and is covered with a pretty fine ſand or gravel, of a blackiſh colour, on which it is eaſier landing.

About the middle of the harbour there is a kind of fort, the walls of which are waſhed by the ſea. The town comes next, and is of the ſame figure as the harbour; it is governed by a *Capitan mor**, and very populous. There are five thouſand inhabitants, all Portugueſe, moſt of them eccleſiaſtics, and religious of both ſexes; for indeed, I never ſaw ſo many convents in one town. The churches are handſome, and properly maintained. There are alſo ſeveral good buildings, among the reſt the college belonging to the Jeſuits, who are temporal lords of the iſland. The burghers houſes are very neat, all wainſcotted and inlaid, whence one may judge that they are in no want of wood.

The iſland of Fayal is in a fine climate; the air is very good, and preſerves during the whole winter a ſufficient temperature, to have no occaſion for fire; and indeed they never warm themſelves, nor do you ſee any chimney in their houſes. In ſummer it is conſtantly refreſhed with breezes: for as it is ſituate in the middle of the ſea, it is ſure to receive them from what quarter ſoever they blow; and they render the heats ſupportable.

The ſoil is not leſs to be admired than the temperature of the air: as it is red and ſtony, and in that reſpect very like the ſoil of the iſle of Pico, it would be extremely fit for producing good wines; but there is not room enough, and therefore they are ſatisfied with planting ſuch things as are moſt neceſſary for life. The moiſture of the mountains preſerves its fertility: their tops are covered with very beautiful trees, as walnut and cheſnut trees, white poplars, and eſpecially ſtrawberry-trees, that never loſe their verdure. It is owing to the prodigious quantity of the latter in this iſland, that the Portugueſe have given it the name of *Fayal*, which in their language ſignifies a ſtrawberry-tree. The juice or moiſture of the earth is wonderful, being in conſtant culture: it never lies idle, and yet is continually producing the ſeveral fruits of the earth. On the umbrageous hills they plant a great many roots, as potatoes and colocaſia, which ſerve to feed their domeſtics. The fields are like unto ſo many gardens, parted from one another by dry walls, breaſt high: they are ſet aſide for corn; but what little they gather, is hardly ſufficient to maintain the inhabitants; who ſupply what is wanting with maize, lupines, little ciches, and ſome other legumes, which grow better upon the ſide of the hill.

They have likewiſe a conſiderable dependence upon their gardens, where they cultivate a great number of fruit trees, oranges and citrons of all ſorts, pear, apple, fig, and pomegranate trees, vines, and olives, with herbs of various ſorts. Melons, giromons, ſweet calabaſhes †, and ſeveral other fruits of the earth, grow almoſt ſpontaneouſly. There is nothing wanting, but for the inhabitants to lay out their gardens in more order and to dreſs them a little better; as they have plenty of flowers. For borders, they have a great deal of onions, thyme, lavender, ſage, roſemary, ſweet baſil, and aromatic plants. The pink, the gilliflower, the balſam apple, the jeſſamin, the *baliſier* ‡,

* The following are the governor's titles, which he gave me in writing: "Signor Jeronimo de Brum da Silveira Porras Fidalgo da caſa de ſua Mag. e Cavaleiro Porfeſſo na Ordem de Chryſto Capitano, Maior da Capitania das Ilhas dos Aſſores Fayal e Pico."

† Cucurbita oblonga, flore albo, folio molli. *C. B. Pin. Moriſ. Hiſt.* ſect. 1. tab. 5. fig. 3.

‡ Cannacorus ampliſſimo folio, flore rutilo. *Inſt.* pag. 367.

the

the aſphodel-lilies *, the daffodils, and the tuberoſe, were in flower in the beginning of the month of November. At the ſame time the lupines †, with which they had planted the hills, had ſhot out of the ground, and probably were to be ripe the month of January following.

It is impoſſible to find any where elſe greater plenty of cattle. They have excellent oxen, ſheep, and ſwine: they likewiſe breed all ſorts of poultry. Fiſh is not very common, and they have none but from the ſea. At that time they were fiſhing for ſmall ſoles and flounders, which they catched eaſily with a rod. I obſerved a certain conformity between this iſland and that of Tenerif, as it has very little game, and few birds. In ſeveral of my walks, for two leagues all round, I met with only a few hares, and ſome quail ſcattered about the fields. True it is, that there were blackbirds on the tops of the mountains; and I ſaw a great number of them myſelf, whoſe black plumage was agreeably ſpeckled with white: they perched in flocks on ſtrawberry-trees, eating the fruit and chattering all the time.

Though autumn is a very agreeable ſeaſon in the Azores or Weſtern Iſles, yet the ſkies began to be over-caſt and to threaten rain. The iſland of Fayal is more rainy than the reſt; doubtleſs, becauſe of the iſle of Pico, and its own mountains, which determine the clouds to ſtop there. Hence ariſe a great number of ſprings, which appear every where, even in ſeveral parts of the town, where they are collected in well-paved ciſterns. The water of theſe ſprings, though very pure, is heavy and extremely crude; to me it appeared to have a tincture of mineral, and of the ferruginous kind.

The higheſt mountain in this iſland is very near its centre, within two leagues and a half from the town. Heretofore it vomited fire with combuſtible matter, and cauſed frequent earthquakes. The eruption in 1672 was the laſt: it left at the mouth of the volcano a large baſon, which, according to the teſtimony of the inhabitants, has the figure of a parellelogram, ſurrounded with a very high wall, and ſo regular, that one would take it to be done by art, if we did not know for certain, that it owes its origin to ſubterraneous fires. The rain-waters have now filled this baſon, and formed it into a kind of lake, or to expreſs myſelf more properly, a reſervoir of fine water, greatly admired by the inhabitants. There can be no doubt, but that the whole ſurface of the iſland has been raiſed by means of this or ſeveral volcanos together; for it has no other ſtone than different kinds of lavas, mixed with burnt ſtones and pumices. The grain of thoſe lavas is much thicker than that of the ſtones of the iſland of Tenerif, of which I have made mention in the beginning of this narrative.

This relaxation, though ſomewhat long, gave me a great deal of pleaſure. Beſides the knowledge I thereby acquired of a country, which I had never ſeen before, I refreſhed myſelf after the fatigues of my voyage, and was better prepared for that to France. The uſual flowneſs of the Portugueſe, and the difficulty we had, from the roughneſs of the ſea, in laying in a freſh ſtore of water, wood, biſcuit, flour, beef, fowls, and other proviſions, hindered us from leaving the port of Fayal till the 8th of November. The wind was at ſouth-weſt, ſo that we ſoon loſt ſight of the Azores. I embraced the opportunity of the calmneſs of the weather, to fill a ſecond bottle of water within three hundred leagues of the coaſt of France: and this was all I wanted, in order to make a compariſon between it, and the bottle I had filled in the ſea of Senegal.

Our voyage from Senegal to Fayal had been very tedious; but that from Fayal to France proved moſt dangerous. We had ſcarcely advanced fifty leagues from the

* Lilio-aſphodelus puniceus. *Cluſ. Hiſt.* 1. pag. 137.
† Lupinus albus. *Park. Moriſ. Hiſt.* ſect. 2. tab. 7. fig. 3.

Azores, when a boiſterous ſouth-eaſt wind ſpread itſelf over the deep, and aſſailed us with a ſtorm which laſted two months. We were obliged to furl our ſails; and in this condition we tumbled and toſſed about, at the mercy of the waves. Imagine to yourſelf the ſituation of a crazy veſſel, expoſed to a tempeſtuous ocean, now riſing a-top a watery mountain, and now ſinking into an abyſs; battered in flank by one wave, overborne by another, which in falling ſeems as if it would daſh it into a thouſand pieces. Imagine at the ſame time the uneaſy condition of a voyager, who ſeeks for repoſe, which he can no where find; the perplexity of a pilot, whoſe art is baffled, and who in vain looks up to the heavens to find out his courſe, while thick clouds and foaming billows ſeem to conſpire againſt him: imagine, in ſhort, the confuſion even of the moſt experienced mariner, who ſees a ſhip diſappear on one ſide of him; how forlorn, how comfortleſs the ſcene!

Such was our ſituation during the two ſhorteſt months in the year; and in ſuch diſtreſs were we toſſed to and fro, both in the Ocean and the Channel, whither we were forced by the currents, and where we were every day obliged to avoid the very land we ſought for leſt we ſhould ſplit on the rocks, which abounded on that coaſt: when a calm enſuing, we took advantage of it to get out of the Channel, and to ſeek for ſhelter in Breſt. For the violence of the ſtorm had torn our ſails to pieces, broke all our tackling, and damaged the body of the veſſel; and as proviſions were alſo ſhort, we could not in this condition reach L'Orient, our deſtined harbour, even if we had had the moſt favourable gales.

As ſoon as we came to the iſle of Uſhant, we took a coaſting pilot on board, who brought us into the harbour of Breſt, the 4th of January, 1754. The reader may judge of the ſtate I was in, upon my arrival at this port, after a very hard voyage of four months, which I had undertaken juſt as I was recovering from a dangerous ſickneſs, the remembrance whereof was ſtill more afflicting to me, when I perceived that moſt of the plants which occaſioned it, were deſtroyed by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. While our veſſel was refitting, in order to proceed on her voyage to port L'Orient, I paſſed a month at Breſt for the recovery of my health, and to prepare myſelf for my journey to Paris: this I performed in the midſt of the froſt and ſnows of the month of February, which, as every body knows, were extremely piercing, eſpecially in Brittany. The reſt of my plants were killed by the cold: however they did me a piece of ſervice in convincing me, that even the ſalteſt water, ſuch as that of Senegal, is capable of being frozen. The two bottles I brought from thence, well covered with hay, were broke by the ice congealed within them, which taſted quite freſh, as Mr. de Juſſieu and I obſerved, upon my arrival at Paris the 18th of February after upwards of five years' abſence.

HISTORY

HISTORY

OF

EASTERN ETHIOPIA.

Originally written in the Portugueſe Language, by the Reverend Father JOANO DOS SANTOS, of the Order of St. Domingo, and publiſhed at Paris in the Year 1684.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING A SUCCINCT RELATION OF THE MOST CURIOUS AND REMARKABLE PRODUCTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

CHAP. I.—*Of the three Diviſions of the World, and the Fourth added to theſe by Don Emmanuel King of Portugal.*

THIS great monarch, crowned in the year 1496, was ſo fortunate during his reign as to diſcover empires ſo numerous, that he excited the wonder of the whole world at his ſucceſs, his prudence, and good management; for, not a nation exiſted but looked on him with reverence, not a province in which he was unknown.

The geographers of his day aſcertained that the world was of greater extent than before imagined; the ancients limiting it to three diviſions only, to theſe this ſovereign added a fourth, in America, which was diſcovered under his reign, and ſubjected to his dominion. Intent on aggrandizing himſelf in this quarter, Emmanuel, notwithſtanding he could with facility have done them much injury, refrained from diſturbing the tranquillity of the Caſtilians; preferring conqueſts obtained over diſtant and barbarous countries to warring with Catholics, with whom the dictates of conſcience enjoined him to live in peace; and applying the whole bent of his mind to the extermination of idolatry in the Indies, and the ſubſtitution of the only true faith.

Inſpired with zeal thus laudable he determined, if neceſſary, to proſecute his intention in perſon; but previouſly he fitted an armament, deſtined, either with allowance of the ſovereigns of theſe countries or by force, to effect ſettlements among them. With this view many ſhips of war were equipped in 1586*, on board of which ſome excellent

* This is an error of the preſs, the date ſhould be 1506. Emmanuel ſucceeded John II. in the throne of Portugal in 1495-6, and Naya diſcovered the empire of the Monomotopa in 1505-6. See Murr's Diſſertation on Martin Behaim, vol. xi. p. 302. of this work. Dos Santos, as the reader will perceive, appears not to have compoſed his work until many years after the expedition, ſeeing he notices the diſcovery of the ſtrait of Magellan by the navigator of that name, an event which did not occur until the year 1520. See the Voyage of Pigafetta round the World, vol. xi. p. 288. of this work. ENG. TRANS.

troops were embarked and ſtore of valuable merchandize; and the command of the expedition was entruſted to Pedro de Naya, who was ſolicitous of labourers to toil in the vineyard of the Lord. Learning the praiſe-worthy deſign of His Portugueſe Majeſty, I offered, in conjunction with many other miſſionaries to ſail with the fleet, and take charge of the ghoſtly health of his troops, adminiſter the ſacraments to them, during their long voyage, and ſtimulate them to fight with ardour for the glory of God, and the aggrandizement of the Portugueſe throne and nation.

In the beginning of April 1506, I repaired to Liſbon, accompanied by the other miſſionaries of the order of Santo Domingo, hoping for favourable winds, and expecting to ſail immediately after our arrival; but we were taught to have no reliance on the weather, for no ſooner did the wind begin to blow, as we wiſhed, than it changed to an adverſe direction; this, however, did not prevent our embarking, though it delayed our departure till the 13th of the month, when we ſteered towards the Brazils; but ſcarcely had we got well out to ſea before we experienced a gale ſo violent as placed us in great peril; ſucceſſive ſtorms alſo delayed our progreſs in ſuch manner that we were unable to double the Cape of Good Hope before the 2d of July of the ſame year *.

We made Mozambico on the 13th of Auguſt following, whence we ſailed for Sofala, the place where firſt our Portugueſe by ſtratagem contrived to fortify themſelves, perſuading the Mooriſh ſovereign of the country that the building which they conſtructed with his permiſſion, and which was made a place of ſtrength, was merely intended for a warehouſe to ſecure their merchandize from the weather and robbery.

This prince, who had heard of the grandeur of the Kings of Portugal, and who had long ſought a friendly connexion with them, was charmed at having an occaſion to oblige the Portugueſe, and with the greateſt readineſs granted what they ſo ardently deſired, that is to ſay, the formation of a mercantile eſtabliſhment. But after a little time he regretted, and ſought to recall the conceſſion he had made; for his courtiers repreſented to him that our people had deceived him, that inſtead of a ſimple warehouſe they were erecting fortifications; that there were ſufficient grounds for ſuppoſing they had intentions of making themſelves maſters of the place, and that if they were permitted to proſecute their works, it might be a difficult matter to diſpoſſeſs them. The King, in conſequence, reſolved on attacking us by ſurprize, with deſign to drive us, not only from the poſt we occupied, but likewiſe from the country which it appeared to him we had in contemplation to ſeize upon, and of which eventually we made ourſelves maſters, as will be ſeen in the following chapter. Before I proceed, however, to narrate the particulars of this conqueſt, that I may render more intelligible what I ſhall have to impart, it is meet I ſhould give a curſory detail of the general diſpoſition of the four quarters of the world.

Oſorius, following ancient geographers, divides the globe into three parts only, Europe, Aſia, and Africa; but moderns, more enlightened, have added to theſe America, diſcovered in the year 1497, and juſtly entitled to form a fourth diviſion, being of greater extent and richer than the other three.

Without entering into the merits of the diſputed point, contended for by the Spaniards and other nations, of who firſt had the honour and good fortune of diſcovering this

* The progreſs of the Portugueſe in the art of navigation at this early period is highly worthy of remark; already, in 1506, their beſt marines ſeem to have been acquainted with the winds, prevalent in the tropical regions, and the advantage of ſteering to the weſt, in order with greater eaſe to double the Cape of Good Hope, and avoid the calms and ſtorms, which, on coaſting Africa, though the neareſt courſe, ſo much procraſtinate a voyage to the Indies. ENG. TRANS.

extenſive

extenſive and beautiful portion of the globe, I may ſafely advance that many perſons contributed to its exploration. Alvarez Cabral, a Portugueſe, while ſailing along the coaſt of Africa, was carried away ſo much to the weſtward by certain violent winds, that, without any deſign on his part, he made the coaſt of the Brazils*; Chriſtoval Colon, a Genoeſe, is reputed to have ſailed ſtill farther weſtward, and Americo Veſpucci, a Florentine, is held merely to have accompliſhed what the others had begun. However this may be, general conſent, about the year 1500, applied the name of the laſt navigator to this part of the globe. It is ſurrounded by the ſea, which, in the northern part, ſeparates it from the other diviſions, and in the ſouth forms the ſtrait diſcovered by Fernando Magellan, a Portugueſe, in 1520.

As the beauty and abundance of a country are in proportion to the number of the rivers it can boaſt, and as theſe facilitate communication between its parts, the fecundity and value of this is inconteſtible, for it is watered by numerous, broad, and deep ſtreams. Of theſe the chief are: the Orellana, which is fifty leagues in breadth and more than fifteen hundred long; the Maranan, fifteen leagues broad; the Prata (or Silver River), from Peru, whence the ſilver is brought which forms the medium of the whole world's commerce.

This diviſion of the globe moreover ſurpaſſes the others by its iſlands, of which there are five remarkable ones. The firſt is Cuba, two hundred leagues in length and ſeventy in breadth; the ſecond Santo Domingo, one hundred and fifty leagues by eighteen; the third St. John, fifty leagues by eighteen; the fourth iſland is that of St. James, its dimenſions fifty leagues by twenty; Maracapana makes the fifth, that in which three brethren of our order ſuffered martyrdom from the infidels.

If we credit the relation of Herodotus reſpecting the origin of the denominations given to three of the diviſions of the globe, we muſt attribute that of Aſia to a ſon of Maneo, of ſimilar name, ſo called from the deſcent of his family, being from a tribe inhabiting the city of Sardis, the members of which tribe were called Aſians. This diviſion is bounded, weſtward, by the Red Sea, which ſeparates it from Africa; northward, by the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Tanais, Dwina and the Palus Mæotis, which ſeparate it from Europe. St. Anſelm ſtates it to contain thirty provinces, while others make their number forty-two. However this may be, it is notorious that in its dimenſions, as in wealth, it ſurpaſſes Europe and Africa united. It was antiently celebrated as the ſite of the empire of the Aſſyrians and Medes, and is ſtill famous from containing the powerful dominions of the Perſians and Turks. In this part of the world did the Almighty create our primogenitor Adam, and place him in a terreſtrial paradiſe; here it was that a veſtige of the former world was preſerved in Noah's ark from the devaſtation of the general deluge; and here moſt of the events related in the old and new teſtaments occurred.

Joſephus, in the firſt book of his Jewiſh Antiquities (Lib. xv.), affirms, that Africa derives its name from Opher, a grandſon of Abraham, who went into Lybia at the head of a powerful army. After fighting and overcoming his enemies, he ſojourned in the land; where his preſence was neceſſary, not only to curb the Africans, but alſo the Ethiopians, Phenicians, and Greeks, by whom it was inhabited. The Carthaginians gave ſplen-

* The date of the diſcovery of the Brazils by Cabral, according to Barros, *Decada primeira della Aſia*, lib. iv. c. 2. was the 24th of April 1502. Americo Veſpucci was diſpatched by Emmanuel on a voyage of diſcovery to the South Atlantic in 1501; and, on the 1ſt of April 1502, made the coaſt of the province now termed the Terra Firma; but he was preceded, according to ſome authors, in the diſcovery of this part of America by Rodrigo de Baſtidias and Joano de la Coſa. The merit of the firſt diſcovery of America is unqueſtionably to be attributed to Colon. ENG. TRANS.

dour to this quarter of the world by the ſtrength of their immenſe armies, which were univerſally dreaded. Africa contains many different nations deſerving of notice, from the manner in which they live, and their ſtrange and diſſimilar cuſtoms; for among them are ſome, the Adrimachides for example, who eat not either of the fleſh of oxen or ſwine. The inhabitants of Mount Atlas feed on pulſe alone. The Africans, or Lybians, ſupport themſelves commonly on milk and wild animals; and, while they permit the hair to grow on the right ſide of the head, ſhave that which grows on the left. The Macas and Guidanes are entirely ſhorn, and wear crowns ſimilar to the fillets of our prieſts. The Auſes ſuffer the hair in front to grow over their forehead, ſo as to cover the face, but bare the reſt of the head. The Zingantes generally dwell in foreſts, and ſubſiſt on honey and wild beaſts; as ſoon as their children are capable of toil, they are taught to cultivate the ground, at which employ they are aſſiſted by their mothers, while the fathers go to war.

Pomponius Mela aſcribes the derivation of the name of Europe to a princeſs, daughter of Agenor, King of Tyre in the province of Phenicia, who was ſeized upon by Jupiter and borne to the iſland of Crete, the preſent Candia.

This laſt diviſion is parted into many kingdoms, France, Portugal, Spain, England, Germany, Poland, &c. France is one of the chief kingdoms of Europe; its ſovereign is very powerful both by ſea and land, and all its governments are ſo amply endowed with every ſpecies of natural produce, and abound in ſuch degree in all kinds of merchandize, as to have no need of the aſſiſtance of foreign countries; moreover, without going to the Indies, it poſſeſſes within itſelf mines of gold and ſilver adequate to its wants*.

But now, entering upon the ſubject of our preſent work, I ſhall obſerve that Ethiopia is divided into two provinces, eaſtern, and weſtern.

* This paſſage, no doubt, is an interpolation of Don Gaetan Charpy, from whoſe tranſlation into French of the work of Dos Santos, effected at the inſtigation of, and dedicated to the great Colbert, the preſent Engliſh tranſlation is given. There can be no queſtion of the adequacy of the produce of France to anſwer all the natural wants of its population, but luxury has introduced artificial wants which neceſſitate a foreign commerce. As the mines of France are here noticed, and as little in Young's or Lifter's tour through France, given in this work, is mentioned reſpecting them, the following account of their productions in weight and value, extracted from the "Statiſtique de la France et ſes Colonies par une Societé de Gens de Lettres et de Savans." Paris An xii. 1804, will probably not be unacceptable to the reader, eſpecially as the original account, printed under the patronage of the government, and compoſed in great meaſure by individuals belonging to the different Bureaux, may be regarded as official.

Quality of the Minerals.	Weight.		Value in Franks.
Iron, marketable,	2,400,000	Quintaux	45,000,000
Lead, do.	24,000	do.	840,000
Copper, do.	2,000	do.	300,000
Mercury,	600	do.	268,800
Zinc, or Calamine,	60,000	do.	234,000
Antimony,	1,500	do.	30,000
Manganeſe,	1,200	do.	18,000
Mineral Salt,			3,000,000
Mineral Acids,			3,000,000
Coal,	82,000,000	do.	61,500,000
Turf, Stone, Sand, Clay, &c.			6,912,000
Produce of Salt-works,	5,000,000	do.	13,000,000
Total Weight and Value.	89,489,300	do.	134,102,800

Eaſtern

Eaſtern Ethiopia begins at the Cape of Good Hope and extends along the coaſt of the Ocean and the Eaſtern Sea to the Red Sea. It is a very fertile province, peopled, as is Weſtern Ethiopia, by different nations, whoſe cuſtoms greatly vary. The climate is exceedingly hot and unwholeſome, eſpecially for ſtrangers, as is experienced by the Portugueſe who dwell in this country, who moſtly are ſeized with maladies and die of fever; ſtill is not the mortality of the climate of ſufficient weight to deter them from adventuring hither, or allay their thirſt for gold.

Weſtern Ethiopia commences likewiſe at the Cape of Good Hope, ſtretches to the boundaries of Egypt on the eaſtern ſide of the peninſula of Africa, and is confined on the ſouth, by the Ethiopia above Egypt, on the north by the borders of Lybia, embracing the country inhabited by the Troglodites, called by the Greeks Paſtors or Wild Men, owing to their perpetual reſidence in groves and foreſts, where they ſubſiſt on hunting and plunder.

Theſe Ethiopians eſteem ſo highly thoſe animals on which they ſubſiſt, that at the time of circumciſing their children, they give them the name of the ox, the ſheep, the lion, &c. regarding theſe animals, from affording the means of ſupporting life, as coadjutors with their fathers and mothers in the exiſtence of their offspring.

Their wives, to whom the lot is aſſigned of cultivating and ſowing the land, are held in ſo much honour, that where any difference or diſpute occurs between two parties, they ſummon the diſputants before them, adjudge the point in queſtion, and ſo perfectly by their authority terminate the quarrel, that nothing more is heard between the parties. In theſe people what is moſt worthy of remark, is to find men of ſuch undaunted ſpirit, that they combat fearleſsly the lion and the tiger, and are ſo eager after reputation, as to reckon life no longer worth preſerving when the feebleneſs of age reſtrains the exerciſe of their natural heroiſm, yet at the ſame time thus ſubmiſſive to women. With them it is held unworthy of a manly character to be ſolicitous of acquiſitions, the after-privation of which would be followed with pain; yet does not this opinion, by no means a barbarous one, prevent their perfect reſignation to the will of their wives.

CHAP. II. — *Of the Manner in which the Portugueſe fortified themſelves in Sofala. — The Jealouſy of the King in conſequence. — The War he waged againſt them, in the courſe of which he loſt his Life, and the Portugueſe were confirmed Maſters of the Fortreſs.*

SOFALA is a ſmall maritime kingdom of Eaſtern Ethiopia, dependent on the ſovereign of Quiteva, ſituate between the river Cuama and Mount Manica, in 20½° of ſouthern latitude. It extends along the ſea and the banks of a river, a league in width, which flows through the country called Mocarangua, by Zimboé, the capital and reſidence of the King of Quiteva. The King has dominion over the whole of this country, as well as the river of Sofala, whence the inhabitants carry on uninterrupted commerce with thoſe of Manica, who make return for the merchandize they take in gold duſt.

While the people of Sofala are abſent on their traffic to Manica, and collecting gold, ivory, amber, and ſlaves, their wives cultivate the land.

The fortreſs of Sofala is a perfect ſquare building, ſurrounded by a good wall, flanked by four baſtions well mounted with artillery. It was begun in 1505, by order of Emmanuel, King of Portugal, under pretence of making it a magazine for merchandize;

chandize; and the Queen, Dona Catalina, who governed awhile during the minority of her grandſon, Don Sebaſtian, cauſed its fortifications to be completed in 1580.*

The governors, or captains-general, formerly reſided ſix months at Mozambico, and the reſidue of the year at Sofala; but now they dwell altogether at Mozambico, and appoint a ſubſtitute, who governs at Sofala, and ſuperintends the merchandize in the warehouſes there.

The ſame Queen, Dona Catalina†, anxious to render herſelf miſtreſs of Sofala, cauſed ſix large ſhips to be equipped, the command of which was entruſted to Pedro da Naya, who, after great perils and ſuffering much from ſtorms, entered the river of Sofala with four of his ſhips, and effected a landing. The two other ſhips of his ſquadron, of greater burthen, kept the ſea, as well for the purpoſe of oppoſing any enemies which might appear as on account of the ſhallowneſs of the river, which could not admit veſſels of their draught of water. The Mooriſh King, whoſe name was Ruffe, was much ſurpriſed at hearing the Portugueſe had diſembarked without aſking his permiſſion; but the news which firſt occaſioned alarm, and made him reſolve on attacking them with all his powers, was a ſource of pleaſure to him, on his receiving a complimentary deputation from the commander of the armament, with an aſſurance that he had been obliged to ſeek ſhelter in the port in conſequence of bad weather, and requeſting his conſent to erect a warehouſe for the ſecurity of their perſons, and the merchandize with which the ſquadron was freighted.

This ſovereign, who was blind, governed his ſtates in oppoſition to an eſtabliſhed law, by which a King or Prince, having any bodily defect, is held incapable of retaining the ſceptre; in this caſe death is eſteemed by theſe people preferable to life. But this monarch, who owed his blindneſs to accident, diſregarded the law, which, as he ſhortly after obſerved to Pedro da Naya, was made for others, but not for him.

The courtiers of this Prince, as noticed in the firſt chapter, informed him that the Portugueſe took advantage of his conceſſion of leave to build themſelves a warehouſe, and that inſtead they were haſtily fortifying themſelves, and giving room for ſuſpicions of their entertaining wrong deſigns; they at the ſame time recommended him to prevent their putting thoſe in execution, either by a prohibition againſt their further proſecuting their fortifications, or by obliging them, by force of arms, to demoliſh what they had begun. After mature reflection on the ſubject, the King ſaw his fault, and determined on driving the intruders from their poſt, when they ſhould leaſt ſuſpect his intentions, make a general maſſacre of them, and give up their merchandize as plunder to his troops; a meaſure which he reckoned would be eaſily effected, by taking the Portugueſe by ſurprize. The deſign of the monarch being promulgated among the Moors, a large army was ſpeedily collected, all being alike animated with the deſire of making a rich booty.

The intended treachery, on its coming to the knowledge of a Moor, named Abexin, was viewed by him with horror, and immediately after, with intent to counteract it,

* This date is wrong. John III. died June 11, 1557, and the education of his grandſon Sebaſtian, and the regency, were entruſted to Catalina his Queen. She, notwithſtanding the excellence of her government, was obnoxious to the Portugueſe, on account of her being a Caſtillian; and in conſequence, after a ſhort time, ſhe reſigned the regency to her brother-in-law, Cardinal Henry, and retired to a convent. The duration of her ſway in Portugal being very ſhort, provided the fort was completed as here affirmed, while ſhe held the reigns of government, it will probably have been in 1558, and not in 1580. ENG. TRANS.

† Again Dos Santos is in error. In the firſt chapter he notices the expedition of Da Naya, and the ſettlement at Sofala, in which he is correct, to have taken place in the reign of Emmanuel, in 1505-6. ENG. TRANS.

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he imparted what he had learnt to Pedro da Naya. The Portugueſe, unconſcious of having done any thing either againſt the King or the ſtate which could provoke ſuch treatment, was miſtruſtful at firſt of the truth of the communication, for the Moors are but little famed for ſincerity; but Abexin adduced ſuch proofs for what he advanced, that Pedro da Naya profited by the information, and kept on his guard.

The appointed time for carrying into effect the meditated maſſacre being at hand, he ordered his whole force under arms, to await the enemy, who aſſailed the Portugueſe in the night, at many points, and with vigour incredible, though ſurpaſſed by that evinced by the attacked; theſe, on this occaſion, taught the Moors, at their coſt, to ſet a high value on the courage of the nation they provoked to war. After a long conflict, overpowered by the artillery and frequent ſallies of the Portugueſe, they at length took to flight in confuſion, and ſought refuge in the palace of the Prince; but hither they were purſued by our people, at the point of the ſword; and the King, who was among the fugitives, being ſlain, this circumſtance encreaſed the inveteracy of the Moors, who ſought now not only to defend themſelves, but to revenge their ſovereign's death. The reſolution, the obſtinacy of the inhabitants, was on each ſide equal, and victory hovered awhile over either banner; indeed, towards the cloſe we ſhould have been beaten, but for the timely ſuccour brought forward by Abexin; this Moor joined the Portugueſe with a number of partiſans, turned the tide of the battle, and cauſed the complete overthrow of the enemy, but not before they had dangerouſly wounded Pedro da Naya. The generous, friendly, and critical aſſiſtance of Abexin was liberally rewarded: Da Naya, as an acknowledgment for the fidelity with which he had fulfilled his engagements, and the zeal which he had ſhewn in the moment of danger, after he had completely fortified his magazine, and obtained ſettled poſſeſſion of Sofala, cauſed him to be proclaimed King of the country; and over it he reigned many years. This ſovereign was a truſty and ſincere friend conſtantly to the Portugueſe, and a great enemy to his fellow-countrymen, who unwillingly ſaw themſelves obliged to ſubmit to the dominion of the Portugueſe, in lieu of that of the King of Quiteva, formerly lord of all this country. In proceſs of time this latter monarch was alſo made tributary to the crown of Portugal, which had, at an after-period, no leſs than twenty-two Kings who did homage to it for their thrones.

CHAP. III.—*Of the Trees and Fruits which flouriſh throughout the whole of the Year in the Territory of Sofala.*

WITH truth may it be affirmed that Sofala is the garden of all this continent; it is overſpread with jeſſamine, perpetually green and perpetually in flower, which by the beautiful contraſt of its white flowers and lively verdure furniſhes an enamel than which nothing can be more grateful to the eye. On every ſide are ſeen, orange, lemon, and other curious trees, the Romeyra for example, on which fruit and flowers are ſeen growing at the ſame time in conſtant ſucceſſion through the year. The vines are almoſt equally exuberant, for the vintages are two-fold, the firſt in January, the other in July. Pine-apples, reſembling our peaches in flavour, but far preferable, are very numerous; and, among others, the fig-trees are ſo heavily laden with fruit, as pleaſing to the eye as they are grateful to the palate, that the branches bend beneath their oppreſſive weight. Finally, the ſugar-cane is cultivated along the banks of the river by the Caffres, who ſubſiſt on its juice throughout the major part of the year, but who have not the ingenuity poſſeſſed by the inhabitants of other countries of cryſtallizing the ſweet they yield.

Here the people preſerve their oranges and lemons, and carry on traffic in them with the Indies where they are eaten with rice.

But, however fruitful the neighbourbood of Sofala, in the offerings of Pomona, its Cereal productions are ſo limited, that the inhabitants are conſtrained to make their bread half of rice and half of millet. This bread is formed into a kind of cake, not edible except while warm, for when it becomes cold it is harſh, and ſo dry, that it cannot be ſwallowed without firſt being ſoaked in a vinous preparation from millet. This extract is equally potent with the wine preſſed from grapes, and is much drank by the Caffres, but the Portugueſe uſe a different wine obtained, as will be ſeen, from the palm-tree.

If the bread and wine of theſe poor people be little pleaſant to the taſte, they are on the other hand indemnified by an abundance of meat, for their ſtock of oxen, cows, ſheep, ſwine, and wild cattle is very conſiderable, excluſive of every ſpecies of poultry, which is ſo plenteous that fifteen large fowls are bought for a Bertangy, a coin equal to two teſtoons or about eleven-pence ſterling. This great plenteouſneſs of food enables the lower orders to live very comfortably, and the rich to indulge to ſuperfluity in all kinds of proviſion.

Beſides the ſecret of ſoftening their bread, the Caffres have diſcovered means of making a ſubſtitute for butter, which they uſe as a ſauce for boiled rice. They extract this butter from the cakes of preſſed Gergelins whence previouſly oil has been expreſſed; this oil ſerves better for burning than olive oil, and is uſed as an unguent for all kinds of wounds. To ſecure a proviſion of butter and oil, therefore, every individual lays in a ſtock of Gergelins.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the Manner in which the King of Quiteva takes poſſeſſion of his Dominions, and the Mode of his giving Audience. — Of the prevalent Cuſtom of the Country, according to which all the Wives and Concubines of the King devote themſelves to Death, upon his loſing his Life.*

THE name of Quiteva is common to the ſovereign lord of the country bordering on the river Sofala, which, at his acceſſion to that dignity, he aſſumes to the excluſion of the titles he might before have been known by, this dignity in the eſteem of the people placing him on a par with the Deity; indeed, the Caffres acknowledge no other gods than their monarch, and to him they addreſs thoſe prayers which other nations are wont to prefer to heaven.

The Quiteva maintains a number of wives, the chief of whom are his near relations, and are denominated his queens; the reſidue, by whom alſo he has children, are regarded merely as his concubines; from this circumſtance, when he dies a great confuſion is created on nominating his ſucceſſor. The new Quiteva is commonly ſelected from among thoſe of his children who are the offspring of his own daughters, or ſiſters; with theſe near relatives he has excluſively the privilege of cohabiting, the laws of the country forbidding, in an expreſs manner, his ſubjects from intermarrying with their ſiſters or daughters under penalty of death.

If the women of whom I ſpeak, on the one hand, enjoy the favour and countenance of the King during his life, they are, on the other, obliged to give themſelves up to death when he happens to die; for this purpoſe, that they may be conſtantly ready to accompany him in caſe of his ſuddenly expiring, they are always provided with a doſe of poiſon.

The erroneous perſuaſion of the princes and vaſſals of this country that this mortal life is ſucceeded by another, in which ſtill higher rank awaits the great than they enjoyed in this world, occaſions thoſe (whom the more powerful on account of their being of oppoſite parties make the victims of their intereſt), to ſubmit with joy to their fate, in hopes to be courtiers about their King in another world.

As ſoon as the Quiteva ceaſes to live, a ſucceſſor is choſen, capable of governing with wiſdom and prudence. Commonly for this purpoſe, his eldeſt ſon by the royal blood is ſelected, and ſhould he fail in the requiſite qualifications, the next oldeſt, and thus in ſucceſſion the reſt; and when among the whole it chances to happen that not one adequate to the high poſt is found, his ſucceſſor is the miniſter to whom the defunct was accuſtomed to impart his ſecrets. This rule of ſucceſſion is however not ſo ſtrictly followed but that ſome deviations from it occaſionally take place.

Thus, for example, while I was at Sofala, the Quiteva died, and left upwards of thirty children, legitimate and illegitimate; ſtill not one of theſe was nominated to ſucceed him on the throne, but the brother of the deceaſed, who, to a thorough knowledge of the affairs of ſtate, joined all the qualifications neceſſary for a governor; and indeed ſhould he be deficient in this reſpect, it would be enough that a majority of the King's concubines ſhould join in his favour, as on theſe the poſſeſſion of the throne depends.

As ſoon as the Quiteva is dead, he is buried with his predeceſſors, and after his obſequies are terminated, on the ſucceeding day, his ſucceſſor repairs to the royal palace, where he meets with ſome of the concubines of the late King (for it is only thoſe moſt beloved and in whom he was wont to place the utmoſt confidence, that take poiſon on his dying), and with their conſent he ſeats himſelf on the throne prepared for him in the midſt of a large hall; when ſeated here, a curtain is drawn before him and his wives: hence he iſſues orders for his proclamation through the ſtreets; this is the ſignal for the people to flock to render him homage and ſwear obedience, a ceremony which is performed amid great rejoicings.

The officers and ſoldiers belonging to his guard in the mean-time place themſelves at the gates, and prevent the entrance of more than ſufficient to fill the hall, that no diſturbance or confuſion may take place. At firſt, thoſe admitted proſtrate themſelves on their knees, and thus advance towards the throne one after the other, when they addreſs the monarch, he remaining conſtantly behind the curtain, without expoſing himſelf to the public view until every one that has entered, has done him homage. After this has been effected, each, according to the cuſtom of the country, ſhakes hands with the Quiteva, and retires; he again places himſelf behind the curtain till the hall is once more filled, and the ſame ceremony is again repeated: in this manner the whole day paſſes in receiving homage. The next, the King ſends his ambaſſadors to publiſh the death of the late prince, and the peaceable inſtallation in his ſtead of the new ſovereign.

So great is the reſpect the Caffres ſhew their King, that on being admitted to his preſence they never preſume to look him in the face, or front him; but withdrawing on one ſide, they keep their eyes conſtantly bent on the ground, and never ſpeak to him but on their knees. The Portugueſe alone are allowed the privilege of addreſſing him ſtanding; they otherwiſe follow the example of the Caffres, and at intervals clap their hands as a token of joy.

When all have been admitted to the preſence, and the levee is finiſhed, the King cauſes wine, extracted from millet and called Pombé, to be preſented to the whole of the company. Should it happen that any one from apprehenſion ſhould object to drink of the proffered beverage, the refuſal is regarded as an inſult by the Quiteva, and the individual guilty of ſuch ill-manners is ordered not to quit the town except with his permiſſion, which, as it is never granted, cauſes the delinquent to be thus conſigned to perpetual impriſonment.

CHAP. V.—*Of the Ceremonies obſerved in cauſing one of the Children of the late King to be placed on the Throne.—Of the civil Wars occaſioned by ſuch Succeſſions, and the Cuſtom uſual with the Quiteva of devoting himſelf to Death in caſe of any natural Defect.*

THE numerous offspring of the Quiteva occaſions many candidates for the throne; and as every one of his wives uſes her efforts to advance her own progeny to this dignity, that much intrigue and diſturbance ſhould accompany their projects cannot be conſidered a matter of ſurprize. Each endeavours, by preſents and magnificent promiſes, to increaſe the number of her partizans and aggrandiſe her intereſt, at the expenſe of that of her competitors, to cauſe one of the princes, all of whom are educated in another quarter, to be admitted into the palace, for none can come to court without the expreſs conſent of the King, who in conſequence is inceſſantly ſolicited at every hand. For, when with royal permiſſion a prince once enters the palace, his pretenſions to the throne are regarded as indiſputable; thoſe, however, who have not this permiſſion, and by force ſeek to obtain this ſecurity of ſucceſſion, by ſuch demeanour not only render themſelves criminal, but forfeit all pretenſions to the ſovereignty.

Contiguous to the dominions of the Quiteva, are thoſe of another prince called Sedanda. This prince becoming afflicted with leproſy, reſolved on following implicitly the laws of the country, and poiſoning himſelf, conceiving his malady to be incurable, or at leaſt that it would render him ſo loathſome in the eyes of his people, that they would with difficulty recognize him. In conſequence he nominated his ſucceſſor, holding as his opinion that ſovereigns, who ſhould ſerve in all things as an example to their people, ought to have no defect whatever, even in their perſons; that when any defects may chance to befal them, they ceaſe to be worthy of life and of governing their dominions; and preferring death in compliance with this law, to life, with the reproach of having been its violator.

But this law was not obſerved with equal ſcrupuloſity by one of the Quitevas, who, having loſt a tooth, and feeling no diſpoſition to follow the practice of his predeceſſors, publiſhed to the people that he had loſt a front tooth, in order that when they might behold, they yet might be able to recognize him; declaring at the ſame time that he was reſolved on living and reigning as long as he could, eſteeming his exiſtence requiſite for the welfare of his ſubjects. He at the ſame time loudly condemned the practice of his predeceſſors, whom he taxed with imprudence, nay even with madneſs, for having condemned themſelves to death for caſual accidents to their perſons, confeſſing plainly, that it would be with much regret, even when the courſe of nature ſhould bring him to his end, that he ſhould ſubmit to die. He obſerved, moreover, that no reaſonable being, much leſs a monarch, ought to anticipate the ſcythe of time; and, abrogating this mortal law, he ordained that all his ſucceſſors, if ſane, ſhould follow the precedent he gave, and the new law eſtabliſhed by him. He likewiſe flattered his ſubjects with the hope of their ſeeing a new tooth grow in lieu of the one he had loſt, and adverting to the regret they would experience on loſing a prince whom they loved, on account of a defect which time and patience might eventually remedy.

A neighbouring Sedanda, having once been nominated for his ſucceſſor by a Quiteva, on his dying, with reaſon attempted to enter the palace, and ſeat himſelf among the women of the defunct, expecting according to cuſtom that every one would acknowledge his right; but he found his expectations vain, as the women with whom he was at enmity, began to intrigue together to exclude him from the throne. With this view

they imputed to him many imperfections; openly oppoſed his peaceable initiation, and objected to his entering the palace. The prince, who truſted to reconcile them to his intereſt by dint of preſents and promiſes, imagined their averſion would be of ſhort duration, and that with the ſhades of night all difficulty would vaniſh; he conſequently, unapprehenſive of the lengths to which they were capable of going, ſuffered the night to paſs without offering the ſlighteſt umbrage. In the morning he again preſented himſelf in front of the palace, but encountered ſtill greater reſiſtance than on the preceding day, which obliged him a ſecond time to retire. As ſoon as he was gone, the women immediately ſent to another prince who was abſent, enjoining him to repair without delay to the palace, to take his ſeat among them, and aſſume the throne. This being effected without any parade, the poor Sedanda found himſelf ſupplanted in a throne which he conſidered infallibly his own; and reſenting the affront thus put upon him, he ſought for vengeance by a reſort to arms; in this view he applied to his friends and partizans, who promiſed him ſupport: but as thoſe to whom he addreſſed himſelf were mere courtiers, who looked to improve their fortunes by his ſucceſs, and as by having recourſe to arms they would, according to the conſtruction of law, be guilty of treaſon, they, as ſoon as they were informed that the other prince had been proclaimed King, and had peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown, abandoned him to his fate: thus the unfortunate Sedanda ſaw all his hopes deſtroyed, and was even obliged to fly for ſafety to the territories of his neighbours.

As ſoon as the new King is acknowledged legal poſſeſſor of the throne, he ſummons all his grandees to repair to court, to aſſiſt at the ceremony of breaking the bow of the deceaſed Quiteva, which bow is the ſame as was made on his acceſſion to the kingdom. This aggregation of the nobility is a ſtratagem uſed by the ſovereign to enable him to rid himſelf of his enemies, for under pretence of making a court in the other world for the deceaſed, he cauſes thoſe grandees who are obnoxious to him to be aſſaſſinated for the purpoſe of attending that monarch, and gives the poſts which they enjoyed to ſuch as poſſeſs his favour: thoſe however who are inimical to the new King are not accuſtomed to obey the ſummons, but prefer retiring to the dominions of ſome neighbouring prince, where they paſs the remainder of their days: in this they are imitated by all who may have objected to the nomination of the King.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Exceſſes of the Caffres every Year on occaſion of the Anniverſary of the funeral Obſequies of the King's Predeceſſors. — How at theſe Times the King ſuffers himſelf to be viſibly impoſed upon by a Sorcerer, who counterfeits the Voice of the laſt defunct Monarch; and of the eſteem this engenders for him among the People.*

THE King, every year, on the appearance of the new moon in the month of September, repairs to a mountain covered by a large foreſt called Zimboé, which is the place of ſepulture of the Kings. By a convocation of all his courtiers, and others who flock hither from every part to be preſent at the ceremonies uſed on the occaſion of the celebration of the obſequies of the Kings, he pretends to afford comfort to the ſouls of his predeceſſors. As however the ceremonies conſiſt chiefly of exceſſes, it is by no means wonderful theſe monarchs ſhould perſiſt in their errors; they bewail the dead by dint of drinking, and deſiſt from leaping and dancing, then only when fatigue obliges them to ceaſe. The order of this anniverſary is as follows:

On the appointed day they repair to the mountain, and in the foreſt find materials for feaſting already prepared; here they eat and drink ſo plenteouſly, that throughout the week theſe orgies laſt, no one knows his companion.

The King, who excites the company to drink, prides himſelf on being the beſt and greateſt toper of the aſſemblage; but the moſt diverting part of the ſcene is to ſee a troop of people drunk with wine, and ſcarcely able to ſtand, ſo mad as to exhibit a mock-engagement. For this purpoſe they divide themſelves into two parties, one oppoſite to the other, their bows in their hands, from which they inceſſantly diſcharge flights of arrows into the air as ſignals of rejoicing. Now they advance towards each other like two battalions about to engage, now ſtrive each party to break through the ranks of the one oppoſed, mingling in a pleaſing manner their forces, and playing off a number of manœuvres. Thoſe who remain firm on the field of battle are acknowledged the moſt valiant, and bear away the prize ſet aſide for theſe gambols; but the adjudgment, it will readily be conceived, is not always the moſt correct, nor can thoſe who beſt ſuſtained the ſhock at all times be rightly thought the braveſt, as the conflict is between men ſo deeply intoxicated as not to know their next companion.

The feaſting terminated, the King and all his courtiers pretend for three days to bewail the death of their former Kings; after this period a demon enters into a Caffre ſorcerer, and ſo well imitates the voice of the laſt King whoſe obſequies are celebrated, that every one is deceived, and imagines that it is the ſoul of the King from the other world, returned to teach the reigning prince how to govern his people, which ſpeaks. The King now advances to confer with the ſorcerer; every one proſtrates himſelf; and after other marks of reſpect for the ſoul of the prince, all retire, and leave the King tête-à-tête with the man poſſeſſed, who not only imitates the voice of the deceaſed King, but ſpeaks in all kinds of languages if required, and holds converſation with the monarch with the ſame familiarity a father would with a ſon who might interrogate him on what is to happen in his kingdom. The demon pretends to unfold the future, declares whether or no war will take place, and if the living King ſhall prevail or be vanquiſhed; whether his ſubjects ſhall revolt; and many other ſimilar things, in which divers impoſtures are dealt: and notwithſtanding the King is aware of the cheat, he nevertheleſs annually continues the farce on account of the profit he derives from it in preſents made on the occaſion, and the eſteem this mock-conference nouriſhes for him in the minds of the people; thoſe regarding him as the favourite of the ſouls of the dead, and believing he holds converſe with them when he will; that he learns from them, as oracles, whatever paſſes in his dominions; and is inſtructed thus in the rule of government he ſhould follow.

It is not only at Sofala that recourſe is had to demons, the like practice is common in China. Father Mendoza, in his hiſtory of that country, relates theſe gentile barbarians to be accuſtomed to addreſs themſelves to demons, with whom they hold converſe at pleaſure; he even adduces an inſtance to this effect; on ſailing from China to the Philippines in a Chineſe junk, ſo dreadful a tempeſt aroſe that all on board gave themſelves up for loſt. The Chineſe at this time began invoking their demons; the which perceiving the monks on board addreſſed their prayers to heaven, and theſe prevented the effect of the incantations of the Chineſe; and as the infidels were ſolicitous of knowing why they received no ſuccour when in ſuch preſſing need, and wherefore ſo far from their danger diminiſhing, as often before had been the caſe, it increaſed, the demons, though they alone were the authors of the lie, were conſtrained to acknowledge the truth of the caſe, confeſſing they were unable to effect any thing owing to the prayers of the monks on board; a confeſſion, however, which put theſe ſervants of God in danger of being aſſaſſinated every inſtant by the Chineſe, and caſt into the ſea. The Chineſe at length added written invocations to thoſe they had uttered aloud, to which they received for anſwer, that they had nothing to apprehend, as before three

days

days elapſed, they would arrive at the deſired heaven in ſafety. The falſity of this prediction was, however, made clear by the event, for the time expreſſed was much exceeded, and freſh tempeſts aroſe before they made the port, tempeſts which viſibly abated at the interceſſion and prayer of theſe good monks, as even the Chineſe themſelves allowed. This confeſſion, indeed, on their part, extorted by the fact, was the cauſe of ſome among them abandoning their ſuperſtitions, and embracing the true religion.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the Obſervance on the part of the Caffres of certain Feſtivals, during which no Labour is followed; and of the Puniſhment inflicted by them on a Portugueſe, on occaſion of his killing a Calf on one of theſe ſacred Days. — Of the twenty-ſeven Paradiſes they expect to find in another World, and the Chaſtiſement they will have to endure in one of the thirteen Hells they imagine to exiſt.*

IT is not without reaſon the Caffres are regarded as one of the moſt wicked and barbarous nations upon earth, for they are perfectly ignorant of all things neceſſary to ſalvation. They are without religion, have neither temples nor altars, offer no ſacrifices, have no miniſters of worſhip, nor images repreſenting a divinity, though they have a confuſed idea, the reſult of natural inſtinct, which internally admoniſhes them of the exiſtence of ſome preternatural principle. They hence acknowledge a God, who both in this and the world to come they fancy meaſures retribution for the good and evil done in this. They likewiſe believe in the exiſtence of twenty-ſeven paradiſes, where every one enjoys a pleaſure proportionate to the merits of his life. They do not conceive that animals act from pure inſtinct, but allowing them a reaſonable faculty, hold them alike amenable with man to reward and puniſhment, and aſſign them a ſpecial ſeat of bliſs, to which the ſouls of Caffres will have acceſs, thoſe only excepted, who, notwithſtanding they believe in a great God whom they call Molungo, have yet paſſed their lives in wickedneſs. Theſe, they fancy, will be condemned to a privation from the ſight of his holy preſence, and ſuffer torment in one of the thirteen hells they admit, each proportionate to the evil they have done. Theſe opinions are traditions handed down from father to ſon, as they have no written teſtimonies, and refrain from learning either to read or write.

Notwithſtanding theſe are merely traditions, they yet are firmly perſuaded of their truth. They, moreover, implicitly believe that monkeys have formerly been human beings, endowed with reaſoning faculties equal to thoſe of the human ſpecies, and that even now they are dumb merely from apprehenſion that if they ſhould talk they would be made to work.

Though convinced of the exiſtence of a Deity, they neither adore nor pray to him, but addreſs themſelves wholly to their ſovereigns, through whoſe interceſſion with heaven, as they hold him to be capable of converſing with the ſouls of the dead, they look to obtain whatever they require.

The King, profiting by the ſimplicity of his ſubjects, never grants them audience without they bring with them handſome preſents: hence theſe unfortunate beings, under the perſuaſion that their King is a Deity, exhauſt their utmoſt means, and ruin themſelves in gifts to obtain with more facility what they need. Thus, proſtrate at his feet, they implore of him, when the weather long continues dry, to intercede with heaven that they may have rain; and when too much rain has fallen, that they may have fair weather;

weather; thus alſo in caſe of winds, ſtorms, and every thing they would either deprecate or implore.

The King, well convinced that he poſſeſſes no ſuch power, and that ſuch things depend on a great God, Lord of heaven and earth, never fails of returning an encouraging anſwer, couched in general terms, telling them to go back to their houſes, that he will reflect on what they aſk, that he will uſe his beſt efforts for their comfort, and that, after a ſhort time, if their wiſhes ſhould not be ſatisfied, they muſt again come to him to iterate their prayers without dread of tiring his patience, for that he deems it a pleaſure to liſten to the complaints of his people, that he may be employed in procuring a remedy as ample as his power admits.

The people, notwithſtanding they obtain nothing of what they aſk from the King, ſtill perſevere in their entreaties; and as they never go empty-handed to his preſence, but conſtantly with preſents adequate to what they require, they ſtrip themſelves of nearly all they are worth. In the mean time rain falls or ceaſes; the wind, which cannot blow for ever, ſinks into a calm: but, inſtead of attributing theſe events to the great Molungo, the immutable decrees of God who wills the ſucceſſion of ſeaſons, they aſcribe them to the King, on whom the people rely, from the facility he poſſeſſes of communicating with the ſouls of their Kings. Thus does the King take advantage of the ignorance of his ſubjects, and profit by popular ſuperſtition, which he promotes by a variety of illuſive practices.

On interrogating ſome of the beſt informed among them reſpecting where they conceived the ſouls of thoſe to be who had lived a good life and fulfilled their moral duties upon earth, and whether they were in the heaven of Molungo, the anſwer was —That this ſeat of beatitude was inhabited by God alone; that the bleſt had for their abode certain delightful ſpots, where they enjoyed three times thrice three times told that portion of enjoyment they had experienced in this life; that the ſouls of men were imperiſhable; and that the joys of the future life vaſtly exceed whatever can be known on earth. Theſe opinions afford ground for belief, that at ſome former period many among them enjoyed a knowledge of true religion; and this is corroborated not only by their creed, reſpecting the immortality of the ſoul, but alſo by their obſervance of occaſional feſtivals, with a ſtrictneſs which might put Chriſtians to the bluſh; for many Chriſtians profane them by dedicating them to labour, or pay but little regard to their feſtivals, whereas theſe infidels ſcrupulouſly obey the law which forbids them to kill on theſe days any living thing whatever, even for their ſupport, as will be ſeen by the following relation.

A Portugueſe merchant, travelling with his people from Sofala to Zimboé, was obliged, owing to bad weather, to remain during one of theſe feſtivals in the town of Quiteva; and, being ignorant of the rigorous law forbidding the killing of any animal on this day, he had an ox ſlaughtered for himſelf and his ſlaves. The Quiteva, to whom this was immediately reported by ſpies maintained by him in the town, who bring him intelligence of all that paſſes, was exceedingly angry that the Portugueſe ſhould preſume to violate a day ſo ſacred, and, as a puniſhment for the crime committed againſt the great Molungo, forbade either himſelf or his ſlaves to eat of the ox he had killed, and not only this, but ordered that it ſhould be kept in his houſe till ſuch time as the Muſimo, or ſaint of the day, whoſe feſtival it was, ſhould come and conſume it.

The unfortunate Portugueſe, not daring after this order to touch the beaſt, left it in the condition it was on his receiving the King's command; and, as he had not hitherto withdrawn the entrails, the great heat which prevails at that ſeaſon of the year ſoon rendered it putrid. It afterwards ſmelt ſo badly that the merchant could not bear the

the houſe, where however he was, by expreſs direction of the King, obliged to abide, as a puniſhment for having profaned the ſanctity of the day. Preſents were now reſorted to, but in vain; nothing could ſhake the reſolution of the King, nor induce him to grant permiſſion to ſlaughter another beaſt for the ſupport of the Portugueſe and his ſervants. Here may be remarked the religious ſcrupuloſity of this barbarous King, who preferred expoſing a whole town to infection from the putrefaction of the animal, to allowing the infraction of the holy law. This regularity in an infidel prince ſhould ſerve as an example to thoſe Chriſtians who have ſo little regard for the due obſervance of the holy ſabbath, and other feſtivals.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of the Title given by the Caffres to the Quiteva, eſteemed by us injurious, and which with them are looked upon as honourable Diſtinctions, and of their Manner of Procedure on Trials.*

THE Quiteva has three or four hundred men for his guards, who are called Inficis, that is to ſay, butchers or executioners, who faithfully execute his orders on thoſe whom their ſovereign condemns to death. Indeed, their mere appearance occaſions terror; for with them they carry all the inſtruments requiſite for the prompt execution of their duty, according to the ſentence pronounced, and without any form of proceſs behead, hang, or otherwiſe put to death on the ſpot, whenever the King condemns; on this account all avoid coming in their way as much as poſſible, leſt they ſhould be the ſubject of their orders, or the victim of their error or indignation.

Previous to performing an office enjoined them, they aſſemble round the palace of the King, crying aloud, "Inhama, Inhama," words that ſignify they are about to put ſome one to death. With this object in view, they carry a long cord round their necks, and another round their waiſt, for taking thoſe with who are condemned; when they have in one hand a cutlaſs, and in the other a large club, it is a ſignal of ſome one being to be beheaded. As ſoon as the criminal is apprehended, they give him a heavy blow on the head with the club, which felling him to the ground, they immediately fall upon him and cut off his head.

There are other Caffres who are likewiſe attendants on the King, and are called Marombes. Theſe furround the palace, and ſing the praiſe of the King, whom they term lord of the ſun and moon, king of the earth, of mountains, woods, and foreſts, the conqueror of his enemies, great in all things, the great ſorcerer, the great thief, the great lion, giving him alſo the name of other beaſts, names which are not conſidered injurious, provided they be accompanied by the deſignation Great: when the King travels to any part alſo, he is attended by muſicians who ſing his praiſe.

Of theſe people the King makes uſe for carrying his orders where requiſite, and wherever they paſs all are emulous of entertaining them in the beſt poſſible manner, and of making them the moſt valuable preſents. If any thing attracts their fancy, they give a hint of its pleaſing them firſt, but if the poſſeſſor ſhould not of himſelf be ſo complaiſant to preſent it to them, they are impudent enough to ſeize upon it without any daring to reſiſt them; ſo far from it, every one eſteems himſelf fortunate provided he ſhould have any thing worthy acceptance. Sometimes, indeed, they are guilty of outrage on individuals to poſſeſs themſelves of their property; and at others they meet with people who reſiſt their depredations, and oblige them to undergo one of the three following ordeals for diſcovering the truth before the judge.

The

The modes of adminiſtering juſtice are three, by what are termed oaths, but which are frightful proceſſes. The firſt conſiſts in ſwallowing poiſon without ill conſequences; the ſecond in licking a bar of red-hot iron; and the third in ſwallowing bitter water without inconvenience.

The firſt of theſe oaths or ordeals is termed by the Caffres, Lucaſſe. A vaſe full of poiſon is preſented to the perſon, who by oath is to purge himſelf of a crime with which he is charged, and who is aſſured that it will do him no harm provided he be innocent; but alſo, provided he be guilty and conceal the truth, that it will ſurely prove his death. The dread of this trial often induces criminals to confeſs the deeds they are charged with, which are exemplarily puniſhed; for the judge condemns the aggreſſor or he who made falſe depoſition, together with his wife and children, to become for ever the ſlaves of the injured party, and half his goods and poſſeſſions advert to that party, and half to the crown. But what is moſt aſtoniſhing, if the perſon accuſed be innocent, the poiſon does him no injury whatever, whereas if he be guilty he expires immediately after ſwallowing the draught.

The ſecond oath or ordeal is termed Xoqua: a piece of iron is heated red-hot in a furnace, from which it is taken by a pair of tongs, and preſented to the perſon who has to undergo the proof, and who is directed to lick it, with aſſurance that his innocence or guilt will appear by the experiment; for that, if he be criminal, it will not only burn his tongue but his face alſo, but that if guilty it will do him no injury. The aſpect of this frightful apparatus ſo much terrifies the unfortunate beings, ſubject to its proof, as to make them ſweat and tremble exceedingly, and almoſt become petrified, wavering in irreſolution whether to maintain their falſity or confeſs their crime, in order to avoid a torture capable of drawing confeſſion of that even of which they have not been guilty. What, however, is certainly ſhameful, ſome Chriſtians have been known to ſubject their ſlaves to this ordeal; and of them ſeveral have even for three ſucceſſive times licked a red-hot bar without experiencing the leaſt hurt.

The third oath or ordeal is not equally dangerous with the preceding. It is termed by the Caffres, Calang. A beverage is compoſed of diſagreeable herbs boiled in a pot, the juice of which is exceedingly bitter, and this is preſented to the accuſed with admoniſhment, that if innocent he will take the whole at a draught, and vomit it back without any conſequence; but that he muſt take care of what he is about to do, ſince if culpable, and deſirous yet of deceiving, and ſeeming innocent, on ſwallowing the ſmalleſt portion of the beverage it will choak him, an event which has oftentimes occurred.

One is at loſs to what, unleſs the interpoſition of the Deity, a circumſtance ſo extraordinary is to be aſcribed. It is poſſible, that divine interference may on ſuch occaſions be exerciſed for the manifeſtation of the innocence of the perſon accuſed, and to draw down a merited chaſtiſement on the guilty. This ordeal is indiſputably founded on holy writ, for in the Old Teſtament are many examples almoſt in every reſpect accordant. In the book of Numbers, chap. v. eſpecially, it is ſtated as an ordonnance, when a huſband diſputes the fidelity of his wife, that he ſhould conduct her to a Levite, who ſhould adminiſter to her certain bitter waters to drink, and that if ſhe had been unfaithful, her entrails in conſequence would be ſo powerfully affected that ſhe would ſhortly after burſt, but that if innocent they would do her no harm.

There is, moreover, in Sardinia, a certain well, the waters of which are in no reſpect leſs miraculous; for if an individual has been guilty of robbery, or if any deſire exiſt of knowing the truth of any ſecret or important action, in one or the other caſe, provided the perſon ſuſpected in the one inſtance of theft, or in the other of falſehood, be brought

brought to the well, and his face be waſhed with the water drawn from it, if he be guilty he immediately becomes blind, but if innocent, it will benefit and ſtrengthen the fight.

CHAP. IX.—*Of the ridiculous Dreſs of the Caffres; their ſingular Manner of cutting their Hair, ſo different from that of the Quiteva, who wears a Reſemblance of Four Horns on his Head, his Subjects being allowed but three.—Of their Mode of hunting.*

ALL the Caffres are well made, and of good appearance; but they render themſelves ridiculous by the extravagant mode of their dreſſing their hair, which is frizzled and cut in ſuch manner as to preſent the appearance of horns on each ſide of the head, and on their forehead *; to keep it erect, they tie the hair round a ſtick with a kind of graſs, which ſerves them for ribbons. This practice they adopt, as they ſay, to imitate male animals, on whom nature has beſtowed the ornament of horns to diſtinguiſh them from females; women, that art may preſent the ſame diſtinction with the human, as nature does with the brute creation, are prohibited from wearing their hair dreſſed in this manner. Moreover, as well in the diſpoſition as the number of the horns, there is a difference between the Quiteva and his ſubjects; this prince wearing one on his forehead half a foot long, two others above his ears, and one on the nape of his neck, whereas his ſubjects are permitted to wear no more than three.

There is little difference between the dreſs of the ſovereign and the great, and that of the common people: the former are clad, from the waiſt downwards, in a robe of cotton or ſilk; the latter in the ſkins of monkeys, or other animals killed in hunting. Thoſe who are deſtitute of means to clothe themſelves go entirely naked, without any one taking exception; the more wealthy wear at times Machiras, or long cloaks, which train on the ground. Theſe are worn faſtened to the left ſhoulder only; and the length of the train of them is deemed to add to the gravity of the walk of the wearers while it denotes the eaſe of their circumſtances. As to what regards hoſe, ſhoes and ſtockings are unknown, the King and the people alike going bare-foot, that they may be more active in running and hunting.

They have ever been paſſionately attached to the latter exerciſe, leſs for the pleaſure it affords, than from their antipathy to labour, being naturally ſo idle, that when obliged to remain at home, they paſs the day in drinking, dancing, and jumping, leaving to their wives the culture of the ground, and ſpending their whole lives in paſtime and pleaſure; this indeed ſo generally, that there are no exceptions but a ſmall number of artiſans, employed in fabricating cloths and ſtuffs of cotton-wool, and in tipping their arrows, in arming their clubs with iron, and fabricating offenſive and defenſive weapons, as well for uſe in war as in hunting.

When a hunting-party is propoſed, the people go out conſtantly accompanied by the majority of their moſt intimate friends, and eſpecially when the Quiteva intends a royal hunt. On this laſt occaſion, all the Caffres of the neighbourhood of the ſpot where it is to take place, are adviſed of his intention, and aſſemble to the number of four or five hundred men. Theſe ſurround ſome wood in which they know there is game, keeping cloſe together, penetrate the cloſeſt thickets, ejaculate loud cries, beat the

* Moſes in ancient paintings is repreſented with two horns on the head. Was this mode of dreſſing the hair ever common in Egypt? and did the Egyptians, in this caſe, ſet the faſhion themſelves, or receive it from the Ethiopians? ENG. TRANS.

 buſhes,

buſhes, and ſo intimidate the tenants of the foreſt, little accuſtomed to hear the ſilence of their ſhades invaded by the ſhouts of man, that they leave their haunts and peaceable retreats to fly for ſafety to the open country. Here they find themſelves beſet by a multitude of hunters and hounds, by whom they are purſued and overwhelmed with clouds of arrows. It is only when the monarch is preſent, that a lion is allowed to be killed, for of all his titles, that on which he moſt prides himſelf, is king of theſe animals; ſuch as ſhould preſume to violate the ordinance which proſcribes the hunting of lions, except on occaſion of the preſence of the king, would expoſe himſelf to be ſeverely mulcted, or even perhaps to the penalty of death.

CHAP. X.—*Of three Modes of hunting uſual with the Caffres; and of what befel a certain Portugueſe, who in the Abſence of the Quiteva, happened to kill a Lion.*

THERE reſided at Sofala a certain Portugueſe, called Rodriguez Lobo, who had ſo much ingratiated himſelf with the Quiteva, that he obtained from him a grant of the major part of the iſland of Maroopa, on the river Sofala. This monarch, imitating the conduct of other ſovereigns towards their favourites, ſtrove by every means to aggrandize Lobo, and elevate him above the reſt of his courtiers; and, to crown his largeſſes, beſtowed on him the title of his wife, as one of the moſt ſtriking tokens of his attachment. Rodriguez, who, on his ſide, was as little free as others from the common failing of favourites, of abuſing the confidence of their prince, imagined all was permitted him, conſcious, as he was, of the king having ordered all his ſubjects to treat him as his wife. He, conſequently, one day aſſembled a number of friends and ſlaves to take the diverſion of hunting, and, rouſing a lion, he ſhot at and killed the beaſt, notwithſtanding he knew that an action of this kind was prohibited under penalty of death. The favourite, whoſe good fortune had drawn on him a hoſt of enemies, was ſhortly after denounced to the King, as a violator of the law; the denouncers thinking thereby to ruin him in the royal eſteem, and, by his diſgrace, to pave the way to their own advancement. Their deſign ſucceeded; they found the king diſpoſed to chaſtiſe the preſumption of Rodriguez, and make him an example to the whole kingdom, which ſhould deter others from daring to repeat ſuch deeds in oppoſition to his decrees.

Lobo, aware of his crime, and fearful leſt his enemies ſhould prevail to his prejudice, had recourſe to ſtratagem. He cauſed the lion to be covered with leaves as if he would conceal it, and, enveloping it with a number of pieces of cloth, preſented it in this ſtate to the king, to whom he directed to be ſtated, that Rodriguez Lobo, whom he had honoured with the title of his well-beloved wife, while hunting, was attacked by a lion whoſe fury threatened his life; and that, deſirous of preſerving it, leſs on his own account than for the ſatisfaction of his lord, for whom he lived more than for himſelf, he had lanced a javelin at, and killed the terrible animal; and the better to fulfil his vengeance for the daringneſs of the beaſt, he had thought right to ſend it to him as the great king of the lions, that his orders might juſtify the deed, which in itſelf was innocent; and that his ſubjects might look upon it as one of which he moſt humbly beſought his Majeſty to believe he could not premeditatedly have been guilty. The handſome turn given to this ſpeech by Rodriguez Lobo ſo much pleaſed the King, that he ſent him word he might make himſelf eaſy on the ſcore of the lion, ſince he might have been in ſome danger from it; and that in future he was at liberty, as long as any lions

remained on his iſland, to ſacrifice as many as he pleaſed, either for his amuſement, or to revenge their depredations. The courtiers, who were preſent at this determination of the ſovereign, applauded its propriety, and were as loud in the praiſe of Rodriguez as they had ſhortly before been violent againſt him. In the mean-time, that his favourite might be juſtified in the eyes of the people, he iſſued a proclamation, by which all people, Rodriguez Lobo his dear wife alone excepted, were prohibited, under pain of death and confiſcation of all their goods, from killing lions.

The Caffres being expert hunters, uſe a variety of means in ſurpriſing animals: ſometimes they dig pits four or five feet deep, and ſeven or eight long, but wider at the top than the bottom: theſe they cover with branches of trees and ſtraw, in order that the more weighty animals, tigers for example and elephants, falling into them, may be ſo much hurt as to be unable to releaſe themſelves, and thus remain at the diſcretion of the hunters, to periſh of hunger, or by ſhots or arrows.

At other times they ſurround the coverts in which the game lie, as I have before deſcribed, and oblige them to take to the river; when, from the oppoſite ſide, they ſhoot at them till ſome lucky arrow pierces a mortal part.

Now again, when the equinoctial rains ſwell the volume of the river and make it overflow, and the wild beaſts are driven from their holds by the inundation, they await them on the upper grounds, whither they repair to avoid the waters, and find them collected in ſuch numbers, that ſcarcely an arrow is ſhot but kills ſome or other of the herds; for, on this occaſion, though their natural ferocity at other times is ſuch that they prey on each other, this fierceneſs undergoes a change which is ſurpriſing; they ſeem united as much as when they entered into the ark, and peaceably collect in bands and herds as if the common danger alone engroſſed their faculties, and rendered them common friends.

The lord of the iſland in the river, ſolicitous once of exhibiting a hunting match to Father Dos Santos, aſſembled more than five hundred men, armed with bows and arrows and ſome match locks. On entering the wood they killed three wild boars, and purſued ſeveral others, as well as ſome elephants and tigers, which were ſo much intimidated that they fled to another quarter; while, however, they were in purſuit of theſe, they found a young lion and a tiger whelp, which they captured, and which were preſented to Father Dos Santos; he accepted them with great pleaſure, but ſoon had reaſon to repent his poſſeſſion of them, for the mother-tiger ſcenting her young in his houſe, came the following night, making hideous outcries in the neighbourhood as if ready to devour all the inhabitants, and daſhing with violence againſt the doors and windows, a practice ſhe repeated four nights running. But whether tigers cannot bear confinement, whether the whelp was too young to be parted from its mother, it died at the end of the fourth day; and the carcaſe being thrown into the fields, was not found again on the next morning, whence it was ſuppoſed the mother had borne it away.

At another time Father Dos Santos, in company with another monk, were much terrified at ſeeing a Caffre making towards them at full ſpeed, and ſeemingly admoniſhing them of ſome danger they did not perceive. On his joining them, however, they found his motive to be merely to induce them to quicken their pace that they might behold ſix lions, which had juſt paſſed the river, and which were traverſing a neighbouring valley. The monks made haſte towards the ſpot, but not truſting too much either to the Caffres or the lions, which were viſible only by the trace they made in the graſs, of great height and very thick, they had the precaution to take their ſtation on the ſummit of a hill.

The monks, who paſſed the night here, towards day break overheard the roaring of lions and tigers, ſeemingly diſputing the prey one of them had taken. This as he devoured kept growling at and threatening the others to prevent their ſeizing it from him.

Tigers are ſo fond of human fleſh, whether alive or dead, that in the latter caſe, when they ſcent the putrifying bodies, they enter the places of ſepulture to tear them from their graves; to prevent this, the graves are dug to ſome depth, and over them a large ſtone is laid. One morning a dead tiger was found on a tomb, after vain efforts to tear from the grave beneath a body which was interred, and after, in the attempt, having dug a grave for himſelf, in which he expired of old age, wounds, and hunger.

Beſides lions, tigers, and leopards found in this country, naturaliſts relate that it produces reptiles called Inhazaras*, which have four toes to the fore feet, and five to the hinder: they live like rabbits in warrens, whence they occaſionally go abroad for ſubſiſtence, and feed on ants. Many affirm they ſubſiſt on air, grounding their opinion on the circumſtance of nothing but air being found in their entrails after their death; but the moſt probable matter, as they have no teeth, is, that ants are their ſupport, for they are conſtantly found near ant-neſts with their mouth open and tongue protruded, whence the little induſtrious inhabitants, continually ſallying forth to ſwell their wintry ſtore, collect on the tongue of the Inhazara, as if they would carry it away to their hoard; and when this reptile feels its tongue ſufficiently loaded it draws it in, cloſes its jaws, and at once devours the little family which hoped to eat him piece-meal.

CHAP. XI.—*Of the uncertain Abodes of the Caffres, who pitch their Tents where Plenty reigns. The Manner in which their Law-ſuits are terminated, whether before the King or Governors of Provinces.—Their Mode of making Wine from Millet and Rice.*

THE Caffres, being naturally idle and averſe from labour, conſtantly pitch for their reſidence on ſpots productive of abundance of the means of ſupport, which, however, it is difficult for them to find, as they commonly remove in bodies of from three to four thouſand, and encamp now in one now in another quarter; and as they do not very willingly quit their abodes, though but of ſtraw, when they begin their march their camp is ſet on fire in order that none may linger or return; when they arrive at a ſpot ſuited to their purpoſe they conſtruct others. Their ſtock of moveables is very ſlender, conſiſting merely of a bow and arrows for each male, a ſingle pot for each family, in which their millet and rice is cooked, and two ſpoons, one for ſtirring their rice and another to eat with. In general they ſleep on a mat of reeds ſpread on the ground; and in the midſt of winter they kindle a fire in the middle of the houſe, round which each places himſelf to ſleep or reſt. Their idle nature inclines them to prefer dwelling in woods and foreſts, rather than in the open country, that they may not have to go too far in ſearch of what is neceſſary for them; and here they build their huts, and live like wild beaſts; when weary of one abode changing it for another, eſpecially at the injunction of their captain or governor.

As for any diſputes which may ariſe between the different individuals of an encampment, the captain or chief of it, who is appointed by the king, ſits as judge and de-

* A ſpecies of Lizard.

cides

cides ſummarily, without any appeal being allowed to the ſovereign, who merely takes cognizance of matters of greater conſequence. In the inſtance either of the ſovereign or the chief of an encampment ſitting as judge, the parties plead their own cauſe in court, the injurious practice of employing lawyers and council being unknown. After hearing the cauſe, the judge gives ſentence; the party who loſes forfeits all his property, of which one half goes to the judge, and the reſidue to the one who gains the ſuit.

Hunting is not only a paſtime, it is with them indiſpenſable, as they principally depend on it for ſubſiſtence: and when it chances they are unſucceſsful, they live on whatever kind of animal comes in their way; for example, monkeys, cats, rats, &c. making up with fiſh and vegetables; but their principal food conſiſts of millet and rice, both which likewiſe yield them a kind of wine.

When about to prepare this wine, they ſoak the requiſite quantity of millet in water, leaving it for two or three days till it begins to four; afterwards, taking it out, it is ſuffered to drain the ſpace of two or three hours; they next place it in a mortar, in which it is pounded till reduced to a paſte; this done, a cauldron half full of water is placed over the fire, into which, when it begins to boil, as much of the paſte before deſcribed is gradually thrown in as of rice flour, and the mixture is ſtirred up that it may unite; when the quantity intended to be prepared is thus blended together, and the whole has well boiled, the cauldron is taken off the fire that the beverage may cool: the drink is called Pombé; the boiled grain ſerves for food.

This extract of rice and the paſte of millet, after remaining at reſt for two or three days, heats and ferments, nearly in the ſame manner as new wine does with us; but the people never drink of it till the fermentation has ceaſed, when they uſe it with ſuch little moderation as often to become intoxicated: in order that they may conſtantly have ſtore, they every day make a freſh ſupply, for the longer it remains ſo as to become ſour and what we ſhould deem ſpoiled, the better they reckon it, the more anxious after it they become, and attribute to it the greater virtue.

Thoſe not partial to this beverage make another, compoſed of certain herbs reſembling the Cointre; of theſe they afterwards take the leaves, which, drying and reducing to powder, they eat, and find highly nutritious. By eating theſe leaves, and drinking the water in which they have been infuſed, they ſubſiſt for days together, taking nothing elſe.

CHAP. XII.—*How the Quiteva wiſhes to be thought the only Sorcerer in the Kingdom, and of the Puniſhment incurred by thoſe who aſſume this Title.—Of the ſuperſtitious Ceremonies obſerved by the Caffres at their Nuptials; and the injurious Epithets beſtowed on their Slaves.*

THE Quiteva, eſteeming as honorary diſtinctions titles which with us would be regarded as offenſive, is ſo jealous of that of ſorcerer that he forbids all his ſubjects under pain of death to aſſume it without his permiſſion, being unwilling to ſhare this coveted privilege, other than with his deareſt confidants, to whom he grants it as a ſpecial favour: ſo much is this the caſe, that if any rogue ſuſpected of witchcraft be found, it is allowable to put him to death; and the murderer, far from incurring a penalty, is rewarded with half the property of the perſon ſlain, while the other half belongs to the King.

If any one diſcovering a malefactor takes upon himſelf to purſue him in order to obtain ſentence for the crimes of which he may have been guilty, and he be condemned,

the perſon thus engaging on this object becomes maſter of his fate, whether to live or die. If he preſerve his life, the culprit afterwards remains his ſlave, and is known ſolely by the name of the crimes of which he has been guilty, ſuch as thief, murderer, &c.; and this that the wretch, continually hearing theſe names repeated, may be put in mind of the crime of which he has been guilty, and which has reduced him to ſlavery, may be rendered more humble, and bear in memory the laws he has violated, and the puniſhment, but for the mercy of his maſter in commuting it for ſlavery, he would have undergone.

The King, deſirous of being eſteemed the only ſorcerer within his dominions, is in conſequence the only one who enjoys the title; this, however, is no impediment to the conſtant ſacrileges of the ſuperſtitious Caffres: theſe never begin any the ſlighteſt affair, neither ſow, plant, nor ſet out on a journey without conſulting, by caſting lots, on the fate of the undertaking; when, ſhould chance be adverſe to their wiſhes and expectations, they lay the blame on their images, which they abuſe and ill-treat in conſequence. That they may never be devoid of means of divining the future, they always carry about them certain round pieces of wood, with a hole through the middle, which they throw in the ſame manner as we do dice; and notwithſtanding the vanity of this idle piece of ſuperſtition, they nevertheleſs are exceedingly partial to its practice.

Others there are who imitate the Chineſe in their manner of telling fortunes. In this view they play at a game of hazard before their idols, and ſhould chance be againſt them kick and box their idols, but if after this correction, on purſuing their experiments they ſhould continue unſucceſsful, they burn the hands and feet of them in the fire; ſhould ill fortune ſtill attend them, they caſt the idols on the ground, trample them under feet, and daſh them about with ſuch force as to break them in pieces. Some indeed, who ſhow greater veneration to their images, content themſelves with fettering and binding them till they have obtained their end; but ſhould not this take place as early as their impatience looks for, they faſten them to a cord and gradually let them down into the water, even to the bottom, thus truſting to force them to be propitious: if after this, good fortune ſhould not follow, the idols are then withdrawn from the water, the patience of even theſe milder Caffres becomes exhauſted, and the images are ſubjected to the groſſeſt indignities.

Theſe people are not ſuperſtitious merely in matters dependant on chance, they are ſo in what regards their nuptials. The bridegroom muſt meet with a man ſtrong enough to carry him on his back to the abode of his intended ſpouſe without halting; ſhould he ſtop by the way the wedding does not take place on that day, but is deferred to a future period.

When a young man feels diſpoſed to marry, he applies to the father and mother of his intended, and treats with them for their daughter, not as for a companion and wife, but as for a ſlave, bargaining with them in like manner we would do for merchandize, and haggling about the number of cows and ſheep to be given in exchange. The price being at length ſettled, the relatives and friends of both parties aſſemble to celebrate the marriage, and the bridegroom being carried by ſome friend without reſting from his own houſe to the houſe of his bride, the exchange is made, and the parties attending make preſents to the newly-joined couple, of rice, millet, and other things neceſſary to begin houſe-keeping.

The title of ſlave would certainly be more appropriate to the newly-married bride than that of wife, for provided the huſband after marriage ſhould be tired of his companion, he is at liberty to ſend her back to her parents, who are obliged to receive her

again;

again; theſe may again ſell her to any other perſon, her firſt huſband ceaſing to have any controul over her. Thus the only advantage accruing to the wife or her parents is the cattle given in barter. By ſuch means thoſe fathers of families whoſe daughters are numerous, become wealthy. But this renunciation which is allowed to the huſband, is not alike permitted by the law of the country to the wife, in order no doubt to prevent the great plurality and frequent change of huſbands which would otherwiſe be the conſequence. The man is not reſtricted to any number of wives, but is free to purchaſe and keep as many as he can maintain.

Before they marry, theſe people pay attention whether or no the ſlave they are about to purchaſe, has either any part of the body, the eye-brows or eyes, of a white colour; this ſometimes happens to be the caſe, and is a ſource of great alarm to a Caffre, who imagines ſuch to be children of the devil, not being able to comprehend how it is poſſible their wives ſhould produce white children. It is related that in the year 1600, Don Jerome Continho, on his return from the Indies, where he commanded the forces of Portugal, brought with him a girl with eyes entirely white, but ſhe died at ſea, after the veſſel in which ſhe came had paſſed the iſland of St. Helena.

Among this people are women who are in a manner ſavages, and perpetually dwell among the woods; when near the time of their pregnancy, they are conſtantly in motion, like does, running by the ſide of buſhes in order to leſſen the pains of child-birth by the odours they inhale; what however is ſtill more ſingular, as ſoon as they are delivered, they ſeek ſome ſpring or fountain in which to waſh both themſelves and their offspring, and return to their dwellings, where they continue to follow their houſehold affairs in the ſame manner as if nothing had happened, though oftentimes they will have produced two and even three children at a birth. Moreover, as their means would be inadequate to the ſupport of ſo many young ones at a time, God provides for the exigence by beſtowing on the men breaſts of milk as amply ſupplied as thoſe of the women, as was ſeen by ourſelves in the inſtance of a perſon of the name Pedro de Sofala, whoſe wife died after having brought forth a girl. This unfortunate father poſſeſſing no means of maintaining a nurſe for ſuckling his child, placed it to his own breaſt, and ſuckled it the ſpace of a year; he would have done a ſtill longer time indeed, had not the infant died, after which the breaſts of this charitable father ceaſed to give milk. Like inſtances, however extraordinary, have often occurred in the town of Sofala, as well as at Hormouz; and a ſimilar event is related to have taken place in the town of Moura in Portugal, where an old man, ſixty years of age, and obliged to ſupport himſelf by the ſweat of his brow, did notwithſtanding ſuckle from his breaſts the two orphans of a female relation.

In an iſland called Inhaquea, between Sofala and the River Luabo, an old woman of ſixty years of age becoming pregnant, produced a child; and notwithſtanding her great age, reared it and gave it ſuck herſelf.

However barbarous theſe people be by nature, they yet are not devoid of feeling for their children; theſe they rear with niceſt care, and for their proviſion ſtrive to amaſs what property they can. But as the King is ſo perfectly abſolute as at pleaſure to diſpoſe of the property and even the lives of all his ſubjects, theſe, as ſoon as they have amaſſed a property which may invite the eye of cupidity, prepare to loſe it; being ſatisfied that, ſoon or late, imaginary crimes will be imputed to them, of which they will be adjudged guilty, that opportunity may be offered of confiſcating what they poſſeſs to the King; hence it is a current ſaying among them, that whatever they amaſs by their toil and induſtry, does not belong to themſelves but to the ſovereign, regarding themſelves merely as the depoſitaries of what ſome day muſt paſs to him, and their children be unjuſtly deprived of.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.—*Of the four Ambaſſadors ſent by the Quiteva to collect Tribute, the firſt of whom repreſents the King himſelf, the ſecond his Mouth, the third his Eyes, and the fourth his Ears.*

WHEN the time for collecting the annual tribute is at hand, the King ſelects four ambaſſadors for the purpoſe of receiving it, each of whom has a diſtinct title. The whole four repreſent the Quiteva himſelf, but eſpecially the firſt, who is treated with the moſt profound reſpect; he, that he may preſerve a proportionate dignity, remains perpetually ſilent. The ſecond is termed the King's mouth, his function, to interpret the orders of the monarch, and explain the ſubject of his embaſſy. The third is denominated the King's eye, his duty, diligently to remark whatever paſſes on the embaſſy, in order on his return that he may render a faithful account, and eſpecially to have a ſharp look after the number and quality of the articles preſented, that none may be pilfered, nor any of value be ſubſtituted by thoſe of leſs. The fourth bears the name of the King's ears, his charge, to ſee and hear every thing, and chiefly to watch that the ambaſſador who ſpeaks, does not either augment or diminiſh aught contained in his inſtructions, the particulars of which are detailed to the three others. The Caffres generally call theſe ambaſſadors Mutumos; they are always the chiefs of the kingdom, and particularly he who repreſents the ſovereign's perſon; this individual is one of his ſons, and in conſequence is treated with greater deference by the people than the reſt. Theſe four ambaſſadors take with them more than a hundred Caffres, deſtined to carry the articles of tribute received. When they approach a ſpot where they intend to ſojourn, they ſend an expreſs to the captain or governor of the diſtrict, to inform him of their arrival, in order that he may come out to meet and render them the cuſtomary honours. The captain, on receiving the information, advances to meet them as far as the entrance into the town, accompanied by a number of muſicians and dancers, who play and exhibit their gambols before the ambaſſadors in the proceſſion, while the noiſe of the drums, in uniſon with the public acclamations, fill the air with a pleaſing ſymphony. The Caffres of the embaſſy march in a body, but their apparel is plain and uncoſtly, their only ornament being a coronet on the head, made of hen's feathers, and adjuſted after a particular manner. This troop marches before the four Mutumos, who take ſtation according to their rank; the laſt, being of higheſt dignity, has the greateſt number of people about him. When they reach the entrance into the town, the governor, who is there in waiting, receives them with all imaginable reſpect, and conducts them through the croud to the apartments prepared for their reception.

On entering the gates of towns which are fortified, it is cuſtomary to ſalute the Mutumos by a diſcharge of artillery. Theſe gentlemen, on their firſt viſiting Sofala after it was poſſeſſed by the Portugueſe, were not a little alarmed at the report of the artillery, and imagining that ſuch loud firing could not be without ſome danger to their perſons, they begged as a favour of the governor of Sofala to diſcharge no more cannon, as the mere report had already cauſed the death of one of the attendants on the embaſſay, who was actually killed with dread; recovering afterwards from their conſternation, they expreſſed a wiſh to ſee the artillery. This, at firſt, they viewed from a reſpectful diſtance; but, familiariſed with the ſight of it by degrees, they ventured at length to touch the guns, but never were able ſo far to ſurmount their fears as to ſtand before the mouths of them, eſpecially the three great pieces at the entrance of the gate.

As long as they ſtay, nothing goes forward but feaſting and entertainment: at length the tribute due to the Quiteva is demanded, and after it has been paid, the ambaſſadors are conducted out of the town with the ſame ceremonies they experienced on their entrance. They then immediately return to the Quiteva, to whom they render account of all that has paſſed, and in whoſe magazines all the rice and millet they have collected is depoſited. The taxes levied on the Caffres are much heavier than thoſe exacted from the Portugueſe, the former paying three pieces out of each twenty, the latter but one. Theſe proportions are rigorouſly attended to by the ambaſſadors, for ſhould they depart from the regulations preſcribed to them, the king would puniſh them with ſeverity; whereas by attending duly to the object of their miſſion, they are ſure of a liberal reward.

CHAP. XIV.—*Of certain Birds of Prey which fly away with Terreſtrial Animals of the largeſt Size, and afterwards let them fall, to kill and devour them. Of Terreſtrial and Marine Crocodiles; the Manner of taking them; and of the Mermaid and its Virtues.*

PAOLO Marco the Venetian relates, in his third book, chap. iv. that in the iſland St. Lawrence* are certain birds of immenſe ſize and ſuch prodigious ſtrength as to be able to bear away even elephants in their claws, and fly off with them with incredible ſpeed; but being unable to ſupport for any length of time ſo great a weight, they let their burthen drop from as high a point as they can reach, in order to kill it with the fall, when they pounce upon and devour it.

A Portugueſe travelling inland one day to purchaſe ivory, and feeling tired with leading a large monkey which weighed more than fifteen pounds, he faſtened it with an iron chain to the trunk of a tree; after taking reſt for a time, he perceived the air darkened as if by a cloud about to burſt over him, when raiſing his eyes, he diſtinguiſhed the obſcurity to be occaſioned by the body and wings of a bird of prey, which had borne away his monkey, together with the tree to which it was faſtened, and which he let drop from a conſiderable height to prey upon after thus killing it. In conſequence of accidents of this nature the inhabitants of theſe parts are accuſtomed to keep conſtant watch, and in order to be ſecure from depredations are conſtantly armed.

In the river of Sofala are many crocodiles, which are carnivorous, and live on ſuch animals and human beings as venture into the river. The Negroes and Moors, though uſed to the country and theſe animals, with difficulty at times eſcape their murderous jaws, when they repair for water to the rivers banks; for they have the cunning to lie flat on their bellies for fear of being ſeen, and only riſe to ruſh on their prey; this if they ſeize, they bear with them to the bottom of the river to devour it; which they are unable to do out of the water, as they have no tongue to aſſiſt them in ſwallowing, but waſh down their food by taking a gulp of water as often as they would ſwallow what they have maſticated. Notwithſtanding the voracity of theſe animals is without parallel, they yet never eat food which is tainted; ſtill the ſtench proceeding from their throat is ſo great that it attracts flies in abundance, which the animal encloſes in one tomb by ſhutting its jaws, and thus obtains other nouriſhment.

The whole difference between young and old crocodiles conſiſts in the former leaving the river every morning and evening to baſk, lying on their belly in the ſun, while

* Madagaſcar.

the latter ſeldom entirely leave the water; when out of the water, however, both the one and the other loſe their natural ferocity, and alarmed at the leaſt noiſe, except indeed when driven by hunger to extremity, fly for refuge to the river.

Gabriel Robel relates, in his book on the remarkable things of the Molucca iſlands, that theſe iſlands contain many ſea crocodiles with four eyes, two in the head and two in the throat. Theſe crocodiles have many rows of teeth, which are exceedingly filthy, as they are unable to clean them with their tongue, though this ſpecies of crocodile poſſeſſes one.

When the crocodiles are about to lay their eggs, they dig a hole, advancing on to the ſhore for the purpoſe, as deep as they are able, and in this depoſit a number at once, covering them with ſand, and truſting to the warmth of the ſun to hatch them. The young, as ſoon as they break the ſhell, though born on ſhore, immediately take to the water, and never return without committing ravages which render them moſt unwelcome neighbours to the inhabitants of the country, who are forbid under pain of death killing any of them. The cauſe aſſigned for this prohibition is, that the liver of this animal is one of the moſt ſubtil poiſons that can be. Some writers indeed relate, that it bears about it an antidote; but as theſe are two contrarieties ſo ſingular, it is difficult for one to credit they ſhould exiſt in the ſame animal. Still we read, that in the peninſula of Malacca trees grow with roots, part of which are poiſon, and part of them antidotes; a circumſtance ſimilar to which is remarked by Father Mendoza in his book on the New World.

Though crocodiles are carnivorous, and ſubſiſt wholly on the fleſh of animals and human beings, yet has God endowed this country with a ſimple called *nicirini*, growing on the margin of the river Sofala, with which the people who are acquainted with its virtues having rubbed themſelves, the crocodiles dare not venture near to bite them, and if they ſhould their teeth become ſoft as wax, and without ſtrength. When the Caffres wiſh to prove if the herb they imagine be the real one poſſeſſing theſe qualities, they place it on their head, and if they find it ſoften their teeth, they rub the whole of their body with it before they enter the water, ſafe by this precaution from the bite of the crocodile.

The interdict of the Quiteva againſt killing crocodiles is confined to his own dependants; the inhabitants of the river Cuama, who are not his ſubjects, both fiſh for and eat this animal. The manner of obtaining it uſed by this people, as it is curious, I have deemed right to detail.

They prepare a piece of wood two feet in length, and of tolerable breadth; lengthwiſe, through this, a hole is bored for a cord to paſs, at the extremity of which is a large hook baited with freſh meat; this they caſt into the river. Soon as the crocodile perceives the meat, it immediately ſwallows it, and fancying that all it ſees is of the ſame nature, endeavours to ſeize on the wood alſo; but this ſticking in its maw, prevents the jaws cloſing, when the water ruſhing without impediment, down its throat, drowns the animal. The fiſhermen, when they perceive it at the laſt extremity, draw it on the ſhore and diſpatch it with clubs. The Caffres notice when the animal is being killed, that it groans and cries like a reaſoning being, whence doubtleſs the proverb of "crocodiles' tears," to expreſs a forced lamentation.

At the diſtance of fifteen leagues from Sofala, among the iſlands *Boccicas*, a fiſh is found, denominated by the iſlanders the *mermaid*, or *woman fiſh*, the fleſh of which is of excellent flavour when eaten boiled like other meat, and which alſo ſerves to make highly ſavoury ſauſages. From the waiſt to the neck this fiſh much reſembles the

human ſpecies: the females ſuckle their young in the ſame manner as women; but the fiſh has neither arms nor hands, and as to its features, they bear not the ſlighteſt reſemblance to thoſe of the human countenance; but its head is rather like that of a maid or thornback, and its mouth full of teeth like that of a dog, but with four of them projecting the length of a foot in the ſame manner as the tuſks of a boar. Theſe teeth have the property of ſtaying a flux of blood, and ſoftening the painful ſenſations which attend the piles. The proof of it is eaſy, and the remedy common: all that is requiſite, is to wear them near that part of the body where the pain is felt. This fiſh originated the fable of the Syrens in the works of the poets; but they gave by far too great looſe to their imagination when they attributed to it a long head of hair, a hairy body, a human face, and a voice ſo muſical as to enchant mariners; for this ſea monſter has neither hair on the body nor the head: its head is monſtrous, and nothing reſembles the human countenance; and as to ſinging, it neither ſings nor ſpeaks, being like every other fiſh condemned to eternal ſilence.

There is likewiſe found in the marſhes of Sofala a fiſh called by naturaliſts *Mâcon*, which has two holes in its neck like a lamprey; moſtly it inhabits the marſhes, but when theſe become dry it peregrinates inland in ſearch of moiſture; and though the drought oftentimes continues four or even five months, this fiſh, by burying itſelf, ſtill ſubſiſts where others would die, leaving its holes only when it rains, at which time the Caffres lie in wait for it; ſhould however the drought continue unuſually long, and the earth no longer retain ſufficient moiſture to keep it in life, it devours itſelf.

In the rivers Cuama and Sofala ſea horſes (Hippopotami) are common. Theſe animals are amphibious, and leave the water for the land, where they ſeek for food and commit great ravage on the circumjacent country, and eſpecially in that which is ſown. The head of this animal is three times as large as that of our common horſe, and the body large in proportion: in the middle of its forehead it has a white ſtar: its legs are ſhort and very thick, with five toes to the fore and only four to the hind feet: its mouth is very large, and full of teeth, four of which are more than two feet long, and curved like the tuſks of a boar. What however is extraordinary in this ſpecies of animals, is, their practice of deſtroying each other for food; hence it rarely happens that two are found together, unleſs indeed where a male is followed by ſeveral females about to drop their young, on which occaſion they enter into the woods adjoining the river, where they foal: the young colts, whenever they ſee the old ones approach, afraid of being killed, throw themſelves into the water.

This animal is naturally of a ſickly conſtitution, and ſubject to gouty pains, which it cures by ſcratching the ſtomach with the left foot; and it has further been noticed, when it wiſhes to effect a perfect cure, that it falls on the horn of the hoof of the left foot; this, entering the ſtomach, appeaſes and terminates their pain. Hence the Caffres and Moors of this country make uſe of the horn of the hoof of this animal as a remedy for the gout.

Beſides hippopotami, in theſe rivers, other amphibious animals are found, remarkable for horns ſimilar to thoſe of the bull, and having their hoof divided like theirs. Here likewiſe are horned aſſes, the fleſh of which boiled with rice and millet is excellent food: this fleſh ſerves the Caffres for ſubſiſtence through great part of the year; and they are ſo fond of it, that without having patience to wait till it has become ſufficiently cool to be eaten, they devour it hot as it is from the pot, and by this practice much injure their teeth; theſe in conſequence ſhortly become rotten and fall out, unleſs certain ſimples be uſed, with which they are acquainted, to prevent them.

CHAP. XV.—*Of the Manner in which Amber is found; of its different Species; and if it be true that Whales make it their Food.*

I HAVE thought I could not more uſefully terminate this book, than by releaſing the public from the uncertainty in which they have been placed by the diſputes of different writers reſpecting the manner in which amber is found, its nature, and its different ſpecies. But before I proceed to ſpeak of the places where it is found, I muſt premiſe that thoſe who would perſuade their readers it is vomited by whales, are egregiouſly wrong, as is evident from the account we have of a piece found on the coaſts of Melinda in 1596, ſo large that a perſon might with eaſe conceal himſelf behind it; the value of this piece, from its great dimenſions, was ſo highly rated that no perſon could be found poſſeſſed of means ſufficient for its purchaſe, whence the proprietor was obliged to divide it into pieces. A part of theſe pieces was bought by Don Pedro de Souſa, captain general of Mozambico. This one example ſuffices to controvert the opinion of thoſe who aſſume that amber is produced in the interior of, and is an excreinent of the whale.

It is moreover well authenticated, that between the rivers Lindo and Quilinvano a piece was found which weighed upwards of twenty pounds; and when Roch de Britto Falcon was taken by the Turks, on his paſſage from Melinda to the Indies, he one day, in the place where he held the appointment of captain, bought a piece of amber two feet high and a foot wide. The origin of the vulgar error that amber is vomited by whales is, probably, the fact of whales having been ſeen eating this ſubſtance, eſpecially that ſpecies of it which is black, and ſo tender that even birds pick at and make it their food.

As to the places where amber is found, ſome ſtate that to obtain it, it is neceſſary to double the Cape of Good Hope and proceed as far as the Red Sea, where it abounds: others again deny this; but it is moſt probable that amber proceeds from the bottom of the ſea, where it is produced, and from which it is torn by the motion of the waves and the action of ſtorms, which ſhake it in ſuch a manner as to ſeparate it from the rocks or the bottom to which it adheres, when, after the tempeſts ſubſide, it is collected: this opinion is alſo corroborated by the relation we have of a veſſel obliged to caſt anchor off the iſland of St. Lawrence (Madagaſcar), in a ſpot where there was but twenty fathoms water; in raiſing the anchor of this veſſel the next day, it was found covered with pieces of amber brought up from the ſandy bottom.

In this country indeed three kinds of amber are found, yellow, black, and grey, which enrich this people by the profit they derive from them: the yellow is preferred to the black; but the grey is eſteemed of greater value than either.

Other authors again, who have written in modern times, aſcribe a different origin to this matter, and believe that in the iſlands in the north a particular liquor occurs, differing but little from that kind of gum common in our cherry trees, which falling into the ſea becomes indurate from the action of the water, and is afterwards caſt on the ſea ſhore, where the air completes its petrifaction. That it is progreſſive in its formation from a fluid ſtate to that in which it is found, indeed, is proved from the many inſtances afforded of amber in the cabinets of the curious, in which, owing to its pellucidity, flies, ſpiders, and bees are diſtinguiſhed; theſe, caught either by their feet or other portions of their body, when the amber was yet ſoft, have become enveloped in the accumulating maſs, and thus remain in an incorruptible ſtate, owing to the excluſion of air. Notice of this circumſtance may even be ſeen in the epigrams of Martial, No. 32. and No. 39.

HISTORY OF EASTERN ETHIOPIA.

BOOK II.

OF THE ARMY SENT BY THE KING DON SEBASTIAN TO THE KINGDOM OF MACORONGA; THE VICTORIES OBTAINED BY THE PORTUGUESE OVER SEVERAL MONARCHS, WITH WHOM THEY WERE OBLIGED TO FIGHT BEFORE THEY CAME TO THE GOLD MINES; THE MANNER IN WHICH THESE ARE WORKED.—OF THE RIVERS, FOUNTAINS, AND LAKE OF CUAMA.

CHAP. I. — *The Portugueſe Army enters the kingdom of Macoronga in ſearch of Gold Mines. The manner in which the Gold is dug.*

DON Sebaſtian was ſcarcely ſeated on the throne, before he reſolved on extending his dominions by means of new conqueſts. In this view he cauſed a number of veſſels to be equipped for an expedition to Sofala, the command of which was entruſted to Francis Baretto, who, penetrating into the kingdoms of Macoronga and Manica, diſcovered mines of gold in theſe countries, of which by his prudence and valour he made himſelf maſter.

In the proſecution of his deſigns, it was neceſſary he ſhould paſs through the territories of the Quiteva, who objected to this meaſure, and prepared to reſiſt by force any attempt on the part of the Portugueſe to enter his dominions. He feared a junction of their forces with thoſe of the King of Chicanga, a monarch more powerful than himſelf and his ſworn enemy, apprehenſive leſt the conſequence would be his becoming tributary to the European power. He therefore gave orders that every ſtep ſhould be diſputed; and, in addition to the army ſent to oppoſe the Portugueſe, he ſet another on foot to prevent a diverſion on the part of the troops of the King of Chicanga; he alſo placed ambuſcades in every favourable ſpot by which the enemy might be ſurprized, and ſkirmiſhes repeatedly took place, in which the Portugueſe conſtantly had the advantage, though with ſome loſs on their ſide. Still the haraſſing warfare they were obliged to maintain, diſguſted them with an enterprize ſo difficult; and, from their having no means of recruiting their loſſes, each man of theirs killed was equal to a hundred of the enemy, who were able immediately to bring others into the field to ſupply the place of ſuch as were ſlain. Notwithſtanding this, the reſolution of the Portugueſe ſupported them under their difficulties, and enabled them to open themſelves a paſſage through the files of the enemy.

The Caffres, who had now repeatedly experienced the courage of thoſe they had to oppoſe, no longer conſidered themſelves ſafe in their towns, but, to eſcape ſlavery or death, abandoned them, carrying off all their cattle and proviſions, and truſting by this means to oblige the Portugueſe, in deſpight of their victories, to retreat, owing to want of the neceſſaries for ſupporting their army.

Still the brave Baretto continued to follow up his conqueſts both by ſea and land, and ſpread ſuch conſternation through the country, that the Quiteva, who reſided at Zimboé, having intelligence of the approach of this general, took to flight with all the inhabitants of the city and withdrew to a large foreſt in the neighbourhood, not chooſing to riſk the defence of the town. Baretto conſequently entered it without reſiſtance; and

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as he had not a ſufficient force to garriſon, and indeed did not wiſh to preſerve it, he gave it up to pillage, and after ſetting it on fire continued his march towards the kingdom of Manica, which in the ſpace of a few days he entered.

The monarch of this country, concealing the vexation he felt at his arrival, ſent a deputation to compliment him on the occaſion, and expreſs his ſatisfaction at his viſit, the perſons ſent bearing with them a preſent of proviſions. Baretto, highly pleaſed at meeting with a friendly reception, ſent meſſengers in return to render thanks for his civility, and entreat his acceptance of the preſents intended for him by the King of Portugal. The Mooriſh King upon this expreſſed a wiſh to ſee the Portugueſe general; and the latter, at the interview which in conſequence took place, communicated the inſtructions he had received from his court, the principal of which was, to negociate a treaty of amity and intercourſe between the two monarchs.

This Sovereign, on the approach of Baretto, went forward to meet him, marking by this unuſual condeſcenſion the eſteem in which he held the King his maſter, and the reſpect he bore his ambaſſador; at the ſame time he communicated to him, that as long as he might chooſe to remain in his dominions the whole of his companions ſhould be maintained at his expenſe, and in the courſe of the conference all the articles of the treaty of amity were agreed upon; among which the ſecond was, that the King of Chicanga ſhould freely admit the Portugueſe throughout his territories for the purpoſe of trafficking, as well in gold duſt as in other merchandize; of the former the quantity bartered is very conſiderable in this country.

The Portugueſe were enchanted at having in ſo ſhort a time concluded a treaty of ſuch advantage to their Sovereign, and ſo beneficial to the realm; they moreover flattered themſelves with the hope of acquiring ſtore of gold with which to return enriched to their country; but when they ſaw what toil was requiſite for extracting this precious metal from the bowels of the earth, and the danger incurred by thoſe who worked in the mines, they were ſpeedily undeceived, and no longer regarded their fortunes as inſtantaneouſly made. At the ſame time they were induced to reflect, that the labour and riſk of digging the gold from the abyſſes whence it is drawn, are ſuch as with juſtice to ſtamp that value on it which it bears from its conſequent rarity.

Theſe people have divers methods of extracting the gold, and ſeparating it from the earth with which it is blended; but the moſt common is, to open the ground, and proceed towards the ſpot where, from certain indications, ore is ſuppoſed to abound. For this purpoſe they excavate vaults, ſuſtained at intervals by pillars, and, notwithſtanding they make uſe of every poſſible precaution, it often happens that the vaults give way and bury the ſubterranean ſappers beneath their ruins. When they reach the vein in which the gold is found mixed with the earth, they take the ore as it is, and put it into veſſels full of water, and by dint of ſtirring about the water, the earth is diſſolved and the gold remains at bottom.

They likewiſe take advantage of heavy rains, which, occaſioning torrents, carry before them whatever looſe earth they meet in their way, and thus lay open the ſpots where gold is embedded in the ravines. This the Caffres collect and waſh with care, to purify from the groſſer part of its earthy admixture.

Theſe people alſo, however unpoliſhed they may ſeem, yet poſſeſs a ſecret peculiar to themſelves for diſcovering the gold concealed in certain ſtones*, which they likewiſe

* This ſecret conſiſts, it is highly probable, in the ſtone containing the gold being ſoftened, and its natural colour changed by the preſence of gold, a circumſtance noticed conſtantly by the gold ſeekers of Celebes. See, in the portion of this work allotted to Aſia, a deſcription of the gold mines of Celebes, by Von Wurmb. ENG. TRANS.

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have the ingenuity of extracting, conſtantly obſerving the ſame practice of waſhing it well to ſeparate all earthy particles from the metal, and thus rendering it equally luſtrous with that obtained from the earth. This gold is, however, much cheaper than the other, either owing to its being more common, or to its being obtained with greater facility and at leſs expenſe than that exfodiated from the bowels of the earth.

This country being thus fecund in valuable mines, it cannot be ſurprizing that, in after periods, other nations, following the example of the great Baretto, ſhould be ſolicitous of penetrating into the country. Baretto returned to Sofala well ſatisfied not only on account of the treaty he had concluded with Chicanga, but alſo at being ſo fortunate as to terminate another with the Quiteva, who, apprized of his being about to return, no longer avoided him as before, but invited him to paſs through his country, with aſſurance that he would meet with friends alone, in which number he begged to claſs himſelf. He in fact received him with open arms, and expreſſed a deſire of living in friendſhip with the King his maſter, and of being admitted among the number of the friends of the general himſelf. The treaty of peace ſigned by the Quiteva and Baretto, comprized the following articles: that the Portugueſe ſhould have the liberty of entering at pleaſure into his kingdom for the purpoſe of traffick, and of paſſing through it to Chicanga to trade for gold; and, on the part of the Portugueſe, that, for this conceſſion, they ſhould annually ſend to the Quiteva two hundred ells of linen. Thus theſe two parties, but ſhortly before inveterate enemies, parted apparently in friendſhip; but the ſtate of amity thus eſtabliſhed was not of long duration.

CHAP. II. — *Of the War waged by Baretto with the King of Mongas, over whom he obtained a complete victory, notwithſtanding the incantations of a Sorcereſs, who quitted him to ſide with the Caffres. — Of the remarkable Springs in this country.*

THE Portugueſe, by the treaties concluded between the two Kings of Chicanga and Quiteva, ſpread general conſternation through the country. Their ambition now knew no limits, but increaſed in proportion to their advance into the country. They felt particularly anxious to open a road into the kingdom of Mongas†, a matter not to be effected but by fighting with and overcoming whoever ſhould dare to oppoſe their progreſs. The obſtacles were indeed many to the effectuation of their deſigns; but Baretto, who commanded a well-diſciplined army, by his prudence and the bravery of his troops, overcame them all, and was conſtantly victorious, as well in the different ſkirmiſhes which took place, as in pitched battles.

The king of Mongas was powerful, and had a very fine army on foot, which diſputed every paſs through which the Portugueſe had to march. At length the day arrived when they had to combat the whole force of the Caffres; theſe, notwithſtanding their number much ſurpaſſed that of the Portugueſe, and notwithſtanding this ſuperiority promiſed them ſucceſs, were yet ſomewhat intimidated. They had learnt by experience to place its due value on the bravery of the Portugueſe, who moreover had an old ſorcereſs with them, whom ſuperſtition regarded as a palladium, that would ſecure the victory to which ever ſide ſhe remained with. The Portugueſe indeed placed no reli-

† The dominions of the Monomotopa. The country is termed Mongas, the ſovereign *Monomotopa*, as the ſovereign of Sofala is termed *Quiteva*. A confuſion has ariſen from the errors of geographers, who have, in both inſtances, given the diſtinguiſhing name of the ſovereign to the countries over which they rule. ENG. TRANS.

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ance either on this tale, which was promulged by herſelf, or on the power of the witch, and formed their line of battle in due order, depending on their own intrepidity and that good fortune which hitherto had attended their banners. The attack began on the part of the Portugueſe; but previouſly the old woman had changed ſides, and was gladly admitted into the ranks of the Caffres: ſhe promiſed them victory, engaging to ſtrike their enemies with panic, and blind them by means of a powder ſhe had in a bag, provided they would but ſtand firm to the firſt ſhock; and ſuch implicit credit did they give to her promiſes, that they even provided themſelves with cords with which to bind their victims. For her aſſiſtance ſhe was in return to receive ſome conſiderable preſents: In the mean time the Portugueſe, who laughed at the imaginary enchantments of the witch, bore down on the oppoſite army; and the general, ſingling out the old woman who was readily diſtinguiſhed in their ranks by her ridiculous contortions, and was then in the act of giving to the air the powder which ſhould deprive them of ſight, directed a field piece to be pointed at her, expecting thus to intimidate her; but, confident in her charms and deeming herſelf invulnerable, ſhe mocked the effect of the cannon; the match was applied, and the palladium of the enemy at once was blown to atoms. The confidence of the Caffres in their invincibility was now at once annihilated; for throughout they truſted more to the magic of the ſorcereſs, than to their individual bravery. Baretto, in the deſtruction of the witch, however he might deem it a weakneſs to rejoice at the fall of a woman, from motives of policy joined with the army in the ſhout of exultation which was ſent forth from the ranks. A moment's pauſe in the operations of the army now took place; and as a token of regard for his ſkill, the general took from his own neck a chain of gold that he wore, and placed it round that of the cannoneer. Excited to freſh endeavours by ſo conſpicuous and ſo valuable a mark of eſteem, the cannoneer thundered inceſſantly upon the Caffres, and with ſuch effect that whole columns fell before him, and the utmoſt diſorder prevailed in the enemy's ranks, who now began to waver. The general, who ſaw their irreſolute ſtate, immediately ſounded a charge, which was carried into effect with ſo much vigour and ſo opportunely, that, but for a body of reſerve which at the critical inſtant came up to their ſupport, the army would have been completely defeated. The ſuccours brought made the conflict more ſevere, and victory remained long uncertain; at length the Portugueſe prevailed, made themſelves maſters of the field, took all the baggage and arms of the enemy, and with them a great number of priſoners, whom they made ſlaves.

The Caffres, who now to their coſt experienced the capacity and valour of the Portugueſe, were anxious for peace, which was granted on condition that the king ſhould allow free acceſs into his dominions for themſelves and their merchandize. This treaty, which laſted ſome length of time, enabled the Portugueſe to become acquainted with the country, and explore all its rarities, among which eſpecially worthy of notice is the foreſt of *Lupara* or the *Spine of the World*, ſo called as well on account of its range which exceeds five * leagues, as the prodigious height of its ſhaggy mountains, which with the trees that cover it tower to the region of clouds. The river Zambeſe, beating with violence againſt theſe rocks, in lapſe of time has wrought itſelf a paſſage through the foreſt, and ruſhes with ſuch violence over its craggy bed, that all who hitherto have had the temerity to attempt its courſe have been ſhipwrecked.

* Inſtead of five leagues, read five hundred. The Spine of the World ſtretches from the line in Long. 58° Weſt of Greenwich to Lat. 22° S. where they unite with the main ridges of Africa, and proceed to the Cape of Good Hope. ENG. TRANS.

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In this kingdom is a ſomewhat remarkable fountain called Maembé, which divides itſelf into five ſtreamlets, each poſſeſſing different degrees of warmth. Two of them are freſh and tepid, two other of greater warmth, and of the fifth the water is of a boiling heat; yet notwithſtanding theſe various temperatures, the five ſtreamlets all proceed from one common ſource *.

Near the fort of Teté † is a river the water of which, though it be ſix ſcore leagues diſtant from the ſea, is ſalt; but what is more extraordinary, the ſtream which flows contiguous to the river Mangania, at more than two hundred leagues from the ſea, is not only equally ſalt, but in addition poſſeſſes the property of petrifying wood caſt into it. Albertus Magnus relates his having ſeen one ſimilar in Germany: and in the Aſtronomy of John Ceres, chap. 12, mention is made of a fountain the water itſelf of which changed to ſtone, and congealing immediately upon leaving its ſource, became ſo hard as to be capable of reſiſting the fierceſt heat of the dog-days.

In Alentejo, a province of Portugal, a league diſtant from a town called Avis, is a river which has five different beds, and which overflows its banks at very unuſual periods of the year; for this happens during the hot weather between April and September, when other ſtreams are dry. In theſe months it increaſes in volume as much as it diminiſhes in winter, when from the abundance of rain that in that ſeaſon falls in Portugal, other rivers ſwell ſo as to deluge the plains in their neighbourhood.

In this river, moreover, another ſingular peculiarity is remarked: as long as its waters flow in their natural channel they differ in no reſpect from thoſe of other ſtreams in general, but when they overflow their banks they turn to ſtone whatever they meet with in their courſe, not excepting even the graſs. And in this province, ſhould the rainy ſeaſon continue longer than common, or the rains be ſo heavy as to inundate the country, and deſtroy the ſeed in the ground, the peaſants take no heed of the diſaſter, but, ſure of a more abundant crop in the end, as ſoon as the waters diſappear they ſow again their lands, and in ſix or ſeven weeks after their golden crops invite the ſickle; thus the only inconvenience they endure is the labour of a ſecond ſowing, for not even the ſeed is loſt, as the more ample harveſt makes them amends, and the fertilized earth brings forth its treaſures ſo quick as to make them on a par with thoſe of their neighbours, who have not had their lands ſubmerged, in point of the time at which their crops are ripe.

CHAP. III.—*Of the exertions made by Francis Baretto to obtain information reſpecting the Mines of Gold and Silver in that part of the country, in the vicinage of the river Cuama or Zambeſe. Of the trick played him, and the utter diſcomfiture of his Army.*

It is a matter of fact that this country is rich in gold and ſilver mines, but theſe metals are not ſo eaſily obtained as is imagined; for the Caffres are prohibited under penalty of death and the confiſcation of their property from diſcovering the ſite of the mines, either to their neighbours or to thoſe who paſs through their country. When a mine is diſcovered the perſons finding it make loud outcries to call witneſſes round them,

* Such accidental circumſtances are leſs extraordinary than is imagined: water, by flowing over certain metals, creates an effervescence, and caloric is conſequently diſengaged in various proportions according to the nature of the metallic ſubſtance contained in the ore over which the water flows; where the ore is competent to occaſion but a ſlight effervescence, the water becomes tepid; where the fermentation is violent, the water is raiſed to a high degree of heat. ENG. TRANS.

† Upon the river Zambeſe.

and cover the ſpot, above which they place ſome object to denote the ſite; and, far from being ſuſceptible to be prevailed upon by ſtrangers to point out theſe ſpots, they avoid encountering them as much as poſſible, for fear they ſhould even be ſuſpected of ſuch a deed.

The motive of the ſovereign for enacting theſe prohibitory laws, and for exacting a declaration to be made to the court of all mines diſcovered is, that he may take poſſeſſion of them, and by preventing the Portugueſe from becoming maſters of one portion, give no room for ſucceeding warfare on their part to ſeize upon the remainder.

After Baretto had poſſeſſed himſelf of the gold mines of Manica in the manner we have before deſcribed, he directed his courſe at the head of his forces towards the country through which flows the Cuama, to make himſelf maſter of thoſe of ſilver at Chicona, for this purpoſe aſcending the river Cuama from Sena. On the way he fought with the king of the Mongas, who oppoſed his paſſage, and defeated him in ſeveral battles, and proceeded victoriouſly through all the countries and kingdoms along the river without finding any one powerful enough to arreſt his progreſs.

After the defeat of the ſovereign of the Mongas, this prince, the moſt potent of all the princes of this quarter, was under the neceſſity of ſuing for peace, which was granted him. The remaining Caffres, upon this, perfectly diſpirited and too weak to keep the field, abandoned their habitations and the open country, and took refuge in the woods. The Portugueſe, now freed of their enemies and maſters of the country, arrived in ſafety at Chicona, where Baretto immediately commenced his inquiries reſpecting the poſition of the ſilver mines, but he found none inclined to give him the information he ſought; every one concluding that if he once poſſeſſed himſelf of theſe, the entire ſubjugation of their country would naturally follow. However, a certain Caffre of a ſcheming and artful diſpoſition reſolved on attempting to impoſe on Baretto, and for this purpoſe told him that, provided he would proportion the reward to the value of the diſcovery, he would make him acquainted with the ſpots where the mines were. The general, highly ſolicitous of the information, loaded him with kindneſs, made him various preſents in advance, and flattered him with the expectation of ample reward in caſe of his fulfilling his promiſe. The Caffre, a complete rogue, promiſed to be with him the next day and conduct him to the ſpot, but at the ſame time ſignified how requiſite, in order to avoid ſuſpicion, it would be for him to return home, that he might depart thence by ſtealth under covert of night to join him unſeen, and proceed thus to the mines, as in caſe of his attempting any thing of the kind by day he would lay himſelf open to the penalties of the law. By the air of probability in the ſtatement, Baretto was perfectly duped. The Caffre, the next night, repaired to a ſpot where was a vein of ſilver ore, from which he took two or three pieces of ore which he buried in another ſpot, and thence returned to Baretto to fulfil as he ſaid his promiſe, aſſuring him he would conduct him whither he ſhould find ſilver without much toil or trouble. The general did not think fit to go himſelf with the Caffre, but ſent people to accompany him and dig in the ſpot he ſhould indicate. So eager were theſe on the occaſion that they paid no attention to the circumſtance of the earth having been newly dug up, and in a little time they came to the three maſſes of ſilver ore, buried there by the Caffre on the preceding night, of which intelligence was immediately given to Baretto, who was in raptures on the occaſion; nor wonder at his joy, the double motive of his expedition, a thirſt for glory and conqueſt, and an expectation of enriching himſelf, he thus fancied complete: When the Caffre returned, he loaded him anew with expreſſions of kindneſs, and what to the wily infidel was of much greater weight, with additional preſents far exceeding the value of the ſilver produced. Baretto

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was now confident of his ſincerity, and dreamt of another Potoſi; but his viſions proved in the end mere ſhadows, and he ſaw the Caffre no more. At firſt it was imagined he had been ſurpriſed in his nocturnal labours and condemned to death, and already the general deplored him as a man faithful to his intereſts; but upon ſending his people again to the ſpot where they had dug up the ſilver ore, and their long-continued toil in purſuit of the vein proving altogether fruitleſs, he no longer doubted of the cheat put upon him, but had leiſure to repent that he had been ſo weak as to make the Caffre preſents above the value of the ſilver diſcovered.

This fraud did not however annihilate the hopes of Baretto, who continued to purſue his ſearch by means of two hundred men whom he left at this poſt, provided with every requiſite for their ſupport, and an ample ſtock of ammunition. Theſe had inſtructions not to leave the place until the ſite of the mines ſhould be diſcovered, while he himſelf with the reſidue of his forces retired upon Sena. He moreover directed the party left at Chicona to make incurſions into the woods, and hunt out the inhabitants who had fled from their homes, and who keeping aloof hoped the Portugueſe would feel themſelves conſtrained to forego their deſigns after conſuming the proviſions they had with them. The event did not realiſe theſe expectations of the natives; the Portugueſe had ſtrongly intrenched themſelves, and while they hoarded the proviſions they poſſeſſed to ſerve them at exigency, by following the directions of the general in purſuing the fugitives in their receſſes, though they encountered great reſiſtance, they almoſt conſtantly returned loaded with proviſions and ſpoil. A warfare thus haraſſing at length determined ſome of thoſe who had fled to the woods to come to terms with the Portugueſe, and among other articles they agreed as the purchaſe of a ceſſation of hoſtilities to diſcloſe the ſite of the ſilver mines. The Portugueſe, who themſelves are by nature ſincere, were void of miſtruſt of any treachery on the part of the Caffres, though theſe had planned the treaty merely to make the invaders fall into the ambuſh they were preparing.

Peace being now concluded by the treaty, which ſtipulated that either party ſhould regard the other as friends, and that the Caffres ſhould furniſh the Portugueſe with every thing neceſſary towards their ſupport in their intrenchments, and provide them with truſty guides to direct them in ſafety to the mines, and people to aſſiſt them in working them; this laſt article was the firſt which either party prepared to put in execution, but eſpecially the Caffres, who ſought by lulling the Portugueſe into a falſe ſecurity to enſnare them, and appointed among themſelves for effecting their plan the very day they ſhould proceed to the mines. The Portugueſe, who took with them on the journey a hundred and ſixty men well armed, conſequently left but forty for the defence of the fort. Truſting to their guides, the expedited party were led into an ambuſcade where they had to ſuſtain the fire of four hundred Caffres from their covert in the foreſt, which effected the deſtruction of almoſt the whole of the Portugueſe detachment. The few who eſcaped bore the melancholy intelligence to their comrades in the fort. At firſt it was propoſed that this ſhould be evacuated, as it was much to be apprehended that little time could elapſe before it would be attacked, and as the means of reſiſtance to the force which they had room to expect would be employed againſt them was very far from adequate to the maintenance of the poſt; but the thought of flying before barbarians, the dread leſt a meaſure of this kind ſhould be imputed to puſillanimity and affix an indelible ſtain on their military character, induced many to differ from this propoſal; and their determination reſolutely to withſtand the enemy at length prevailed with the whole, who vowed either to avenge their countrymen on the heads of the traitors, or periſh in the attempt.

In the mean time the fort was inveſted by upwards of four thouſand Caffres. Yet, large as was their number, they did not dare to venture an aſſault, but contented themſelves with blockading the fort. At length the Portugueſe, having exhauſted their proviſions, had only a choice of death left them, and reſolved on that which ſhould be worthy of their former life; they conſequently made a ſortie on the enemy, and wherever their blows were dealt they carried with them deſtruction; but overpowered at laſt by numbers, they fell to a man, ſelling their lives at a rate ſo dear that no bluſh ſhall ſtain the cheeks of their countrymen at the remembrance of their cataſtrophe.

CHAP. IV.—*Of the barbarous inhumanity of the Caffres of the vicinage of fort Teté, who feed on human fleſh; and of the war waged with the Mumbo, who had deſpoiled a Caffre of his poſſeſſions, who was friendly to the Portugueſe.*

BEYOND fort Teté on the oppoſite ſide of the river Guama there are two nations of Caffres, the one denominated *Mumbas*, the other *Zimbas* or *Muzimbas*; both the one and the other of theſe ſubſiſt on human fleſh, and for the purpoſe of devouring them kill all they meet, whether by ſea or land; and when victims among ſtrangers are wanting, they put to death their ſlaves and the aged, whom they ſay are but an incumbrance.

They are deſtitute of religion, have neither altars, nor images, nor idols, and no other object of adoration but their ſovereign, who ſtyles himſelf Lord of Heaven and Earth. He on his part is ſo perſuaded of poſſeſſing the dominion he arrogates to himſelf, that whether he wiſhes it ſhould rain or ceaſe from raining, whether ſolicitous of cooler or warmer weather, ſhould the ſeaſons in their courſe be different from his inclinations and appear to contradict his will, he madly ſeeks for vengeance, and impiouſly as vainly ſpends his rage in imprecations, and lances his arrows at the ſky. But, on the other hand, the anger which the prince ſo fruitleſsly manifeſts againſt heaven, recoils on himſelf; for his people, witneſſing his want of controul over the elements, with reaſon regard him as an uſurper pretending to rights which he does not poſſeſs: thus is he perpetually placed in danger, not only of forfeiting their opinion of his divine nature, and loſing the preſents which they are accuſtomed to make on addreſſing themſelves to him to obtain what they ſeek from heaven, but alſo of being precipitated from his throne.

The Portugueſe not only ſought opportunities to eſtabliſh themſelves firmly in the country for the promotion of their individual intereſts, they were equally anxious to ſupport all thoſe who were favourable to their cauſe. In proſecution of this policy, they eſpouſed the quarrel of a Caffre oppreſſed by a neighbour of greater authority, took up arms in his defence, under the command of the captain of Fort Teté, and, croſſing the river, marched direct upon Chicaronga, whither the uſurper on their putting themſelves in motion had retired.

They no ſooner arrived before than they inveſted this place, and attacked it with ſuch vigour that this Mumbo Caffre who had ſix hundred men with him, was obliged to quit the place and reſtore the poſſeſſions which he had unjuſtly ſeized upon, to the friend of the Portugueſe. Theſe having effected this object returned, ſhewing by their conduct not only that they had power to eſtabliſh their ſuperiority, but alſo ſufficient to maintain the cauſe of thoſe dependent on them, and redreſs the grievances they might endure from more powerful neighbours.

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This Caffre had long been accuſtomed to make incurſions on the territories of his neighbours, before he was attacked by the Portugueſe; and had become ſo arrogant and cruel, that he placed over the gate of his fort the heads of all he killed, and kept their mangled carcaſes in a large room, into which all who came to viſit him were introduced, as well to impreſs them with awe as to ſhew that his vengeance againſt thoſe who were his enemies did not terminate with their life, but was entailed on the corpſes of his victims. On the defeat of the garriſon, the Portugueſe delivered from their dreadful ſlavery a number of women and children whom this wretch kept, with a number of men, in pens, for the purpoſe of killing and eating them in ſucceſſion, according to their general practice, and carried them with him to Fort Teté. As to the wretch himſelf, he ſaved his life by an ignominious flight.

The example made in this inſtance of the Mumbo, who loſt all his property in the fort, was not ſufficient to deter another Caffre in the vicinage of Sena from deſpoiling one of his countrymen of his property who was befriended by the Portugueſe. This man fled to them, ſtating that, on account of his affection for them and his eſpouſing their cauſe, he had endured the moſt cruel treatment, and imploring them to reinſtate him in the poſſeſſions of which he had been deprived. The perſon to whom this Caffre addreſſed himſelf was André St. Jago, governor of Sena, who took him under his protection, and promiſed to ſend forth a body of troops to countenance the entreaty he ſhould make that his enemy would in a friendly manner reſtore what he had violently uſurped, and in caſe of refuſal to effect by force what might be denied to milder meaſures.

André San Jago in conſequence took the field at the head of his people, with two pieces of cannon, and advanced againſt the offending Caffre, who was called *Muzimbas*. On approaching the place in which he was poſted, he found him deaf to any friendly propoſitions, and, when he regarded the ſtrength of the fortifications he had thrown up, he repented having ſo readily interfered; and, apprehenſive the ſiege would be of longer duration than what had before been ſuſpected by him, he converted it into a blockade, awaiting ſuccour, for which he ſent to the commander of Fort Teté, Fernandez de Chares. This officer marched out to join him at the head of as ſtrong a detachment as he could ſpare, but, regarding the enemy with whom they had to combat as unworthy of their attention, they proceeded in ſtraggling and detached parties, without order, and without the precaution of ſending forth ſcouts. The troops of their antagoniſt which kept the field, obſerving this neglect of diſcipline, placed themſelves in ambuſh in a wood through which they had to paſs, and while yet in the ſame diſorder attacked them. The commander of Fort Teté and his ſoldiers, after ſhewing the utmoſt bravery, became the victims of their own imprudence and neglect, and fell to a man. The barbarous conquerors, not content with the lives of their enemies, mangled the carcaſes of the dead, from which they cut all the limbs and head, leaving nothing but the trunk; after this they ſecretly entered the fort. When they had joined their companions there, they publiſhed the defeat of the enemy by beat of drum and ſhouts of exultation. The noiſe ſomewhat ſurprized André de San Jago, but his aſtoniſhment redoubled when he beheld the troops of *Muzimbas* marching in triumph on the ramparts, each carrying a limb cut from the enemy, and on the end of a pike the head of the governor of Fort Teté. At a ſight ſo melancholy, and which deprived him of all hope of ſuccour, he was greatly afflicted, and determined on a ſilent retreat; but Muzimbas, appriſed of his intention, fell upon the Portugueſe unexpectedly, and completely cut to pieces the rear-guard, killing the commander, who on news of the attack had flown to render them aſſiſtance, and who preferred ſharing death

death with his brave men to ſurviving in a country where nothing but his unfortunate defeat could be preſent to his imagination.

The Portugueſe on this occaſion likewiſe loſt Father Nicolas de Roſario, a monk of the order of Santo Domingo, who had accompanied the army to ſay maſs and adminiſter the ſacraments; but the manner of death of this good father was ſo cruel, that it may be regarded as a kind of martyrdom; for after tying him to a tree, and exerciſing on his body what the moſt infamous and brutal paſſions alone could ſuggeſt, they killed him by repeated wounds. Muzimbas, deſirous on this occaſion of ſignalizing himſelf, put on the clerical dreſs of the monk, and bearing in one hand the chalice and in the other a ſpear, marched thus at the head of his troops, who each bore one or other of the members of the Portugueſe they had killed, which they ate at a feaſt given in honour of their victory: this took place in 1592.

The ſucceeding year Don Pedro de Souſa, governor of Mozambico, attempted to revenge the death of André de San Jago, and the death of his troops; but he was unfortunate in his expedition, and obliged to retreat, loſing by the way the major part of his rear-guard, which was utterly defeated by Muzimbas, and leaving all his baggage and cannon to the conqueror, rendered ſtill more arrogant and vain by this additional ſucceſs. After this Don Pedro de Souſa formed an army conſiſting of upwards of fifteen hundred Caffres and two hundred Portugueſe, with which he croſſed the river to lay ſiege to Muzimbas. On this occaſion he inveſted the town in form, and cauſed it to be attacked at ſeveral points, at each of which however he met with an equally obſtinate reſiſtance; and the Caffre moreover, by raiſing épaulements, ſheltered his men in ſuch a manner that they were very little incommoded by the artillery of the Portugueſe. Theſe at length determined on carrying the place by aſſault, and in furtherance of this plan filled the ditch with faſcines, and puſhed their lines forward to the very foot of the counterſcarp, where they made a lodgement to cover themſelves from the ſallies of the beſieged; but the enemy threw ſuch abundance of hot water and boiling oil on the Caffres, who were naked, that the major part of them were diſpirited; and in addition to this annoyance, they made ſuch profitable uſe of certain machines of iron which they uſe for the defence of towns, and which, being projected with ſtrength and preciſion, carry death wherever they ſtrike, that the Portugueſe and the Caffres with them loſt the whole day in attempts of no avail; at length they ſounded a retreat in order to dreſs the wounded and bury their dead.

On the ſucceeding day the general renewed the aſſault and erected gabions which commanded the ramparts of the Zimbas. From this poſition the muſquetry annoyed the enemy ſo ſeverely, that they at length offered to capitulate; but while the articles were preparing, Muzimbas, as excellent a politician as a warrior, availed himſelf of a ſtratagem which obliged the Portugueſe to raiſe the ſiege. He counterfeited a number of letters from the women of Mozambico and Sena, repreſenting to their huſbands in the army of Don Pedro, that their perſons were in extreme peril, owing to inſurrections that had taken place in thoſe two towns; and conjuring them, if they valued either their lives or thoſe of their children, who were in danger of reverting to their priſtine ſlavery, (the Caffres threatening to deſtroy both towns), to return to their homes. In theſe letters the moſt endearing expreſſions were uſed; and the ſuperior claims of kindred and affection to thoſe of mere friendſhip and attachment to the Portugueſe in a cauſe which muſt take long time to bring to iſſue were ſtrongly inſiſted upon. They ſtated, that while they were proſecuting a ſiege, which, from the excellent troops and numerous reſources of Muzimbas, muſt neceſſarily be long procraſtinated, they were at the criſis of

of their fate, and that delay might render their affairs irretrievable. The ſubſtance of theſe letters being ſpread through the camp, the Caffres repreſented to their commander the neceſſity of flying to the defence of their property and families, promiſing at the ſame time, after avenging themſelves of their enemies, to return and ſignalize themſelves in his ſervice. Don Pedro de Souſa, who had no means of enforcing obedience nor of preventing their abandoning him, was fain to allow their departure; and having now but two hundred men left with him, determined on raiſing the ſiege. Muzimbas, however, who reckoned much on the ſucceſs of his ſtratagem, and had already prepared his meaſures, cauſed the rear of the Portugueſe to be attacked in a narrow defile, and, cutting it in pieces, and making himſelf maſter of all the baggage and artillery, returned triumphant to his fortreſs.

Still placing a due value on the proweſs of the Portugueſe, Muzimbas reſolved to prevent the renewal of a war which might terminate in his ruin, deprecated the reſentment of the Portugueſe, and entered into treaty for peace; the articles of which, after much diſpute, were concluded, Muzimbas agreeing to reſtore the uſurped poſſeſſions of the Caffre, which had originated the war, to the right owner.

CHAP. V.—*The Army of Muzimbas being augmented to Fifteen thouſand Men, he obtains poſſeſſion of the Iſland Quitoa by means of information given him by a Moor, whom he cauſes to be puniſhed according to his deſerts.*

THE Portugueſe, thunder-ſtruck at the ſevere check their forces had received, now occupied themſelves in placing their army on ſuch a footing as ſhould enable them to take ſignal vengeance for the treachery which Muzimbas had uſed in ſurpriſing their men on raiſing the ſiege of his fortreſs. But this wary enemy, foreſeeing their intentions, made new levies, and by holding out to his ſubjects and neighbours, that the object of life with brave men ſhould be the acquiſition of glory, and the rendering themſelves formidable upon earth, by flattering them with ſucceſs, and above all with a rich booty, he ſucceeded in cauſing many to take up arms, and this the more readily from the Caffres, an idle race, in general preferring the eaſe and plenty uſually attendant on a warlike life to the toil of peaceful occupations. With his firſt levies he made incurſions on the territories of his neighbours, whoſe wives and children were killed and eaten, or made ſlaves by his troops, and by his numbers, and by his depredations, he ſpread ſuch general conſternation, that the chief of the inhabitants contiguous to his poſſeſſions, to eſcape ſimilar injuries, and that they might participate in the ſpoil of others, flocked to join his ſtandard in ſuch numbers, that he found himſelf at length at the head of an army of fifteen thouſand men, unreſtricted by diſcipline from any licentiouſneſs whatſoever, provided they continued faithful to his orders.

This ambitious character, ſeeing that every thing gave way before him, determined on laying ſiege to the iſland Quitoa*, truſting he ſhould readily obtain poſſeſſion of it, and intending to give it up to pillage, the more to attach his troops and render them hearty in his ſervice. No ſooner had he conceived the deſign, than he haſtened to put it in execution; but the tide being too high to admit of his embarking his troops, he contented himſelf with waſting the country adjacent to the iſland, cloſing all communication between the iſland and the main, and commencing a blockade. The inhabitants

* Between the mouths of the rivers Quitoa and Quiſima, north of Cape Del Gudo. ENG. TRANS.

who defended the place were ſoon made acquainted with the intentions of Muzimbas, to whoſe dominion they were adverſe, and which they were reſolved on avoiding at the peril of their lives; but a moor who was among them, calculating the hazard of a warfare with this chief, reſolved on ſacrificing to his own ſafety and fortune both the lives and liberties of his countrymen. In this view he ſwam acroſs the arm of the ſea which ſeparated them from the army of Muzimbas, to whom he cauſed to be communicated, that he had a ſecret of importance to impart, which concerned materially his preſent intentions: this was ſufficient to inſure his introduction; Muzimbas was anxious to ſee him, and ordered him inſtantly to be uſhered to his preſence. When before him, after a low bow he addreſſed him in the following terms: "I preſent myſelf before you, great "general, who are the firſt conqueror of this country, and who ſo well deſerve to be "its maſter. Appriſed of your intention of turning your arms againſt the iſland Quitoa "where I reſide, and apprehenſive the reſiſtance of the forces it contains, which are "determined to defend the iſland, might retard its conqueſt and the pleaſure I ſhould "feel at becoming your ſubject, I have encountered the dangers of the ſea to offer you "my ſervice with heart and hand, and to lay open to you a way by which the iſland "may be entered, as it is not equally well protected on all ſides, and eſpecially as on "thoſe where it is preſumed you mean to make your attacks; and as I am well ſatis-"fied, by following my inſtructions, that you will ſpeedily make yourſelf maſter of the "iſland, I entreat protection for myſelf and all belonging to me, in our perſons and our "property, which latter I leave to your generoſity to augment at pleaſure when you "ſhall be our ſovereign."

Muzimbas, highly gratified by this offer, received the traitor with much kindneſs, promiſed him all he required, and even greater recompenſe than his moſt ardent expectations led him to anticipate. The enterprize was carried into effect under favour of night, when the Moor placed himſelf at the head of the troops, and guided them to the ſecret paſs in perfect ſafety. So ſtill was the march, that the ſentinels, who did not expect an attack in this direction, were plunged in ſleep, and conſigned to death, together with more than three thouſand inhabitants, who ſerved the cannibals for food during the pillage of the town.

Such was the ravage and ſuch were the exceſſes committed by the army in Quitoa, that the whole population was exterminated, and the only family left was that of the traitor who had introduced the enemy, and who flattered himſelf with receiving an ample fortune. Muzimbas, who knew how to proportion his rewards to the merit of ſervices received, ſolicitous of delaying no longer thoſe which the Moor had earned, cauſed him at length to be ſummoned to his preſence. The traitor now expected nothing leſs than that he ſhould be appointed governor of the place, and loaded with gifts; he conſequently collected the whole of his family to be witneſs of his glory, and of the ſecurity and opulence its different members were about to acquire.

Approaching Muzimbas they fell at his feet, imploring his favour and protection, and enlarging on the good fortune of the Moor, their relative, who had been enabled to aſſiſt his righteous cauſe, they entreated him in the humbleſt manner to regard them as the moſt faithful among his ſubjects. On this Muzimbas, in whom nature had implanted ſentiments of honour as well as a cruel diſpoſition, who, like Alexander, could hug the treaſon while he abhorred the traitor, caſt a terrible look upon them, and addreſſing the Moor, ſaid: "Learn, wretch, learn hence, that a conqueror like me "may avail himſelf of the perfidy of traitors like yourſelf, but is incapable of coun-"tenancing or rewarding it. In courſe of time I ſhould, by the valour and intrepidity "of my army, have ſucceeded in my object, without having recourſe to the ſuccour I

" derived from you, and which I merely accepted to ſpare the blood of my ſoldiers. " The advantage of having by your means obtained on our part a bloodleſs victory has " hitherto reſtrained my reſentment at your treaſon: you have had a breathing time; " it is fit now that I ſhould manifeſt my indignation and horror at ſuch a monſter; I " condemn you therefore together with your family to be caſt into the ſea, eſteeming " all of you alike unworthy to ſerve as a meal for my ſoldiers, fearing leſt the perfidy " of your nature ſhould have communicated a venomous quality to your fleſh and blood." Theſe words were pronounced by Muzimbas with ſo much vehemence and paſſion, that the guards about him, whom he directed to put his will in execution, immediately followed his orders, and gave the bodies of the whole to the waves.

After the deſtruction of Quitoa, and the death of him who had precipitated if not occaſioned its ruin, Muzimbas marched againſt the iſland Mombaza, which he conceived incapable of reſiſting his arms: but the Turks, who ſuſpected his intentions, had previous to his arrival diſpatched four galleys with ſuccours for its relief, and by means of this were enabled to arreſt his progreſs, and preſent on the different occaſions of their joining battle a very formidable front.

In the mean time a fleet belonging to the Portugueſe accidentally arrived off Mombaza; thoſe on board, till their arrival, having no intelligence of what was paſſing. They profited by the circumſtances of the time, and ſucceeded in beating the one and reſiſting the other; for they defeated and captured the galleys of the Turks, and entered Mombaza victoriouſly in view of the army of Muzimbas on the oppoſite bank of the river. This chief, unable to comprehend by what means ſucceſs ſo complete and ſo prompt could have been obtained, exclaimed that the Portugueſe were truly the gods both of ſea and land; and thenceforth he ſought their alliance and friendſhip. This exploit was effected by the brave general Thomas de Souſa.

Shortly after, a treaty of peace was concluded between the Portugueſe and Muzimbas, to whom the former gave up the town of Mombaza, which he laid in ruins. Afterwards he proceeded againſt the capital of Melinda, which he reckoned upon taking with eaſe; but a ſuccour of three thouſand men having been thrown into the place by certain Caffres called *Molſequios*, Muzimbas, who had already effected a lodgment on one of the baſtions, was repulſed. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the garriſon made a ſally, and completely overthrew the army of Muzimbas; the major part being put to the ſword, a ſmall veſtige only ſucceeding in reaching their homes by diſperſing in every direction, and thus avoiding the fury of the Caffres.

CHAP. VI. — *The Moors of the Iſland St. Lawrence, as well as thoſe of Mozambico, rebel againſt the Portugueſe.*

THE iſland of St. Lawrence is ſituate oppoſite to that Ethiopia of which I have already given a deſcription; it is three hundred leagues in length by eighty in breadth, and is ſeparated from the main by a channel ſixty leagues broad at its narroweſt part. It was diſcovered in 1506 by the expedition under the command of that famous captain Triſtun de Cunha on its paſſage to the Indies, and the firſt landing happening on the anniverſary of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, it received his name, though previouſly it was called by the inhabitants Madagaſcar. This country abounds in all kinds of vegetables, rice, millet, and a great variety of roots ſo pleaſant to the taſte as to form a principal part of the food of the inhabitants through great part of the year; here alſo are ſeen a number of orange and lemon trees, and abundance of ſugar canes.

During the government of George de Meneſſes in Moſambico, the Moors roſe againſt the Portugueſe, and refuſed any longer to admit them into their ports, ſtating, they hindered them from diſpoſing of the growth of their own ſoil; this, however, was merely a pretext to oblige the Chriſtians, againſt whom their hatred was implacable, to leave the country.

George de Meneſſes, who knew of the reluctance of the Moors to their ſettling in this country, notwithſtanding this reluctance determined on eſtabliſhing a ſettlement of the Portugueſe; and cauſing a veſſel of war to be well manned and equipped, ſailed direct to the iſland with the intention of waging war with them in caſe the Moors ſhould oppoſe his views and deny a reſidence in the country, or the freedom of commerce to the Portugueſe; and determining to place a factor there with ten ſoldiers and two monks to adminiſter the Sacrament to them.

The Moors, intimidated by the arrival of this ſhip, attempted to excuſe their rebellion, and pretended that the fomenters of it had been rigorouſly puniſhed, as a proof of their deſire of living on a friendly footing with the Portugueſe. Theſe however, not truſting to their profeſſions, propoſed to leave, as they had planned, a ſmall garriſon behind them. Before their departure, however, ſome miſunderſtanding taking place among the ſoldiers of which the garriſon was compoſed, they ſeverally embarked and returned to Mozambico, leaving on the iſland Father Thomas alone, a monk of the order of Santo Domingo.

Immediately after the ſailing of this veſſel an Arab ſhip arrived from Mecca, the crew of which, on hearing of the aſſumed ſovereignty of the Portugueſe over the inhabitants, took vengeance on Father Thomas, who had remained and occupied himſelf in preaching the goſpel. They conſequently, in a beverage which they preſented, adminiſtered poiſon to him; he ſuſpected indeed their bad intentions, but drank the draught in perfect reſignation to the Almighty will, and quickly after experienced its mortal effects.

The Portugueſe, affected at the treatment the good Father experienced from his treacherous hoſts, and juſtly offended with them, reſolved on avenging, with their own, the cauſe of Heaven; they accordingly returned the next year to the iſland and laid it waſte, afterwards ſailing back to Mozambico, where they had ſcarcely arrived before a veſſel from Mecca was ſhipwrecked on their coaſt, and afforded them a new object of plunder.

This year was fertile in treachery, the Moors acting with perfidy towards the Portugueſe in one of the iſlands contiguous to that of Comoro, which ſerves as a retreat for all the outcaſts and ſcoundrels of the country.

George Meneſſes, governor of Mozambico, ſent a veſſel to this iſland of Mazabangen for the purpoſe of taking in refreſhments; but the captain, deeming it imprudent to venture on landing without firſt ſending intimation of his deſign to the king of the iſland, diſpatched for the purpoſe two Moors acquainted with the language of the country, with orders to requeſt permiſſion to land, and to ſtate that the veſſel was from Portugal, and that they looked for nothing but what they meant to pay for. The king, who profeſſed amity, promiſed to furniſh them with whatever they might require, and obſerved that his ſubjects as well as himſelf would feel themſelves happy in ſupplying them with what their means afforded, as he regarded the Portugueſe as their good friends and allies.

The Portugueſe were gratified at meeting with ſo courteous a reception; at the ſame time they kept themſelves on their guard againſt ſurpriſe on the part of people, on whoſe ſincerity and conduct they had little ground of reliance. Nor were they in the wrong

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in this caution, as was proved by the event; for they learnt by a young man belonging to the iſland, who ſwam to their ſhip, that ſhortly after the departure of their meſſengers, the king gave directions to his people, immediately upon their landing, to fall upon the Portugueſe, ſeize their ſhip, and by ſuch an example deter the Chriſtians from again venturing to his iſland.

The people on board the ſhip differed in opinion reſpecting the degree of credit to be given to the teſtimony of this man, ſome looking upon it as a mere invention, and regarding him in the light of a ſpy; they therefore kept him on board: but, in order to remove their doubts, they ſent aſhore a felucca, and had ample reaſon to repent their incredulity, for part of the crew were murdered, the reſt eſcaping merely by throwing themſelves into the ſea. The Portugueſe were anxious that the ſame man who had come on board ſhould return to the iſland, that he might continue to give them information reſpecting what was paſſing there; but, ſeparate from his diſinclination to incur the danger he ſhould in truſting himſelf again in their hands, he was as much averſe from his countrymen as he was partial to the Chriſtians, the number of whom he ſhortly after increaſed, becoming a member of the order of Santo Domingo, among the Fathers of which order he lived in a very exemplary manner for many years.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the three ſcourges with which God afflicted the Ethiopians. — Of the Uſes to which Manna and Cocoa are put, and where they are found.*

THE cruelties exerciſed by Muzimbas, occaſioned him to be eſteemed one of the ſcourges of God, who ultimately puniſhed this prince with the annihilation of his army; for he ſent ſuch immenſe flights of locuſts into the country, that when on the wing they darkened the day; and when they alighted they devoured ſo completely all the flowers of the field and every deſcription of verdure, even to the roots, that the earth ſeemed as if ravaged with fire; the conſequence was, ſo great a ſcarcity of grain and corn throughout the whole of Ethiopia, that a general famine prevailed.

The Caffres ſold their children for a meaſure of millet, and even delivered themſelves up to ſlavery, that they might have wherewithal to eat; and thoſe whoſe circumſtances were mean, waged war with the others for the purpoſe of devouring them*.

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* Hiſtory furniſhes many melancholy examples of the extremes to which different nations have occaſionally been reduced by famine, but among the moſt afflicting of theſe inſtances, no one perhaps exceeds that which is related as the reſult of the failure of the overflowing of the Nile, in the year of the Hejira 597, commencing in October 1200. The horrible picture is given by Abd-Allatif, an Arabian phyſician of great eſteem, whoſe valuable work reſpecting Egypt has been dreſſed in ſeveral of the languages of Europe, and has lately, with notes which diſplay unbounded patience and toil, and at the ſame time the deepeſt erudition, been publiſhed anew, through the medium of the imperial preſs at Paris, by M. Sylveſter de Sacy, under the title of "Relation de l'Egypte par Abd-Allatif, Paris 1810." The narrative, as it will in all probability be new to the Engliſh reader, as it affords a curious ſpecimen of the Arab ſtyle of that period, is of undoubted truth, and preſents a picture, however horrible, yet ſo highly extraordinary, is in part ſubjoined.

"In this ſtate of things, the year 597 (beginning October 1200-1) announced itſelf as a monſter whoſe
" fury was about to annihilate all the reſources of life, and every means of ſubſiſtence. All hope of a
" riſing of the Nile was abandoned, and, in conſequence, the price of every article of produce was increaſed
" conſiderably; the provinces were parched with drought; the inhabitants foreſaw inevitable ſcarcity; and
" the dread of famine occaſioned much tumult. Thoſe who dwelt in the country withdrew to the chief
" towns of the provinces; many among them emigrated to Syria, Magreb, Hedjaz, and Yemen, where
" they diſperſed themſelves in every direction, as formerly the children of Saba. Infinite multitudes ſought
" refuge in the cities of Miſr and Cairo, where to the moſt frightful dearth was joined as terrible a mor-

" tality

The laſt plague was the ſmall-pox, which carried off thoſe whom famine and the ſword had ſpared, for none who were afflicted with this deſtructive malady eſcaped.

" tality: for, on the ſun entering the conſtellation of the Ram (March 1201), the atmoſphere became in-
" fected, and a peſtilential and deſtructive contagion began to be manifeſt. The poor, ſtarving with hunger,
" ſatisfied its cravings with the vileſt refuſe—dogs, human carcaſes, and carrion, nay even the very excre-
" ments of man and animals. They went even further, and devoured young children. It was not unuſual
" to ſurpriſe individuals with infants roaſted or boiled. The captain of the city guard cauſed to be burnt
" alive thoſe perſons who were guilty of theſe crimes, as well as thoſe detected in eating ſuch meat.
" I myſelf ſaw a ſmall infant roaſted, in a baſket. It was carried before the provoſt, together with a
" man and woman, ſaid to be the parents of the child: the provoſt condemned them to the ſtake.
" When the poor firſt began to feed on human fleſh, the horror and wonder excited by ſuch unuſual
" repaſts, occaſioned it to be the theme of converſation every where; but afterwards people were ſo
" accuſtomed to it, and indeed conceived ſo much liking for theſe deteſtable viands, that they became a
" general and common food, were eaten as a treat, and ſtore of them was kept for future need: different
" modes of curing and cooking ſuch meat were invented; and the cuſtom once introduced in the city,
" ſpread to the provinces, ſo that no part of Egypt remained in which ſuch practices were uncommon.
" Wonder at ſuch a reſource now ceaſed; the horror it firſt inſpired entirely vaniſhed; and it was no
" longer ſpoken of other than as an indifferent and ordinary matter."

After a recital of many ſhocking examples of individuals laying in wait to deſtroy children and others incapable of defence, that they might ſupport nature by ſuch unnatural yet only remaining means; of mothers devouring their children; huſbands and wives their companions, and children their parents; of which caſes he was moſtly an eye-witneſs, Abd-Allatif proceeds:

" One matter we ſhall notice for its having been frequently before us: At Miſr, at Cairo, and in the
" neighbouring towns, wherever we turned our ſteps, the eye was perpetually diſguſted with the afflicting
" ſcene of a corpſe, or an individual at the laſt gaſp, and oftentimes of numbers in this condition. At
" Cairo eſpecially, the dead daily carried to the place of ſepulchre were from one to five hundred. At
" Miſr the ravage of death was without bounds, and defied calculation; the dead were not buried; the
" living contented themſelves with caſting them without the walls: nay, towards the end, the ſurvivors
" were too few to be able even to remove the corpſes which were ſeen lying in the ſquares, in the paſſages
" between the houſes and the ſhops, and even on the floors in the houſes. And oftentimes by the ſide
" of a body hanging in ſtrips, were ſeen a cook, a butcher, and people of ſimilar profeſſions.
" Of the burghs and villages, all the inhabitants periſhed, except thoſe who had been able to remove to
" other parts. Scarcely, even from this ſtatement can be excepted the capitals of provinces and the larger
" villages; for example Kous, Aſchmouneïn, Mahalleh, and others of ſimilar magnitude; and in theſe even
" the number of ſurvivors was extremely ſmall. Oftentimes a traveller paſſed through a conſiderable
" village without finding a ſingle perſon alive: the houſes he ſaw all open, and in them only the corpſes
" of thoſe by whom they had been inhabited ſtretched on the floor oppoſite to each other, ſome in a ſtate
" of corruption, and others but newly dead; and frequently moveables abounded, with none to claim
" poſſeſſion.
**** " The road from Egypt to Syria, by the teſtimony of numerous witneſſes, reſembled an immenſe
" field ſown with corpſes, or rather a field through which the reaper had paſſed; it had become, as it
" were, a banqueting houſe for birds and beaſts, which preyed upon their fleſh; and the dogs, which
" theſe emigrants had made the partners of their flight, were the firſt to devour their bodies.
**** " People of free condition were ſold. * * * A young girl might be purchaſed for a few pieces of
" ſilver. I myſelf was offered two maidens, not yet of the age of puberty, for a ſingle piece of gold;
" and on another occaſion I ſaw two females, one of them yet a maid, whom the cryer offered for ſale for
" eleven pieces of ſilver. One woman alſo came to me and propoſed to ſell me her own daughter, of
" ſome beauty and ſtill a girl, for five pieces of ſilver. On my repreſenting that ſuch traffic was contrary
" to law, 'Take her then,' ſhe exclaimed, 'as a free gift.' ***
*** " Villages which before contained a population of ten thouſand, now became ſo many deſerts, in
" which at times a few ſtraggling beings might be found, and in which at others not one could be
" ſeen. The major part of the city Miſr was wholly depopulated: the houſes on the canal, the ſtreet of
" the Pond, Maks, Haleb, and the neighbouring places were entirely depeopled, though previouſly there
" was not one of theſe ſuburbs but in population might vie with cities. At Cairo, even the palaces,
" houſes, and ſhops in the beſt quarters of the city, and in its very heart, are moſt of them tenantleſs
" and ſilent; to ſuch extent indeed, that in one of the moſt thickly peopled parts there is an hotel con-
" ſiſting of fifty lodgings, in which, if four be excepted, the whole are empty, and theſe four are tenanted
" merely by perſons to preſerve the hotel. The inhabitants of this once great city at the preſent time uſe
" no other wood for fuel for their kitchens and ovens than the timber of the roofs of houſes, door-
" poſts, and fences." Book II. Chap. 2. Page 360 to 374.—ENG. TRANS.

The

The poſition of the iſland Mozambico is detrimental to the viſion of the inhabitants; for, from the inſtant the ſun ſets till it riſes the ſucceeding morn they diſtinguiſh nothing, becoming as it were blind till the great eye of the world re-illuminating the earth diſperſes darkneſs and reſtores them ſight; what however is remarkable, this accident is peculiar to this iſland, for out of it the human ſight is not ſubject to this extraordinary eclipſe *.

In the iſland Delgado, fertile and productive of almoſt every thing, manna, formed of the dew from heaven, falls on certain trees, on which it is found in maſſes in a congealed ſtate, like but not equally hard as ſugar-candy.

The inhabitants lay up for their conſumption a conſiderable ſtock of this article, and ſell a ſtill greater quantity, as on their part they are unacquainted with any other medicine, uſing it as a purgative; to their knowledge of its aperient property are we indebted for its introduction into the *materia medica* of Europe.

With reſpect to the manner in which the *cocoa nut* is produced, authors ſeem to differ: ſome imagine it the fruit of a tree which grows at the bottom of the ocean, which is only detached by the action of the water in great tempeſts, and afterwards caſt on different ſhores by the waves.

Others again eſteem it to grow on a kind of palm-tree, of terreſtrial and not ſubmarine production, the branches of which extend wide, and preſerve its fruit in ſuch a perfect ſtate as to make it the moſt eſteemed and uſeful upon earth, its fleſh being ſavoury and the water of it ſo delightful that our fineſt liquors ſcarcely can enter into competition.

When the cocoa has attained its full ſize, it is large as a man's head, eſpecially when encompaſſed in its external coat; a coat ſimilar to our cheſnuts in its poſition, but of different texture. From the fibres of this outward coat, ſacking is made, ſails, and coverings for houſes; beneath this coat is a texture of filaments of finer quality, of which linen is made, and cordage and cables for ſhipping; and under this is the ſhell of the cocoa, of conſiderable hardneſs, which is uſed for firing, and its finer parts for beads for roſaries and other works.

After this ſhell is taken off, the fruit appears, which differs from our Michaelmas peach only in colour, being of the ſame ſize, but extremely white, and of moſt delicious flavour.

Within the hollow nut is a ſweet liquor, as refreſhingly cool in its nature as the nut itſelf is heating. When it is wiſhed to extract this water without breaking the nut, a hole is bored through the top of it, at one of three indents which preſent the ſimilitude of a monkey's countenance. Individuals, anxious for the preſervation of the ſhell, either as a curioſity, or for the uſe to which it is applicable, ſaw it through the middle, and make cups of it to drink out of. What is remarkable, this fruit continues perfectly freſh and good as long as the liquor within is retained; but when it loſes this, it becomes dry and good for nothing.

* The former part of this ſtatement is correct; within the torrid zone the twilight is ſcarcely perceptible, owing to the promptitude with which the ſun paſſes the few degrees requiſite before the refraction of its rays ceaſes, when dark night begins. This ſingularity, to an individual coming from higher latitudes, where the twilight is always of longer duration, and of unremitted continuance during part of the year, never fails of exciting notice within the tropics. The aſſertion that the ſudden ſucceſſion of darkneſs to light is not experienced out of the iſland of Mozambico, is no otherwiſe to be accounted for than by ſuppoſing the author meant to ſay, inſtead of "out," *north* of the iſland and without the tropics; eſpecially as at Sofala he muſt have obſerved the ſame appearances.—ENG. TRANS.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of the Mode of taking Elephants; and an Account of a Hunter who died upon one he had killed.*

THE number of elephants in this country is prodigious, ſo much ſo indeed that the inhabitants are obliged to purſue and make frequent hunting courſes after them, to preſerve from their ravage the lands they ſow with rice and millet, in which lands theſe animals generally commit great waſte; when, however, the chace is inadequate to the ſufficient reduction of the elephants, ſnares are made for them, after the ſame manner as in different parts of the Continent is done for wolves; when a Caffre diſcovers that an elephant has fallen into his toils, he aſſembles his friends and relatives, that they may partake of the ſport and conſequent feaſt.

Had not the Caffres the inducement for purſuing the elephant, which ariſes from the neceſſity of protecting their property, they would yet have ſufficient in the benefit they derive from their capture, ſeeing its fleſh ſerves them for food, and its teeth are an object of conſiderable traffic. Indeed with them the elephant is eſteemed of great value; ſo much, that one being obtained perfectly white, many princes of the ſurrounding country waged war for the poſſeſſion of the valuable animal; but it was ultimately adjudged to the lord of the ſoil on which it was taken, as a manorial right.

The Caffres, aware of the riſk incurred in hunting elephants, endeavour commonly to come upon them when they ſleep, which they are enabled to do on account of their diſcovering themſelves by their ſnoring ſo loud as to be heard all over the country; when, getting as near to them as they are able, they lance a javelin into their body; this awakening them, occaſions, in proportion to their agitation, a leſs or greater effuſion of blood, and oftentimes their death; for they frequently fall upon the javelin, which in conſequence is plunged deeper into their bodies. Many authors deſcribe a different mode of taking this animal: according to theſe, the elephant after it has paſſed three years old never lies down to ſleep, but leans in taking repoſe againſt a tree, the trunk of which at this time is cut near the root, and the tree in falling encumbers and kills the elephant. Were ſuch the truth, ivory would be ſtill dearer than it is, and far more rare; for the danger of this mode of hunting would deter many who now purſue the animal in view of enriching themſelves with its ſpoils.

Two Caffres happening once to wound as many elephants but very ſlightly, were, on account of the fall of night, unable to follow the trace of them; the next day they returned to the chace in hopes of finding them dead; but their wounds not being conſiderable, they had traverſed a great diſtance, and were tracked by their blood: the hunters at length diſcovered them, one of theſe elephants had gone into a river, and with its trunk was throwing water over the other, this was lying on the bank, and in conſequence the huntſmen concluded it was dead. Approaching now ſomewhat nearer than was prudent, to the living one in the water, this elephant ſeized one of the two hunters with his trunk, and caſt him with ſuch violence on the body of the dead elephant as to deprive him of life, thus avenging the death of his comrade by that of the perſon by whom it was occaſioned.

Hiſtory is full of ſimilar anecdotes, which prove that this animal, though buried in matter, poſſeſſes reaſon in a ſuperior degree to any other upon earth.

It is related, that at Goa, a capital city in the Indies, there was an elephant nicknamed *Perico* (or the ſot) on account of its predilection for wine. It was accuſtomed

to halt before the door of the different taverns, and never quit its ſtation until a quantity of wine was poured into its trunk; and if, which ſometimes happened, any one out of joke gave it money, it carried it to the beſt tavern, and readily diſtinguiſhed bad from good wine; ſo that indeed thoſe who frequented theſe wine houſes, were uſed always to aſk for the elephant's wine.

The viceroy of the Indies, in the year 1600, ſent as a preſent to the king of Spain an elephant which readily comprehended whatever was ſaid to it in the Italian and Portugueſe languages; at leaſt it never refuſed any thing required of it in either of thoſe tongues; it appeared fond of muſic, and would beat time to a tune with its trunk; and whenever its guide, deſirous of teaching it any thing, ſcolded this elephant or expreſſed diſſatisfaction, one might perceive a ſenſibility in it, and that it was affected by the reproaches it received, and uneaſy till its maſter ſeemed to be reconciled.

HISTORY OF EASTERN ETHIOPIA.

BOOK III.

OF THE ISLANDS OFF THE COAST OF MELINDA; THE WARS OF THE PORTUGUESE WITH THE MOORS; AND THEIR SUCCESSES, AS WELL IN FIGHTING WITH THESE, AS THE TURKS, WHO CAME TO THEIR ASSISTANCE.

CHAP. I. — *Of the Iſlands off the Coaſt of Melinda: Pimbo, Lamo, Patta; their Rebellion againſt the Portugueſe, and the Manner in which they were puniſhed.*

AFTER having in the former books ſpoken of the major part of that Ethiopia which begins at Cape Carrientes, and extends to Cape Delgado, (a ſpace of more than three hundred leagues, all of which is compriſed within the juriſdiction of the Captaincy General of Mozambico), I ſhall cloſe the hiſtory of the continent with an account of the countries and kingdoms extending from Cape Delgado to Egypt and the Red Sea, which form the limits of this Ethiopia; and, reſuming the thread of this hiſtory, take a tour through the iſlands of the coaſt of Melinda, and ſpeak of the kings of this part of the world who are tributary to the Portugueſe.

The captain of Mozambico, the maſter of all this country, oftentimes purchaſes dearly the honour of governing it, having to preſide over nations differing in manners no leſs than in language.

On the north is the extenſive kingdom of the Munimigi, compoſed of pagans and ſavages, who pay tribute to their ſovereign of conſiderable amount, and proportioned to the revenue they derive from their gold mines in the kingdom of Gorage.

Theſe people are univerſally ſorcerers, and ſo well comprehend the art and practice of witchcraft that they are capable of ſtaying even the activity of fire, voluntarily throwing themſelves into the midſt of a burning pile without receiving the ſlighteſt injury, and all the while converſing with thoſe round the pyre, thus clearly evincing the inefficacy of the flames to conſume them.

This kingdom is environed by many others belonging to Preſter John, * denominated by his ſubjects *Azeque*, a word commenſurate with Emperor.

* The Emperor of Abyſſinia, it is well known, was long diſtinguiſhed by the title of Preſter John. The origin of this title has been variouſly given, and many abſurd opinions of its etymology have been publiſhed. According to Bruce, it is derived from the common exclamation with which this monarch is aſſailed on his appearing in public: *Rete o Jan Hoi*; O king, render juſtice!—ENG. TRANS.

On

On leaving the territory of Gorage, proceeding towards the weſt is the province of *Couché*, inhabited by pagan ſubjects of Preſter John. A gold mine diſcovered in this country is ſo rich, that when the ſun ſhines on it, open as it is to the day, the ſplendor which it irradiates, dazzles the eye; it is even forbidden any one to approach it; and the gold hitherto brought from the country is obtained from other mines. The ore is ſo rich, that two parts in three conſiſt of pure gold, though this is of a quality ſo inferior to the beſt, as to be rated at only half its value.

The kingdom on the weſt, abounds not only in gold mines, but alſo in horſes, mules, and cotton cloths. The Preſter John receives annually a tribute from this kingdom, of three hundred head of cattle, and as many horſes, as well as three hundred ounces of gold, valued at thirty-ſix franks (3 oſh·) per ounce.

Bordering on this kingdom, is that of Damut a, which extends as far as the equinoctial line. It is inhabited by pagans, tributary to the Preſter John. This country is likewiſe very productive; but as it yields no iron, that metal is bought at its weight in gold, which is very common. Salt likewiſe is exceedingly rare, and very dear; being brought to this country from the kingdom of Dambia, and the province of Belgada. Oftentimes a ſlave is purchaſed for five or ſix lumps of ſalt of four pounds weight.

In the neighbourhood of Damuta is a province in which the women are ſo much addicted to war and hunting, that they conſtantly go armed. When contention fails in their neighbourhood, they purpoſely excite quarrels among themſelves, that they may exerciſe their ſkill and courage, and neither the one be impaired nor the other be relaxed by idleneſs. They are much more daring than the men of the country, and, that they may have no impediment to the proper exerciſe of the right arm, they are accuſtomed, while their daughters are young, to ſear the breaſt of that ſide with a hot iron, and thus wither it and prevent its growth.

Moſt of theſe women are more occupied with warfare than the management of domeſtic affairs, whence they rarely marry, and live as formerly did the Amazons of Scythia. Where by chance any enter the marriage ſtate and have children, they take charge of them no longer than till they are weaned, after which they ſend them to their fathers to be brought up. But the chief of them imitate the example of their queen, who lives in a ſtate of perpetual virginity, and is regarded as a deity by her ſubjects; nay, even all the ſovereigns, whoſe territories are adjacent to hers, pride themſelves in living with her on friendly terms, and defend her againſt any attacks. Indeed the power of this monarch is ſuch as to make her another Queen of Sheba, whoſe authority over her ſubjects, as is related by the Patriarch Bermudes in his Book on the Preſter John, was without any limits.

The ſame Patriarch relates that, off the coaſt of China, iſlands are found peopled with Amazons who ſuffer no men among them except at certain ſeaſons, for the preſervation of their race: if the fruit of the connection chance to be girls, they preſerve them; if boys, the care of bringing them up devolves on their fathers, while they themſelves are employed in exerciſing their horſes, and in war*.

* With the exception of horſes the ſame is related as the ſubſtance of a communication afforded to the miſſionaries ſent by the Jeſuits to the South Sea iſlands, by one of the inhabitants of the Mariana iſlands. In one of the Carolina iſlands a nation of women is, in the narrative alluded to, ſaid to exiſt, which is governed by ſimilar principles: the account appears in an appendix to the work of the preſident De Broſſes on the Navigation of the South Sea, and is inſerted in the portion of this work, dedicated to that part of the world. ENG. TRANS.

CHAP.

CHAP. II. — *Of the Iſlands off the Coaſt of Melinda; Pemba, Lamo, Pata; the different Religions of the Inhabitants; the manner in which their Rebellion was puniſhed by the Portugueſe.*

AS we have now afforded a deſcription of the inland country, and chief kingdoms, ſtretching from Ethiopia to Egypt, we muſt now proceed to a detail of the maritime parts and iſlands, in which we ſhall begin with Cape Delgado, proceeding thence towards the Mouth of the Red Sea.

Cape Delgado is ſituate under the parallel of 10° S. the country thence to the line is called the coaſt of *Melinda*; and is under the juriſdiction of the captaincy of * Mombaza. Along this coaſt are many iſlands, peopled by Pagans, Moors, and Caffres. Some of theſe are large and fertile; for example: Quitoa, Monſia, Zanzibar, Mombaza, Pemba, Lamo, Pata; the others are of inferior ſize and conſequence. In each of theſe iſlands the governor of Melinda maintains a factor, to whom the management of the traffic with them is intruſted; the articles of merchandize they yield are tortoiſe-ſhell, amber, ivory, wax, millet, rice, and ſlaves. Of all theſe iſlands however Pata is of moſt value, as in that is manufactured a variety of ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, of great beauty and in high requeſt for the dreſſes of the wealthy of the different neighbouring kingdoms. In this iſland alſo, very curious ſtraw work is manufactured with great ingenuity and ſkill.

Each of the iſlands has a mooriſh king, and all are ſubject to the ſovereign of Portugal, to whom they pay tribute through the governor of the coaſt of Melinda. Theſe Moors are deſcendants of the Iſhmaelites of Happy Arabia, the coloniſts from which part have prodigiouſly increaſed in the iſlands.

They live in great harmony, as far as regards civil matters; but the moment religion becomes a matter of diſcuſſion they divide into parties, each ſupporting his peculiar tenets, and preferring the ſect to which he belongs; a misfortune incident to all faiths diſtinct from that of the Romiſh Church, the only true religion.

The Arabs follow the creed of the Perſians; that is to ſay, the interpretation of the Mahommeddan law laid down by Ali, which is materially different from that ſupported by the Turks who are ſectaries of Omar; each hence ſuppoſes the other in error. This ſchiſm is the origin of the animoſity ſubſiſting between the grand Sooltaun of Perſia and the Great Turk, who are continually at war.

From the difference of the tenets of the Perſians and Turks have originated many ſects in various regions under the controul of the monarchs of either nation, oppoſite the one to the other, a diviſion which immediately ſucceeded the death of Mahmoud, when, four of his neareſt relatives, pretending to be doctors and inſpired, publiſhed as many expoſitions of the law, which, differing from one another, occaſioned as great a variety of ſects. Ali was the firſt author of the ſect called *Immemia*, and his tenets were followed by the Perſians, Indians, and the Arabs, who dwell in the maritime parts of Happy Arabia; from theſe laſt ſpring the Mons, who dwell on the coaſt of Melinda.

* The town of this name is ſitua'e on a cognominal iſland at the mouth of a river which empties itſelf into the ſea in about lat. 3° 50′ S. The town on the iſland is large and populous, and the Portugueſe ſtill have a factory and dominion in it. It was taken and partially deſtroyed by Francis Almeida in 1505, and afterwards abandoned. Some time after, the Portugueſe conſtructed a citadel from which they were driven in the year 1631, but of which they again made themſelves maſters in 1729, and have ſince continued in poſſeſſion. ENG. TRANS.

Abubekir was the Second, who founded the ſect denominated *Melkia* (or Royal) his followers the other Arabians, the Saracens, and part of the African Mahomeddans.

Omar was the third; he inſtituted the ſect termed *Anephia:* his diſciples, other Africans, and the people of the deſart of Zahara.

Othman was the fourth, he eſtabliſhed the ſect called *Baanephia*, or *Xaphaya* as it is more commonly termed, which ſect alſo is followed by ſome of thoſe inhabiting the coaſt of Melinda. Each following theſe different ſects regards all diſſentients as heretics; hence quarrels are perpetual, except when the common intereſt renders it expedient for their feuds to ceaſe, that they may unite in defence againſt the Portugueſe, whom they deteſt, and whoſe yoke hangs heavy on their necks. They have in conſequence oftentimes rebelled, and as often have they been made to repent their diſloyalty and raſhneſs, eſpecially thoſe who inhabit the iſland Pemba, an iſland eight leagues from the main oppoſite to Mombaza, on which it depends. This iſland is ten leagues in length and highly fertile. It is watered by numerous rivers which contribute greatly to the nouriſhment of its groves of oranges and lemons, fruits ſo common in the iſland that any one may gather them at pleaſure. But the comforts enjoyed here are dearly purchaſed by the frequency of maladies to which indeed ſtrangers are more liable than the natives, who become habituated to the climate, and eſpecially the waters, to which the unhealthineſs of the iſland is chiefly attributed, they being equally unwholeſome and abundant.

The Portugueſe had firmly eſtabliſhed their dominion over theſe people, and held them in a ſtate bordering on ſlavery, entering into their homes and taking what they pleaſed, as if it were their own; while, far from objecting to ſuch uſurpation, the Moors appeared to receive gratification from their taking or accepting their poultry, ſheep, goats, or whatever they poſſeſſed.

Tired at length of ſuch paſſive obedience, and at the uſurpation of the Portugueſe over their perſons and property, then abuſing their authority on all occaſions to ſuch extent that if any one chanced to fall, ſtruck his toe againſt a ſtone, or even incurred an injury even ſlighter than this, he immediately laid the blame on the Moor before whoſe dwelling the accident happened, and pretending a hurt, obliged him to give up all he had either to appeaſe his reſentment or to defray the charge of his cure.

Conduct ſo outrageous and unreaſonable made the Moors determine to take up arms not only againſt the Portugueſe but alſo the king of the iſland, who, by a ſtrange infatuation, whether reſulting from fear or weakneſs, winked at the behaviour of the Portugueſe.

This popular inſurrection was ſo ſecretly planned and ſo effectually proſecuted that the Portugueſe were all of them put to the ſword, the vengeance of the Moors ſparing neither woman nor child; and had not their ſovereign avoided their reſentment by flying with ſome of his confidents to Mombaza he would no doubt have been confounded with their oppreſſors, and have ſhared their fate. On reaching Mombaza and relating what had paſſed, Matthew de Mendez de Vaſconcellos, who commanded on this coaſt, equipped an armament againſt the iſland, and re-eſtabliſhed the monarch on his throne, puniſhed the chiefs of the inſurrection, and ſuch as had been conſpicuouſly guilty, and aweing others, who in conſequence of the examples he made even awhile deterred from ſuch deeds. After compleating this enterprize, as glorious for the Portugueſe nation as creditable to the general, he returned to Mombaza; but the converſion of the ſovereign who embraced the chriſtian faith, and his marriage with a Portugueſe lady, occaſioned other and more fatal rebellions.

Oppoſite

Oppoſite to Melinda is a ſmall iſland called Lamo, governed by three different kings tributary to Portugal. The Portugueſe, incapable of ſupporting the inſolence of the Moors of Ampaza, one of the towns of this iſland, who were bitter enemies of the Chriſtians and guilty of all kinds of cruelty towards them, entirely deſtroyed that capital, as will be related in the ſucceeding chapter.

The inveteracy of the Moors was not confined to this town, for the king of Lamo, who profeſſed himſelf their friend, betrayed them and delivered up to the Turks Roch de Britto Falcon in the manner I ſhall explain.

In the ſame year the Turks diſpatched from the Straits of Mecca (Babelmandel) a galley commanded by Meer Ali Bey, a Turkiſh corſair, for the purpoſe of pillaging and ſacking Melinda.

This pirate was ſo fortunate that the ſucceſs of his voyage even exceeded his expectations, for as ſoon as the Moors perceived his flag they immediately roſe in his favour againſt the Portugueſe.

At this period Roch de Britto was ſailing with the commander of Melinda for the Indies, and when he arrived at Lamo, was apprized of the expedition of the Turkiſh commander whom he ſtudied to avoid on account of the inequality of his force. The king of Lamo, a Moor ſubject to Portugal, aſſured Falcon that he might remain on his iſland in perfect ſecurity, where he truſted the Turk would not venture to come to attack him, but if he did, promiſed to defend him, as well as the ſmall number of Chriſtians with him, at the peril of his life. Roch de Britto, far from ſuſpecting treachery, confided in the promiſes of the Moor and remained on the iſland, whither the Turk, as ſoon as informed of his place of refuge, purſued him. The perfidious Moor, who had ſecretly reſolved on ſacrificing the Portugueſe, introduced their enemy into the iſland, where the Portugueſe being ſurprized, were made ſlaves. Captain Britto himſelf, ſupported by a few, ſeized a buckler and ſword, and reſolved on ſelling his life and liberty as dearly as poſſible; but the Turks overpowering the little band with numbers, moſt of his party were killed, and himſelf dangerouſly wounded. The Turk, who ſought to ſave the life of this captain, leſs from the value he had for ſuch an illuſtrious character than from the hope he had of obtaining a high ranſom, ordered great care to be taken of him, and cauſed him to be ſent to Conſtantinople; but the vexation Britto endured at ſeeing himſelf thus ſacrificed and overcome, combined with the number and badneſs of his wounds, cauſed his death on the voyage, ſo that the only fruit gathered by the corſair from his victory was a few ſlaves, and a booty valued at about a hundred and fifty thouſand crowns (£18,750.)

CHAP. III. — *Of the Revenge of the Portugueſe on the Traitors of the towns of Ampaza, Lamo, and Mombaza, the Inhabitants of which were put to the Sword, and their Houſes, after firſt undergoing Pillage, burnt.*

THE loſs ſuſtained by the Portugueſe from the capture of the veſſel of Roch de Britto, affected them far leſs than his death, and that of his companions, for which they reſolved on taking ample vengeance on the Moors; but they ſuffered ſome time to elapſe without teſtifying any ſuch intention, that the Moors might be lulled into ſecurity by the fancy that they were afraid to attack them, or were inclined to paſs over their treachery.

Don Duarte de Meneſes, Viceroy of the Indies, who took this affair to heart more nearly than he ſeemed to do, cauſed a fleet to be equipped, conſiſting of two galeons,

three galleys, and twelve galiots, the command of which he entruſted to Martin Alfonzo de Mello, with Simon de Britto de Caſtre under him for lieutenant; and, on board theſe veſſels ſix hundred and fifty Portugueſe, no leſs animated with a deſire of revenging their relatives and friends than with a thirſt for glory.

This armament ſailed from the port of Goa on the 9th January 1587, a ſeaſon of the year beſt ſuiting a voyage to Africa from India, and, with a conſtantly favouring wind, reached Ampaza on the 28th of the ſame month. The Portugueſe ſailed paſt this town without halting, and proceeded to Magadaxo, which they expected to take at the firſt aſſault, but which defended itſelf in a moſt vigorous and ſucceſsful manner, as likewiſe did the Mooriſh inhabitants of Brava, ſo that the expedition was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of both towns, and make for the Seven Uninhabited Iſlands oppoſite to the town of Ampaza.

This place, which is as ſtrong from its natural poſition as by its fortifications and the number of its inhabitants, was beſieged in form by the Portugueſe. They anchored before the town, the monarch of which was ſo powerful as to be dreaded by his neighbours; full of revenge and anxious for battle; the reſiſtance they had to encounter ſerving but the more to inflame their courage.

Scarcely had the Portugueſe reached the Road before they landed part of their troops, who opened the trenches before the town, while the naval part of the armament attacked it from the ſea with incredible fury. The inhabitants, ſurprized at ſeeing themſelves beſieged, without knowing by whom, ſent out a veſſel to reconnoitre, and when on its return they had intimation that it was the Portugueſe, they began to dread their juſt reſentment.

The king, after holding a council of war, publiſhed an ordinance, enjoining every one under pain of death above fourteen years of age to take up arms for the defence of their country, their liberty, and his throne, flattering them with ſuccours from the Turks, and confiding in what the kings his neighbours would furniſh, in caſe the ſiege ſhould be continued. Theſe hopes and neceſſity ſerved to inſpirit the inhabitants to defend themſelves, which they did reſolutely for the ſpace of ſome days: but the beſieged ſeeing the Portugueſe availing themſelves of the low water to diſembark other troops, and that no ſuccours arrived, ſuffered fear to get the better of hope, and gave way to tumult. The king, ſolicitous of ſtopping the riſing inſubordination, ſpoke to them in the following terms, truſting he might recal them to a ſenſe of duty. "I have cauſed you to be "collected, my dear friends, to repreſent the danger you run in caſe you refuſe a laſt "effort for your deliverance; but as I know that you are more dearly attached to the "honour of your country than the preſervation of your property or even your lives, I "beſeech you, by the love you bear me and my government, to employ that bravery "which is ſo natural to you in the defence of a prince, who, by his own example, will "ſhew that he does not value his own life, when your property and lives are at ſtake. "Let us not therefore by a cowardly flight to the interior attempt to ſeek a ſafety we "ſhould not find, but remember that the Caffres, who are more attached to the Portu-"gueſe than us, will ſeek with them to wreak vengeance on our heads. Let us, my "dear ſubjects, ſhew that we can rely in confidence on ourſelves, though the kings my "neighbours do abandon me on this trying occaſion; let us make a law of neceſſity "which ſhall ſtand inſtead of all aſſiſtance, and give new vigour to our courage. Be but "faithful and firm, and ſhould our reſiſtance be attended with ſucceſs, I promiſe you, "on the word and honour of a king, that henceforth I will be to all of you rather a "father than a ſovereign."

This

This ſpeech from the mouth of a king, who called on them for the exerciſe of a courage, which from what he foreſaw was indiſpenſable, had a powerful effect on his auditors, who ſwore in the moſt ſolemn manner to uſe all their exertions for the defence of the ſtate. But as theſe people are as ſuperſtitious as they are difficult to govern, they ſacrificed a white ſheep, perſuaded that the oppoſite ſide on which it ſhould fall on receiving the mortal blow would be that would obtain the victory. The day being fixed for the ceremony, the people aſſembled in the ſquare to which the ſheep was led, when turning its head towards the eaſt they placed on its head a compoſition of rice and vinegar, with a garland of palms; the ſacrificer then after certain invocations, to which the people made reſponſes, ſtruck it with a club on the head, the animal falling towards the Portugueſe, they conſidered it an infallible preſage that they ſhould defeat them. The rumour of the favourable omen quickly ſpread through the town which reſounded with ſhouts of joy, as all now flattered themſelves with obliging the Portugueſe to raiſe the ſiege, and involve them in confuſion and ruin. The people on this occaſion renewed their homage to the king, and touching his knee with their hand, as a laſt proteſtation of fidelity, raiſed it on their head.

While the Moors were employed in the ceremonies of offering ſacrifices to their gods, and in doing homage to their prince, the Portugueſe, availing themſelves of the low water, were diſembarking, and had formed themſelves into three battalions. The firſt was commanded by Simon de Britto de Caſtres, the ſecond by the captain general of Melinda, and the third by the general of the army. The two firſt battalions marched direct againſt the Moors who had entrenched themſelves in the town, which was vigorouſly attacked, and defended with equal reſolution; but the reſiſtance of the Moors provoking the Portugueſe to redoubled exertions, they forced the entrenchments, upon which the Moors retired into the town. With the Moors the Portugueſe entered pell mell, but here they met with ſo violent a fire as arreſted them in the midſt of their progreſs; for, ſeparate from the Moors within the town, exceeding much in numbers thoſe who had been oppoſed to the Portugueſe at the trenches, the men who had been preſent at the ſacrifice ſeeing themſelves called upon by the preſence of the enemy, ruſhed to arms, divided themſelves into ſquads, and taking their ſtations in old ſtone buildings, poured ſuch a quick and well directed fire on the Portugueſe that many of them were killed.

In the mean time the general, at the head of his battalion, attacked the town from the land ſide, and gained an eminence which commanded the place. This new attack, which was very warm, obliged the Moors to divide their forces and fly to the part menaced with greateſt danger. Such indeed was the peril deemed that the grand *cacis*, their chief prieſt, and whoſe preſence alone could reſtore their fallen courage, ruſhed to the ſpot; but the death of their king ſpread ſuch general conſternation among the beſieged that they immediately gave way, and fought in vain, within the walls of their houſes, a ſafety no where to be found. The Portugueſe followed them conſtantly with greater fury than ever, and found no obſtacles to their progreſs. Men, women, and children were put to the ſword, and ſo blind in ſhort was the rage of the Europeans, that not even an animal eſcaped deſtruction; thus avenging, as they ſaid, the death of their comrades, and the treachery of the Moors towards their nation.

The town being given up to pillage, it became the theatre of inhumanity which would diſgrace the moſt bloody war. The moſt vile indignities were laviſhed on the dead body of the monarch; his head was cut off, ſtuck on the point of a lance, and afterwards, together with the town, was condemned to the flames. The conflagra-

tion was ſo dreadful, that the whole place was reduced to aſhes as well as the ſuburbs, where the Portugueſe felled more than eight thouſand palm trees, the beauty and principal wealth of the iſland; thus did they utterly ruin this part of the country, deſirous of leaving an eternal monument of their victory and revenge, and a frightful warning to thoſe who ſhould dare to ſhew themſelves their enemies.

After the ruin of this great town, the Portugueſe ſailed towards Lamo, which had revolted, and, not content with refuſing the cuſtomary tribute to the King of Portugal, had been guilty of the treaſon before related towards Roch de Brito. The King of Lamo, conſcious of his criminal conduct, and deſirous of eſcaping the reſentment of the Portugueſe, ſought, to avoid by flight, a peril which he did not dare, however much a hero, to front. The Portugueſe commander, who was made acquainted with the fear and flight of this prince, whoſe ſpoil he was anxious to poſſeſs, upon this declared him an enemy to the crown of Portugal, and as ſuch, confiſcated all his property. The general afterwards entered the town at the head of his troops to ſeize upon the moſt guilty, and having made a ſtrict ſcrutiny, condemned ſuch as he diſcovered to exemplary puniſhment. He now repaired to the coaſt of Melinda, where the king awaited him with ſuch anxiety, that as ſoon as the Portuguſe ſquadron had caſt anchor he went on board, the commander receiving him with thoſe expreſſions of joy and reſpect which are conſtantly ſhewn to monarchs, even when in a ſtate of warfare with them.

The fame of the revenge taken by the Portugueſe ſpread over all the country, and ſo much aſtoniſhed and terrified the Moors, that every one reſolved on courting their friendſhip, ſeeing they were thus terrible, not only when really offended, but even when they fancied an injury.

The commander, whoſe conduct and valour had already filled the Moors with reſpect and dread of the Portugueſe name, ſailed from Melinda, where he left ſome ſick behind him, and ſteered for Mombaza, whither the king of Melinda accompanied him, reinforcing him with three of his own veſſels.

The Portugueſe availed themſelves of this opportunity, than which none appeared to them more fit for laying ſiege to Mombaza, and landed for the purpoſe in its neighbourhood. At firſt they encountered a vigorous reſiſtance, but this ſerved only to heighten their glory the more, it being inadequate to preventing their ultimate ſucceſs, the king being at laſt obliged to ſubmit to the king of Portugal, as previouſly had been the king of Ampuza, who, after his rebellion, became tributary to this ſovereign of Mombaza.

The Moors, when they found reſiſtance vain, offered a capitulation, which, as the Portugueſe on this occaſion fought for conqueſt and not revenge, was granted, on condition of the vanquiſhed paying forty thouſand crowns for the expenſe of the war, and diſmantling the town.

CHAP. IV.—*The Moors of Melinda requeſt Succour of the Turks, in a meditated Rebellion againſt the Portugueſe.*

THE dominion of the Portugueſe being odious and heavy in the eyes of the Moors of Melinda, they deputed emiſſaries to Meer Ali Bey, who commanded a Turkiſh ſquadron in the Red Sea, to intreat aſſiſtance; in conſequence he fitted out four galleys for that coaſt, being rendered confident from the former expedition in which he captured Roch de Britto and his veſſel. Flattered with the hopes of ſimilar ſucceſs and already counting on the profit and pillage he ſhould make, he concluded a league with the

the Moors, theſe holding out to him a fair proſpect of defeating and utterly ruining the Portugueſe. The difficulty, however, which Meer Ali Bey had to contend with in finding timber ſuited to the conſtruction of his galleys, cauſing him a longer delay than he reckoned upon, the Portugueſe took advantage of it to render themſelves ſole and abſolute maſters of Melinda, perfectly ſubduing the inhabitants and depriving them of all hopes of aſſiſtance.

The intreaties of the deputies were ſo urgent that Meer Ali Bey put to ſea with the four galleys and the veſſel he two years before had captured from the Portugueſe. He coaſted along the whole coaſt of Melinda, as far as Mogadaxo, the Mooriſh population of which received him with open arms, and made him valuable preſents, in the view of engaging him to become their protector. He afterwards touched at all the large and ſmall towns of this coaſt from which he drew various other preſents, ſometimes gratuitouſly offered, but exacted where not voluntarily given; he then continued his voyage to Melinda, where arriving in the night he lowered his ſails and came to an anchor, meaning to attack the place the next day, as he was aware that the King who commanded there was in the intereſt of the Portugueſe.

Matteo de Vaſconcellos, governor of the coaſt of Melinda, ſeeing himſelf beſet both by ſea and land, held conſultation with the king, the reſult of which was that they ſhould defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. They conſequently mounted ſome pieces of cannon on a ſandy eminence commanding the road, the fire from which ſo much diſtreſſed the galleys of the Turks, as to induce them to withdraw towards Mombaza, where they determined on fortifying themſelves, with intention of driving the Portugueſe wholly from the coaſt; but Providence, who ſuſtained them, continued its protection on this occaſion, for as ſoon as Vaſconcellos ſaw himſelf attacked, he forwarded intelligence to Emanuel de Souſa Coutinho, governor of the Indies, that he might render him prompt aſſiſtance, which he did. To the relief of Vaſconcellos this governor diſpatched two galliaſſes, five galleys, ſix galliots, and ſix tranſports, on board of which were nine hundred ſoldiers, the ſquadron being placed under the command of Thomas de Souſa Coutinho, who ſailed with it from Goa the beginning of January 1588, with a fair wind. The favouring weather enjoyed by the ſquadron at its departure was not conſtant through the voyage; when out at ſea ſo dreadful a tempeſt aroſe as obliged the commander to ſend back one of the galleys, which had ſprung a leak, and the crew of which, to lighten the veſſel, had been forced to throw overboard much of her lading: two galliaſſes, in addition, were left in the gulph to prevent the Turks from entering, and the remainder of the armament proceeded on its voyage at the mercy of the ſtorm, and without the crew knowing whither they were borne. The tempeſt laſted almoſt the whole night through; but the wind falling as the dawn approached, they diſtinguiſhed fires in the diſtance towards that part of the coaſt of Ethiopia which they imagined to be uninhabited, and making towards the ſpot, they found them to be thoſe of the ſhips ſeparated by the ſtorm; on joining them they returned thanks to Providence, as, but for theſe fires, they would infallibly have been wrecked on the coaſt.

They now changed their courſe, bearing down for Melinda, and reached the port of Brama, the Moors of which were now friendly to the Portugueſe; here they were informed of the paſſage of the four Turkiſh galleys, and of their having forcibly exacted contributions of money from the town, acting rather as plunderers than as deliverers.

The Portugueſe armament, after remaining two days in this port for the purpoſe of receiving information reſpecting the Turkiſh ſquadron, proceeded and caſt anchor oppoſite

poſite to Ampaza*, a town which had been ſo completely ruined, two years before, by Martin Alfonſo de Mello, that not one ſtone was left upon another, but which the prince of Ampaza had already rebuilt. This ſovereign was ſurprized as much as his predeceſſor had been at the appearance of the Portugueſe, but taught by the example made of that predeceſſor and his people, of the danger of reſiſting theſe Europeans, he choſe a wiſer policy.

Equally prudent and brave, this prince ſent ambaſſadors to the commanders of the Portugueſe ſquadron, made tender of every thing he could have occaſion for, and offered to join his forces if requiſite: he moreover intimated that he might enter the town in perfect ſecurity, for he had conſtantly been as friendly diſpoſed towards the Portugueſe as he was inimical to the Turks, whom he had never ſuffered to enter his port but when it was out of his power to prevent them. If he had avoided the Portugueſe, he ſaid, upon the occaſion of their ruining the town in 1586, at leaſt he had not aſſiſted the monarch againſt whom they fought, and whoſe territories he now poſſeſſed, and conſequently he had proved by his neutrality then, that he had not been their enemy; he moreover added, that they ſhould ever find him, now and in time to come, a friend incapable of entertaining even a thought of treachery towards them. The commander made a ſuitable reply to this courteous demeanor, and profeſſed that the Portugueſe would feel themſelves honoured by his friendſhip.

While the ſquadron were taking in water at Lamo, the commander received news from Vaſconcellos of the Turks under Meer Ali Bey being at Mombaza, where it would be eaſy to fall upon them by ſurprize, as they were lulled in fancied ſecurity. Vaſconcellos' account of their unprepared condition to reſiſt Coutinho, recommended an attack before the Turk ſhould have intelligence of his arrival. Coutinho followed this advice, prohibited any one from leaving the ſhip, and immediately ſailed, reaching the town of Melinda by night, off which they anchored. Notwithſtanding the general prohibition againſt leaving the ſhip, a number of Portugueſe noblemen, or *fidalgos*, were permitted to land here, in order to pay their reſpects to the faithful ſovereign of the place, and deliver to him a magnificent preſent from the governor of the Indies.

Coutinho, learning that the king of Pemba and his ſon, who had been driven from their kingdom by their mutinous ſubjects, were then at Melinda, and aware that unleſs the Portugueſe aſſiſted them they would have no chance of re-eſtabliſhment on their throne, took both on board his ſquadron and engaged to reinſtate them. Scarcely had they arrived before Mombaza, when the Turks, who had fortified themſelves there, teſtified their readineſs to engage the Portugueſe by a ſalute of artillery.

Thomas de Souza Coutinho, ſeeing their eagerneſs for battle, iſſued directions for entering the port and carrying the town. Matteo Mandes led the van, compoſed of ſmall veſſels gallantly hung with ſtreamers; the galliots and four galleys cloſed the rear. In this order they proceeded to the ſound of drums and trumpets, accompanied by ſhouts of joy and loud anticipations of victory, the proceſſion reſembling rather a triumphal entry than preparations for a bloody engagement. The flotilla wholly ſlighted the fire of the fort, the guns of which played without effect on the ſhips

* In recent maps the iſland Lamo is omitted, though Mombaza, Pemba, Zanzibar, and Monſia are given. This appears the more extraordinary, as it is marked in the two-ſheet map of Africa, by Moll, publiſhed the beginning of the laſt century. It lies at the mouth of one of the rivers which deſcend from the ridge of mountains termed The Spine of the World, or *Lupara*; and, from being divided, as is repreſented in this work, among three kings, muſt neceſſarily be populous and fertile. The iſland is probably alluvional, as well from its poſition at the mouth of the river, as from the number of date trees upon it; the palm delighting in a hot low country. ENG. TRANS.

as they paſſed, and gave new venom, by their inutility towards retarding the progreſs of the Portugueſe, to the rage of Meer Ali Bey. When within gun-ſhot, each veſſel poured a well-directed broadſide on the fort, the conſequence of which was the death of the governor, under whom Meer Ali Bey acted as lieutenant-general. The death of this perſonage occaſioned a general panic; and Ali Bey was one of the firſt to abandon the fort and ſeek refuge in the town. The Portugueſe, taking advantage of the confuſion, immediately attacked the fort; and ſix fidalgoes, on this occaſion, gave ſignal proofs of valour in ſeizing the ſtandards of the Turks and ſubſtituting the Portugueſe flag. Not content with the capture of the fort, perceiving that two galleys of the Turks had moved for protection under the batteries from the town, Matteo Mandes engaged them with ſuch impetuoſity and ſucceſs, that he ſpeedily captured both. This victory, obtained with little trouble or effuſion of blood, was highly advantageous, the prizes taken being loaded with merchandize and money. After putting in chains the Turks who were found on board, Mandes purſued the two other galleys, and the other veſſel, of greater bulk and higher out of the water than the reſt: theſe ſurrendered without a conteſt, and the crews were made ſlaves.

After theſe two exploits, in which the Portugueſe deſtroyed a hundred Turks, made eighty priſoners, and releaſed from ſlavery all the Chriſtians they found, the commander of the expedition ordered Don Francis Maſcarenhas to remove the cannon from the fort and bring it on board, which, with much difficulty, was effected.

The Portugueſe, who, from being too humane, had been ſo frequently deceived by theſe barbarians, reſolved on plundering the town of Mombaza; but the king, aſſured of the war terminating to his prejudice, ſent a deputation to the commander entreating peace in the name of himſelf and people. The anſwer of the commander was favourable; ſatisfied of its being advantageous to the ſovereign whom he ſerved, rather to obtain ſecurity and eſtabliſh his rights by the ſubmiſſion of a rebel, than to purchaſe obedience by the effuſion of blood, he granted the requeſt of the king and people, ſtipulating as conditions, that he ſhould in twenty-four hours deliver up all the Turks in the place, without which he would execute the orders of the king his maſter, and his own reſolves.

This anſwer gratified the king of Mombaza, as it allowed him an entire day to determine on what meaſures he ſhould take. In the interval he withdrew from the town, which was abandoned by every individual, and ſecretly retired with Meer Ali Bey to the woods; ſo that the Portugueſe, receiving no anſwer by the time ſtipulated, and knowing nothing of their retreat, diſembarked five hundred men, who, under the ſtandard of the Crucifix and the Arms of Portugal, marched towards Mombaza, of which they made themſelves maſters, finding no one to oppoſe them. The town, after being given up to plunder, was ſet on fire and reduced to aſhes.

CHAP. V. — *Meer Ali Bey made Priſoner.*

WHILE the Portugueſe were engaged with the Turks, certain Zimbas on the other ſide of the army beholding with pleaſure the ſucceſs of the Portugueſe, ſent deputies to the general to plan meaſures for their acting in concert with him, either by a diverſion or a union of forces with the army of Portugal, with the ſovereign and ſubjects of which they wiſhed to form a treaty of alliance. The propoſal was readily embraced, and the meaſures planned were as ſucceſsfully proſecuted; for the Zimbas hunted the troops of Mombaza from their coverts in the foreſt, while the Portugueſe

occupied the plain: the Moors made a ſtout reſiſtance in certain defiles, in which they had entrenched themſelves; but the Zimbas, who ſought occaſion to ſignalize themſelves, were rendered by reſiſtance the more reſolute and ſanguinary, and ultimately drove them from the foreſt into the open country, where they were either cut in pieces or made ſlaves.

Meer Ali Bey in deſpair threw himſelf into the ſea, with a view of drowning himſelf, being unwilling to ſurvive his defeat; but aſſiſtance given in time preſerved him from a deſperate end, for a lot he regarded with leſs pleaſure than even death itſelf: the Portugueſe made him priſoner, and carried him on board their veſſel. The captain of the galleys of this prince, a Carife, and a ſon and brother of the king of Quilife, who were with the king of Mombaza, ſhared the ſame fate. One of theſe was ranſomed, but the other was beheaded for having taken part with the Turks againſt the Portugueſe. Theſe did not uſe repriſals towards Meer Ali Bey, by whom Roch de Britto was ſo ill uſed when enſlaved.

This general, whoſe temper of mind was ſuch as enabled him to accommodate himſelf eaſily to circumſtances, ſaluted the commander of the ſquadron with great humility on going on board, and obſerved to him at the ſame time, in an open and frank manner, that as the accidents of fortune could neither add to nor diminiſh from his natural qualifications and worth, he regarded the caſualty which had befallen him, as one of thoſe common occurrences of war which place the victor in the place of the vanquiſhed; and as this was not the firſt time he had been obliged to ſubmit to a conqueror, having once before been carried a priſoner into Spain, he had ſome conſolation in having fallen rather into the hands of the Portugueſe than the Zimbas, whoſe brutality was extreme.

The general gave him to underſtand that the treatment he ſhould receive, would not bé regulated by that he had ſhewn to Roch de Britto; but on the contrary, that he ſhould have no room to complain of his country, much leſs of himſelf, or any of his people.

This victory was followed by the news brought by the veſſels before Mombaza, of that obtained by Thomas Coutinho over the Turks. So that the Portugueſe, anxious to depart, ſent Matteo Mandes de Vaſconcellos to reinſtate the king of Pemba in his dominions, the ſame who had proceeded in the fleet with them from Melinda. The Portugueſe by this ſhewed, that if they dethroned thoſe kings who dared to become their enemies, they knew how to protect and re-eſtabliſh ſuch as ceaſed to be ſo.

After the re-eſtabliſhment of this prince, the Portugueſe left the coaſt of Pemba for that of Melinda, where they received thoſe congratulations which are due to ſuch as by their courage or conduct render themſelves reſpectable: what however moſt ſurprized the inhabitants of Melinda was, to find among the ſlaves captured by the Portugueſe the general of the Turks himſelf: this circumſtance gave origin to a ſaying which has ever ſince that time been current, that, "Os Portugaiſes naõ ſe tome "nimguem, porque tarde o cedo lho haõ da pagar*."

Meer Ali Bey being about to go on board the commodore's galley, he was informed that he would there meet with the king of Melinda, and that, as it was his misfortune to be ſubject to a foreign yoke, it would be fit he ſhould ſink ſomewhat of his natural pride on approaching a prince, before whom ſubmiſſiveneſs would be moſt becoming. This general, no leſs ſenſible than brave, made anſwer, that the misfortune of being overcome was not with him a ſubject of deſpair; and that having at all times ſhewn

* The Portugueſe take nothing from any one but what ſoon or late they pay again.

the greateſt reſpect to crowned heads, he certainly ſhould not fail in reverence towards the king of Melinda, to whom it was due, not only on account of his dignity, but for his perſonal merits, his valour, and the friendſhip by which he was united to the king of Portugal. Sentiments like theſe, which proceed from thoſe noble minds alone that are unmoved by the events of war, the accidents of human life, made Ali Bey be regarded in ſo reſpectable a light among the Portugueſe, that many even envied his fate. Thus had this general the conſolation, when in chains, to fill his enemies with equal awe as when arrayed in arms in the field.

CHAP. VI. — *The Portugueſe arrive at Lamo; ſeize the Perſon of the King of that Town, and publicly behead him.*

THE arrival of the Portugueſe before Lamo, where they anchored, greatly embarraſſed the ſovereign, who regarded their preſence as a reproach for his treachery towards their nation. Apprehenſive of evil conſequences, a council was held; in this it was determined, that a complimentary deputation ſhould be ſent to the Portugueſe on occaſion of their arrival in port, the miniſters hoping that a mild demeanour would palſy their arms, and deaden their deſire of vengeance. The king, to pay a higher compliment, reſolved on being himſelf the meſſenger. Adviſed of the intended honour, the general received the king with all the reſpect and conſideration due to his rank, as well on his own part as on that of his men, who were ſo inſtructed: but when he ſhould be inclined to depart, the men were inſtructed to follow his example in oppoſing the departure of the king, or that of thoſe with him.

The orders of the commander were exactly obeyed. The Portugueſe now held a council, in which the treachery exerciſed by the king of Lamo towards Roch de Britto was again canvaſſed; and it was at length concluded, that the better to eſtabliſh the authority of their country, it would be wrong to ſpare the blood of an inimical and perfidious king.

The prince, who flattered himſelf that his frank demeanour would cauſe the Portugueſe to forget their reſentment, was much ſurpriſed, when, on preparing to leave the galley, he received a treatment ſo oppoſite to that ſhewn him on his arrival; but the order for his arreſt was ſo ſecretly given, and ſo well executed, that in a few days they ſentenced him to death, as the heavieſt puniſhment that could be inflicted on him, and one that would ſtrike terror into the minds of other monarchs, and make them cautious of incurring the anger of the Portugueſe by any ſimilar treaſon. At the ſame time to render this action as remarkable to future ages, as it had in any that had preceded this been uncommon, an ordonnance was publiſhed by which all the lords ſubject to Portugal and all the officers of the army were ſummoned to be preſent on occaſion of the execution, under penalty in caſe of defection of being declared rebels. This injunction was iſſued by the Portugueſe leſs for the purpoſe of rendering honour to the condemned monarch, than that his death might be looked upon as an example: in the ordonnance the time and place where the ſcaffold would be erected were particularized. This the general ſurrounded with two hundred armed men, and all the avenues to the place were lined with guards, leſt the Moors ſhould attempt to reſcue their king, and releaſe him from puniſhment.

All things now being ready, the ſentence of the king and his chief accomplices was read aloud, to whom alſo at the place of execution their condemnation was repeated, it was couched as follows:

" Sentence pronounced in the name of Don Emanuel the very mighty and formidable " prince, lord, and king of Portugal, by Thomas de Souza Coutinho, general of the " army of the ſaid Don Emanuel, by and with the advice of a council of nobles and " officers, who with one common voice have condemned the king of Lamo to have " his head ſevered from his body, and all his property and dominions confiſcated to the " profit of the Crown of Portugal. We confirm this ſentence, firſt: becauſe the " king is an uſurper, without any juſt pretence to the kingdom of Lamo; and " ſecondly: becauſe of his violation of the rights of nations, and therein being guilty of " treaſon, inaſmuch as he delivered up Britto and forty of his ſoldiers into the hands " of the Turks. Moreover, we declare that if any of the kings of this coaſt ſhall pre- " ſume to carry off the body of the king of Lamo after his execution, they ſhall be " looked upon as rebels, and puniſhed as ſuch by the loſs of their thrones: and we will " that this ſentence become public, as well as the death of the treacherous prince againſt " whom it is pronounced, that all poſterity knowing his perfidy may at the ſame time ſee " the juſtice of the mighty king of Portugal by whom this ſentence is pronounced."

After the laſt reading of the ſentence, the condemned monarch was ſeated in a chair on the ſcaffold covered with carpeting, and in this poſition his head was cut off, as at the ſame time were thoſe of the brother of the Quilife, one of his adherents, and of the two ambaſſadors who had been ſent by the king to Meer Ali Bey. Theſe laſt perſons were all of them beheaded at the foot of the ſcaffold, but the king alone ſuffered on the ſcaffold.

The Moors, however averſe, were conſtrained to be witneſſes of the execution of their king and his friends, for they had neither means nor courage to attempt their releaſe. Their entreaties were found vain, and even preſents and offers to ranſom them ineffectual; for the Portugueſe with reaſon imagined that the advantage they ſhould ultimately derive from ſuch an example would render them more formidable than a more humane procedure could do.

If this expedition coſt ſome their lives, it coſt others conſiderable ſums of money; for the kings who had opened their treaſuries to the Turks were each of them taxed four thouſand crowns towards the expenſes of the war.

The vengeance of the Portugueſe extended even to one of the principal baſtions of the port of Lamo; this was demoliſhed on account of the reſiſtance at this part having been leſs than in other parts of the fortifications of the town.

The prince of Sio, among the number of thoſe who had failed of obeying the Portugueſe commander on his ſummons to repair to Lamo, as well as the prince of Pata, was condemned to have his capital diſmantled, and to pay a fine of three thouſand crowns.

After the Portugueſe had puniſhed all the defaulters among the princes, they propoſed to ſail for the iſland of Mandra, to take in water. Now this iſland is difficult of acceſs, and this circumſtance had rendered its inhabitants ſo inſolent, that they held out againſt the whole Portugueſe force, and refuſed payment of the cuſtomary tribute. The Moors, truſting that the Portugueſe were acquainted with the danger of this port, the entrance of which can only be attempted at moſt imminent riſk, denied them water, and oppoſed the landing of the ſoldiers who were coming on ſhore to provide themſelves with articles of the laſt neceſſity; telling them in a mocking ſtrain, that they would not admit any thing foreign among them, and that, had they power to oppoſe the common law of nature and prevent the obtruſion of the ſun's rays, even theſe ſhould not be ſuffered to penetrate into their houſes.

The Portugueſe, not deterred by ſuch a ſilly gaſconade, made them quickly ſee that, if they were unable to reſiſt the introduction of the beams of the great luminary of day,

they were equally powerleſs to reſiſt acknowledging the might of Portugal; and making for the iſland with repeated ſalvos of artillery, they ran the riſk of the bar at the mouth, and reefs round the port, and filled theſe people ſo thoroughly with dread and aſtoniſhment, that, forgetful of their firſt reſolves on defence, they abandoned their town and property to the Portugueſe, who after pillaging it ſet it on fire, and deſtroyed more than two thouſand palm-trees, which formed as well the ornament as the chief wealth of the iſland.

After the deſtruction of Mandra, the general reſolved on returning to Goa, a voyage which he effected in ſeven days. At the port of the iſland he met with Don Emanuel de Souza, who awaited him with impatience to eſcort him in convoying the four galleys he had taken.

Theſe two generals, whoſe ſtrict union and friendſhip for each other, neither diſtance nor their different duties had power to diminiſh, were delighted on ſeeing each other, and laviſh of their endearments and felicitations on the reciprocal ſucceſſes which had attended their arms.

The governor of Goa, who had always looked upon the defeat and capture of Meer Ali Bey as an object of main importance to the crown of Portugal, attributed the whole glory of this action to Thomas de Souza Coutinho, and was anxious to ſee the Turkiſh commander who had given him ſuch trouble. On the preſentation of Meer Ali Bey to the governor, he would have thrown himſelf at his feet; but the Portugueſe general roſe to receive him, and prevented ſuch an humiliation, inquiring if any thing was wanting in the treatment he received to render his captivity more comfortable. Meer Ali Bey, who poſſeſſed a fund of ſenſe, made a ſuitable reply in a noble and yet ſubmiſſive manner, expreſſive of his ſatisfaction at having to do with conquerors ſo humane as were the Portugueſe. It is true, anſwered Souza de Coutinho, war expoſes us all to ſuch misfortunes, and the moſt experienced officers have oftentimes to endure the uncivil humours of an arrogant conqueror: I ſpeak on this ſubject from experience of uſages which I myſelf ſuſtained while a ſlave in Malabar, the bare remembrance of which is painful. I was not only loaded with irons, but was ſubject to every ſpecies of indignity: ſtill heaven, the protector of the warrior, at length withdrew me from his hands, and the munificence of my ſovereign has placed me in a poſt ſufficiently honourable to make me forget my misfortunes.

This little hiſtory of viciſſitudes happily terminated, Meer Ali Bey did not need, to ſupport him under adverſity; at the ſame time, it gave him room to hope that he might experience as happy a deliverance from captivity as others had done before. But the Portugueſe commander, embarking for Liſbon, carried Ali Bey with him: ſcarcely however had this Turkiſh general landed in that city, before he renounced the errors of the Mahomeddan religion, to embrace the faith of the crucified Jeſus, and thus obtained with liberty the means of ſalvation.

CHAP. VII.—*Of an inhabitant of the kingdom of Bengal, who lived three hundred and eighty years at the Interceſſion of Saint Francis d'Aſſiſe.*

* EVEN were I not bound by that obligation which every faithful tranſlator ſhould regard, of copying with exactitude his original, I frankly confeſs, I ſhould yet have choſen for the concluſion of my work, the relation of this miracle, effected by Saint

* Here Father Charpy ſpeaks.—The FRENCH TRANSLATOR.

Francis

Francis d'Aſſiſe; and doubtleſs my author, whoſe object in this publication was to give a diſplay to all Europe, of the valour and piety of the Portugueſe, conceived that in no better manner he could terminate his book, than with the account of this miracle, operated by the Almighty, through this Saint, in the inſtance of an inhabitant of the kingdom of Bengal.

Don Alfonzo de Caſtro, viceroy of India, anxious to know the truth of the accounts he had heard of the extraordinarily prolonged life of the individual in queſtion, himſelf cauſed diligent inquiry to be made, and entreated the biſhop of Cochin, on his part, to ſecond him by other reſearches. This prelate accordingly made minute inquiſition into the merits of the tale by means of his officers, and found its truth perfectly confirmed.

This man lived three hundred and eighty years; had been ſubject to nineteen ſucceſſive ſovereigns; had been married eight times; and after the death of his laſt wife had during forty-ſix years been a widower: at the end of this term on taking a ninth wife, the young woman bore him children, as alſo had done each of his preceding wives. This natural prodigy, extraordinary as it may appear in an age remote from that of the patriarchs, is rendered ſtill more ſo from the circumſtance of this man, throughout his long life, never having been ſubject to any malady ſufficiently ſerious to require bleeding; from his never having been liable to the tooth ache, nor to pain on ſhedding his teeth, or on their growing again, though this had thrice happened: moreover, it is affirmed that his complexion was as ruddy as that of a man but forty years old, and that no wrinkles denoted his extreme age.

Nature had not only laboured to preſerve a vigorous conſtitution in this wonderful man, ſhe had equally exerted herſelf in the preſervation of his intellectual faculties, his reaſon, and memory; he readily anſwered whatever was queſtioned, and the moſt remote things, things which from lapſe of time are loſt on marble and braſs, lived in his remembrance as faithfully as they are traced on the page of the hiſtorian.

Thoſe anxious to unravel the cauſe of a miracle ſo unprecedented in latter ages, were very much divided in opinion: ſome attributed it to the climate, ſome to a ſingular effort of nature; but if the good man himſelf had not developed the myſtery, no one would have imagined it a pure effect of grace. He related that on a certain day, while tending his flock on the banks of the Ganges, a traveller preſented himſelf before him, apparently weary with the tedioufneſs of the way, and his ſtrength exhauſted by the loſs of blood he had experienced from wounds in his ſides, hands, and feet. Thoſe who had thus treated him, had moreover ſtripped him of his garments and covered him merely with an old grey dreſs, faſtened round him by means of a cord. The condition of the poor man affected him ſo ſtrongly that, on his entreaty to carry him over the river, he took him on his ſhoulders, and rendered him this trivial ſervice; in return he received from him certain grains, which he enjoined him to preſerve, and promiſed him length of years.

But while addreſſing the ſtranger for the purpoſe of learning the manner in which he was to employ the grains ſo as to try their efficacy, the traveller ſuddenly vaniſhed. The aſtoniſhment occaſioned by his diſappearing thus, ſtamped ſo lively a recollection on the mind of the peaſant, of the appearance of this man, whom he never after ſaw, that on entering one day a church in Bengal he recognized in a picture of Saint Francis d'Aſſiſe, which was ſuſpended over the altar, the very individual whom he had ſeen on the banks of the Ganges; and, uttering a loud exclamation—"There," ſaid he, "is the man who promiſed me length of years!" Now, that this procraſtinated life was owing to the interceſſion of this ſaint, is rendered highly probable, as well from his

his preſerving till his death the ſame appearance, the ſame health, and vigour, as he enjoyed at the inſtant the ſaint vaniſhed from his ſight, as from the reſult of the inquiries of the biſhop and governor of the place. This relation is likewiſe further authenticated by Nunha de Cunha, viceroy of this country at the time the fortifications of Dio were enlarged in 1529.

I have read in the works of Peter de Natalibus, that Saint Severus lived the ſpace of three hundred and ſeventy-three years, being elected biſhop of Tongres when two hundred and ninety-ſeven years of age, and filling four biſhoprics during a ſucceſſion of ſeventy-ſix years. Cardinal Baronius mentions the circumſtance as an extraordinary exerciſe of grace. Nicolas de Cemit moreover teſtifies, that a man among the Bramins was known to have lived three centuries.

Were Chriſtians to ſolicit ſimilar length of days, it ought to be only to have leiſure for repentance; as, however, God grants ſuch long life only that man may the better prepare for the happineſs of eternal life, let us ſo ſpend the ſhorter allotment afforded us, that we may hope to meet in heaven with that ultimate reward which is the end of our toils, and the limit of all our hope.

A VOYAGE
TO
MADAGASCAR AND THE EAST INDIES.

By The ABBE ROCHON,

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Tranſlated from the French.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND.

THE iſland of Madagaſcar has excited the avaricious deſires of the Europeans, ever ſince it had the misfortune to be tolerably known. Its extent, together with the richneſs of its ſoil and productions, ſeemed to offer to the people who ſhould make a conqueſt of it, commercial advantages which they would not, certainly, have ſuffered themſelves to neglect. Luckily however, the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate has hitherto ſaved it from the yoke of thoſe civilized nations, who aſſume the barbarous and unjuſt right of ſubjecting to their authority thoſe tribes whom they call *ſavages*, merely becauſe they are unacquainted with the manners and cuſtoms of Europe.

There is not one of theſe civilized nations that can boaſt of having ſacrificed even a few of the moſt trifling intereſts of commerce, to the ſacred principles of the law of nature. All of them have been unjuſt and barbarous: all of them have carried the ſword, fire, and diſeaſe into every place to which they were attracted by the hopes of gain. Ought they to forget that the ſoil upon which theſe ſavages live belongs to them, as much as that upon which we live belongs to us?

The Europeans would have acquired more ſolid and laſting advantages, had they endeavoured to introduce induſtry and the arts into thoſe countries which are deſtitute of them. Theſe preſents would not have been unproductive; and commerce would have ſoon experienced how much preferable that mild and humane method is, to the unjuſt and cruel means which they employed to ſubdue the unfortunate inhabitants of all thoſe countries which held forth to them any new objects of wealth.

The iſland of Madagaſcar was diſcovered in 1506, by Lawrence Almeyda; but the Perſians and Arabs knew it from time immemorial, under the name of *Sarandib*.

Alphonſo Albuquerque commiſſioned Ruy Pereira dy Conthintho to explore the interior part of it, and ordered Triſtan d'Acunha to ſail round it, and mark the bearings of its principal capes and head lands.

This iſland is divided into twenty-eight provinces, which are, *Anoſſy*, *Manapani*, the valley of *Amboule*, *Vohitzan*, *Watte-Manahore*, *Ycondre*, *Etomampo*, *Adchimouſſy*, *Erengdranes*, *Vohitz-Anghombes*, *Manacarongha*, *Mantatane*, *Antaveres*, *Ghalemboule*, *Tamatave*, *Sahaveh*, *Voulou-Voulou*, *Andafoutchy*, *Manghabey*, *Adcimoutchy*, *Mandrarey*, *Ampatre*, *Caremboule*, *Mahafalley*, *Houlouvey*, *Sivah*, *Yvandrhou*, and *Machicores*.

* London 1792, 8vo.

When

When the Portugueſe diſcovered Madagaſcar, they wiſhed to give it the name of the iſland of St. Lawrence. In the reign of Henry IV. the French named it *Ile Dauphine:* but though its real name is *Madecaſſe*, it is generally known under that of Madagaſcar.

This large iſland, according to ſeveral learned geographers, is the *Cerne* of Pliny and the *Minuthiaſde* of Ptolemy.

It extends almoſt N. N. E. and S. S. W. and lies between the twelfth and twenty-ſixth degrees of ſouthern latitude.

We may reckon that the ſuperficies of this iſland, ſo celebrated for the fertility of its ſoil, and the variety of its productions, contains two hundred millions of acres of excellent land. It is watered on all ſides by ſtreams and large rivers; and above all by a great number of ſmall rivulets, which have their ſources at the bottom of that long chain of mountains which ſeparates the eaſtern from the weſtern coaſt. The two higheſt mountains in the iſland are Vigagora in the north, and Botiſtmene in the ſouth.

Theſe mountains contain in their bowels abundance of foſſils and valuable minerals. The traveller who, in the purſuit of knowledge, traverſes for the firſt time wild and mountainous countries, interſected by ridges and valleys, where nature, abandoned to its own fertility, preſents the moſt ſingular and varied productions, cannot help being often ſtruck with terror and ſurpriſe on viewing thoſe awful precipices, the ſummits of which are covered with trees, as ancient, perhaps, as the world. His aſtoniſhment is increaſed when he hears the noiſe of immenſe caſcades, which are ſo inacceſſible that it is impoſſible for him to approach them. But theſe ſcenes, truly pictureſque, are always ſucceeded by rural views, delightful hills, and plains where vegetation is never interrupted by the ſeverity and viciſſitude of the ſeaſons. The eye with pleaſure beholds thoſe extenſive ſavannas which afford nouriſhment to numerous herds of cattle, and flocks of ſheep. Fields of rice and potatoes preſent, alſo, a new and highly intereſting ſpectacle. One ſees agriculture flouriſhing, while nature alone defrays almoſt all the expences: the fortunate inhabitants of Madagaſcar never moiſten the earth with their ſweat; they turn it up ſlightly with a pick-axe; and this labour alone is ſufficient. They make ſmall holes in the ground at a little diſtance from each other, and throw into them a few grains of rice, over which they ſpread a little mould with their feet. What proves the great fertility of the ſoil is, that a field ſown in this manner produces an hundred fold.

The foreſts contain a prodigious variety of moſt beautiful trees, ſuch as palms of every kind, ebony, wood for dying, bamboos of an enormous ſize, and orange and lemon trees.

Timber fit for maſts, and for conſtructing ſhips, is no leſs common than that employed by carpenters and cabinet-makers. Flacourt ſays, that he ſent to France, in 1650, fifty-two thouſand weight of aloe wood of an excellent quality. Phyſicians call this wood *agallochum*, and the Portugueſe eaglewood.

Theſe numerous trees and ſhrubs are ſurrounded by a multitude of paraſite plants and vines. In theſe foreſts may be found agaric and muſhrooms, the colours of which are lively and agreeable, and which have an exquiſite ſavour. The Malegaches call them *holat*, and know very well how to diſtinguiſh thoſe which are not prejudicial to the health. Uſeful gums and reſins are alſo collected here: the milky juice which the iſlanders draw from trees, called in their language *finguiere**, produces, when it coagulates, that ſingular ſubſtance known to naturaliſts by the name of elaſtic gum.

* *Iatropha elaſtica.* LINN. T.

The elaſticity of this reſinous gum has been lately employed in various arts; ſurgery has even derived ſome benefit from it, as it ſerves to make excellent bandages; but it is evident, that this valuable ſubſtance may be uſed with advantage for many other purpoſes.

All the foreſts of Madagaſcar abound with plants unknown to botaniſts, ſome of which are aromatic and medicinal, and others fit for dying.

Flax, a kind of hemp, which, in length and ſtrength, ſurpaſſes that of Europe, the ſugar-cane, wax, different kinds of honey, tobacco, indigo, black pepper, gum lac, amber, ambergreaſe, ſeveral ſilky and cottony ſubſtances, would long ago have been objects of commerce, which Madagaſcar might have furniſhed in profuſion, had the Europeans, ſince they frequented the iſland, endeavoured to diffuſe among the iſlanders that knowledge which is neceſſary for preparing and rendering valuable the articles above mentioned. The moſt indefatigable botaniſt, in the courſe of a long life, would ſcarcely make himſelf even ſlightly acquainted with the natural hiſtory of all the vegetable productions that grow in this iſland, the extent of which, in latitude, comprehends ſeveral climates.

Every reſearch, which tends to give us a knowledge of the productions of Madagaſcar, will be no leſs uſeful to commerce than to the improvement of arts and manufactures.

There are, doubtleſs, few countries in the world where navigators can find, in greater abundance, and at leſs expence, refreſhments of every kind.

It was in the great bay of Antongil, that M. Mahè de la Bourdonnais, with as much ſkill as expedition, found means to repair the loſſes and misfortunes which his ſquadron had ſuſtained; without the reſources which he procured here, that able ſeaman would have, perhaps, not been in a condition to put to ſea; and might, conſequently, have failed of that great ſucceſs in India which has given a luſtre to his memory.

The long ſtay which M. de la Bourdonnais made in the bay of Antongil, to repair his ſhattered veſſels, filled him with regret during his whole life, that he had not acquired more knowledge of the productions of Madagaſcar while he was governor of the iſles of France and Bourbon. This celebrated man was fully ſenſible of the utility of which that large iſland might be to the colony over which he had preſided.

Timber for building houſes and conſtructing ſhips, pitch and tar, whale oil, ſalt-fiſh of all kinds, indigo, tobacco, manufactured hemp and flax, with cotton and different kinds of ſilk, appeared to him very important objects of commerce. He admired with what dexterity the women of Madagaſcar weave thoſe beautiful pieces of ſtuff, which ſerve them for clothing; ſome of them are made of the filaments of the leaves of a plant called *raven*, others more highly valued by the natives, but in leſs requeſt among the Europeans, are manufactured of cotton and ſilk.

M. de la Bourdonnais was no leſs ſtruck on ſeeing the induſtry with which theſe people forge and melt iron and other metals; but he ſet more value on their manner of twiſting ſmall cables, which are employed in fiſhing for whales, and in mooring their piroguas.

He hoped that the natural ingenuity of theſe iſlanders, and their taſte for the mechanical arts, would render it a matter of little difficulty to introduce into Madagaſcar ſeveral branches of commerce, uſeful both to Europe and the French colonies in the iſles of Bourbon and France. He propoſed therefore to engage the directors of the Eaſt India Company to erect there manufactories of ſail-cloth, forges, founderies and rope-walks. The population of Madagaſcar is ſufficiently extenſive to give us reaſon

to

to expect ſucceſs from ſuch eſtabliſhments: beſides, in that country, labour and raw materials are exceedingly cheap.

No dread was to be apprehended that M. de la Bourdonnais would lead the directors of the company into great expence for warehouſes and buildings. On the contrary, he wiſhed they might have the prudence to imitate the ſimplicity and economy obſerved by the Melegaches, in the conſtruction of their houſes. Nothing, indeed, would be more ruinous than to raiſe in this wild country edifices like thoſe uſed by us for carrying on manufactories of that kind. It is too common in Europe to ſee uſeful eſtabliſhments languiſh, and, ſometimes, even occaſion bankruptcy to thoſe who ſet them on foot, becauſe they have been ſo imprudent as to launch out into an extravagance of building, which is almoſt always of no utility to the principal object of their plan.

The induſtry of theſe people cannot, certainly, in any manner, be compared to that of the Europeans. It is impoſſible to calculate exactly the immenſe loſs of time which is occaſioned to them, by the coarſeneſs of their tools, and the imperfection of their arts. The ſavage does not know, as we do, the advantages of dividing labour, which procures to each individual the greateſt poſſible degree of dexterity, and, beſides, ſaves time, which artiſans always loſe in leaving one kind of work to undertake another. When one, however, has been a witneſs to the laborious care of the ſavages, and to the patience which they employ in order to ſucceed in the moſt common arts, one cannot help honouring them with that grateful applauſe which is due to thoſe, who, among us, exert themſelves in bringing manufactures and the arts to perfection. Nothing is neceſſary but ſome new inventions to change the induſtry of a great nation. The invention of the ſtocking-loom, and the more recent diſcovery of ſpinning cotton by machinery, have operated a great revolution in theſe two branches of manufacture. Neither knitting nor ſpinning by the hand can ever in future come in competition with work executed by machines.

The natives of Madagaſcar are called *Malegaches* or *Madecaſſes*. They are portly in their perſons, and riſe above the middle ſtature. The colour of their ſkin is different; among one tribe it is of a deep black, and among another tawny; ſome have a copper-coloured tint; but the colour of the greater part is olive.

All thoſe who are black have woolly hair, like the negroes on the coaſt of Africa. Thoſe who are of a complexion ſimilar to that of the Indians, and Mulattoes, have as lank hair as the Europeans. Their noſe is not flat; they have a broad open forehead; their lips are thin; and their features are regular and agreeable. Theſe people generally diſplay in their countenance a peculiar character of frankneſs and good-nature. They never ſhew any deſire of learning but things which relate to the ſimpleſt wants of mankind; and this deſire is always extremely moderate: they are very indifferent reſpecting knowledge which cannot be obtained without reflection. A natural want of care, and a general apathy renders every thing inſupportable to them that requires attention. Sober, light and active, they ſpend the greater part of their lives in ſleeping, and in amuſing themſelves.

The Malegache, like the ſavage, is deſtitute both of virtue and vice. To him the preſent is every thing; he is ſuſceptible of no kind of foreſight; and he does not even conceive that there are men on the earth who give themſelves uneaſineſs reſpecting futurity.

The Malegache, as well as the ſavage, is abſolute maſter of himſelf; his freedom is confined by no check or reſtraint; he goes wherever he thinks proper, acts as he chooſes, and does what he pleaſes, except what may hurt a fellow-creature. It never entered the mind of a Malegache to attempt to domineer over the thoughts or actions

of any one; each individual has his own peculiar manner of living; and his neighbour never diſturbs him, nor even thinks of attempting it. In this reſpect theſe iſlanders are much wiſer than the Europeans, who have the cruel madneſs to wiſh that all the people of the earth would conform to their cuſtoms, opinions, and even prejudices.

Are ſavages then ſo much to be pitied? Do we find many of them diſcontented with their condition? Does it become us to deſpiſe the ſtate of nature? Are we not ſurrounded by men, who, tired of exiſtence, deteſt it, and ſeek to deprive themſelves of it?

The ſavage confines his wants and deſires to the procuring of what is abſolutely neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence. He enjoys in peace the gifts of nature, and endures with ſilence thoſe evils which are inſeparable from humanity.

The conduct of man in a ſtate of civilization is not ſo reaſonable. Idleneſs and opulence hurry him on to thoſe vain and falſe enjoyments which, in the end, bring upon him new infirmities; while unreſtrained paſſions, and a taſte for the moſt frivolous things, make him continually deviate from the path that leads to happineſs. He who ſeeks it never finds it. Happineſs exiſts, and can exiſt only in ourſelves, and in the good uſe which we make of our reaſon.

Were the ſavages as unhappy as we ſuppoſe, becauſe they are not acquainted with or deſpiſe all thoſe ſuperfluities upon which we ſet ſo much value, why do they refuſe to adopt our manners, our cuſtoms, and our laws?

" Vander Stel, governor of the Cape of Good Hope, having procured a Hottentot " child, cauſed him to be educated according to the manners and cuſtoms of Eu- " rope. Fine clothes were given to him; he was taught ſeveral languages; and his " progreſs fully correſponded with the care taken of his education. Vander Stel, " entertaining great hopes of his talents, ſent him to India under the protection of a " commiſſary general, who employed him with advantage in the company's affairs. " After the death of the commiſſary, this Hottentot returned to the Cape. A few " days after, while on a viſit to ſome Hottentots, his relations, he formed a reſolu- " tion of pulling off his European dreſs, in order to clothe himſelf with a ſheep's " ſkin. He then repaired to Vander Stel, in this new attire, carrying a bundle con- " taining his old clothes, and, preſenting them to the governor, addreſſed him as " follows: ' Be ſo kind, ſir, as to obſerve, that I for ever renounce theſe clothes; I " am determined to live and to die in the religion, manners, and cuſtoms of my anceſ- " tors. The only favour I have to beg of you is, that you will ſuffer me to keep the " necklace and cutlaſs which I now wear.'—Having delivered this ſpeech, he imme- " diately betook himſelf to flight, without waiting for the governor's anſwer, and was " never afterwards ſeen at the Cape*."

Such examples are not uncommon: I could mention ſeveral of the ſame kind among the Madecaſſes.

The inhabitants of Madagaſcar are divided into a great number of tribes. It is ſuppoſed that the population of this iſland may amount to four millions. This evaluation, however, is by far too great; and it is impoſſible to aſcertain the truth on this point, in the preſent ſtate of the iſland, which is divided into a great number of ſocieties, all diſtinct one from the other: each ſociety inhabits that canton which it finds moſt convenient, and governs itſelf according to its own uſages. A tribe is compoſed of ſeveral villages, who have all a particular chief. This chief is ſometimes

* *Hiſtoire des Voyages*, tom. v.

elected,

elected, but for the moſt part ſucceeds by hereditary right. The lands are not divided: they belong to thoſe who take the trouble to till them. Theſe iſlanders are not acquainted either with locks or bolts, and live in a very frugal manner. Hunger regulates their hours of repaſt. It is, however, common to ſee them dine at ten in the morning, and ſup at four in the afternoon. Their food conſiſts of very white rice, exceedingly light, and well boiled, which they beſprinkle with a ſucculent kind of ſoup, made from fiſh or fleſh, and ſeaſoned with pimento, ginger, ſaffron, and a few aromatic herbs. This ſimple diſh is ſerved up in the leaves of the *raven*, which are uſed for plates, diſhes, and ſpoons. Theſe veſſels are always clean, and are renewed at each repaſt.

The Malegaches have two methods only of preparing their food. They either boil it in earthen veſſels of an excellent quality, which they manufacture with great ingenuity, and which they call *panelles*, or they broil it upon the coals.

They catch with much dexterity a great number of birds unknown in Europe, which are as much ſought after by naturaliſts, on account of the beauty of their plumage, as they are eſteemed by travellers, on account of their exquiſite taſte.

The pheaſant, the partridge, the quail, the pintado or guinea fowl, the wild duck, teals of five or ſix different kinds, the black paroquet, the ſpoon-bill, the turtle dove, the black-bird, the green wood-pigeon, pigeons and paroquets of various colours, together with a kind of bat of a monſtrous ſize, afford excellent and delicate nouriſhment to the Europeans. It was not without a conſiderable degree of reluctance, that I firſt ate the bats of Madagaſcar, dreſſed after the manner of a fricaſeed chicken. Theſe animals are ſo hideous, that the very ſight of them frightens our ſailors; yet when one can overcome that diſguſt which is inſpired only by the idea of their figure, their fleſh is found to be much more palatable than that of our beſt fowls.

The Malegaches catch immenſe quantities both of ſea and freſh-water fiſh.

The dorado, breams of different kinds, ſoles, pilchards, much larger but not ſo good or ſo fat as ours, herrings, mackarel, oyſters, muſcles, crabs, and turtle, furniſh food in abundance to the iſlanders who live on the borders of the ſea. The rivers alſo ſupply them with very fine eels, and freſh water mullets, in taſte and excellence preferable to ſea mullets. On theſe coaſts there are a great many kinds of fiſh, which one muſt not eat without trying whether they are poiſonous, by putting a piece of ſilver under their tongue. If the piece of ſilver loſes its colour, and becomes black, thoſe who ſhould eat them would experience the moſt fatal ſymptoms, and be expoſed to great danger. Several of the people belonging to admiral Boſcawen's ſquadron loſt their lives at Rodriguez, by not taking this uſeful precaution.

The French have frequented only the eaſtern coaſt of Madagaſcar. The province of Carnaſſi, in which Fort Dauphine ſtands, is well known to them, and alſo a part of thoſe where Foulepointe, the bay of Antongil, and the iſland of Noſſi Hybrahim, are ſituated.

OF THE SOUTHERN PART OF MADAGASCAR.

THAT part of Madagaſcar where Fort Dauphine is ſituated is very populous. Almoſt all the villages are built upon eminences; they are ſurrounded by two rows of ſtrong paliſades; and within theſe there is a parapet of earth four feet in height. Large bamboos, placed at the diſtance of five feet from each other, and ſunk to a conſiderable depth in the ground, ſerve to ſtrengthen the paliſades: but ſome of theſe villages are fortified alſo by a ditch ten feet in breadth, and ſix in depth.

The

The place where the chief reſides is called *Donac*: it contains two or three buildings ſurrounded by a peculiar kind of incloſure, where the chief lives with his women and his children.

The chiefs always go armed with a fuſee, and a ſtick headed with iron, to the other extremity of which is affixed a ſmall bunch of cow's hair: they cover their heads with a cap made of red woollen cloth. It is by their caps, above all, that they can be diſtinguiſhed by their ſubjects. The authority of theſe chiefs is very much limited; yet in the province of Carcanoſſi they are ſuppoſed to be the proprietors of all the land, which they diſtribute among their ſubjects, in order to be tilled and cultivated. For this they require a ſmall quit rent, which, in the language of the country, is called *faenſa*.

The people of the province of Carcanoſſi are not entirely ignorant of the art of writing. They have even ſome hiſtorical books in the Madecaſſe language: but their learned men, whom they call *Ombiaſſes*, uſe only the Arabic characters. They have among them treatiſes on medicine, geomancy, and judicial aſtrology. Theſe Ombiaſſes are both ſorcerers and phyſicians. The moſt celebrated come from the province of Matatane, in which country magic is preſerved in its full glory. The Matatanes are dreaded by the other natives of the iſland, becauſe they excel in this art of deception. The Ombiaſſes profeſs, in the public ſchools, geomancy and aſtrology. The art of writing has, doubtleſs, been brought into this iſland by the Arabs, who made a conqueſt of it about three hundred years ago. Their paper is made in the valley of Amboule; it is manufactured from the *Papyrus nilotica*, which the Madecaſſes name *Sanga-Sanga*. They pull off with great dexterity the inner bark of this tree; divide it into very thin filaments, which they moiſten with water; and having laid them acroſs each other, in various directions, preſs them well down. They are then boiled in a ſtrong lye of aſhes, and afterwards pounded in a large wooden mortar till they are reduced to a paſte. This paſte is waſhed and drenched with water upon a frame made of bamboos, in the form of a grate. When this operation is finiſhed, the leaves are ſpread out to dry in the ſun, and are glazed with a decoction of rice water, called in the Malegache language *ranou pan*. This paper is of a yellowiſh colour; but when it is well glazed, it does not imbibe the ink. The pens uſed by theſe iſlanders are made of the bamboo.

Their ink is made from a decoction in boiling water of the bark of a tree which they call *arandrato*. This ink is not quite ſo black as ours, but it is naturally more ſhining.

The Arabic language has made ſome progreſs in the north-weſt part of the iſland of Madagaſcar. It is well known that the Arab princes formed large eſtabliſhments along the African coaſt, which, according to geographers, correſpond with the kingdoms of Monomotapa and Mono-Emugi. They took poſſeſſion alſo of the iſland of Comora; and theſe princes, when they emigrated to Africa and the adjacent iſles, did not forget their ancient country. They ſtill indeed carry on an inconſiderable trade with Aden, Maſcate, and the coaſts of Abyſſinia. They have alſo on the ſmall river of Bombetoc, in Madagaſcar, a kind of ſettlement, which enables them to viſit different parts of that iſland, for the purpoſes of commerce. By theſe means they have introduced their language, and left ſome traces of Mahometaniſm among the Malegaches. Formerly, there ſubſiſted between the Arabs and the Portugueſe of India a hatred and animoſity, which were founded ſolely on the zeal theſe two nations entertained for their religion. The Arabs of Comora and Madagaſcar made frequent attacks upon the Portugueſe eſtabliſhments on the coaſt of Africa, which did them great injury: they even deſtroyed ſome of their ſettlements; but this hatred became gradually extinguiſhed, when the decline of the Portugueſe power rendered them leſs the objects of jealouſy. An attempt was made at Goa, about twenty years ago, to take advantage of this ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities,

W. Alexander del.

G. Cooke sc.

Island of Teneriffe Dec.r 21.st 1792.

(The Peak bearing N.o W.t)

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in order to form a Portugueſe ſettlement at Cape St. Sebaſtian, in Madagaſcar. The intention of this eſtabliſhment was merely religious. The Portugueſe thought of forming a miſſion, rather than a factory; but this project was not attended with ſucceſs. M. Boſſe, an inhabitant of the iſle of Bourbon, ſaw the melancholy remains of this eſtabliſhment.

It is ſurpriſing that Mahometaniſm has not made greater progreſs in this iſland, which has been ſo much frequented by the Arabs. However, if we except circumciſion, abſtinence from pork, and ſome few trifling practices, which have very little influence over the conduct of theſe people, the deſcendants of the Arabs themſelves have loſt ſight of the fundamental parts of their religious opinions. They do not believe in a future exiſtence; like the Manichees, they admit of two principles, one ſupremely good and the other extremely wicked. They never addreſs their prayers to the former; but they entertain a great dread of the latter. They are continually doing homage and offering up ſacrifices to him.

The iſland of Madagaſcar is ſo near to the coaſt of Africa, that it is natural to ſuppoſe that it muſt have been peopled from that vaſt continent; but at preſent the different races are ſo intermixed, that it would be vain to attempt to deſcribe all the varieties of them.

One can, however, in this iſland diſtinguiſh the race of real negroes; but it is a matter of more difficulty to diſtinguiſh thoſe who are deſcended from the whites.

The whites, who inhabit the province of Anoſſi and Carcanoſſi, pretend to be deſcended from Imina, the mother of Mahomet. They have aſſumed the name of Zafferahimini. The whites, who inhabit Foulepointe, Noſſi-Hibrahim, and the bay of Antongil, are ſprung, ſome from the pirates, and others from the Jews; for this reaſon, they call themſelves Zaffe-Hibrahim, that is to ſay, the deſcendants of Abraham. Beſides theſe, there is a third kind of whites, who ſay they were ſent to Madagaſcar by the Caliph of Mecca, to inſtruct the Malegaches in the ſecrets of nature, and the religion of Mahomet. Theſe impoſtors ſeized upon the province of Matatane, after they had expelled and maſſacred the Zafferahimini, who governed that diſtrict. They are called Zaffi-Caſimambou. Their complexion is darker than that of the other whites, and their profeſſion is to teach to read and write the Arabic language.

The Zafferahimini, in the province of Anoſſi and Carcanoſſi, believe that they came originally from the ſandy plains on the borders of Mecca. On this account they are called *Ontampaſſemaca*, and are divided into three claſſes, the Rhoandrians, the Anacandrians, and the Ontzatſi. The firſt and moſt honourable claſs, is that of the Rhoandrians. People of this claſs have aſſumed to themſelves the privilege of killing animals. Among ſavages, and people who ſubſiſt by hunting, the trade of a butcher is almoſt always held in great diſtinction. The Rhoandrians are the nobility of the country; and it is always from this claſs that the ſovereign is choſen.

The Anacandrians are deſcended from the Rhoandrians, and a woman of an inferior claſs. For this reaſon, they ſhare with the Rhoandrians the honour and advantage of killing, for the other iſlanders, ſuch animals as are neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence.

The Ontzatſi are the laſt claſs of the Ontampaſſemaca; but they enjoy no particular marks of diſtinction. They are generally brave ſoldiers, ſkilled in the art of war, who can throwa ſtone or an aſſagay with great dexterity, and who ſpend their time in dancing, ſleeping, and amuſing themſelves. They learn from their earlieſt infancy ſome ſongs, containing leſſons of morality, or fables reſpecting their origin.

The native blacks are divided into four claſſes: the Voadziri, the Lohavohits, the Ontzoa, and the Ondeves.

The

The Voadziri, we are aſſured, are the deſcendants of the ancient ſovereigns of the iſland. They are generally pretty rich in ſlaves and flocks; and they are allowed to poſſeſs ſeveral villages. Theſe people muſt be held in great conſideration among the iſlanders of Madagaſcar, for they have preſerved, notwithſtanding the deſpotiſm of the Arabs, who conquered the province of Anoſſi, the right of killing, when they are not in the preſence of a Rhoandrian or an Anacandrian, ſuch animals as belong to their ſubjects. The Lohavohits are much leſs powerful than the Voadziri. They can never poſſeſs more than one village; and, however rich they may be in flocks, they muſt always ſend for a Rhoandrian or an Anacandrian, to kill thoſe animals which they and their ſubjects uſe as food.

The caſte of the Ontzoa comes immediately after that of the Lohavohits, to whom they are nearly related; but they have no kind of authority or privilege. The Ondeves are ſlaves by extraction: in the Malegache language, that word ſignifies *a loſt man*.

The Malegaches preſerve, reſpecting their origin, a fable which correſponds extremely well with the ſubdiviſion I have given of theſe different caſtes.

Such of theſe iſlanders as have any erudition, relate, that the Creator of heaven and earth formed, from the body of the firſt man whilſt he was aſleep, ſeven women. Theſe were the mothers of the different caſtes.

The caſte of the Rhoandrians are the offspring of the firſt man, and the woman formed from his brain. The mother of the Anacandrians, and that of the Ontzatſi, had not ſo noble an origin. The one was formed from his neck; and the other from the left ſhoulder.

The caſte of the Voadziri proceed from the firſt man, and the woman formed out of his right ſide.

The mother of the Lohavohits and the Ontzoa came from the thigh and the calf of the leg; but the extraction of the Ondeves is ſtill meaner. They are ſaid to be deſcended from the ſoles of the feet.

It is doubtleſs a ſubject of melancholy reflection to find amongſt the people who inhabit the large province of Anoſſi ſo ridiculous fables reſpecting the inequality of their condition. What a deplorable abſurdity for ſavages to refuſe being brethren, and to diſdain a common origin! The explanation of this kind of phenomenon can be found only in the conqueſt which the Arabs, the anceſtors of the Rhoandrians, made of Madagaſcar. This foreign race have left, wherever they were diſperſed, the moſt lamentable traces of ſuperſtition. The Rhoandrians are reduced at preſent to a family of about twenty perſons. None of them are to be found but in the province of Anoſſi; and there is reaſon to hope that the iſland will at length be delivered from the government and yoke of theſe conquerors, who have laid it waſte, and infected it with Mahometan practices.

The Malegaches ſubmit to the Rhoandrians only as free ſubjects. They change their chiefs at pleaſure; and they can attach themſelves to any one whom they think capable of ſecuring to them happineſs and tranquillity. Theſe iſlanders are too brave to crouch under a burthenſome yoke; but their extreme credulity is, without doubt, very prejudicial to their liberty, and to the ſucceſs of their enterpriſes.

How is it poſſible that theſe people, involved in the darkneſs of ignorance, can defend themſelves againſt the deception of the Ombiaſſes, when the moſt enlightened nations are ſtill every day dupes to quacks and impoſtors? It would appear as if it were neceſſary that man ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be ſubjected by chimeras. Reaſon is ſeldom ever ſo powerful as to preſerve him entirely from that fondneſs for the mar-

vellous which often hurries him into the moſt ridiculous illuſions; and if in civilized nations he ſometimes artfully conceals this fatal propenſity, it is only becauſe he is aſhamed of his weakneſs.

The Malegaches of the province of Anoſſi are lively, ſenſible, and grateful: they are far from being deſtitute of intelligence or capacity. Theſe iſlanders are paſſionately fond of women; and when in their company never appear ſad, or dejected. Their principal attention is to pleaſe the fair ſex, who, in this country more than in any other, meet with that reſpect and deference which are ſo neceſſary to the happineſs of ſociety. Man here never commands as a deſpot; nor does the woman ever obey as a ſlave. The balance of power inclines even in favour of the women. Their empire is that of beauty, mildneſs, and the graces: for, colour excepted, the Malegache women are handſome. Their perſons are ſlender and genteel; they have pleaſing and delicate features; a ſoft ſmooth ſkin; teeth remarkably white; and fine blue eyes, the pupils of which are brown and ſparkling.

A plurality of wives is not uncommon here among the chiefs, and thoſe who are rich; but they never eſpouſe more than one legally; the reſt are conſidered as concubines. This practice is not attended with diſagreeable conſequences in Madagaſcar; for all theſe women live in harmony together. Beſides, a divorce may take place as often as the conjugal union diſpleaſes either the huſband or the wife. When they part, however, by mutual conſent, they reſtore to each other the property they poſſeſſed before marriage. In Madagaſcar adultery is looked upon as a robbery, and as ſuch is puniſhed. Theſe people, therefore, pay the utmoſt reſpect to marriage; they forewarn ſtrangers to behave with decency to their wives; but they offer them their daughters, and think themſelves much honored when they have children by them. Married women may be known by their hair, which is ſeparated into treſſes, and bound up in the form of a noſegay on the top of the head. Young women ſuffer it to fall careleſsly over their ſhoulders. Huſbands are always in high ſpirits when with their wives; their preſence inſpires them with joy; as ſoon as they perceive them, they begin to dance and to ſing; and they continually repeat that they ſooth the cares of life. The Malegache women appear to be happy, and are generally in good humour. Their lively, cheerful and equal temper is peculiarly pleaſing to the Europeans.

While the Malegaches are at war, their women ſing and dance inceſſantly, throughout the whole day, and even during a part of the night. They imagine that theſe continual dances animate their huſbands, and increaſe their vigour and courage. They ſcarcely allow themſelves time to enjoy their meals. When the war is ended, they aſſemble, at ſun-ſet, and renew their ſinging and dancing, which always begin with much noiſe, and the ſound of various inſtruments. Their ſongs are either panegyrics or ſatires; and appeared to me to intereſt the ſpectators very much. Such ſports are a kind of uſeful leſſons, in which glorious deeds are celebrated, and contemptible actions ridiculed. As ſoon as a woman perceives that her health betrays any ſigns of having had familiar intercourſe with the Europeans, ſhe abſents herſelf from thoſe joyful aſſemblies, in order to avoid the cutting raillery of her companions, and to put herſelf under the care of the phyſicians, or Ombiaſſes. This cuſtom prevents the venereal diſeaſe from ſpreading ſo much in this iſland as it has ſpread in Europe. Beſides, the Ombiaſſes have found out a remedy for this diſorder, which is ſaid to be extremely efficacious. I do not recollect the name of the plant which they uſe; but I know that its leaves reſemble thoſe of the phyllyrea. Theſe phyſicians order the patient to chew and ſwallow it, lying alternately on the back and belly, in a horizontal poſition. The patient muſt not be loaded with clothes; and, in order that perſpiration may not be

impeded, ſhe muſt be ſurrounded, on all ſides, with a ſtrong briſk fire, during the whole time that the remedy acts. The virus of the diſeaſe generally accumulates in the ſoles of the feet; and the abſceſs there formed is ſeldom attended with diſagreeable conſequences. Great care is taken that the heat of the fire may not be too diſagreeable to the patient. Theſe ſavage people thus know how to deliver themſelves happily, and in leſs time than we, from that ſcourge which we introduced amongſt them, and which in Europe occaſions ſo much devaſtation.

Moſt travellers, inſtead of lamenting that the ſavages ever became acquainted with the Europeans, ſeem to take delight in throwing out every kind of invective againſt them. It is thus that they have almoſt always rewarded them for the hoſpitality which they ſo generouſly and diſintereſtedly ſhewed towards us. If you read Flacourt*, you will imagine that the Malegaches are the moſt perverſe, the moſt deceitful, and the moſt fawning of mankind. He does not heſitate to aſſert, that among theſe iſlanders treachery and revenge are accounted virtues; compaſſion and gratitude weakneſſes. Such abſurd declamation, however, can impoſe only on thoſe who have not ſtudied, with Rouſſeau, man in his primitive ſtate.

I have ſtudied with ſome care the character and cuſtoms of the iſlanders of Madagaſcar; I have ſeveral times aſſiſted at their aſſemblies when they were deliberating upon important affairs; I have followed them in their dances, their ſports and their amuſements; and I have always found among them that prudent reſerve which ſecures them from thoſe fatal exceſſes, and thoſe vices, ſo common among poliſhed nations. I was indeed, then ſo young that my obſervations cannot have much weight; but, if my experience is not ſufficient to inſpire confidence, I beg the reader to ſtudy the nature of things, more than the relations of ignorant and unprincipled men, who think they have a right to exerciſe the moſt deſpotic ſway over the inhabitants of a foreign land.

If the Malegaches have ſometimes employed treachery, they were forced to it by the tyranny of the Europeans. The weak have no other arms to protect them from the attacks of the ſtrong. Can theſe people defend themſelves by any other means againſt our bayonets and artillery? They are deſtitute of knowledge and reſources; yet we take advantage of their weakneſs to make them yield to our caprices: they receive the moſt rigorous treatment in return for the hoſpitality which they have ſo generouſly ſhewn to us; and we call them traitors and cowards, when we force them to break the yoke with which it has pleaſed us to load them.

Theſe melancholy truths are too well proved, by the ruin of the different eſtabliſhments which the Europeans have attempted to form in Madagaſcar.

In 1642, Captain Picault obtained for himſelf and aſſociates the excluſive privilege of trading to Madagaſcar; and at the ſame epoch a grant of the iſland was given to a powerful company, by letters patent from the crown.

One Pronis therefore was commiſſioned to take poſſeſſion of Madagaſcar in the name of the king, with orders to form an eſtabliſhment in ſome fertile ſpot, which might be ſuſceptible of defence, and of an eaſy and ſafe acceſs. In conſequence of theſe orders, he made choice of the village of Manghefia, which is ſituated at the extremity of the province of Carcanoſſi, in the latitude of 24° 30′. This place appeared

* He was director-general of the French Eaſt-India Company, and in 1648 had the management of an expedition in the iſland of Madagaſcar, which, like all the preceding, proved unſucceſsful. This expedition, however, procured a very minute account of the iſland, which Flacourt was enabled to give, from having reſided in it ten years. It was printed at Paris, in one volume quarto, with figures deſigned and engraven by the author, and was dedicated to the ſubintendant Fouquet, who had the principal ſhare in the company then formed for carrying on a trade to the Eaſt Indies. T.

to him as likely to anſwer the propoſed end in every reſpect. The numerous herds of horned cattle which frequented this part of the country, and its rich fields of rice and potatoes, ſuffered no uneaſineſs to remain in his mind reſpecting proviſions. A navigable river, which takes its riſe at the bottom of mount Siliva, waters meadows of an immenſe extent in the neighbourhood: timber of all kinds fit for building houſes, or conſtructing ſhips, may be found in abundance cloſe to commodious docks; and the harbour is perfectly ſheltered from the ſea winds by the ſmall iſland of St. Lucia.

Scarcely had Pronis eſtabliſhed himſelf at Manghefia, when Captain Reſimon brought him ſeventy people from France, to reinforce his ſmall colony. But the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate in the ſpace of a month deſtroyed one third of the whole. Pronis being then obliged to abandon this firſt eſtabliſhment, notwithſtanding its advantageous ſituation, retired precipitately with the remains of his colony to the peninſula of Tholangar, the air of which is more ſalubrious.

This peninſula, which is ſituated in the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, increaſes inſenſibly in breadth, and might eaſily be ſecured from any attack of the iſlanders by redoubts and paliſades. The fort built here, the elevation of which above the ſea is an hundred and fifty feet, commands the harbour, ſo that an enemy at anchor would not long be able to withſtand the fire of its batteries. A bold ſhore ſurrounded with breakers renders it very difficult to land here; and acceſs to the fort would be impracticable, were it ſtrengthened by ſome additional works. This fort, called Fort Dauphin, is of an oblong figure, and is ſurrounded with good walls built of lime and ſand, covered with ſtrong cement: it was thought needleſs to encloſe it on the ſide towards the harbour. The anchoring ground is excellent: a ſhip here would ſooner break her cables than drive on her anchors: but the ſea winds, and above all the frequent and ſtrong north-eaſt breezes, are very troubleſome to ſhips moored in this port, the entrance of which is bounded on the ſouth by Cape Ravenate, and on the north by the point of Itapera. The beautiful river of Fanſhere, which has its ſource at the bottom of the mountains of Manghabey, runs into the ſea two leagues from Fort Dauphin, and very near to Cape Ravenate. This river ſupplies water to a large lake, which the iſlanders call the lake of Amboule. It is ten thouſand fathoms in circumference, and its mean depth is about forty feet.

The lake of Amboule would form an excellent harbour, were not the channel by which it communicates with the ſea often ſhut up by ſhifting ſands.

There are certain times when large veſſels might eaſily be carried into this baſin: but ſuch opportunities are rare. Before theſe occaſions can happen, the river, by a ſudden ſwell, muſt have waſhed away the bar of ſand which the winds and the waves are every day accumulating at its mouth, and which is formed in that ſpot where the current of the water is in equilibrio with the force of the tide. It is not, however, impoſſible to open that paſſage, and to clear away the ſand-bank which prevents ſhips from entering this excellent harbour.

To effect this, the hulls of ſome old veſſels laden with ballaſt ought to be ſunk at certain diſtances, and in a direction which local obſervations made with great care could alone point out. Theſe incumbrances would ſerve as ſo many foundations to a new ſand-bank, which would be formed from the quantities daily waſhed in by the ſea. After this preliminary operation was finiſhed, it would be neceſſary to wait ſome time, until the ſand-bank was pretty well conſolidated to withſtand the force of the river, which, when increaſed in ſtrength and quantity, might produce the effect of a large ſluice. The bank employed to withſtand the current being conſtructed in ſuch a

manner as to break of itſelf, the violence of the ſtream would not fail to cleanſe the mouth of the river, and to render the entrance of the lake practicable.

Every method employed to make moles in the ſea might be attended with advantage in accompliſhing the object here propoſed. If I have given the preference to that of uſing the hulls of old ſhips, it is becauſe it appears to me to be the moſt commodious, the moſt expeditious, and the leaſt expenſive. Beſides, an experiment of this nature could not fail of being uſeful and inſtructive, whatever might be its ſucceſs. Veſſels, when ſunk, are maſſes ſo enormous and ſolid, on account of the care taken to bind all their parts together, that I do not think it poſſible to ſubſtitute for them, in moles, and works deſtined to withſtand the fury of the ſea, any other bodies more capable of reſiſting the violence of the waves. The river Fanſhere is navigable for boats to the diſtance of from fifteen to twenty leagues from its mouth. The labour neceſſary to bring the navigation of this river to perfection would be very inconſiderable.

The point of Itapera, which is to the north of Fort Dauphin, encloſes, on the ſouthern ſide, the great bay of Loucar. The iſland of St. Clair ſhelters it from the ſea winds, and prevents the ſmall river of Itapera from being choked up with ſand, like that of Fanſhere.

The port is on the leeward ſide of the iſland; but the anchoring ground here is little frequented by navigators, becauſe the bay of Loucar abounds with ſhoals and quickſands.

The peninſula of Tholangar was ſo much the more favourable to the eſtabliſhment of Pronis, as the rich and fertile valley of Amboule, and the proximity of ſeveral navigable rivers, freed him from all uneaſineſs reſpecting the means of ſubſiſting. Mines of iron and ſteel of an excellent quality, hemp, reſinous gums, pitch and tar, and timber fit for building houſes, or conſtructing ſhips, all found here in abundance, were advantages which a wiſe and enlightened adminiſtration would not have ſuffered themſelves to neglect. Pronis, however, was a man deſtitute of talents and induſtry. The indolence in which he lived, as well as the Frenchmen under his command, involved the colony in all thoſe diſorders which an imprudent conduct uſually produces. Licentiouſneſs was ſucceeded by a ſpirit of revolt; and thoſe who owed ſubmiſſion and obedience to their chief ſoon put him in irons. In this ſtate of captivity, he continued ſix months. When releaſed from his impriſonment by a veſſel which had arrived from France, with ſuch proviſions as he ſtood moſt in need of, he rendered himſelf guilty of a new crime, by publicly ſelling to Vander Meſter, the governor of Mauritius, at preſent called the Iſle of France, all the unfortunate Malegaches who were in the ſervice of the eſtabliſhment. What raiſed the indignation of the iſlanders to the higheſt pitch upon this occaſion was, that there were amongſt theſe ſlaves ſixteen women of the race of the Lohavohits.

When the company were informed of this ſhameful conduct, they deprived Pronis of his commiſſion. Flacourt was choſen to ſucceed him; but he did not arrive at Fort Dauphin till towards the end of December 1648. As he has publiſhed a minute account of every thing which took place under his adminiſtration, I ſhall not here trace out a picture of the cruelty, injuſtice, and oppreſſion, which that governor exerciſed towards the unfortunate iſlanders. In 1661 he ſent forty Frenchmen, followed by a body of armed blacks, to burn and ravage the fertile country of Fanſhere. The manner in which Flacourt violated that hoſpitality which had been ſo generouſly ſhewn to him, cannot be defended in an enlightened age. I am inclined to believe, that every

every man, hereafter, who has the leaſt regard for virtue or humanity, will fly from foreign lands, and renounce every commercial advantage, rather than imitate the barbarous conduct of this governor. Inſtead of making ſavage nations wear our chains, let us impart to them our ſciences, and our knowledge. People ſunk in the darkneſs of ignorance, and intimidated by the ſuperiority of our arms, cannot certainly avoid the yoke which we are pleaſed to lay upon them: but what right is more iniquitous than that of force? And how dare we at preſent accuſe ſavage nations of treachery, when, harraſſed by our tyranny, they have only attempted to avenge themſelves for our ſeverity? If Flacourt knew better than Pronis how to enforce obedience from the French under his command, he did not, however, ſhew that he was much better acquainted with the principles of the laws of nature: he was unjuſt and cruel towards a people, who being the proprietors of the country, ought to have given laws to him, inſtead of receiving them. But let us leave *Flacourt's Hiſtory* to thoſe who may have courage to read it; and let us ſee whether his ſucceſſors were leſs inhuman.

Fort Dauphin was burnt in 1655, and was not rebuilt till the year 1663. Chamargou, who was then governor, ſent La Caſe to explore that part of the iſland which lies to the north of the country of the Matanes. This commiſſion La Caſe executed with much intelligence. It may not be here improper to give ſome account of the character of this man, whoſe memory is ſtill celebrated among theſe people. La Caſe was only a fictitious name; that of his family was Le Vacher; and he was born at Rochelle. On his arrival at Fort Dauphin, the French were held in no kind of eſtimation among the iſlanders. After great expences, that eſtabliſhment was in a ſtate of the moſt deplorable decline. La Caſe, however, undertook to revive the conſequence of the French nation; and in this he ſucceeded. By a great number of victories he acquired the ſurname of *Dian Pouſſe*; and no greater honour could have been conferred upon him by the Malegaches: for *Dian Pouſſe* is the name of a chief who formerly conquered the iſland, and who is even yet held in great veneration among theſe people.

The French, alone, withheld from La Caſe that juſtice which was due to his valour and good conduct. The governor of Fort Dauphin, jealous of the glory he had acquired, by executing, in an able manner, thoſe difficult commiſſions which had been aſſigned to him, refuſed either to reward or to promote him. The ſovereign of the province of Amboule, named Dian-Raſſitate, took advantage of the juſt reſentment of La Caſe, and invited him to enter into his ſervice. Five Frenchmen accompanied him, and abandoned Fort Dauphin. Dian-Nong, Dian-Raſſitate's daughter, having conceived a violent affection for La Caſe, offered him her hand with the conſent of her father; and this chief, tottering on the brink of the grave through age and infirmities, had the conſolation of ſecuring the happineſs of his ſubjects, by rendering his ſon-in-law abſolute maſter of the rich and fertile province of Amboule. When La Caſe married Dian-Nong, he refuſed the title and honours which, in that country, are attached to the ſovereign power. He wiſhed only to be conſidered as the firſt ſubject of his wife, who was declared ſovereign after the death of her father. La Caſe, beloved by Dian-Nong, who, to a charming countenance, added great courage, and the rareſt qualities, eſteemed and reſpected by his family, and the Amouleſe, to whom he was a father, could only offer up ineffectual vows for the proſperity of the French eſtabliſhment at Fort Dauphin.

He was not ſuffered to go to the relief of his countrymen, whom he knew to be in the utmoſt diſtreſs. Chamargou had ſet a price upon his head, as well as upon thoſe of the five Frenchmen who had followed him to Amboule. The chiefs, who reſided in

in the neighbourhood of the fort, highly irritated to find that an attempt ſhould be made againſt the life of a man for whom they entertained the higheſt veneration, unanimouſly refuſed to ſupply the colony with proviſions. An abſolute famine, therefore, was now added to increaſe the deſolation occaſioned by fevers and other diſtempers, which had reduced the number of the French to eighty men.

The eſtabliſhment at Fort Dauphin was on the point of being totally ruined, when the arrival of a veſſel, commanded by Kercadio, a gentleman of Brittany, ſuſpended for ſome time the evils with which the colony was afflicted.

Diſorder and confuſion had never ceaſed to prevail among the French from the time that they firſt formed a ſettlement in Madagaſcar. The iſlanders deteſted, and even began to deſpiſe them. They were incenſed at our tyranny; and our inteſtine diviſions had weakened that ſentiment of terror, with which the ſuperiority of our arms had at firſt inſpired them. Captain Kercadio ſaw, therefore, that the aſſiſtance he had brought with him from France could not be of long duration. That brave officer, who was free from the prejudices of his ſtation, and the harſhneſs peculiar to his profeſſion, judged it neceſſary to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between Chamargou and La Caſe. He repreſented to the former, that he could no longer conſider, as his ſubaltern, a man, who, by his marriage with Dian-Nong, had become not only abſolute maſter of the province of Amboule, but ſovereign alſo of the whole iſland of Madagaſcar. No madneſs, indeed, could have been attended with more fatal conſequences to the French, than that of the head of a languiſhing colony obſtinately perſiſting to treat as a rebel, a perſon as powerful as he was reſpected, and who, by a ſingle word, might have occaſioned his deſtruction. Deſpairing that his reaſoning would have any effect on the prejudiced and inflamed mind of Chamargou, Kercadio applied to an intelligent counſellor, who, through a very ſingular accident, had embarked in his veſſel, and earneſtly begged him as his friend, to employ his abilities, in endeavouring to convince the governor what were his real intereſts, and thoſe of the colony entruſted to his care.

If the counſellor ſucceeded in this difficult enterprize, he was leſs indebted for the accompliſhment of his wiſhes, to his eloquence, than to the honour of being known to and protected by the marſhal de la Meilleraye. As ſoon as he informed Chamargou that he ſhould be indiſpenſably obliged to give an account to the marſhal of the cauſe of the misfortunes, and perhaps of the entire loſs of Fort Dauphin, the governor, who had been hitherto ſo haughty and intractable, who braved famine and death, and who was on the point of facrificing to his deſire of revenge the melancholy remains of the colony under his command, became timorous and ſubmiſſive. The name of the marſhal alone ſtruck him with terror. He ſent to beg that Kercadio would forgive his obſtinacy; and did every thing in his power to induce that officer to bring about a reconciliation between him and La Caſe; offering, at the ſame time, to make every reparation that might be required. Kercadio ſet out, therefore, for Amboule, accompanied by the counſellor. The negociation with which he was charged, experienced neither difficulty nor delay. La Caſe deſpiſed the vain efforts of his enemies. This reſpectable character had no ſtronger deſire than that of being uſeful to his countrymen. He haſtened to their aſſiſtance, as ſoon as he had permiſſion; peace and abundance followed him to Fort Dauphin; and during the time that he directed it by his counſel, diſorder and want ceaſed to afflict that eſtabliſhment.

Dian-Nong behaved with no leſs generoſity than La Caſe; and ſuch is the force of virtue, that there was not a ſingle Frenchman who was not ſenſibly affected by the heroic courage of this woman, who had ſufficient command over herſelf to baniſh all remembrance

remembrance of the injuries done to her husband. She gave way to that sweet impulse or rather innate desire, which inclines man to assist his fellow-creatures, when he sees them in distress.

The counsellor shared with his friend Kercadio the happiness of having brought back peace and plenty to Fort Dauphin; but without forgetting the detestable stratagem by which he had been torn from his business, and his favourite pursuits. He had been wandering for several years on the stormy ocean, without any particular object in view; and was traversing distant countries, contrary to his interest and inclination. His wishes, directed solely to his native soil, could not be accomplished without experiencing new distresses. The bitter remembrance of the manner in which his confidence had been abused, in order to give him up to despair, still aggravated the severity of his fate. Ye, who are so often dupes to the false appearances and deceitful looks of those impostors who found their fortunes on your credulity, may this relation be useful to you, and preserve you from the misfortune of heedlessly trusting yourselves into the hands of those worthless men, who do not flatter and caress you but because they know you, and through motives which your vanity does not permit you to perceive. This counsellor, commissioned to execute an order which his family had solicited and obtained for transporting his brother to Madagascar, on account of his profligacy, was so imprudent as to entrust himself, at Nantz, to one of those officious men who have the perfiduous talent of inspiring strangers with confidence, and of profiting by their simplicity. This wretch thought it a harmless joke to kidnap the counsellor, in the room of his brother whom he suffered to escape, and by this double fraud he stripped both of them of their money.

But to return to my subject. La Case remained no longer at Fort Dauphin than the time absolutely necessary for re-establishing in it abundance and peace. His wife, Dian-Nong, was much disgusted with the place; and her own private affairs recalled her to Amboule. Besides, Chamargou, more jealous of La Case's success than grateful for his services, would not have failed to do every thing in his power to render his life uncomfortable. Of this La Case could entertain the less doubt, as the governor did not deign to join his entreaties to those of the rest of the colony, in order to induce him to remain at the fort. At the moment, however, when the French, to the number of two hundred, were levying considerable taxes from the fertile province of Carcanossi, and giving law to the islanders, a cruel war again broke out to deluge that fine country in blood, and to render the assistance of La Case necessary. This war, more fatal to the French than the Malegaches, was occasioned by the inconsiderate zeal of a missionary. Dian Manangue, sovereign of the province of Mandrarey, a powerful, bold, and spirited chief, and a faithful ally to the French, had received in his *donac*, with every mark of distinction, one Father Stephen, a Lazarist, and superior of the mission of Madagascar.

This father, charmed with the excellent qualities of the chief, imagined that it would be an easy matter to convert him. When Dian Manangue perceived his intention, he thought it a mark of respect due to the friendship which he had vowed to the French, and above all, to the recommendation of La Case, to inform the zealous missionary that all his efforts would be fruitless. These people are fond of making orations, and of haranguing in public. Dian Manangue, therefore, assembled his women and family, in order that he might declare publicly that nothing was capable of making him renounce his ancient customs. "I pity," said he, "your folly, in wishing, that at my age "I should sacrifice my happiness and the pleasures which surround me in my *donac* to "your will. I pity you for being deprived of that which soothes the cares of life. You

"permit

" permit me to live with one woman: but, if the poſſeſſion of one woman be a good,
" why is the poſſeſſion of a numerous ſeraglio an evil, when peace and harmony prevail
" among thoſe who compoſe it? Do you obſerve among us any ſymptoms of jealouſy,
" or ſeeds of hatred?—No—All my women are good—they all endeavour to render
" me happy; and I am more their ſlave than their maſter.

" But if your maxims are ſo uſeful and neceſſary, why do not your countrymen at
" the fort follow them?—They ought to know much better than I the merit and value
" of your words. Believe me, my friend, I will not deceive you; it is impoſſible for
" me to change my cuſtoms; I will never quit them but with my life. I, however,
" give you leave to exerciſe your zeal on the people who are ſubject to my authority;
" and I give you the ſame power over my family and my children. But this per-
" miſſion will be of very little avail, unleſs you can ſuit your precepts to our manners
" and uſages."

Father Stephen made no other reply to this ſpeech than to order the chief, in a peremptory tone, to diſmiſs all his women, except one. This miſſionary even ſo far loſt ſight of moderation, that he had the temerity to threaten that he would cauſe the French to carry away all his women, if he delayed for a moment, to put his order in execution. It may be readily imagined, that a behaviour ſo violent and unexpected muſt have occaſioned a general indignation and revolt in the *donac*. The women fell upon the miſſionary; loaded him with reproaches and blows; and in their fury they would have undoubtedly ſtrangled him, had not Dian Manangue, notwithſtanding the agitation he was under, come ſpeedily to his aſſiſtance. The chief was obliged to make uſe of all his authority before he was permitted to remain alone a ſingle moment with this father, whom he diſmiſſed after giving him a rich preſent. Beſides, he aſked of the miſſionary a reſpite of fifteen days to determine on the grand affair of his converſion: but this delay, ſolicited with ſo much earneſtneſs by the chief, and with difficulty granted by the miſſionary, was intended to anſwer a very different purpoſe. Dian Manangue wiſhed to gain time, in order to quit the province of Mandrarey, without dread of being purſued by the French; and, when he thought he could do this in ſafety, he departed with his women and ſlaves, to ſeek ſhelter in the country of the Machicores, which is twenty-five leagues diſtant from Fort Dauphin.

His departure, however, was not ſo private as to eſcape the knowledge of Father Stephen, for he had ſpies even in the *donac* of the chief. In vain, therefore, did Chamargou endeavour to retain him. The miſſionary, conſulting only his zeal, formed the raſh reſolution of following Dian Manangue to the country of the Machicores. A brother of St. Lazarus, and another Frenchman, with ſix ſervants or domeſtics, loaded with ſacerdotal habits, accompanied him in this dangerous expedition.

In the firſt week of Lent, 1664, Father Stephen joined Dian Manangue, after experiencing much fatigue and a multitude of diſaſters. The chief, more aſtoniſhed than alarmed at the courage of the miſſionary, behaved to him with the moſt profound reverence, and received him in a manner which he had no title to expect. In vain did he beg him to renounce the project which he had formed of converting him; obſerving that his manners and uſages were an inſuperable obſtacle to ſuch a change. Father Stephen, inſtead of making any reply, ſnatched from him his *oli* and his amulets, threw them into the fire, and declared open war againſt him. It need be no matter of ſurpriſe that this violent conduct of the miſſionary ſhould occaſion his deſtruction, as well as that of thoſe who attended him. Dian Manangue cauſed them all to be inſtantly butchered; and, at the ſame time, ſwore, that he would entirely extirpate the French from the iſland. In order that he might execute this fatal vow with more certainty,

the chief ſent his ſon, who had been baptiſed, to La Vatangue, his brother-in-law, to acquaint him with the motives which had induced him to free himſelf from the tyranny of the French, whoſe inſidious deſigns aimed at nothing leſs than to aboliſh the manners, uſages, and religion of the country; adding, that his *oli* (a kind of amulet conſulted by theſe iſlanders) had commanded him to defend them, even at the hazard of his life; and he aſſured La Vatangue, that the French had rendered themſelves incapable of conquering, ſince they had dared to proceed to ſuch criminal exceſſes. The irritated chief gave notice to his brother-in-law, alſo, that Chamargou had ſent forty Frenchmen to the eaſtern coaſt, and that he might eaſily ſurpriſe and maſſacre them. "I ſend you my ſon," continued he at the end of the letter, "to be at the head of "the army which you diſpatch to attack and deſtroy the French: it is my *oli* that "inſpires me; and you are well acquainted with the misfortunes which come upon us "when we do not faithfully obey its mandates. My ſon will give you a particular "account of every thing that has paſſed; and you will, no doubt, be filled with in"dignation when you know the perfidious behaviour of theſe ſtrangers towards their "moſt faithful ally." La Vatangue was extremely happy on receiving this intelligence of the expedition of the forty Frenchmen; but he had only time to be upon his guard; for two days after the arrival of his nephew, his ſpies brought him word, that the French were encamped at the diſtance of a league from his village.

This chief ſent them a preſent of rice, honey, and four oxen, begging them to inform him what was the intention of their journey, becauſe he had never ſeen ſuch a numerous body of Europeans in the interior parts of the iſland. La Forge, who commanded this detachment, returned for anſwer, that he had orders to ſubject his country to the dominion of Fort Dauphin. The chief, alarmed at ſo unexpected an enterprize, requeſted peace; offered to give him four hundred oxen; and obſerved that his country of Haye-Fontchy was at too great a diſtance from the fort to excite the hatred or jealouſy of the French. La Forge rejected with diſdain the propoſals of the chief, and had the madneſs to aſk twenty thouſand oxen as the price of a peace. To ſo extravagant a demand La Vatangue made no reply; but whilſt theſe adventurers were ranging through a field of ſugar canes, he cauſed them all to be ſlaughtered.

The particulars of the diſaſter which befel theſe forty adventurers, ſent out by Chamargou, were known by a Portugueſe, who was the only perſon that eſcaped, by taking ſhelter in a large marſh covered with reeds and ſtagnated water. In this place he remained two days, concealed up to the neck in mud. The iſlanders, who purſued him, fearing that they would ſink in the earth, which was ſoft and ſpungy, ſet fire to the reeds, in order that they might oblige the Portugueſe to come forth; but under cover of the thick ſmoke, occaſioned by this conflagration, he had the good fortune to eſcape. The iſlanders wiſhed much to deſtroy this man, that Chamargou might not receive intelligence of the fate of his companions, and come to attack them before the arrival of Dian Manangue, who was ſtill with his army in the country of the Machicores.

The Portugueſe, related that their expedition had been attended with ſucceſs till they fell in with La Vatangue. Their number ſpread terror and conſternation throughout all the villages where they paſſed: the chiefs paid, without heſitation, the contributions which were exacted; and they were on the point of reaping the fruit of a long and fatiguing journey, when the inſatiable rapacity of their commander occaſioned their ruin, and the loſs of their rich booty.

Chamargou, in this relation, ought to have perceived the juſt puniſhment of theſe unfortunate plunderers, who were going to ravage countries over which they had no

kind of authority: but this governor, inſtead of profiting by the leſſon given him, formed the fatal reſolution of carrying fire and the ſword amongſt the Malegaches. He ſet out, therefore, at the head of thirty Frenchmen, followed by a ſmall army of Manambouleſe; ſlaughtered without diſtinction both women and children; ſet fire to all the villages which he found in the courſe of his march; and took poſſeſſion of the *donac* of Dian Manangue. Father Mannier, the only miſſionary who remained, carried his ſtandard during this bloody and inhuman expedition, on the particulars of which I ſhall not farther enlarge. An eye-witneſs, who was afterwards provincial commiſſary of artillery, publiſhed an account of it in 1722, in a work entitled, *A Voyage to Madagaſcar, by M. V.*

The manuſcripts which furniſhed me with materials for this relation, do not agree in every point with that author; but it appears that Chamargou was obliged, by an abſolute ſcarcity of proviſions, to make an attempt to regain Fort Dauphin. When he arrived at the great river Mandrarey, and was endeavouring to croſs it, Dian Manangue, who had watched his motions, appeared on the oppoſite bank with an army of ſix thouſand men to oppoſe his paſſage. This chief, bearing the ſurplice and ſquare cap of the miſſionary Stephen at the head of his forces, braved the French, who were on the point of periſhing by famine. In the mean time La Caſe arrived, accompanied by ten Frenchmen, and three thouſand Androfaces, who were his ſubjects, or rather the ſubjects of his wife, Dian-Nong. As ſoon as this brave man came up he ruſhed into the water, ordered his people to fire upon the enemy, and by the terror of his name, rather than the ſuperiority of his arms, forced them to quit the borders of the river, and to betake themſelves to flight. Though the approach of night ought to have prevented him, he then ſet forward to purſue them. Having diſcovered Dian Manangue, amidſt a numerous body of the iſlanders, he wiſhed to throw himſelf upon him: but Rabazé, a friend and favourite of the chief, had the courage to ſtop him, and to ſacrifice his life to ſave that of his ſovereign. The darkneſs of night only put an end to the carnage: but on the concluſion of this bloody war Fort Dauphin was again reduced to the moſt deplorable ſtate of diſtreſs. The chiefs ceaſed to ſend in proviſions, and even intercepted thoſe which the garriſon endeavoured to procure from diſtant parts. Dian Manangue, who pretended to be ſovereign lord of a great part of the iſland, threatened our eſtabliſhment with a formidable army; and his preſence alone would have occaſioned a famine, had it not been for five thouſand cattle, which La Caſe found means to convey into the fort. All the expeditions of this extraordinary man were attended with the moſt complete ſucceſs. With thirteen Frenchmen, and two thouſand Androfaces, he defeated Dian Ravaras, who was at the head of an army of eighteen thouſand men, and took from him twenty-five thouſand oxen, and five thouſand ſlaves. The great celebrity of La Caſe made the council of the company, at length, ſee the neceſſity of employing and rewarding a man, who had rendered them ſuch ſignal ſervices, and who was ſtill capable of rendering them much greater.

They, therefore, ſent him a lieutenant's commiſſion; made him at the ſame time a preſent of a ſword, and congratulated him on his ſucceſs.

La Caſe charged M. de Rennefort, who was returning to France, to thank the company for the new marks of favour conferred on him, and to inform them, that he would undertake the conqueſt of the iſland with two hundred Frenchmen, and realize the other advantageous projects, which he had already had the honour of propoſing, if they would agree that he ſhould be accountable to them only for his conduct. It does not, however, appear that the company adopted this plan, which was

more that of a brave ſoldier than of an enlightened governor; for an honeſt man reſpects the laws of hoſpitality, and laments to ſee the principles of juſtice and humanity violated for the ſordid intereſts of commerce.

In 1666, the marquis of Mondevergue was appointed by the king to the general command of all the French eſtabliſhments ſituated on the other ſide of the equinoctial; and Caron and La Faye had, at the ſame time, the management of all the commerce of the Indies. The marquis of Mondevergue arrived at Fort Dauphin on the 10th of March 1667, in a veſſel of thirty-ſix guns, and was followed by a ſmall fleet of nine ſhips, on board which were two directors of the Indies, an attorney general, four companies of infantry, ten chiefs of colonies, eight merchants, and thirty-two women.

As ſoon as Mondevergue arrived, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed admiral, and governor-general of the French colonies in the Eaſt. He was, however, obliged to have recourſe to La Caſe, in order to procure proviſions for his fleet. La Caſe, ever ready to ſerve his country, provided for the whole; and beſides this, brought about a reconciliation between the French and Dian Manangue, whoſe bravery and intelligence were not to be deſpiſed. This chief, who at the fort was ſtyled the prince of Mandrary, ſwore obedience and fidelity to the governor general.

Caron, who was a Dutchman, did not remain long at Fort Dauphin. He ſet out for Surat, with a great part of the fleet, in order to take the management of that ſettlement.

La Faye, however, continued at Fort Dauphin; and in the month of November 1670, another fleet of ten ſhips arrived, commanded by M. de la Haye, captain of the Navarre, a veſſel of fifty-ſix guns. All theſe ſhips belonged to the king, and were equipped with the war complement of arms and men. La Haye aſſumed the quality of general and admiral, with the authority of viceroy, and made Chamargou ſecond in command, and La Caſe major of the iſland. At this period, the company had given up to the king the ſovereignty of Madagaſcar.

The Marquis of Mondevergue, to whoſe option it had been left either to remain governor of the iſland, or to return to France, choſe the latter courſe, and embarked in a ſhip called the Mary, in the month of February 1671. On his arrival at Port Louis, he found a commiſſary, who had orders to make him give an account of his adminiſtration. The company were much incenſed againſt him; for La Haye, with whom he had quarrelled, had aſperſed his character, and accuſed him of ſeveral miſdemeanors. Though the public voice was in his favour, this brave officer, who had governed the iſland with prudence, and re-eſtabliſhed peace in it, was obliged to yield to the ſuperior influence of his adverſary, and died a priſoner in the caſtle of Saumur.

La Haye, whoſe authority was unlimited, now reſolved to deliver himſelf from thoſe chiefs who gave him offence; and, accordingly, propoſed to Chamargou and La Caſe to declare war againſt Dian Ramouſaye who had come to render him homage. This chief, who reſided neareſt to Fort Dauphin, was ſummoned to ſend immediately to the fort all the arms which he had received from the French. It may be readily conjectured, that this demand was followed by an abſolute refuſal. La Haye, therefore, ordered Chamargou and La Caſe to beſiege Dian Ramouſaye in his village. They had under their command ſeven hundred Frenchmen, and ſix hundred Malegaches: but their attack was not attended with ſucceſs; for Dian Ramouſaye made ſo vigorous a defence, that the French were obliged to retire. This check did not appear natural; and it was believed that Chamargou, diſcontented at being only ſecond in command, in a country where he had always been firſt, had contributed not a little to the failure of an enterprize, the injuſtice of which they had not even deigned to conceal. How-

ever this may be, La Haye was ſo much dejected by the miſcarriage of his firſt expedition, that he reſolved to abandon Fort Dauphin, and to carry his forces to Surat, after having viſited the iſland of Maſcarenhas, ſince called the Iſle of Bourbon.

The pride of this governor was very much hurt, to think that the whole extent of his authority was not ſufficient to prevent Chamargou, who had the ſuperiority over him in point of local knowledge, from being able, by ſecret machinations, to counteract, at his pleaſure, the operations which he wiſhed to carry into effect.

La Haye's departure was followed by the death of the brave La Caſe; and it was not difficult to foreſee, that the loſs of this celebrated man would infallibly occaſion that of the colony.

At this period, it was well known, that the iſlanders breathed nothing but vengeance againſt us, and eagerly ſought an opportunity of retaliating for our injuſtice and oppreſſion. Our yoke was become odious and inſupportable to them. Hiſtorians, for the honour of civilized nations, ought to bury in oblivion every detail of the atrocious cruelties exerciſed againſt thoſe people, whom they brand with the odious epithets of barbarians, traitors, and thieves, becauſe they have revolted againſt ſome European adventurers, whoſe leaſt crime was a violation of the ſacred rights of hoſpitality.

If the eſtabliſhment at Fort Dauphin ſubſiſted ſo long, notwithſtanding the deteſtable adminiſtration of theſe rulers; it was the name alone of La Caſe which kept the Malegaches under ſubjection to ſo vicious a conſtitution. The memory of that truly extraordinary man is ſtill held in great veneration among theſe iſlanders. His bravery, joined to more valuable qualities, and above all, the alliance he contracted by his marriage with Dian-Nong, inſpired them with ſo much reſpect, that it was only after his death, that all theſe chiefs united againſt the wretched remains of the French adventurers, whoſe temporary ſucceſſes were always followed by memorable diſaſters.

La Caſe, without doubt, was of too warlike a diſpoſition, and this is a ſtain upon his memory: but all people, almoſt, have a ſecret propenſity to this deſtructive ſcourge, which deſolates the moſt beautiful countries in the world, and occaſions a thouſand times more evils to mankind than all the other ſcourges united. What man is there whom a paſſion for glory does not, ſometimes, ſo far intoxicate as to make him forget every ſentiment of juſtice and humanity? It is very difficult for a brave ſoldier to make his conduct, in every reſpect, that of a philoſopher; and, under this point of view, it would, perhaps, be unjuſt to paſs a ſevere cenſure upon all the actions of him who in Madagaſcar did moſt honour to his nation.

Chamargou ſurvived La Caſe only a ſhort time, and was ſucceeded by La Breteſche, in the command of the ſettlement. La Breteſche was La Caſe's ſon-in-law; but he poſſeſſed neither the talents nor the influence of his predeceſſor. Finding that it was impoſſible for him to preſerve his authority, amidſt the diviſion and diſorder which prevailed between the French and the natives, he took advantage of a ſhip which had touched at the iſland, and which was going to Surat, to embark for that colony with his whole family. Several miſſionaries, and ſome Frenchmen, followed his example; but ſcarcely had the veſſel ſet ſail, when a ſignal of diſtreſs appeared hoiſted on the fort. The captain of the veſſel immediately ordered his boats to be launched, and proceeded towards the ſhore; but he arrived only time enough to pick up, below the walls, a few miſerable wretches who had eſcaped a general maſſacre of the garriſon, which had been effected in conſequence of orders given, for that purpoſe, by Dian-Ramouſaye, and other chiefs in the neighbourhood. Such was the diſmal end of a

colony which might have become flouriſhing and uſeful to commerce, had not thoſe who directed it taken every method they could to render the French name odious to theſe people, naturally mild, hoſpitable, and humane.

Among the different memoirs which I have conſulted in compiling this hiſtorical account of the firſt eſtabliſhments of the French in the ſouthern part of Madagaſcar, I muſt make honourable mention of a manuſcript given me by M. de Maleſherbe. That miniſter, dear to the ſciences and to letters, whoſe venerable name is never pronounced but accompanied with that tribute of homage and reſpect which are due to knowledge united with virtue, had the goodneſs to add to it a large map of Madagaſcar, accurately delineated, and executed with great care. That map, which he permitted me to have reduced and engraved, is prefixed to this work.

The manuſcript and the map which accompanied it were the production of M. Robert, who, in 1725, dedicated them to the duke de Chaulnes, whoſe protection he then ſolicited, in order to form a new eſtabliſhment in the northern part of Madagaſcar.

M. Robert had been taken by the pirates, and conducted to that iſland, where he remained ſeveral years, which he employed uſefully in traverſing its principal provinces, and making himſelf acquainted with their productions. The object of his plan for an eſtabliſhment there was, to collect the riches which the pirates had diſperſed throughout the northern part of the country, while it ſerved them as a place of refuge; but this project, the advantages of which would, perhaps, never have compenſated for the expence, was not carried into execution. At preſent there are no conſiderable eſtabliſhments in Madagaſcar but one, formed, of late years, in the ſouthern part, by M. de Modave, a man of ſpirit and a brave officer, and another, in the northern part, by count Benyowſki. I was at the Iſle of France in 1768, when M. de Modave came, in the name of the king, to take poſſeſſion of the government of Fort Dauphin. The duke de Praſlin was then miniſter of the marine, and had approved the plan preſented to him by M. de Modave.

If the reſult of this new enterprize did not correſpond with the hopes which the miniſter had entertained, it was becauſe every colony, not founded on the happineſs and inſtruction of thoſe people among whom an attempt is made to eſtabliſh it, will always have temporary ſucceſs only. It is not ſoldiers but artiſans, farmers, and well-informed and laborious men, that ought to be eſtabliſhed among ſuch people. We ought never to forget that the treaties of ſavages with the Europeans are, in every reſpect, like thoſe which children would make with philoſophers; and ſince the treaties hitherto formed with the Malegaches are evidently in that ſituation, it would be highly unjuſt to take advantage of them contrary to the intereſts of theſe iſlanders. There are none but ſtupid or diſhoneſt men who can affix a value to contracts ſo ridiculouſly illuſory. You have obtained by cunning, you have by force extorted conceſſions from the credulous inhabitants of foreign lands; and becauſe they foreſee not the danger to which they expoſe themſelves, by receiving you amongſt them with friendſhip and generoſity, you wiſh even to turn their kindneſs againſt them, and to make a right of them in order to oppreſs them, and ſubject them to your dominion.

If great commercial advantages invite you to Madagaſcar, adopt principles more juſt and humane.

For forming your eſtabliſhments, chooſe farmers and mechanics. Thoſe who know the character of the Malegaches, entertain no doubt reſpecting the reception which theſe iſlanders will give to men whoſe frugal and active lives baniſh vice, and introduce abundance.

Cultivating

Cultivating the earth by the plough, and a number of other uſeful practices, will inſpire theſe people with ſentiments of gratitude and veneration. India will ſupply you with a multitude of ingenious artiſans and weavers, who know how to manufacture cotton ſtuffs, and to give them thoſe brilliant and durable colours which cauſe them to be ſo much ſought for in commercial countries.

Colouring ſubſtances, extracted from vegetables, have not, in our frozen climates, the ſame ſplendour and the ſame ſtrength, as in the ſcorching climates of the torrid zone.

The fruits of our gardens, which grow on wall trees, never aſſume a ruddy colour, but on that ſide which is expoſed to the rays of the ſun.

We have no acid that fixes colours on cotton cloth, in ſo laſting and unalterable a manner, as the juice extracted from Adam's fig-tree, which we call *Bananier*.

The Indians excel alſo in manufacturing ſilk ſtuffs. Several provinces of Madagaſcar would furniſh a great abundance of that valuable ſubſtance. So important a branch of commerce ought the leſs to be neglected, as the Malegaches, in the ſouthern part of the iſland, are acquainted with the method of preparing and weaving it, in order to make veſtments.

In the neighbourhood of the Bay of Antongil, I diſcovered four kinds of cods, which produce ſilk of an excellent quality.

The Malegaches diſtinguiſh them by the four following denominations.

The *andevè* is a cod almoſt like that which, in the ſouthern provinces of France, furniſhes the beſt ſilk.

The *ande-vontaqua*, another cod, ſmaller than the preceding, furniſhes a ſilk much finer than that which comes from China, and equally beautiful.

The tree called *anacau* is covered, during a certain ſeaſon of the year, with ſmall cods, which being ſuſpended by filaments hang from the leaves and branches. The ſilk procured from theſe cods is remarkable for its ſtrength and fineneſs; but to divide it properly, and to render it uſeful, the cods muſt be preſerved from the filth and duſt that fall from the tree. Theſe cods are known under the Name of *andeanacau*.

The fourth kind of ſilk is not ſuſceptible of being divided. The Malegaches call it *ande ſaraha*. It is found in a kind of bag, which contains ſeveral hundreds of ſmall cods.

The wool of Madagaſcar is beautiful; but the iſlanders derive no benefit from it. The Indians, however, would eaſily teach them to prepare it, and we ſhould ſoon be indebted to them for a new and highly important branch of commerce. There are few oriental travellers who are not acquainted with thoſe fine woollen ſtuffs known in Bengal by the name of *ſhawls*, which the Mahometans uſe for turbans. This ſtuff coſts no leſs than an hundred piſtoles the yard, when the ſuperfine wool of the Cachemirian ſheep has been employed in manufacturing it.

So exorbitant a price muſt ſurpriſe thoſe who know the cheapneſs of labour in India, and at what a low rate raw materials may be procured in that country. It is, however, with very rude inſtruments that the Indian, more dextrous and more patient than the European, is enabled to weave theſe valuable ſtuffs.

Should France wiſh, in the courſe of time, to ſhare with India and China, the advantageous trade which they carry on in woollen and ſilk ſtuffs, and printed cottons, I think, and many intelligent men are of the ſame opinion, that this might be accompliſhed, by forming at Madagaſcar, upon proper principles, a colony of Indian weavers, who ſhould be under the protection of the Iſles of France and Bourbon. It would, however, be neceſſary to introduce there, at the ſame time, thoſe celebrated machines uſed at Mancheſter, for carding and ſpinning both coarſe and fine cotton and wool;

wool; for the art of manufacturing cloth would be confined then merely to the weaver; and, certainly, the Indian weavers have a decided ſuperiority over thoſe of Europe. Such an aſſertion does not tend to depreciate our induſtry. I am perfectly ſenſible that it would be highly abſurd to put the villages on the banks of the Ganges in competition with our large manufactories. This would be comparing the productions of patience and ſkill with thoſe of genius.

The induſtry of the Indian is not confined merely to the trade of weaving. He underſtands the art of cultivating the earth equally well, and knows how to prepare ſugar and indigo. Under his hand clay aſſumes a variety of ſingular forms; and the earthen-ware of India is even ſought for and eſteemed in Europe.

The Indian is no leſs expert than the Chineſe in the lapidary art. To cut and pierce the hardeſt ſtones, he makes uſe of adamantine ſpar pulveriſed, and moiſtened with oil. He employs this ſubſtance, which is of very little value in India, for the ſame purpoſes as diamond powder is employed in Europe. The Indian knows, alſo, how to render the bamboo uſeful in manufactures. He makes paper of it, and likewiſe furniture, palanquins, and veſſels for holding water. This tree is a ſpecies of large reed, from the joints of which there diſtils a kind of ſugar, much eſteemed by the orientals. This reed riſes ſometimes to the height of an hundred feet; and the hardneſs and lightneſs of its wood cauſe it to be employed for a variety of uſes.

The ſugar-cane is a ſpecies of reed which riſes to the height of ten feet. It is uſually about three inches in circumference; and is covered with a kind of bark, which contains a ſpongy ſubſtance. It is divided into joints by knots placed at the diſtance of five inches from each other; and on the top it bears a number of leaves, ſomewhat like thoſe of the common water-flag.

This plant is cultivated in ſeveral countries of Aſia and Africa. Every kind of ſoil is not equally proper for it: that where the earth is deep and light, ſeems to be the beſt.

Plantations of the ſugar-cane do not require very ſevere labour. It is ſufficient to form furrows in the ground, at the diſtance of three feet from each other: they ought to be no more than a foot in breadth, and ſix inches in depth. In theſe furrows the canes are laid lengthwiſe, and covered with earth. From each knot they ſend forth young ſhoots, but they do not come to maturity, ſo as to be fit for cutting, till the end of eighteen months. A month after the ſhoots begin to appear, all the weeds around them muſt be pulled up: but this care is not neceſſary when the cane is perfectly formed.

After the canes have been cut, new ſhoots ſpring up from the old roots, which at the end of fifteen months afford a ſecond crop, but their produce is only one half of the firſt. Nothing but want of hands to replant, can induce a proprietor to ſeek more than two crops from his plantation.

When the canes are cut, the next buſineſs is to ſqueeze them immediately in the mill. This operation requires tedious labour during the night; for if the juice remains more than twenty-four hours in the ciſtern from which it is conveyed to the firſt boiler, it becomes ſour. From the firſt boiler, it is ſucceſſively removed into others, till it is converted into ſugar. It is purified from that gummy ſubſtance which prevents it from becoming white and ſolid, by throwing into the laſt boiler a ſtrong lixivium of wood-aſhes and quick-lime. It may be readily perceived, that what contributes moſt to the relief of the ſlaves, depends principally on the produce of the mill. The ſpeedier the juice is extracted, the ſooner will they be freed from night labour, ſo prejudicial to their health. Nothing, therefore, ſhould be neglected that can give

ſugar-

ſugar-mills every poſſible degree of power and activity; and it is, certainly, neither by mules nor weak falls of water that ſo ſalutary an end can be attained. Views of intereſt unite here with the principles of humanity, to engage the planters to introduce in their mills the uſe of the ſteam-engine.

The woody part of the ſugar cane, known under the name of *traſh**, is more than ſufficient for keeping up ebullition in the boiler of a ſteam-engine, as well as in all the boilers employed in making ſugar.

The fertility of Madagaſcar, and the valuable productions contained in the boſom of that important iſland, cannot fail of affording induſtry the means of eſtabliſhing a great and extenſive trade. It is under this point of view, according to my ideas, that we ought in future to conſider ſuch ſettlements as we may wiſh to form at Madagaſcar. Though M. de Modave approached nearer to the accompliſhment of this object than any of his predeceſſors, his views were not founded upon a baſis ſufficiently ſolid, and capable of rendering the eſtabliſhment which he was commiſſioned to form, long, flouriſhing and happy. This was the opinion of M. Poivre. That truly celebrated man had conducted, with prudence, for ſeveral years, the French eſtabliſhments beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and had reſided a long time at Madagaſcar, in order to make himſelf acquainted with its moſt uſeful productions. He was intendant of the Iſles of France and Bourbon, at the time when M. de Modave began his ſettlement; and it may be readily imagined of what weight the opinion of that gentleman, diſtinguiſhed by his virtues and knowledge, muſt have been. It is to his indefatigable zeal that France will ſoon be indebted for the advantage of ſharing with Holland in the rich commerce of ſpiceries. He conſidered it as one of the firſt duties of an adminiſtrator, to exerciſe and excite the emulation of all thoſe in whom he perceived talents which he thought might be cultivated with advantage. He profited, above all, by thoſe of the celebrated Commerſon. That learned naturaliſt had accompanied M. de Bougainville in his voyage round the world, and had formed an immenſe collection of plants, and of every object of natural hiſtory to be found in the countries which he had viſited. The relation of his voyage, therefore, was likely to afford a variety of intereſting obſervations; and he was well aſſured that if he went immediately to France, his uſeful labours would not remain unrewarded. He however renounced all theſe advantages as ſoon as he knew that M. Poivre wiſhed to employ him in procuring new information. After acquiring a thorough knowledge of the natural hiſtory of the Iſles of France and Bourbon, he proceeded to Madagaſcar in the year 1769, and M. de Modave, who was then governor of Fort Dauphin, gave him every aſſiſtance in his power to enable him to render farther ſervices to ſcience. It is much to be regretted that the accounts of theſe important diſcoveries ſhould have been loſt or diſperſed after the death of this indefatigable man, who was carried off when he was juſt on the point of enjoying the fruits of his uſeful reſearches. The only diſſertation of his now remaining that is any way intereſting, concerns the Kimos, which I ſhall here tranſcribe, and add to it a ſhort memoir of M. de Modave on the ſame ſubject.

" Thoſe who are fond of the marvellous, and who no doubt muſt be diſpleaſed " with me for having reduced the pretended gigantic ſtature of the Patagonians to ſix " feet, will accept, perhaps, by way of indemnification, an account of a race of pigmies " who fall into the oppoſite extreme. I here ſpeak of thoſe dwarfs, in the interior " parts of the large iſland of Madagaſcar, who form a conſiderable nation, called in

* The French call the woody part of the ſugar cane, after the juice has been extracted, *bagaſſe*; but the Engliſh planters in the Weſt Indies call it *traſh*. T.

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" the Madecaſſe language, *Quimos* or *Kimos*. The diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of " theſe ſmall people are, that they are whiter or at leaſt paler in colour, than all the " negroes hitherto known; that their arms are ſo long that they can ſtretch their " hands below their knees without ſtooping; and that the women have ſcarcely any " breaſts, except when they ſuckle; and even then, we are aſſured, the greater part " of them are obliged to make uſe of cow's milk in order to nouriſh their young. " With regard to intellectual faculties, theſe Kimos are not inferior to the other in- " habitants of Madagaſcar, who are known to be very lively and ingenious, though " they abandon themſelves to the utmoſt indolence; but we are told that the Kimos, " as they are much more active, are alſo much more warlike, ſo that their courage " being, if we may uſe the expreſſion, in the double ratio of their ſtature, they have " never yet been overcome by their neighbours, who have often made attempts for " that purpoſe. Though attacked with ſuperior ſtrength and weapons, for they are " not acquainted with the uſe of gunpowder and fire-arms, like their enemies, they " have always fought with courage, and retained liberty amidſt their rocks, which, " as they are extremely difficult of acceſs, certainly contribute very much to their " ſafety. They live there upon rice, various kinds of fruits, roots and vegetables, " and rear a great number of oxen and ſheep with large tails, which form alſo a part " of their ſubſiſtence. They hold no communication with the different caſtes by " whom they are ſurrounded, either for the ſake of commerce or on any account " whatever, as they procure all their neceſſaries from the lands which they poſſeſs. " As the object of all the petty wars between them and the other inhabitants of the " iſland, is to carry away on either ſide a few cattle or ſlaves, the diminutive ſize of " the Kimos ſaves them from the latter injury. With regard to the former, they are " ſo fond of peace that they reſolve to endure it to a certain degree; that is to ſay, " till they ſee from the tops of their mountains a formidable body advancing, with " every hoſtile preparation, in the plains below. They then carry the ſuperfluity of " their flocks to the entrance of the defiles, where they leave them; and, as they " ſay themſelves, make a voluntary ſacrifice of them to the indigence of their elder " brethren; but at the ſame time denouncing with the ſevereſt threats to attack them " without mercy ſhould they endeavour to penetrate farther into their territories: a " proof that it is neither from weakneſs nor cowardice, that they purchaſe tranquillity " by preſents. Their weapons are aſſagays and darts, which they uſe with the utmoſt " dexterity. It is pretended, if they could, according to their ardent wiſhes, hold " any intercourſe with the Europeans, and procure from them fire-arms and ammu- " nition, they would act on the offenſive as well as the defenſive againſt their " neighbours, who would then perhaps think themſelves very happy to preſerve peace.

" At the diſtance of two or three days journey from Fort Dauphin, the inhabitants " of that part of the country ſhew a number of ſmall barrows or earthen hillocks, in " the form of graves, which, as is ſaid, owe their origin to a great maſſacre of the " Kimos, who were defeated in the field by their anceſtors*. However this may be, " a tradition generally believed in that diſtrict, as well as in the whole iſland of Ma- " dagaſcar, of the actual exiſtence of the Kimos, leaves us no room to doubt that a " part at leaſt of what we are told reſpecting theſe people is true. It is aſtoniſhing that " every thing which we know of this nation is collected from their neighbours; that " no one has yet made obſervations on the ſpot where they reſide; and that neither

* I am ſurpriſed that M. de Commerſon did not endeavour to aſcertain the truth of this fact, by digging up the earth of ſome of theſe barrows.

" the governor of the Iſles of France and Bourbon, nor the commanders at the dif-
" ferent ſettlements which the French poſſeſſed on the coaſt of Madagaſcar, ever at-
" tempted to penetrate into the interior parts of the country, with a view of adding this
" diſcovery to many others which they might have made at the ſame time.

" To return to the Kimos, I can declare, as being an eye-witneſs, that in the voyage
" which I made to Fort Dauphin, about the end of the year 1770, the Count de
" Modave, the laſt governor, who had already communicated to me part of his ob-
" ſervations, at length afforded me the ſatisfaction of ſeeing among his ſlaves a Kimos
" woman, aged about thirty, and three feet ſeven inches in height. Her com-
" plexion was indeed the faireſt I had ſeen among the inhabitants of the iſland; and I
" remarked that ſhe was well limbed though ſo low of ſtature, and far from being ill
" proportioned; that her arms were exceedingly long, and could reach without bending
" the body as far as the knee; that her hair was ſhort and woolly; that her features,
" which were agreeable, approached nearer to thoſe of an European than to an inha-
" bitant of Madagaſcar; and that ſhe had naturally a pleaſant look, and was good-
" humoured, ſenſible, and obliging, as far as could be judged from her behaviour.
" With regard to breaſts, I ſaw no appearance of them except the nipples: but this
" ſingle obſervation is not at all ſufficient to eſtabliſh a variation from the common
" laws of nature.

" A little before our departure from Madagaſcar, a deſire of recovering her liberty,
" as much as a dread of being carried away from her native country, induced this
" little ſlave to make her eſcape into the woods.

" Every thing conſidered, I am inclined firmly to believe in this new variety of the
" human ſpecies, who have their characteriſtic marks as well as their peculiar manners,
" and who inhabit mountains from ſixteen to eighteen hundred fathoms high above the
" level of the ſea.

" Diminution of ſtature, in reſpect to that of the Laplanders, is almoſt graduated as
" from the Laplander to the Kimos. Both inhabit the coldeſt regions and the higheſt
" mountains in the world. Thoſe of Madagaſcar, where the Kimos live, are, as I have
" already obſerved, ſixteen or eighteen hundred fathoms high above the level of the
" ſea. The vegetable productions which grow on theſe elevated places appear to be
" ſtunted, ſuch as the pine, the birch, and a great many others, which from the claſs
" of trees deſcend to that of humble ſhrubs, merely becauſe they have become alpicoles,
" that is to ſay, inhabitants of the higheſt mountains."

To this extract from Mr. Commerſon's Memoir on the Kimos, I ſhall add a few obſervations by M. de Modave on the ſame ſubject.

" When I arrived," ſays he, " at Fort Dauphin, in 1768, an ill-written memoir
" was tranſmitted to me, which contained ſome particulars concerning a ſingular people
" called in the language of Madagaſcar the Kimos, who inhabit the middle of the iſland,
" about the twenty-ſecond degree of latitude. I had heard mention of them ſeveral
" times before, but in ſo confuſed a manner that I ſcarcely paid any attention to a fact
" which deſerves to be cleared up, and which relates to a nation of dwarfs, who live
" in ſociety, governed by a chief, and protected by civil laws.

" I had found in the relation of Flacourt a paſſage reſpecting this nation; but it made
" no impreſſion on my mind, becauſe Flacourt rejects the hiſtory of theſe pigmy people
" as a fable, invented by the players on the *herraou*, a kind of buffoons, or rather im-
" poſtors, who ſpend their time in reciting abſurd tales and romances.

" Flacourt calls theſe dwarfiſh people pigmies, and mixes their hiſtory with that of a
" pretended race of giants, who, as the ancient tradition of Madagaſcar aſſures us,

" occaſioned formerly great ravage in the iſland. Flacourt relates, after theſe players " on the *herraou*, that the pigmies ſome time ago invaded the country of Anoſſi, from " which they were driven by the Etanos, who are the original inhabitants of that diſ- " trict. The Etanos ſurrounded the pigmies on the banks of the river Itapera, and " having maſſacred them all, afterwards heaped together in that ſpot a multitude of " ſtones, to cover the bodies of their enemies, and to ſerve as monuments of the vic- " tory which they had gained over them.

" After procuring at Fort Dauphin and the neighbourhood all the information poſſi- " ble, I reſolved to ſend a detachment to diſcover the country of theſe pigmies. The " detail of this expedition is conſigned to my journal; but, either on account of the " infidelity of the guides, or their want of courage, it was not attended with ſucceſs. " I had, however, the pleaſure to aſcertain the exiſtence of a nation of dwarfs, who " inhabit a certain diſtrict of the iſland.

" Theſe people are called *Quimos* or *Kimos*. The ordinary height of the men is three " feet five inches, and that of the women a few inches leſs. The men wear their beards " long, and cut in a round form. The Kimos are thick and ſquat; the colour of their " ſkin is lighter than that of the other iſlanders; and their hair is ſhort and woolly. " They manufacture iron and ſteel, of which they make lances and aſſagays. Theſe " are the only arms which they employ to defend themſelves from their enemies, who " attempt to carry off their cattle. When they perceive bands of travellers preparing " to traverſe their country, they tie their oxen to trees on the frontiers, and leave other " proviſions, in order that theſe ſtrangers may find the means of ſubſiſting. When " the ſtrangers, however, are ſo imprudent as to moleſt them, by behaving in a hoſtile " manner, and are not contented with the preſents uſual in the like circumſtances, the " dwarfiſh Kimos know how to defend themſelves bravely, and repel by force thoſe " who have the temerity to attempt to penetrate into the valley where they reſide, and " to which acceſs is extremely difficult.

" Remouzai, who, in quality of captain, followed the father of the Chief Maimbou, " in the two unfortunate expeditions which he undertook againſt theſe people, in order " to carry away a part of their flocks, and afterwards ſell them at Fort Dauphin, told " me, that he owed his ſafety merely to the knowledge he had of the high and ſteep " mountains by which their valley is ſurrounded. Remouzai had been ſeveral times " among the Kimos, and was employed as a guide by Maimbou's father, when he " ventured to attack them. The firſt incurſion had no ſucceſs, but the ſecond was " much more fatal: Maimbou's brother was killed; his ſmall army was put to flight; " and the number of thoſe who eſcaped theſe pigmies was very inconſiderable. Not- " withſtanding all my reſearches, I could never find any perſon except Remouzai, " who was able to give me any certain accounts reſpecting theſe two incurſions.

" Maimbou, with whom I had a good deal of intercourſe, for the purpoſe of pro- " curing proviſions to Fort Dauphin, was not old enough to accompany his father in " this expedition; but he had conceived ſuch an averſion to the Kimos, that he fell " into a violent paſſion whenever I mentioned them in his preſence; and he wiſhed me " to exterminate that race of Apes, for ſuch was the injurious appellation which he " always beſtowed upon them.

" A chief of the Mahaffalles, a people reſiding near the Bay of St. Auguſtine, who " came from a chief in the neighbourhood of the fort, with a view of exchanging ſilk " and other merchandize for oxen, ſaid, in the hearing of one of my officers, that he " had been ſeveral times in the country of the Kimos, and that he had even carried " on war againſt them. This chief added, that for ſome years, theſe people had been

" haraſſed by their neighbours, who had burnt ſeveral of their villages. He boaſted, " alſo, of having in his poſſeſſion a man and a woman of that race, who he ſaid were " about the age of twenty, or twenty-five.

" From the accounts of this chief and Remouzai, I am inclined to think, that the " valley of the Kimos is abundant in cattle and proviſions of every kind. Theſe " little people are induſtrious, and apply with much ſkill and labour to the cultivation of " the earth. Their chief enjoys a much more abſolute authority, and is more re- " ſpected, than any of the other chiefs in the different diſtricts of Madagaſcar. I was " not able to learn the extent of the valley which they inhabit. I know only that it " is ſurrounded by very high mountains; that it is ſituated at the diſtance of ſixty " leagues to the north-weſt of Fort Dauphin; and that it is bounded on the weſt by " the country of the Matatanes. Their villages are built on the ſummits of ſmall " ſteep mounts, which are ſo much the more difficult to be aſcended, as they have " multiplied thoſe obſtacles that render approach to them almoſt impracticable. The " chief of the Mahaffalles and Remouzai did not agree reſpecting two points " which are particularly worthy of being aſcertained. The general opinion of the " people of Madagaſcar is, that the Kimos women have no breaſts, and that they " nouriſh their children with cows milk. It is aſſerted, alſo, that they have no men- " ſtrual flux; but that at thoſe periods when other women are ſubject to this evacua- " tion, the ſkin of their body becomes of a blood-red colour. Remouzai aſſured me " that this opinion was well founded; but the chief of the Mahaffalles contradicted it. " We muſt, therefore, ſuſpend our judgment on this head; and be cautious in giving " credit to phænomena which appear to deviate ſo much from general rules, and to " extend to a certain number of individuals only.

" I procured a Kimos woman, who was taken in war, ſome years ago, by a chief " of the province of Mandrarey. This woman is rather of a tall ſtature, conſidering " the general meaſure allowed to the females of her nation; yet her height does not " exceed three feet ſeven inches. She is between thirty and thirty-two years of age; " her arms are very long; her hands have a great reſemblance to the paws of an ape; " and her boſom is as flat as that of the leaneſt man, without the leaſt appearance of " breaſts. My little Kimos was remarkably thin and meagre when ſhe arrived at Fort " Dauphin; but when ſhe was able to gratify her voracious appetite, ſhe became ex- " tremely luſty; and I am of opinion, that when ſhe is in her natural ſtate, her fea- " tures will be well worth a careful obſervation. The chief who ſold me this Kimos " woman told me, that he had a Kimos man at home, and that he would endeavour " to ſend him to me.

" Had the enterpriſe I undertook a few months ago ſucceeded better, I ſhould cer- " tainly have embraced the opportunity of ſending to France a male and female of " theſe pigmies; but I hope to be more fortunate in future. It is certainly nothing " wonderful to meet with dwarfs in a country ſo vaſt and extenſive as the iſland of " Madagaſcar, the ſurface of which contains various climates, and abounds with a " multitude of different productions; but a real race of pigmies, living in ſociety, is " a phænomenon that cannot well be paſſed over in ſilence."

To theſe accounts of M. de Modave, and M. de Commerſon, might be added that of an officer who procured a Kimos, whom, as he told me, he wiſhed to carry to France; but M. de Surville, who commanded the veſſel in which he had taken his paſſage, would not permit him.

Of the North-East Part of Madagascar.

THE north-eaſt part of the iſland of Madagaſcar is a rich magazine for the colonies in the Iſles of France and Bourbon. The moſt frequented ports in this part, are Foulepointe, St. Mary, and the Bay of Antongil. It is in theſe three places that the French have attempted to form all their eſtabliſhments. A ſoldier in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India Company, whoſe name was Bigorne, gave me ſome intereſting information reſpecting the ſettlements of the pirates in theſe diſtricts. This man had gained the affection of the iſlanders, and by a long reſidence amongſt them had acquired a kind of influence over theſe people, from which the directors of the Iſles of France and Bourbon, for a long time, derived great advantages. It was from this man that I procured the greater part of my knowledge reſpecting the productions, as well as the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants of the north-eaſt part of Madagaſcar.

The inhabitants of this coaſt are ſtill better, and more humane than thoſe of the province of Carcanoſſi. Theſe harmleſs people uſe neither locks nor bolts, and ſhut the doors of their houſes with nothing elſe than thorns, or the branches of trees. Were they even filled with riches, they would leave them in the ſame manner, nor entertain any dread of their being robbed. Their houſes, however, are conſtructed only of leaves and mats, which might be broke through without much difficulty.

The pirates, who carried on their depredations in the Indian ſeas, alarmed at the great preparations which were making to put an end to their robbery, took refuge on the north-eaſt coaſt of Madagaſcar. It appears that they formed their eſtabliſhment at the iſle of Noſſy-Hibrahim, named by the French St. Mary. One of the extremities of this iſland reaches within eleven leagues of Foulepointe, and the other extends to the Bay of Antongil.

By contracting alliances with the iſlanders, the pirates gained their confidence and friendſhip. It may, perhaps, appear ſurpriſing that men who followed ſo infamous a profeſſion ſhould not have been more deteſted. This foreign land became to them and their children a new country: they aſſumed its manners, and adopted its cuſtoms. In fertile and rich regions, abounding in every thing neceſſary for ſubſiſtence, it is almoſt impoſſible to find any advantage by attacking the property of another; ſince the only riches of the inhabitants are thoſe of the ſoil, and the ſoil belongs in common to all. It is not aſtoniſhing, therefore, that pirates returning continually to this place of ſhelter to repair and re-victual their ſhips, ſhould be favourably received by the Malegaches, ſince they ſhared in their opulence, without knowing how they acquired it. They compared the conduct of theſe wretches with that of the crews of ſeveral European veſſels, and the compariſon was by no means favourable to the latter, who had more than once procured refreſhments by force, and who had exerciſed the moſt barbarous cruelties againſt the natives, burning their villages, or deſtroying them with their cannon, when they did not bring them oxen, fowls, and rice, as expeditiouſly as they required. The people of Foulepointe have not yet forgotten, and often relate, that at the beginning of this century, the crew of an European veſſel invited a multitude of the iſlanders into a large tent, and the moment it was filled, the timber-work fell down, ſo that by this ſtratagem the Europeans were able to ſeize a great number of them, whom they made ſlaves. Were I diſpoſed to paſs over ſuch crimes in ſilence, I ſhould think it uſeful to make mention of them, in order to ſhew how many evils and atrocities our European predeceſſors have left us to repair.

The

The pirates continued their depredations with ſucceſs till the year 1722; but, at this period, ſeveral nations, alarmed by the enormous loſſes which their commerce ſuſtained, united together to deliver the Indian ſeas from the oppreſſion of theſe formidable tyrants, who had ſeized a large Portugueſe veſſel, in which were count de Receira and the archbiſhop of Goa, and the ſame day another veſſel which carried thirty-two guns. Both theſe valuable prizes were captured before the Iſle of Bourbon.

The pirates, accuſtomed to war, and elated with their ſucceſs, made a long and deſperate reſiſtance. Before they were extirpated it was neceſſary to bring a conſiderable force againſt them; to terrify them by the ſevereſt puniſhment, and to purſue them through the moſt imminent dangers, even to the place of their retreat, where they were obliged to ſet fire to their veſſels:—ſuch were the ſevere means employed to clear the Indian ſeas of theſe plunderers, who had infeſted them from the time that Vaſco de Gama opened a paſſage to India, by the Cape of Good Hope. The entire deſtruction of their maritime forces prevented the pirates from interrupting commerce any more, and compelled them to quit the wretched eſtabliſhment which they had formed at St. Mary, an iſland in the neighbourhood of Madagaſcar.

Theſe banditti, however, being thus forced to renounce their former wandering kind of life, began to think of ſignalizing themſelves by new acts of atrocity. As they could no longer exerciſe with advantage their infamous employment, in fertile countries where all property is confounded, and being too inferior in number to ſubdue the iſlanders, one would have thought that no other means of doing miſchief were left for them than to attempt to promote diſcord among the inhabitants: but had they confined themſelves merely to the exciting of quarrels and war among the Malegaches, this flame probably would have been ſoon extinguiſhed; and when tranquillity had enabled theſe iſlanders to ſee their real intereſts, they would certainly not have failed to attack the pirates, and to be revenged on them for their perfidy. It was neceſſary, therefore, for the ſucceſs of their pernicious deſigns, that they ſhould render war advantageous to theſe people; and the ſale of priſoners, that is to ſay, a trade in ſlaves, anſwered two ends to them, that of fomenting and perpetuating diviſions among the Malegaches, and that of procuring a new mode of enriching themſelves, and of cauſing them to be courted and protected by European nations, who favoured this deteſtable traffic. By this new crime the pirates terminated their courſe of robbery—a crime which depopulates and ſtill deſolates the iſland of Madagaſcar. This deſtructive ſcourge, ſince the moment of its birth, has not ceaſed a moment to acquire new degrees of vigour and activity. It would be as difficult to foretell the period when it will end, as to eſtimate the ravages to which it has given riſe. Of all the evils and all the diſorders occaſioned by the pirates, the greateſt, without doubt, is that of having introduced the ſlave-trade into Madagaſcar; and yet I ſhould think I diſgraced my pen, did I allow myſelf to trace out the picture of the atrocious cruelties they exerciſed, and the infamous ſtratagems they practiſed. The ſlave-trade is an inſtitution ſo much the more abominable, as the evils which it produces are ſcarcely felt by thoſe who derive profit from them. It would ſeem as if it required long ſtudy and meditation to diſcover that liberty is connected with the eſſence and dignity of man; and that it is the height of injuſtice to have converted it, if I may uſe the expreſſion, into a ſaleable commodity. If this truth does not make that impreſſion which it ought on enlightened nations, and force them to proſcribe ſlavery, how can they flatter themſelves that it will be perceived by ſavages involved in the darkneſs of ignorance? We cannot, therefore, be ſurprized that the Malegaches, ſtruck with the advantages which they continually derive from the ſale of ſlaves, ſtill entertain a grateful remembrance of

of theſe infamous men, to whom they think they are indebted for the greater part of their riches.

Before theſe banditi eſtabliſhed themſelves in the iſland, cattle and ſheep were of no value. Rice and various kinds of proviſions had no other price than that which was affixed on them by navigators; and it even appears, that during the time of their piracy, they ſpent in drunkenneſs and debauchery, on their return from every expedition, the fruits of their long voyages.

Want of foreſight is not uncommon among men accuſtomed to a wandering and diſſipated life. The extreme profuſion of theſe profligates is, therefore, no matter of ſurpriſe; but being more deceitful than prodigal, it is no wonder that they always carefully endeavoured to conceal from theſe iſlanders the impure ſource from which they derived their riches. This, perhaps, is the only point on which they were forced to be prudent, under pain of incurring the hatred of theſe people, whoſe friendſhip it was their intereſt to preſerve.

A recital of their ſhameful and deteſtable robberies would have carried terror and alarm into thoſe countries, where the leaſt of theſe crimes was puniſhed with death. It is not to be doubted that the Malegaches would have exterminated ſuch dangerous gueſts had they been fully acquainted with their vicious inclinations: but ſince their memory is not execrated, and has not left in the minds of theſe people any traces of their infamy, they muſt have ſeduced them by a profound diſſimulation, and a deceitful appearance of confidence and affection. And how could ſavages poſſeſs ſufficient knowledge of mankind to be able to unmaſk villains, exerciſed from their infancy in falſehood and cunning, and whoſe intereſt it was to conceal, or diſguiſe the greater part of their vices?*

I confeſs that this explanation alone can afford ſatisfaction, after the vain efforts which I made on the ſpot, with a view to diſcover the true cauſe of that kind of reſpect, or rather veneration, which the Malegaches entertain for the memory of theſe infamous plunderers.

It was not at the time when the pirates were employed ſolely in ravaging the Indian ſeas that they were able to occaſion great diſorder at Madagaſcar; their ſtay in that iſland was always very ſhort, and being obliged to repair their veſſels ſpeedily, and to procure proviſions, they could not think of ſowing diviſion among theſe people, who might have revenged themſelves during their abſence on their women and children, and have entirely ruined their eſtabliſhments; and it was only at certain periods that they could give themſelves up to all the exceſſes of drunkenneſs and debauchery. But when they were forced to renounce their infamous profeſſion, they followed a plan of life entirely different. Their views then were directed towards the means of recovering a part of thoſe riches which they had imprudently diſſipated, and to ſecure the protection of the Europeans by opening to them a branch of commerce, with the extent and importance of which they were well acquainted. Theſe profligates, therefore, were the firſt who introduced the ſlave-trade into the north-eaſt part of Madagaſcar. This we are told by all the traditions of the country, and it was confirmed to me by La Bigorne. It was not, however, without cauſing much trouble and diſorder that they were able, about the year 1722, to overcome the averſion which the Malegaches had for that horrid traffic. Before this epoch ſeveral European ſhips had made vain efforts to induce them to ſell their priſoners and malefactors. Their negociations for this purpoſe, inſtead of being attended with ſucceſs, were rejected with indignation, and ſometimes puniſhed in an exemplary manner, when they ventured to employ ſtratagem or force. The pirates were too well acquainted with the intrepid

intrepid ſpirit of the Malegaches to uſe theſe means; and they were ſenſible that they were too few in number to ſubdue them, or to dictate to them concerning a trade which they deteſted. The leaſt violence, in this reſpect, would have occaſioned their deſtruction; and with ſtill more certainty that of their wives and children. The ſureſt way of accompliſhing their end, therefore, was to kindle up amongſt theſe people the flames of diſcord; and, taking advantage of their inteſtine wars, to prevail on them to diſpoſe of their priſoners, who, on account of their number, could not fail of being a burthen to them. But it was of the utmoſt importance to the ſucceſs of their views, in the midſt of theſe diſorders, to be on a good footing with both parties, and to aſſume in appearance the office of mediators. It was requiſite, alſo, that they ſhould wait for a favourable opportunity, or at leaſt a plauſible pretext for putting their odious plot in execution, and this was not long wanting.

The Bethalimenes, a people in the interior part of the country, had quitted their villages, and had flocked in great numbers towards the place where the pirates lived, with a view of procuring different articles of commerce, which they conſidered either as uſeful or convenient. They particularly ſought for the beautiful ſtuffs of India, Maſulipatam handkerchiefs, muſlins, and ſome other kinds of goods of leſs value. The inhabitants on the ſea-coaſt, known under the name of Antivarres and Manivouleſe, beheld theſe ſtrangers amongſt them with great pleaſure; and they would have thought themſelves deficient both in that hoſpitality and affection which they owed to the pirates, had they in the leaſt interrupted their commerce, or prevented them from procuring ſuch cattle and proviſions as were neceſſary for victualling their ſhips.

The Bethalimenes, who are a more economical and courageous people than the Antavarres and the Manivouleſe, when they ſaw that the ſource of the wealth of the pirates was exhauſted, by the abſolute deſtruction of their marine, began to prepare for returning to their villages with their riches. The Antavarres and the Manivouleſe would not have oppoſed their departure, had not the pirates uſed their utmoſt endeavours to excite them to plunder, by repreſenting to them, that theſe valuable effects which ought to be the reward of their labour and attachment, would be for ever loſt to them, if they ſuffered them to be carried away, and diſperſed in the interior parts of the country. After a long reſiſtance, founded ſolely on that reſpect which is due to hoſpitality, the Antavarres and the Manivouleſe ſuffered themſelves to be overcome, and hurried into an unjuſt war. This cruel war gave riſe to all thoſe which afterwards deluged the north-eaſt part of Madagaſcar with blood. Before that period theſe people lived in peace, and thoſe petty diviſions of little importance which are inſeparable from all ſocieties, never were of long duration, and left behind them no traces of animoſity. The pirates were artful enough never to be ſeen in the armies of the Antavarres and the Manivouleſe, without aſſuming the appearance of the ſtricteſt neutrality. They, however, ſold at a very high price to theſe people, who were their friends, arms and warlike ammunition; but while they refuſed the like aſſiſtance to the Bethalimenes, they ſecretly adviſed them, in the moſt treacherous manner, to exchange with an European veſſel, newly arrived at Foulepointe, their priſoners for fire-arms and ammunition. The Bethalimenes, highly irritated at the exceſſes committed by the Antavarres and the Manivouleſe againſt them, eagerly followed this advice. By making a brave defence they had taken a great number of priſoners; and as theſe priſoners were a burthen to them, they ſaw it would be advantageous to ſell them, in order to procure fire-arms, which were neceſſary to repel the attacks of their enemies.

The Bethalimenes were extremely thankful to the pirates for having taught them how to make the Antavarres and the Manivouleſe repent of their injuſtice, by enabling them to procure arms and ammunition, ſufficient to intimidate theſe diſturbers of their tranquillity. They even found themſelves much better provided with theſe articles than their enemies, who were now no longer in a condition to throw any obſtacles in the way of their departure. Theſe ſame iſlanders, therefore, who had always ſhewn the moſt invincible repugnance to ſell their priſoners, ſuddenly changed their principles on this point; and yet theſe people conſider us as cannibals. The efforts which the Europeans had inceſſantly made to procure ſlaves, either by force or ſtratagem, contributed not a little to confirm them in this unfavourable opinion. The enemies of the whites, whoſe number was very conſiderable, took a pleaſure in giving ſtrength to this odious calumny; and I may venture to aſſert, that it has been perpetuated in ſuch a manner, from generation to generation, that it ſtill ſubſiſts. If any method can be deviſed of deſtroying ſo degrading an accuſation, it certainly muſt be by carefully educating amongſt us ſome young Medecaſſes, and afterwards ſending them back to their own country. When they have become acquainted with our manners, our arts, and our induſtry, we may eaſily inſpire them with quite contrary ſentiments. However little we reflect on the ſalutary conſequences that would enſue from ſuch a plan, it will appear aſtoniſhing that it has been ſo long neglected.

If I have allowed myſelf to paſs over in ſilence the long ſeries of war which from that epoch never ceaſed to deſolate the northern part of Madagaſcar, I cannot help obſerving, that the pirates alone kindled up amongſt theſe iſlanders the flames of diſcord; and, at the ſame time, conciliated the affections of the Antavarres and the Manivouleſe, as well as that of the Bethalimenes.

After this, the Europeans no longer diſdained to ſeek their protection. The public ſale of priſoners ſerved to foment the flames of their hatred and vengeance; and theſe two ſcourges united ſet no other bounds to their ravages than the entire depopulation of an iſland, celebrated by its extent and prodigious fertility. What a number of victims ſacrificed to the inſatiable avarice of a few plunderers!

Ye juſt and compaſſionate, behold what it has coſt, in blood and crimes, to bring your colonies to that kind of proſperity, the greater part of the advantages of which you daily hear exaggerated; as if that proſperity, always precarious, were not more apparent than real; ſince the opulence of a few is founded only on the miſery and ſlavery of the multitude.

The ſlave-trade, after having ſerved to eſtabliſh the power of the pirates, was of no utility to their children.

Tamſimalo, ſon to the daughter of a powerful chief, by an old pirate, celebrated for his cunning and depredations, ſeized the ſovereign power after the death of his father. His reign was ſignalized by no extraordinary event, but his memory is ſtill venerated amongſt theſe people; and his reſpected aſhes repoſe at St. Mary, where they were depoſited in the year 1745, which was the period of his death.

Tamſimalo was ſucceeded by his ſon John Harre; but his power was very limited; and his miſconduct rendered him deſpicable in the eyes of his ſubjects. He made choice of Foulepointe for the place of his reſidence, and left the government of St. Mary to his mother and his ſiſter, the latter of whom was known under the name of Betie. A little time after the death of Tamſimalo, the Eaſt-India Company formed an eſtabliſhment at St. Mary, and M. Goſſe was ordered to take poſſeſſion of that iſland in the name of the company. In this ceremony, M. Goſſe was accompanied by Betie, the daughter of Tamſimalo, and the widow of John Harre, though this honour, ac-

cording to the uſages of the country, belonged to the widow of Tamſimalo, whoſe ſovereignty was acknowledged. This haughty and imperious woman, highly offended at that kind of diſdain and neglect with which Goſſe ſeemed to treat her, ſwore that ſhe would be revenged on him for ſo open an inſult offered to her dignity. For a long time Goſſe deſpiſed her anger and threats: but this conduct was far from being prudent; and might have brought great misfortunes upon the eſtabliſhment entruſted to his care. Obſtinate fevers, and epidemical diſeaſes, ſoon after weakened the colony, and reduced it to a very languiſhing condition during the latter end of autumn. The directors of the Iſle of France were obliged, therefore, to ſend new recruits annually, to repair the loſſes which were occaſioned by the inſalubrity of the iſland. The mortality became ſo great towards the concluſion of the year, that it was then called the *Grave of the French*. The greateſt care, it is true, was taken to ſend no perſons thither to ſettle except ſuch as could occaſion little hurt to ſociety, if they periſhed.

If Goſſe was deficient in attention to the widow of Tamſimalo, he neglected, as we are aſſured, no means of pleaſing Betie. This charming young woman to an agreeable figure added a pleaſant diſpoſition; and the iſlanders entertained a much ſtronger affection for her than for her mother. Betie was not inſenſible to the attachment of Goſſe; and ſhe more than once diſconcerted the fatal projects of her mother againſt the French: but bounds were at length ſet to her zeal, over which it was impoſſible for her to paſs.

Tamſimalo's widow accuſed Goſſe of having dared to diſturb the aſhes of her huſband, and of carrying away the riches ſhut up in his tomb. This accuſation, whether juſt or unjuſt, excited ſuch a fermentation that the deſtruction of the French was from that moment irrevocably decreed. The iſlanders fell upon their eſtabliſhment, ſet fire to it, and made a general maſſacre of its inhabitants. As ſoon as this fatal event, which took place on Chriſtmas eve 1754, was known at the Iſle of France, an armed veſſel received orders to proceed to the entrance of port St. Mary, and to puniſh the iſlanders with the utmoſt ſeverity. The puniſhment inflicted on them was indeed terrible; a number of villages were burnt, and ſeveral large piroguas filled with the natives were ſunk. That in which the widow of Tamſimalo embarked, made ſtrong efforts to gain the Bay of Antongil, and to eſcape from the boats ſent in purſuit of her: but in ſpite of every exertion they got near enough to fire upon it. Tamſimalo's widow was killed; ſeveral of thoſe who accompanied her ſhared the ſame fate; and the reſt, among whom was her daughter Betie, were taken priſoners. When Betie was carried to the Iſle of France, ſhe juſtified herſelf before the ſupreme council, by proving that her mother alone had been the cauſe of the maſſacre of the French. She ſhewed, at the ſame time, that her connection with Goſſe had endangered her life; and that ſhe could no longer be in ſafety at St. Mary, as ſhe had loſt, by her attachment to the French, and the efforts which ſhe had made to ſave them, the confidence and affection of the iſlanders. The ſupreme council of the Iſle of France, convinced of the innocence of this young woman, ſent her to her brother John Harre, at Foulepointe, with conſiderable preſents, requeſting her to employ every means poſſible to re-eſtabliſh peace and concord between the natives of that diſtrict and the French. Theſe people, terrified by the ravages exerciſed at St. Mary, had retired to the interior parts of the country; all commerce was ſuſpended; and the wants of the Iſle of France required that every method ſhould be purſued to revive it. Betie, by the great aſcendancy ſhe had over her brother, being the propereſt perſon to accompliſh this ſalutary end, ſhe united, for that purpoſe, with Bigorne, an intelligent and active man, who had been a ſoldier in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company.

In

In a little time, Bigorne learned the Malegache language; and by an open and ſteady conduct won the affection of the iſlanders. To his care and activity the colony was indebted for the re-eſtabliſhment of its commerce. Among all the honourable teſtimonies of gratitude which were rendered to him for this ſervice, the moſt diſtinguiſhed is that of M. Poivre, who, in 1758, was an eye-witneſs to the good conduct of this brave ſoldier. That celebrated adminiſtrator, whoſe ſuffrages cannot be ſuſpected of prejudice or partiality, has often, in my preſence, paid the higheſt compliments to this man, whoſe memory is ſtill reſpected among the iſlanders of Madagaſcar. The influence which he had over the minds of theſe people, was however more owing to the goodneſs of his character than to his eloquence.

The ſpeeches which he made to theſe people, in their grand aſſemblies called *palabres*, were not to be compared to thoſe of the Malegache orators. M. Poivre, who aſſiſted at ſeveral of theſe aſſemblies, often told me, that the natural eloquence of the Malegaches was truly aſtoniſhing. He took delight in relating even the moſt minute particulars of a grand *palabre*, at which all the neighbouring chiefs, and an immenſe multitude of people, were preſent, in order to form a treaty of commerce with the commiſſaries of the French Eaſt-India company.

The following is, in a few words, the account of it which he gave me:

The orator, after ſaluting all the chiefs, advanced towards the French; made a profound bow to them, and addreſſing himſelf to Bigorne, ſaid: "You know, Bigorne, "that for more than eight years the white men have come hither to trade with the "Malegaches; and can you ſay that a white man was ever killed by any of our "nation?

"We have always received you, not only as brothers, but even as the lords of the "country.

"When the French aſked from us oxen and rice, did we ever refuſe them?

"When they wiſhed to raiſe paliſades, and to conſtruct houſes, have we not gone "to the foreſts to procure timber neceſſary for that purpoſe?

"Have thoſe who came hither before you, Bigorne, or thoſe who are here now, "ever had any cauſe of complaint againſt us? Have they not drawn water from our "fountains? Have they not cut down the trees of our foreſts, without any man at "Foulepointe aſking them—why do you ſo? The people in the ſouth, as well as thoſe "in the north, and more recently ſtill thoſe of St. Mary, maſſacred the French, and "made war upon them: but thoſe of Foulepointe never attacked any of them; on the "contrary they have given them every aſſiſtance in their power, and they have at all "times teſtified their kindneſs and friendſhip towards them.

"Are the chiefs at Foulepointe then leſs powerful than their neighbours?

"La Bigorne, they are more ſo.—Do they fear to carry on war againſt the whites? "—*No.*—Who dare make war on John Harre, the illuſtrious ſon of Tamſimalo, our "ſovereign and our father?

"What are the white men who would be raſh enough to attack' thoſe formidable "and invincible chiefs, here preſent, *Marouat*, *Ramiſi*, and *Ramatao?*

"Would we not ſhed even the laſt drop of our blood in their ſupport?

"It is to our friendſhip, therefore, and to our goodneſs of heart alone, that the "French are indebted for the kind treatment which they have experienced at Foule-"pointe, ſince they firſt frequented that port.

"Let us now examine the conduct of the French towards us.

"Why, Bigorne, haſt thou erected a paliſade of large ſtakes, much more extenſive "and ſtronger than that which was erected formerly, without having deigned to aſk

" permiſſion of John Harre and the other chiefs? In this haſt thou followed the ancient " uſage? Speak—Anſwer—Haſt thou offered them the ſmalleſt preſent?—But you " obſerve ſilence—You bluſh—You are conſcious of your guilt—You look towards " them—You beg forgiveneſs—Here, in thy name, I aſk John Harre, our ſovereign, " who preſides over this illuſtrious aſſembly, and theſe generous and invincible chiefs, " to pardon thy imprudence. We love thee, Bigorne; but never in future, abuſe our " affection—Swear that thou wilt never commit the like faults—Such errors will for " ever alienate from thee, without hopes of return, the hearts of the inhabitants of " Foulepointe; and to preſerve them, take an oath that our intereſts and yours ſhall be " hereafter the ſame. Aſk, then, of your chiefs here aſſembled, why, ſince the arrival " of the laſt ſeven ſhips, the captains have ſtill neglected to make the uſual preſents, " which ſerve to promote a good underſtanding in thoſe exchanges which the whites " wiſh to make with the Malegaches? Why have not theſe veſſels brought effects to " pay the debts contracted above a year ago by the French?

" We have ſold them, on credit, according to the rules of fair dealing, proviſions " of every kind, without any other ſecurity than ſmall bits of paper, which contained, " as you aſſured us, a promiſe of being paid in three moons. Why has this ſolemn " promiſe remained till the preſent day undiſcharged? This certainly is compelling us " to give up all commerce with the whites, or at leaſt to entirely withdraw that confi- " dence which we had in their words and oaths.

" A large veſſel which touched here laſt year was in the moſt urgent want of pro- " viſions, without having effects neceſſary to purchaſe them. The merchants of Foule- " pointe, however, ſupplied the crew with oxen and rice, and at the ſame price at " which they could have bought them for ready money.

" They promiſed to ſend us payment by the firſt veſſel which ſhould come from the " Iſle of France. Since that period twelve have arrived; but they all refuſed to pay " this juſt debt.

" Will you now ſay, Bigorne, that the people of Foulepointe have behaved diſ- " honeſtly to the French?

" Will you ſay alſo, that, in giving a trade-muſket in exchange for an ox, you pay " too dear?

" Will you ſay that two yards of blue cloth is the juſt value of a meaſure of rice, " weighing fifty pounds? You either think us very ignorant of the price of proviſions " at the Iſle of France, or you have formed the mad project of giving laws to us in- " ſtead of receiving them.

" Is it not true," continued the orator, addreſſing himſelf to the Aſſembly, " that " you wiſh to deal with theſe ſtrangers hereafter on juſter and more equitable terms?"

The aſſembly teſtified by a general and tumultuous acclamation, that this was their deſire.

Bigorne then wiſhed to elevate his voice; but the orator commanded him to be ſilent; and reſumed his diſcourſe, by the order of John Harre and the other chiefs.

" The following," ſaid he, " are the conditions preſcribed by the merchants of Foule- " pointe: The meaſure of rice ſhall be diminiſhed, when, in meaſuring it, the whites " endeavour to heap up the rice, by knocking on the bottom of the meaſure, in order " to increaſe its contents: they will not ſuffer the meaſure to be heaped as here- " tofore."

This obſervation made the aſſembly ſmile.

" An ox ſhall no longer be given in exchange for a paltry trade-fuſee: a good ſoldier's " muſket ſhall be the price of an ox."

" A

" A piece of blue cloth ſhall contain two yards, according to the ancient meaſure.
" The bambou of powder ſhall be increaſed in ſuch a manner, that three bambous
" ſhall contain an hundred charges for a muſket.
" The people of Foulepointe, who ſerve the whites in quality of *ſcullions*, or domeſtics,
" ſhall receive a trade-fuſee as wages for thirty days ſervice."

After this the orator, addreſſing the chiefs and the aſſembly, ſaid, " Are not theſe
" your lateſt wiſhes?"—The cry of " Yes" then reſounded from all quarters, intermixed with ſhouts of praiſe and approbation.

When this noiſe had ſubſided, the orator cried out with a voice like thunder, " You
" hear, Bigorne, the wiſh of the *Palabre;* it is the law of the chiefs, it is the deſire
" of the people who trade with the whites. Explain fully to your maſters what I have
" juſt now propoſed.—If they accept theſe conditions, we ſhall confirm the treaty by
" a ſolemn ſacrifice. If they will not accept it, they may depart. We have no pro-
" viſions to give them."

Bigorne tranſlated word for word to M. Poivre the ſpeech which I have here related; and the latter was obliged to interpoſe his authority, in order to prevent him from reproaching the orator for his vehemence. Bigorne was not accuſtomed to be treated with ſo little ceremony by theſe people; and this leſſon ſeemed to hurt him the more, as it was given before officers honoured with the confidence of the Eaſt-India Company.

M. Poivre, on the contrary, beheld the energy of theſe ſavages with pleaſure. He was ſtruck with the force and ſolidity of their reaſoning; but, being intruſted with the intereſts of the company, it was not in his power to make any alteration in the uſual price of proviſions. He ordered Bigorne to communicate this to the aſſembly; and to aſſure them, at the ſame time, that the merchants of Foulepointe would be immediately and generouſly paid for all the commodities with which they had ſupplied the French. He likewiſe granted an augmentation of ſalary to thoſe domeſtics who were in the ſervice of the whites; and accompanied all his promiſes with the moſt polite expreſſions, and ſuch as were likely to awaken the ſenſibility of the chiefs. Whilſt he thus treated them as friends and brothers, he recommended peace and concord to them, in the ſtrongeſt terms; and gave them to underſtand, that the conduct of all thoſe whites who ſhould not entertain the ſame ſentiments and reſpect for them, would be generally diſapproved. The ſpeech of M. Poivre, delivered in the Malegache language by Bigorne, ſeemed to make more impreſſion on the orator than on the aſſembly; and it was only in conſequence of the advice given by the former, that the treaty was agreed upon by a general acclamation.

The concluſion of this treaty was a matter of the utmoſt importance. The wants of the veſſels were urgent: for, as they contained ſix hundred men, three oxen a day, with a proportionable quantity of rice, were neceſſary to ſupply them with proviſions.

This treaty was ratified with the utmoſt ſolemnity. The orator ſlaughtered a victim; received the blood in an earthen veſſel; and mixed with it ſea-water, pimento, gun-flints broken, and bruiſed very fine, and a ſmall quantity of earth and gunpowder, moiſtened with *taſia*, or ſpirit made from the ſugar-cane. Two leaden bullets ſerved him to pound theſe different ingredients, in order to form a kind of beverage, which he wiſhed the devil might convert into poiſon for all thoſe who, having drunk of it, ſhould not adhere to their oath. He then took two lances, or aſſagays, and dipped the points of them in the liquor, while John Harre ſprinkled a few drops of it upon the ground.

The

The orator, afterwards, taking a knife in his right hand, and firſt invoking the God of the whites, and then that of the blacks, begged them with a loud voice to inſpire into the hearts of both, peace, amity, concord, and ſincerity.

Then ſtriking with his knife the points of the two aſſagays, which he had dipped into the liquor, he denounced the moſt horrid maledictions and imprecations againſt thoſe who ſhould infringe the treaty.

" If the whites," ſaid he, " break their oath, may this beverage become poiſon to " them; may thoſe hurricanes which ruſh with fury from the four quarters of the " heavens, fall upon their veſſels; may they be ſwallowed up by the waves; and may " the bodies of theſe wicked men be torn by the formidable monſters which inhabit " the abyſſes of the ſea.

" Hear, John Harre—liſten to the voice of the powerful genius who inſpires me: " Should the people of Foulepointe be ſo baſe and ſo worthleſs as to violate this " ſolemn treaty, may they periſh by the ſword of the enemy; may their bellies burſt; " and may their filthy carcaſes become food for the crocodiles.

" Muſt not the inviſible ſpirit who preſides at this aſſembly be avenged? Muſt he " not puniſh the perjured, ſince he receives their oaths? All men, whether white or " black, are before him; all are ſubjected to his ſupreme will; and he requires from " us all, under the pain of incurring puniſhments equally terrible and ſevere, the ſame " fidelity, and the ſame ſincerity."

Rabefin (this was the name of the orator) pronounced theſe horrid imprecations three times; and with ſo much vehemence in his ſpeech and geſtures, that they made an impreſſion upon the aſſembly, of which it would be impoſſible to convey an idea by words.

Whilſt the aſſembly were in this ſtate of fear and terror, John Harre and the other chiefs with a trembling hand put about a ſpoonful of their diſguſting liquor into a leaf of *raven*, and ſwallowed it, with the moſt horrid grimaces. Their example was followed by the greater part of thoſe who aſſiſted at the ceremony: but ſome of the Frenchmen contented themſelves with only feigning to do it, notwithſtanding the preſſing invitation of Bigorne, who, without doubt, believed this ridiculous and diſagreeable farce neceſſary, if not to the ſucceſs, at leaſt to the ſolidity of the treaty.

Rabefin then proceeded to ſacrifice the victims; and a grand feaſt, accompanied with dancing, muſic, and ſports, terminated, rather in a noiſy but joyful manner, this celebrated *palabre*. I have deſcribed the ceremonies practiſed at this aſſembly in preference to any of thoſe at which I aſſiſted, merely becauſe it related to affairs of the utmoſt importance; and by doing ſo I have, I think, attained the end which I ought to have had in view, that of tracing out a ſlight ſketch of the character and extraordinary cuſtoms of theſe people.

The morning after the concluſion of the treaty, the market at Foulepointe was ſtored with every thing in abundance: the veſſels, therefore, made haſte to take in their quantity of proviſions; which they did ſoon, and at a very ſmall expence.

When M. Poivre arrived in France, he gave a favourable account of La Bigorne's conduct to the Eaſt-India Company. La Bigorne was then only interpreter at Foulepointe; but on the recommendation of M. Poivre, he received a commiſſion to manage, in the whole iſland of Madagaſcar, under the orders of the adminiſtration of the Iſle of France, all affairs relating to trade and the victualling of ſhips. The Company had every reaſon to be ſatisfied with their choice; for La Bigorne conducted himſelf with equal prudence and ability, till the year 1762, when he was recalled to the Iſle of France becauſe he had made war on John Harre. We are aſſured that he exerted his

utmoſt endeavours to preſerve peace at Foulepointe; but that he was, at length, obliged openly to ſupport ſeveral chiefs, allies of the French, who had cauſe to complain of the violence and depredations of John Harre, whoſe propenſity to vice and debauchery increaſed every day.

The chiefs who were enemies to John Harre united together, in order to prevail on Bigorne to take the command of their armies. This brave ſoldier did not, however, yield to their entreaties, but on conditions which muſt have appeared very ſtrange to the ſavages. He openly declared, that if he aſſumed the command of their troops, he would take the prudent precaution not to expoſe himſelf to the enemies fire; becauſe his death would infallibly occaſion the deſtruction of thoſe warriors who fought under his ſtandards. A general, who, following only the impulſe of his courage, ſuffers himſelf to be hurried into the thickeſt of the battle, is no longer able to diſpoſe his forces in the moſt advantageous manner; the army is then abſolutely without a chief; the combatants are conſequently thrown into diſorder; and chance only decides the victory.

I do not know whether the Medecaſſes were ſtruck with La Bigorne's reaſons. People without diſcipline, and who have no idea of the advantages which always reſult from good order and perfect harmony, muſt have believed that General Bigorne had more abilities than courage. However, after ſhewing ſome marks of aſtoniſhment and ſurpriſe, they ranged themſelves under his banners. La Bigorne then made them go through ſome very ſimple manœuvres; and finding them ſubmiſſive, and reſolved to execute his orders punctually, he led them towards the enemy. When the two armies were in ſight of each other, he renewed his prohibition of beginning the combat until he had given the ſignal.

The army of John Harre was more numerous and much ſtronger than that of La Bigorne; but the poſition of the latter ſeemed to promiſe him the moſt complete victory, ſhould John Harre venture to attack him. John Harre, not having ſufficient abilities to judge of his diſadvantageous ſituation, charged the enemy with vigour; but he was repulſed in ſo terrible a manner that he was obliged to ſeek ſafety by flight. This chief, therefore, who had hitherto been accounted invincible, was overcome merely by the ſkilful diſpoſition of a man, who did not appear in the engagement, and who was even at ſome diſtance from the field of battle.

John Harre, having afterwards learned that La Bigorne directed the movements of the army which had defeated him, obſerved, "How could I defend myſelf againſt the "inviſible ſpirit of a white man who attacked me? But, in order to be revenged, "I will quit Foulepointe, and retire to the bay of Antongil. My removal from that "port will alarm the merchants of Foulepointe; the markets will no longer be ſup-"plied; commerce will in the mean time ſuffer; and La Bigorne's chiefs will recall "him to the Iſle of France. My departure from Foulepointe, therefore, ſeems to pro-"miſe me a ſpeedy deliverance from my moſt formidable enemy."

What John Harre had predicted ſoon afterwards took place. His defeat had occaſioned great ſorrow at Foulepointe; and his departure put an entire ſtop to commerce. Some of the chiefs, friends to Bigorne, made vain efforts to bring proviſions to the markets; for the merchants at Foulepointe oppoſed them as much as they could. The French veſſels, which had come to that port for refreſhments, after endeavouring, without effect, to reſtore peace and concord among theſe people, were obliged to repair to the Iſle of France, in a very deplorable ſtate, and in the utmoſt want of the moſt common neceſſaries. On their united complaints La Bigorne was recalled and diſgraced: yet we are aſſured that he was not guilty; and that few men in his place

place would have ſuffered ſo long the oppreſſive and inſolent behaviour of John Harre. I ſhould be glad that I could believe this to be the caſe: but his conduct will always appear reprehenſible to thoſe who think they have no right to preſcribe rules and to give laws in a foreign country.

However this may be, La Bigorne's departure brought back John Harre to Foulepointe. On his arrival he met with a much better reception than he had any title to expect; and commerce ſoon began to reſume its wonted activity: but matters did not long remain in this tranquil ſituation. The flames of diſcord were not yet extinguiſhed; hatred and animoſity ſtill continued to foment them; but, at length, after a tedious war, the iſland of Madagaſcar was delivered from this turbulent and formidable tyrant, who could live in peace neither with his allies nor his ſubjects. He was killed in 1767 by the Manivouleſe; and his ſpoils ſerved to enrich the enemy, and to augment their power.

His ſon *Yavi* inherited only a ſmall part of his father's poſſeſſions, as he was too young not to be ſatisfied with what was given him. Of the reign of this prince I ſhall ſay nothing, though I had an opportunity of being particularly acquainted with him; for, as he had neither ſpirit nor abilities, he never performed any action of ſufficient importance to merit a place here.

At the time when John Harre died, the Iſles of France and Bourbon were not under the direction of the Eaſt India Company. The king had reſumed the management of them, and had appointed M. Poivre to be intendant of that colony. Bigorne then no longer found any obſtacle to prevent his returning to Foulepointe, where his preſence, on account of certain circumſtances, was become highly neceſſary. On his arrival he received from the inhabitants the moſt flattering teſtimonies of friendſhip and eſteem. The ſtrong idea which the iſlanders had before entertained of his talents and integrity, cauſed him to be choſen arbiter of all their differences. He re-eſtabliſhed peace in the northern part of Madagaſcar; and M. Poivre had nothing to beſtow upon him but praiſes for his good conduct. I was particularly acquainted with him, when I viſited Madagaſcar in 1768, and I can fully certify that he deſerved them. M. Poivre, who honoured me with his friendſhip and confidence, being deſirous of procuring for his celebrated garden at *Montplaiſir*, known at preſent by the name of *the King's Botanical Garden in the Iſle of France*, the rareſt and moſt uſeful plants of that iſland, caſt his eyes upon me as a perſon proper for making that valuable collection. He, indeed, could not have given a richer preſent to the colony entruſted to his care. This able adminiſtrator never ſuffered a veſſel to depart without requeſting the captain, or ſome intelligent officer, to bring him the various productions of the countries which they were going to viſit; and this demand was always accompanied with proper inſtructions. The garden of *Montplaiſir* thus became, in his hands, one of the richeſt nurſeries known, ſince it contains the moſt valuable plants of the four quarters of the world.

On my arrival at Foulepointe I did not find La Bigorne; and this diſappointment gave me the more uneaſineſs, as he was particularly enjoined to afford me every aſſiſtance in his power to accompliſh the object of my miſſion. However, after examining the whole environs of Foulepointe, I ſet out to join him at Mananharre, a village ſituated at the entrance of the bay of Antongil. In my way thither I traverſed the iſland of St. Mary, where I remained as long as was neceſſary for ſtudying its different productions: and I did not reach Mananharre till the eighth day after my departure from Foulepointe.

La Bigorne received me with every mark of attention, and gave me a variety of information, of which I have been here able to inſert only a few ſhort extracts. With

him I viſited the moſt intereſting places in the neighbourhood of the great bay of Antongil, and with him I ſaw thoſe aſtoniſhing quarries of rock cryſtal, the maſſes of which are ſo enormous as almoſt to ſurpaſs belief. But let me not loſe ſight of my object, and proceed to give an account of the eſtabliſhments formed by the French in the northern part of Madagaſcar.

I ſhall terminate what appeared to me moſt remarkable on this ſubject by an account of that of Benyowſki. This large eſtabliſhment, which was formed under the adminiſtration of M. de Boynes, coſt an immenſe ſum of money; had no ſucceſs; and ended in a very tragical manner.

Benyowſki has been ſo much celebrated that it may not be here improper to give a ſhort account of his principal adventures: but that I may not venture to ſay any thing without good authority, I ſhall tranſcribe the memoir which he delivered to the gentlemen intruſted with the management of the Iſle of France. This memoir was diſperſed ſo much throughout the colony, that it was eaſy for me to procure a copy of it. I have not made the leaſt correction in it; becauſe I thought it a matter of importance to exhibit in every point of view this audacious man, whoſe ſcandalous behaviour coſt millions to France, and brought new calamities on Madagaſcar.

Letter of Baron d'Aladar, known at present under the name of Benyowski, to the Governor of the Isle of France.

" IT is with the utmoſt pleaſure and eagerneſs, inſpired by my zeal and the deſire
" I have of ſerving you, that I proceed to ſatisfy you reſpecting what you require
" of me.

" Born a Hungarian, of the illuſtrious family of the barons de Benyowſki, I ſerved
" in quality of general in the armies of the empreſs our ſovereign. My father was of
" the houſe of Aladar XIII. and my mother of that of the counts de Rerary: I am
" conſequently a Pole by extraction.

" In 1765, the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, being dead, and his kingdom
" invaded, I went to Warſaw, to ſupport the intereſts of a prince in the midſt of
" trouble, and of the ſubverſion of celebrated ſtatutes, and of the firſt members of the
" ſtate. The grandees of the Kingdom had been arreſted by a ſecret order; and as I
" was of the party of the prince biſhop of Cracaw, and other magnates, a requeſt was
" made that I might be arreſted by prince Repnin, the Ruſſian miniſter. Informed of
" this deſign, and not knowing what to do, I repaired, as ſpeedily as I could, to a friend
" of prince Radziwil, whoſe protection I ſolicited. Here I ſtaid till the general con-
" federation of Bar was declared, to which being invited by marſhal Pulawſky, I im-
" mediately entered into that of Cracaw, under the command of Marſhal de Czarnowſky.
" Being admitted as an officer into the regiment of Caſtres, I was made a priſoner by
" the Muſcovites, who had taken Cracaw. I, however, ranſomed myſelf for the ſum
" of two thouſand ducats, and afterwards entered into the confederation of Bar, where
" having obtained the rank of colonel and general, I ſerved againſt the Muſcovites,
" under the command of Fortality-Svaniecz, and combated the enemy, as is proved in
" the acts of the confederation. The enemy being expelled, I received orders to go
" to Turkey with M. Pulawſky. The bacha of Natolia and Chotyn received me with
" friendſhip, and gave me aſſiſtance of troops and money, with which immediately
" entering the kingdom of Poland, I ſuſtained a combat againſt the Ruſſians, near
" Pruth, where I was wounded and taken. I was then carried to Riovia, where I

" found marſhal Czarnoſky, count Potoſky, and young Pularſky, with three thou-
" ſand men.

" Being afterwards removed to Cazan, I paſſed Nezin and Tuta; and, by means
" of a German ſurgeon, I tranſmitted to his eminence the prince biſhop of Cracaw,
" who was at Kaluga, a letter, in which I informed him of my misfortune. The
" governor of Cazan, M. Guaſnin Samarini, ſuffered me, like the reſt of the priſoners,
" to enjoy my liberty in the City.

" On the 15th of Auguſt 1769, I was viſited by a Ruſſian officer, who privately
" gave me letters from the captive princes, with orders to carry them to Kaluga.
" After conferring with the principals, and taking their advice on this ſubject, I
" eſcaped to Cazan, by pretending to the governor that I had an ardent deſire to viſit
" the copper mines, and arrived without any accident at Kaluga, aſſiſted by colonel
" Bachemetriew, the governor of Fortality, who was of the party of the priſoners.

" I had been appointed to treat perſonally with the princes and magnates; and it
" was agreed, that, confining myſelf to a few expeditions, I ſhould ſet out for Peterſ-
" burgh. I even repaired without delay to Quorſum; and, taking up my quarters
" in the houſe of colonel Soacſek, I finiſhed the expedition according to my engage-
" ment. When on the point of returning to Caſan, I was arreſted by orders of
" the empreſs of Ruſſia; and as nothing certain was known reſpecting my private
" flight, I was ſent priſoner to Kaluga, to which I had been diſpatched by the princes.

" Having formed a friendſhip with the governor, we entered into a treaty, by which,
" with the aſſiſtance of Tuga, we engaged to retire into Poland; and the governor
" had diſpoſed every thing to facilitate our eſcape, when, on the 18th of October
" 1769, an officer of the guards arrived from Peterſburgh with orders to arreſt the
" governor; but the governor prevented him by putting him to death; and, ſeeking
" ſafety by flight, left us all priſoners. That very day we were loaded with chains,
" and conducted to Peterſburgh, where it was impoſſible for me to hear any farther
" news of my companions in adverſity.

" I was ſhut up in the private priſon of Fortality; and, on the fourth day after
" being obliged to appear before Orlow and Czernichew, I was interrogated re-
" ſpecting ſeveral points. As they could draw nothing from my anſwers, even by
" threats, they promiſed me a pardon, in the name of the empreſs, if I would ſwear
" fidelity to her Majeſty, and diſcover thoſe ſecrets with which I had been entruſted.
" On my refuſing to comply with theſe terms, I was remanded to priſon, from which,
" by means of an officer, I wrote to prince Lobkowitz, her Majeſty's lieutenant; but
" I received no anſwer. Some days after, having appeared before the commiſſion, I
" was compelled to ſign the following paper:

" *I, the underſigned, acknowledge that I not only wiſhed to break my chains, but that I*
" *committed an aſſaſſination, and have been guilty of treaſon againſt her Imperial Majeſty;*
" *and if her Majeſty, through her natural goodneſs, ſhall be pleaſed to ſoften the rigour*
" *of my ſentence, I hereby engage, after recovering my liberty, never to ſet a foot again in*
" *the dominions of her Majeſty, much leſs to bear arms againſt her.*

" Baron Maurice Auguſtus Aladar de Benyowſki,
" Peterſburgh, Nov. 22d 1769: General of the firſt Confederation."

" After ſigning this paper, I was ſent back to confinement; and on the 24th of
" November, at midnight, an officer appeared, at the head of twenty-eight men, who
" having put irons on my legs, hurried me into a carriage, and proceeded towards
" Moſcow. I had as my companion in misfortune major Vynblat; and, deprived of

" all nouriſhment except bread and water, we paſſed through Nizney, Kuzmodem,
" Janſkoy, and Solichanſzky, where the officer who was entruſted with the care of
" conducting us, fell ill, which obliged us to remain there ſome days.

" On the 28th of December the ſame year, one of the ſoldiers came and told
" me that a body of guards, who were conducting ſome priſoners, had ſtopped at
" a place not far diſtant. As they were in our neighbourhood, they wiſhed very
" much to ſee people who were unfortunate like themſelves; and prevailed on their
" officer to conduct them to us in the night-time. When they arrived, I immediately
" perceived his ſerene highneſs the prince biſhop of Cracaw, whoſe tears prevented
" him from ſpeaking; but we were not long permitted to ſee each other. Having
" ſeparated, we purſued our journey, in company, but in different carriages, as far
" as Tobolſk, the capital of Siberia. After a very ſhort ſtay there, we croſſed the
" deſarts of Tartary, drawn by dogs, without hearing any thing of the reſt. We ſuf-
" fered much from hunger; and, after traverſing Siberia, we found ſome exiled officers
" of different nations.

" At length, on the 20th of May, 1770, we reached the Port of Ochozk, where we
" were kindly received by Pleniſtere, the governor. Soon after two Ruſſian officers
" arrived, who ſaid they belonged to the guards of their highneſſes the princes detained
" at Kaluga, and with whom I formed an intimate friendſhip.

" On the 3d of September the ſame year, we were put on board a ſhip, and con-
" veyed to the port of Bolſao. On the 24th of December I received a letter from the
" biſhop of Cracaw, by a merchant, who tranſmitted it to me. It informed me that
" the princes were removed to the northern part of Tartary, towards Anadyo; and
" that a troop of Ruſſian ſoldiers were preparing to revolt, in order to releaſe them.
" I immediately wrote to major Vynblat, to inform him what he ſhould do to procure
" us our liberty alſo. For my part I rendered myſelf the friend of the officer Gure-
" ſinim, who never quitted me; and he not only facilitated the means of my eſcaping,
" but even opened his purſe to me.

" Our affairs were in this ſituation when we were joined by two exiled Ruſſian
" officers, who told me, that near us there was a priſoner cloſely guarded, who was
" ſuppoſed to be a perſon of great diſtinction, and who had been kept in irons ſeven
" years. No perſon could give us any ſatisfactory account of him: we were only told
" that he was ten or eleven years of age, and that he was entruſted to the care of an
" old officer, who wiſhed very much for his deliverance. I conceived then a project
" of gaining the friendſhip of this officer, who willingly liſtened to my propoſals. He
" revealed to me the name of the priſoner; who was indeed of an illuſtrious birth;
" and we concerted together a plan for his eſcape, taking each of us an oath that we
" would exert ourſelves to the utmoſt to make it ſucceed.

" It was on the 25th of May, that, with the aſſiſtance of God, we intended to pro-
" cure our liberty at the price of our blood. As I was the only perſon who under-
" ſtood how to work a ſhip, I was appointed the chief of the enterpriſe. The conſpi-
" racy, however, being diſcovered on the 21ſt of April, the governor ordered me to
" be carried away in the night, for the ſecond time, with an intention of conveying
" me to ſome other place. My brethren in diſtreſs, frightened at this blow, came to
" me on the 26th, and begged me to relieve them. The affair was eaſy. The lieu-
" tenant, who was on guard over me, having cauſed arms to be carried privately to
" his habitation, ſupplied me and all my companions, at the head of whom I took
" poſſeſſion of the fort on the night of the 27th. In this action the governor and ſome
" others were killed in the commencement of the attack, while a few of my people
" only were ſlightly wounded.

" Next morning the ſoldiers and Coſſacks wiſhed to enter ſword in hand into the " town of Bolſao, the inhabitants of which, terrified, after the ſecond and third diſ- " charge of our muſketry, ſurrendered on the 29th of April. I entered triumphantly " into the town of Kamſchatka, and no one appeared to oppoſe me. I immediately " ſent people to ſeize the veſſels which were in the harbour; and went myſelf " with ſome others to Zamicka, where I arreſted the ſecretary of the ſenate, who had " arrived from Peterſburgh, and obliged him to deliver up all the letters of the " chancery. After taking every thing that belonged to me and two hundred in- " habitants of Kamſchatka, I went down to the harbour, where I ſeized on three ſhips, " choſe for myſelf the ſtrongeſt, and left the reſt diſmaſted.

" Having freed this veſſel, which was called the St. Peter, from the ice, I embarked " with every thing neceſſary, and ſet ſail on the 12th of May 1771. I had ſixty-ſeven " perſons with me on board, viz. eight officers, eight married women, and a " young woman known by the title of the Princeſs: the reſt conſiſted of the crew. " In this manner I departed from Kamſchatka, and paſſing the latitude of 52° 52′, " entered the channel of the Kurile iſles, commonly called *Jedſo*.

" Purſuing my courſe towards the north-eaſt, I landed on the iſland of Bernighiana, " ſituated to the eaſt, under the fifty-fifth degree of latitude, and the ninth meridian " from the port which I had left. Here I found M. Ochotyn, with eighty men. " This Poliſh officer, according to what he related, had ſaved himſelf in the ſame " manner as I, and had eſtabliſhed himſelf with his crew in thoſe American iſlands " called *Alentis*. He had formed an alliance with the inhabitants of the country; " and his people had contracted marriages amongſt them. In this iſland I left three " of my men; and he gave me letters to ſhew wherever I might judge it neceſſary to " do ſo.

" On the 26th of May, ſteering away a conſiderable diſtance from that iſland, I " found the ſea covered with ice, which obliged me on the 2d of June to land at " the iſland of Aladar, ſituated under the ſixty-firſt degree of latitude, and the " twenty-ſecond meridian from Kamſchatka. On the 9th of June I again put to ſea, " and directing my route towards the ſouth-eaſt, fell in, according to my reckoning, " with the point of the American continent, under the ſixtieth degree of latitude, and " the twenty-ſixth meridian from Kamſchatka. Sailing then towards the fifty-firſt " degree of latitude, on account of the violence of the wind, I afterwards changed " my courſe towards the ſouth-weſt; and on the 20th of June arrived at an iſland " known to the Ruſſians by the name of *Urum-Sir*, or the iſland of *Xti*, ſituated " under the latitude of 53° 45′, and diſtant 15° 58′ of longitude from Kamſchatka.

" Here I formed a friendſhip with the Americans, which induced me to remain " ſome days amongſt them; but on the 27th of June I ſet ſail, ſteering ſouth-weſt, " and kept at ſea till the 30th, when I diſcovered, in the latitude of 46° 6′, and ten " degrees of longitude from Kamſchatka, a land inhabited likewiſe by Ruſſians; but I " could not go on ſhore on account of contrary winds, which, notwithſtanding all my " efforts, carried me to a great diſtance from it. Having, therefore, formed a deſign " of reſuming my ancient route, after ſuffering a long time from the inconſtancy of " the winds, and finding that our water was exhauſted, ſo that we were obliged to " drink ſea-water, rendered potable with flour and whale oil, I landed, on the 15th " of July, on an iſland, which lies in the latitude of 32° 45′, and in longitude " 334° 45′ from Kamſchatka. This iſland was inhabited, and the beauty of its " ſituation, added to other attractions, induced me to give it the name of *Liquoris*. " I quitted it on the 22d, and directing my courſe weſtward, arrived, on the 28th, " at *Kilingur*, a Japaneſe port, ſituated in latitude 34° and longitude 343° from Kamſ-

" chatka.

" chatka. This port is close to a town and citadel, where we were kindly received by " the inhabitants, who gave us a supply of provisions.

" On the 1st of August I quitted this port, and on the 3d landed at *Meaco*, where " I was insulted by the Japanese, whom I found very untractable. Desirous of proceed- " ing thence to the Philippines, I continued my route towards the south, and, coast- " ing along some other islands for several days, landed in the isle of *Usona*, in latitude " 27° 28′, and longitude 335°.

" Being perfectly well received by the people of this island, I spent some days " amongst them: they supplied me with abundance of provisions; and after a mutual " treaty I sailed for the island of *Formosa*. Having entered a port in latitude 23° 15′, " and longitude 223°, I found myself attacked by the inhabitants, who killed three of " my men. After avenging their death, the winds always contrary obliged me to " make for the continent of China, coasting along some small islands known under the " name of *Piscatoria*; and want of water compelled me to enter by open force into " *Tanasoa*, and to attack the Chinese, who endeavoured to prevent me from procuring " a supply. I then sailed for *Macao*, a city belonging to her most Faithful Majesty, " where I arrived on the 22d of September 1771.

" In this place I was received with every mark of friendship, by the Sieur Salema " de Saldanha, the governor, and obtained permission for me and my crew to land; " but we left our arms in the ship, in order that we might excite no suspicion. Here " I learned that there was a league of friendship between our august sovereigns; and " being desirous of keeping a secret, in which they were interested, I asked permission " to hoist the flag of his most Christian Majesty, which I obtained.

" What can I say more to your excellency, that your own people are not able to " inform you of? Having transported my baggage to the house of M. de Robien, the " president of the council now in China, I embarked on the 17th of January, with my " crew, in two trading vessels, and arrived safe and found in the Isle of France, where " I have drawn up the present relation: I beg, therefore, that you would be pleased " to order me a speedy passage to Europe.

" I shall every where acknowledge this favour received from your friendship, and " shall be eternally devoted to your service.

" I am your Excellency's most humble Servant,

" *Baron Maurice Augustus d'Aladar de Benyowski.*

" General of the First Confederation."

Isle of France,
March 21, 1772.

ONE cannot help feeling some emotions of surprize on seeing that Benyowski has omitted every thing that might have tended to direct navigators in the route from Kamschatka to China, by the way of Japan. Nothing is necessary but the elements of the nautical science to enable one to remark soundings and anchorage; to point out the strength and direction of the winds; to determine the variations of the needle; to fix the situation of the principal capes and quicksands; and, in short, to give, if not the longitude, at least the latitude of the most remarkable places.

The journal of the pilot entrusted with the care of the vessel, ought certainly to have informed him respecting all these particulars.

A traveller of abilities, or only animated with a desire of rendering himself useful, when he visited distant countries, and traversed passages little frequented by European ships, would not have neglected details indispensably necessary to the safety and improvement of navigation. Benyowski, however, boasted of the extent of his knowledge, and

and of having diſcovered a new route for going from Kamſchatka to China: but the journal of his voyage, while it proves that he was ignorant even of the moſt common and technical terms uſed in navigation, leaves no document, or certain traces of the courſe which he ſays he purſued.

This accuſation is not made without ſufficient reaſon. I appeal for the juſtneſs of it to all thoſe who, like me, ſaw him arrive from Canton at the Iſle of France. They will all certify, that, with a view to render the account of his adventures more romantic, he publicly declared, that in a ſmall veſſel badly equipped, and almoſt deſtitute of proviſions, or rather having nothing to ſubſiſt on but dried fiſh, he quitted, on his departure from Kamſchatka, the Aſiatic coaſt in order to go to America. Over and above, this intrepid adventurer was not afraid to aſſirm before experienced ſeamen, that he went on ſhore on ſome unknown land, ſituated to the north of California. This ſtrange aſſertion gives riſe to a multitude of objections. The diſtreſſed ſituation of his veſſel rendered his narration very improbable: beſides, the ſhort journal which he had the imprudence to publiſh, made no mention of that land ſituated to the north of California, and much leſs of its productions. On the laſt article, above all, Benyowſki appeared to be exceedingly embarraſſed; and he could find no means of delivering himſelf from importunate queſtions, but by ſaying that he reſerved for his court alone, the honour of being made acquainted with the particulars of his important diſcoveries.

This evaſion was not attended with ſucceſs. A general map of the world was preſented to him, and he was deſired to trace out the Courſe of his voyage, after being aſſured that ſuch a ſlight ſketch could not expoſe him; but Benyowſki refuſed. M. Poivre, then intendant of the Iſle of France, was extremely glad that theſe efforts were made in his preſence, to detect the impudent impoſture of this ſtranger. That enlightened adminiſtrator prudently avoided taking any part in them; but he made uſe of this cloſe attack to inſpire M. de Boynes with a juſt and ſalutary ſuſpicion of the pretended diſcoveries of Benyowſki. If, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, this information did not produce the intended effect, it would certainly be highly illiberal to throw out even the ſlighteſt reproaches againſt him, on that account. However, the relation given by Benyowſki, of his romantic adventures, was ſufficient to ruin, in the opinion of the public, this man, who was not aſhamed to produce before a generous people a ſcandalous declaration, in which he owned himſelf guilty of an execrable crime. This ſtranger, ſaid they, is not a madman; and yet he wiſhes to perſuade us that force and rigorous means were uſed to deprive him of his innocence, and to cauſe him to ſign a deed, which, while it diſgraces and debaſes him, renders him odious and ſuſpected. What expreſſion in our language is ſtrong enough to characteriſe the unparalleled impudence of this ſtranger, who thus allowed himſelf to ſpread an accuſation more degrading to himſelf than to his enemies?

Is there a country in the world where the open acknowledgment of an aſſaſſination is the means of recovering liberty? What could have been the end of this ſcandalous declaration?—Is it not poſſible to diſcover the motive of it?

Whilſt I expreſs my ſentiments in this manner, I am only the faithful interpreter of that univerſal ſentiment of indignation with which the people of the Iſle of France were inſpired, when they read Benyowſki's improbable relation. It was an object of cenſure to every perſon of ſenſe; and if I have tranſcribed it literally, it was merely becauſe I thought it proper that the moral character of this adventurer ſhould be known. I hope I ſhall be pardoned for ſo often beſtowing upon him that degrading appellation. Benyowſki is not condemned by his writings alone; there are ſtill greater charges againſt him.

Eſcaped

Eſcaped from the priſons of Kamſchatka, Benyowſki proceeded to China with twenty or thirty priſoners. Scarcely had this ſtranger arrived at Canton, when he found among the French there ſome individuals, who were ſenſibly affected by his misfortunes; and he obtained from the factors and officers of the Eaſt India Company conſiderable aſſiſtance for himſelf, as well as for the people whom he pretended to have under his command. They even did more for him: they engaged M. de St. Hylaire to take him on board his ſhip, and to convey him with all his ſuite to the Iſle of France. M. de St. Hylaire, having a rich cargo under his care belonging to private merchants, made at firſt ſome heſitation: he was afraid of admitting into his veſſel ſuch a number of ſtrangers who had broke from the priſons of Kamſchatka; but compaſſion got the better of every other ſenſation. When he had, however, proceeded to ſea, his uneaſineſs began to be revived with more ſtrength; and very juſtly, for theſe people had given him ſome cauſe to repent of his imprudent generoſity. Theſe adventurers, at the time when they embarked, had carefully concealed their arms. M. de St. Hylaire, therefore, when informed of this deception, was exceedingly ſorry to have men in his ſhip who were perhaps in a ſituation of giving laws to him inſtead of receiving them. Thirty or forty priſoners, armed in a formidable manner, were, certainly, ſufficient to alarm him reſpecting the fate of his valuable cargo. In ſo delicate and difficult a ſituation what courſe could he purſue? Ought he to have made uſe of his authority to diſarm theſe ſtrangers? But his ſhip was weak, and badly equipped—ought he in ſuch a caſe to have riſked the property of his employers, and to have expoſed his life and his liberty againſt robuſt, reſolute, and enterpriſing men, who had every thing to gain and nothing to loſe? The ſlighteſt pretence might have given riſe to a quarrel, and produced an inſurrection which it was prudent to avoid. M. de St. Hylaire weighed all theſe matters in his mind, like a wiſe man; and, foreſeeing his danger, reſolved, after mature deliberation, to watch privately all the motions of his paſſengers. He even did more: he pretended to pay great honour, and to ſhew much deference and reſpect to Count Benyowſki. This adventurer then acted the man of importance; exhauſted all the reſources of the moſt impudent impoſture to give himſelf a ſtill greater air of conſequence; and by the moſt ridiculous bravadoes impoſed even on his companions in misfortune. He openly declared himſelf to be their chief; his orders were punctually executed: he ever afterwards commanded as a maſter, and they behaved to him with the obſequiouſneſs of ſlaves. None but thoſe who were gentlemen durſt ſpeak to him. This is a certain fact. I was told it by M. de St. Hylaire and his officers.

The honours ſo prudently paid to Benyowſki, while they flattered his pride, preſerved tranquillity and good order in the ſhip. Subordination, ſo neceſſary for the ſafety of navigators, was not interrupted by this dangerous man; and, at length, after a ſhort and favourable paſſage, they arrived at the Iſle of France. Much praiſe is certainly due to the wiſe and cautious conduct of M. de St. Hylaire; for it evidently appears that he extricated himſelf, with great ability, from a very difficult and dangerous ſituation.

Benyowſki, ſurrounded by a numerous ſuite, repaired immediately on his landing to the governor of the colony. He no longer appeared as an unfortunate priſoner, but as the general of an army decorated with ſeveral inſignia, and followed by an aid-de-camp whoſe rich uniforms announced an officer of ſuperior diſtinction. What an aſtoniſhing metamorphoſis, or rather what a ridiculous farce! Had I not been an eye-witneſs of it, I ſhould ſcarcely have ventured to relate it. When the real hiſtory of theſe adventurers was known at the Iſle of France, the general and his brilliant attendants became a ſubject of laughter to every ſenſible man in the colony. Seamen are ſeldom enthuſiaſts. Such people require coolneſs to ſubdue the elements, and knowledge to conduct, from one

one extremity of the earth to the other, thoſe large floating caſtles, which ſecure and protect the commerce of poliſhed nations. The lives of ſailors, and the ſafety of a ſhip or ſquadron, ought not to be entruſted to men too ſuſceptible of paſſion, or whoſe imaginations being lively and irregular are apt to be hurried into fits of delirium. Men of this kind, who are fond of, and admire, whatever is fabulous or romantic, are common only among idle and frivolous nations, or in large capitals, where their fatal influence occaſions ſtill greater diſorders than that of profligates. Such enthuſiaſtic characters are rare in the colonies, and are always deſtitute of credit and authority.

Benyowſki felt the truth of this aſſertion in all its bitterneſs. He ſaw, at the ſame time, of how much importance to him it was to immediately quit a country where his adventures and travels excited no enthuſiaſm. The more he prolonged his ſtay, the leſs reſpect was paid to him. On his departure for France he threw aſide the name of Baron d'Aladar, under which he had hitherto appeared, and aſſumed that of Count de Benyowſki: but what is highly worthy of remark is, that, at this epoch, he publicly announced that he was going to ſolicit in France the general government of the iſland of Madagaſcar.

This new gaſconade occaſioned much amuſement, and excited no alarm. One muſt have had a foreſight more than human to dread that a hope, in all appearance ſo chimerical, ſhould one day be realiſed. I can, therefore, ſafely aſſert, that words are not ſufficient to expreſs thoſe ſenſations of uneaſineſs and ſurpriſe which filled the minds of the whole colony, when they learned that Benyowſki had been appointed to the important ſtation of governor of Madagaſcar. I am entirely unacquainted with the ſeducing arts which this adventurer employed to accompliſh his ends: but M. Poivre, when he heard this intelligence, ſaid to me: "We have ſeen ſwarms of locuſts devour, in an "inſtant, abundant crops; we have ſeen two terrible hurricanes threaten the Iſle of "France with entire deſtruction: Madagaſcar ſerved to repair the evils cauſed by theſe "formidable ſcourges; but, in future, the Iſle of France will have no reſource. It "muſt ſink under its misfortunes, and periſh if afflicted with ſuch diſaſters. Under "Benyowſki's government, Madagaſcar will not ſupply this colony with proviſions: "we can no longer have in our diſtreſſes but diſtant and precarious ſuccours. I have "been much accuſtomed to ſee the ſucceſs of impoſtors and adventurers; but that of "Benyowſki aſtoniſhes me; eſpecially after the letter which I wrote reſpecting him to "M. de Boynes. I am well aware that every thing eccentric pleaſes and amuſes the "multitude, and leads them into every exceſs of credulity; but who could have "imagined, that a ſtranger, lately eſcaped from the priſons of Kamſchatka, and whoſe "character was blaſted by his own writings, would have obtained an important ſitua"tion without my conſent? Connected cloſely by my office with the proſperity of the "colony, I ought to have inſpired him, when he firſt ſpoke to me of Madagaſcar, with "a deſire of dethroning the Great Mogul. His requeſt, without doubt, would have "been granted; and we ſhould have been delivered."

Benyowſki, however, was permitted to raiſe a company of volunteers; and he wiſhed that this troop might be dreſſed and armed in ſuch a manner as to ſpread fear and terror among the Malegaches; but by this he proved how little he was acquainted with the character of theſe people. He then choſe the Bay of Antongil for the place of his principal eſtabliſhment, though that part of the country is ravaged and deſolated by peſtilential fevers, from the month of October to the beginning of May. Navigators call that fatal ſeaſon the winter. No doubt can be entertained that the noxious vapours which ariſe from the woods and marſhes, are the real cauſe of theſe epidemical diſeaſes.

The inflammable air and putrid exhalations, which proceed in abundance from water

in a ſtate of ſtagnation, and corrupted by the remains of vegetables, change the good quality of the atmoſpheric air, during calm weather or great heats. On ſuch occaſions the air is ſeldom renewed by the ſea breezes; the north winds carry theſe exhalations along the coaſts; and drought and tranquillity render their effects more fatal. The Malegaches know, in a ſmall degree, how to preſerve themſelves by remaining in their huts, or houſes, amidſt a thick ſmoke; yet the ſobereſt and moſt robuſt of theſe iſlanders cannot always withſtand the malignancy of the diſorder. It is not ſurprizing, therefore, that the Europeans, who are obliged to reſide on that coaſt, ſhould fall victims to diſtempers, which attack even thoſe who are ſeaſoned to the climate.

I was witneſs to the entire deſtruction of a ſmall French eſtabliſhment at Foulepointe about the end of the year 1768. Though aſſiſtance of every kind was ſpeedily given to the unfortunate people who belonged to it, not one of them could be ſaved. The robuſt as well as the weak all fell victims to diſeaſe in the courſe of a very ſhort time. If I beheld this calamity without ſharing the fate of the reſt, it was becauſe the ſalubrious ſea air with which our veſſel was ſurrounded, corrected, in ſome degree, the fatal effects of the putrid exhalations. Beſides, as ſoon as the firſt ſymptoms of the diſeaſe appeared in the village, all communication with the land, except what was indiſpenſably neceſſary, was rigorouſly forbidden. The crew were no longer allowed to have any intercourſe with the iſlanders: nor were their piroguas ſuffered to approach our veſſel. Without this precaution the infection might have been introduced into the ſhip; and no means could have been deviſed to check its progreſs. Thoſe who intend to frequent this dangerous coaſt ought not to deſpiſe theſe obſervations, the juſtneſs of which is confirmed by a multitude of examples. In a word, one muſt either periſh or fly from that unwholeſome climate when the infection breaks out. No part in the northern quarter of Madagaſcar is free from putrid and malignant fevers; but theſe cruel diſeaſes do not every year occaſion the ſame ravages. Their violence and duration ſeem to depend more particularly on the direction of the wind. When it blows long from the north, the evil is at its height. There are few men robuſt and ſtrong enough to reſiſt the influence of this dangerous wind, which prevails only from the end of October till the beginning of May.

Benyowſki certainly could not have had very juſt notions, or accurate accounts, reſpecting the unhealthfulneſs of Madagaſcar. Yet it cannot be preſumed that the badneſs of its climate was entirely unknown to him, as he had reſided ſome time at the Iſle of France. It was obſerved even then that he had formed a deſign of ſoliciting the government of it: but this man, accuſtomed to brave every kind of danger, muſt not have thought ſuch an obſtacle capable of oppoſing the ſucceſs of a permanent eſtabliſhment.

However this may be, Benyowſki arrived at the Bay of Antongil, ſurrounded by a body of troops ſufficient to overawe the iſlanders. His ſoldiers were furniſhed with enormous ſabres; they wore piſtols in their girdles; and it appeared as if their arms, their helmets, and their uniforms had been invented to ſpread fear and terror amongſt the natives of Madagaſcar. As ſoon as he had landed, he took formal poſſeſſion of the iſland, and made himſelf be proclaimed governor-general. He then traced out the plans of ſeveral fortreſſes, with a view of rendering himſelf formidable to the Malegaches, whom he wiſhed to conquer and ſubdue. His projects, however, were neither founded on juſtice, nor directed by a local knowledge of the country. He made war upon the Malegaches; exerciſed every kind of cruelty againſt them; and was ſoon execrated as the tyrant of the country. The natives, frightened, fled into the interior

parts of the iſland; all commerce was ſuſpended; and Benyowſki deſerted was known throughout all Madagaſcar by the name of the *wicked white man.*

It was, doubtleſs, very eaſy to foreſee that Benyowſki's eſtabliſhment would not be attended with ſucceſs: but ſuch a beginning would certainly appear ſurpriſing, were not the immorality and miſconduct of this adventurer well known. The reception Benyowſki met with in France, and his being veſted with unlimited power, muſt indeed aſtoniſh every perſon of ſenſe. We live in an enlightened age, and, on that account, it is more difficult to account for the French nation thus confiding in, and employing, a ſtranger whoſe actions were more than ſuſpicious. Several millions were thus ſacrificed to a falſe and imprudent ſpeculation, from which nothing could reſult but great evils to the Iſle of France, and ſtill greater to Madagaſcar.

A ſimple recital of facts conveys the moſt ſevere cenſure upon the imprudent confidence repoſed in this adventurer. M. Poivre certainly is free from all blame on that account; for he did every thing in his power to guard his country againſt the danger of being deluded by him.

But let us hear the account of an officer of diſtinction, who has every title to the higheſt celebrity. I am not allowed to mention his name; becauſe, being now abſent, I had not an opportunity of aſking his permiſſion. This officer accompanied M. de Belcombe and M. Chevreau when they inſpected Benyowſki's eſtabliſhments at Madagaſcar.

"When I arrived," ſays he, "at Foulepointe, on the 17th of September 1776, the "population of the villages in the neighbourhood of the fort had decreaſed one half; "bloody wars had deſolated the whole country; the crops were entirely deſtroyed; "and agriculture was ſo much neglected that we could hardly procure three hundred "pounds of rice. A ſcarcity of other proviſions was equally felt. My ſurpriſe, on "this account, was very great; for, when I was in the ſame ſpot three years before, "I obſerved commerce and agriculture flouriſhing; the markets were abundantly "ſupplied; and ten large veſſels found a ſufficiency of rice to load them, without any "increaſe taking place in the value of that neceſſary commodity. This large quan-"tity of proviſion was ſolely deſtined for the Iſle of France, which three ſucceſſive "hurricanes had reduced to a moſt alarming ſtate of diſtreſs. All the crops were "loſt; a dreadful famine, the inevitable conſequence of theſe ſcourges, threatened "the colony with ruin; and the ſeverity of it began even to be felt, when the ſpeedy "arrival of theſe ten veſſels, loaded with rice, quieted the uneaſineſs of the inhabit-"ants, in the firſt moments of their diſtreſs. If, on this occaſion as on many others, "Foulepointe ſaved the Iſle of France, we could no longer hope for the ſame aſſiſtance. "The fields were uncultivated, and commerce entirely annihilated. The deſpotiſm of "Benyowſki had ſpread a general alarm throughout the iſland. The Malegaches in "conſternation fled from the borders of the ſea, and retired to the interior parts of the "country.

"M. de Belcombe having aſſembled Yavi, the ſovereign of Foulepointe, and the "other chiefs of the neighbourhood, aſked them if they had any reaſon to complain "of the French, and above all of the fifteen ſoldiers of Benyowſki's legion who "guarded the harbour of Foulepointe. Their anſwer to this queſtion was not ex-"plicit: they were, doubtleſs, afraid that their complaints would ſerve as a pretence "for new perſecutions; and confined themſelves merely to the requeſting of a free "trade. M. de Belcombe aſſured Yavi and the reſt of the chiefs, that the French "ſoldiers were kept at Madagaſcar only to protect and ſecure the liberty of the Male-

"gaches;

" gaches; and he exhorted them to cultivate their lands, and to live in peace with " their neighbours. M. Chevreau took an inventory of the ſtores belonging to the " king; and M. de Belcombe, before his departure for the Bay of Antongil, gave " the ſtricteſt and moſt preciſe orders to the officer who commanded the detachment, " to maintain diſcipline among his troops, and to put a ſpeedy end to the uneaſineſs " and alarms of theſe people.

" M. de Belcombe and M. Chevreau made but a very ſhort ſtay at Foulepointe. As " the principal object of their miſſion reſpected Benyowſki's eſtabliſhment at the Bay " of Antongil, they proceeded thither; and M. de Belcombe appeared at the head of " the troops, as inſpector of the French ſettlements in Madagaſcar.

" I accompanied M. de Belcombe and M. Chevreau, being ordered by the governor " of the Iſle of France to attend them on this ſervice.

" Benyowſki's audacity aſtoniſhed me ſo much that words can ſcarcely expreſs " what I felt. He at firſt received M. Chevreau with haughtineſs, and I may even " ſay impudence.

" M. de Belcombe appeared ſatisfied with the military poſition of the ſpot choſen " by Benyowſki for forming his principal eſtabliſhment, to which he had given the name " of *Louiſburgh:* but though this place may be eaſily defended, I know none more " marſhy and unhealthful.

" Louiſburgh is ſituated on a tongue of land which advances three hundred fathoms " into the ſea. The ground upon which the magazines and houſes are built is ſcarcely " four feet above the level of the water, in the time of high tides; and even this ele- " vation has been formed by embankments. All the neighbouring land is a marſh, " which the ſea covers at certain periods. The fort conſtructed for the defence and " protection of Louiſburgh, conſiſts of three baſtions, each of which is mounted with " one cannon. This fort is of wood, and is built upon ſtakes driven into the earth. " I dare venture to affirm that both it and the houſes are already in need of being " rebuilt; for all the wood was in a ſtate of rottenneſs, occaſioned by the moiſture. " The tongue of land upon which Louiſburgh ſtands is connected on one ſide with " Port Choiſeul, an excellent harbour, and capable of receiving ſeveral large veſſels. " A ſpacious and beautiful river, called by the Malegaches Linguebate, gives this " tongue of land the form of a peninſula. The river Linguebate is an hundred and " eighty fathoms in breadth; it is navigable; and I followed its courſe in a boat " for the ſpace of ſeven leagues. At this diſtance it is an hundred and fifty fathoms in " breadth.

" On the banks of this river Benyowſki has conſtructed ſeveral forts, the moſt con- " ſiderable of which is, at leaſt, equal in ſtrength to that built for the defence of Louiſ- " burgh. The banks of Linguebate river are only four feet high at its mouth: but " the nearer you approach to its ſource the more this height increaſes. In following " its ſource I was much delighted with the beauty of the neighbouring fields, which " preſent a ſpectacle highly intereſting.

" I at length arrived with M. de Belcombe and M. Chevreau at a place called, by " Benyowſki, the *Plain of Health.* Between this place and Louiſburgh we viſited " ſeveral ſmall forts, and fifteen villages. Benyowſki had boaſted much to us of the " happy ſituation of this place, which was truly rural; but we found that its denomi- " nation was altogether improper. The *Plain of Health* appeared to us to be a very " unhealthful ſpot, ſurrounded by mountains, the great height of which attracts the " clouds, and condenſes them into rain. M. de Belcombe remarked to Benyowſki the " diſadvantages of this poſt: but though they were obvious, he obſtinately refuſed to

" acknowledge them. In vain was he ſhewn the defiles in the mountains, which it " was impoſſible to guard: he ſtill perſiſted that this poſt was leſs ſuſceptible of an " attack than that of Louiſburgh. He maintained that a ſmall battery, which he called " Fort Auguſtus, ſituated on a peaked mount in the middle of the *Plain of Health*, " would protect and defend his eſtabliſhment in ſuch a manner as to repel an enemy, " however numerous. I aſcended to this fine fortreſs by a paltry ſtair, conſiſting of an " hundred and fifty ſteps, and found it a ſquare of eight fathoms, ſurrounded by " paliſades abſolutely rotten. Four three-pounders were the formidable artillery, " which, on the one hand, were to protect the navigation of the river Linguebate, and " on the other to defend the grand eſtabliſhment which he propoſed to form at the " bottom of the fort, and to which he had already given the name of the *Town of the* " *Plain of Health*.

" This town conſiſted, when we ſaw it, of a magazine fifty feet in length, and " thirty in breadth; and of two other ſmaller edifices, one of which was intended for " an hoſpital, and the other for barracks. M. de Belcombe, in my preſence, aſked " Benyowſki, if he had nothing more to ſhew him. Benyowſki, without being in " the leaſt diſconcerted, replied, My forts protect the navigation of the important " river Linguebate, and the free navigation of this river renders me abſolute maſter " of the adjacent country. Have I not in this rendered a very eſſential ſervice to " France? Could any thing more be expected from the forces and funds which were " at my diſpoſal? Would another in my place have done more?—Would he have " done as much? M. de Belcombe ſmiled, and ſaid, You ſent word, governor, to the " miniſter of the marine, that you had laid the foundation of a large town, which " you called the *Plain of Health*. Where is that town?—What has become of it?— " Has it diſappeared? for I ſee nothing here but a few miſerable huts.

" To this embarraſſing queſtion Benyowſki replied, that his funds had failed. My " citadel, added he, has coſt more than I expected. It was neceſſary that I ſhould " firſt pay attention to the ſafety of the town, the plan of which I will now ſhew you: " this project is not a chimera; it will be carried into execution as ſoon as I can pro- " cure funds ſufficient to undertake it.

" But your citadel, ſaid M. de Belcombe, is a ſmall pitiful battery, commanded on " all ſides by the high mountains which ſurround it: this battery of four three-pounders, " placed on the ſummit of a ſmall mount, can never anſwer the end you propoſe. " Beſides, I here come from France, by orders of the miniſter, to inſpect your labours, " and I cannot avoid making you acquainted with my reflections. Permit me to aſk " you another queſtion, no leſs intereſting—Where is that grand highway from Louiſ- " burgh to Bombetoc? Enable me, I pray, to give an account of it to the miniſter. " You have explained the advantages of it to him in the minuteſt manner. You have " told him that this communication of the eaſtern with the weſtern ſide of the iſland " muſt make you ſovereign, as one may ſay, of the African coaſt, becauſe the port " of Bombetoc is ſeparated from Africa only by the channel of Mozambique. That " this wild country, interſected by high mountains, foreſts, and rivers, ſhould not " have thrown obſtacles in the way of your project, is to me a matter of aſtoniſhment " and ſurpriſe.

" That route, ſaid Benyowſki, is traced out: this is a fact that cannot be conteſted. " I ſhall ſhew you an itinerary, and directions to be purſued for traverſing that chain " of mountains which ſeparates the eaſtern from the weſtern coaſt. You muſt leave " on the ſouth the high mountain of Vigagora, and follow, a few deviations ex- " cepted, the road frequented by the iſlanders, when they come from the coaſt of

" Bombetoc

" Bombetoc to the Bay of Antongil. Some labour will be, doubtleſs, neceſſary to " render this road more practicable; but the preſent ſeaſon, and my ſituation with " regard to the iſlanders, will not permit me, for ſome time, to engage in that un- " dertaking. If you wiſh, however, to explore this route, I will accompany you; " and you will then ſee what difficulties I muſt experience, before I can overcome " thoſe obſtacles which are to be ſurmounted.

" M. de Belcombe had neither leiſure nor inclination to undertake a long and dif- " ficult journey acroſs the iſland of Madagaſcar, and he rightly conjectured that " Benyowſki had not made the propoſal but from a certainty of being refuſed. M. " de Belcombe thought it his duty to obſerve, that he was commiſſioned to inſpect " works executed, and not works projected. Proceeding then to a new queſtion, " he aſked him why he had ceaſed to ſend rice and oxen to the Iſle of France. The " wars which I have had to carry on againſt the iſlanders, ſaid Benyowſki, have de- " prived, and ſtill deprive me, of the proviſions neceſſary for my own people. In " ſuch a ſituation, how could I ſend ſupplies to the Iſle of France? You muſt readily " ſee that it was impoſſible. I can with equal eaſe juſtify the wars I have undertaken. " I aſſemble a *palabre*, and propoſe to the iſlanders plans calculated to promote their " advantage. They, however, not only reject them, but the chiefs have the inſolence " to threaten me. They even do more: a ſignal is given for deſtroying me; ſeveral " muſkets are diſcharged at once; and I eſcape, almoſt miraculouſly, from this immi- " nent danger. Being vigorouſly ſupported by my ſoldiers, I diſperſe the multitude, " and frighten them by ſome cannot ſhots which I order to be diſcharged from the " fort. I inſiſt on having the heads of thoſe chiefs who made an attempt on my life, " in the middle of a ſolemn aſſembly; but this is refuſed. I then call to my aſſiſt- " ance the Sambarives, a people who live on the banks of the river Manaharre: " five hundred of their warriors range themſelves under my ſtandards, and enable me to " puniſh and ſubdue my dangerous neighbours. Being compelled to ſue for peace, " the articles of a treaty were formally agreed on and ſanctioned in a grand *cabar* or " *palabre*; the uſual ceremonies were obſerved; I rewarded the Sambarives when I " diſmiſſed them; I promiſed to protect and defend them againſt the enterpriſes of " their enemies; and I exhorted them to cultivate their lands, as the ſpeedieſt mode " of remedying thoſe evils which had been occaſioned by our diſſentions. Theſe evils " are undoubtedly great; the country is laid waſte; the principal part of the villages " preſent nothing to the ſight but heaps of aſhes; the lands are left uncultivated; " and a famine has been the neceſſary conſequence of all theſe diſorders. Peace and " tranquillity, however, are about to be reſtored: the iſlanders, more timorous and " ſubmiſſive, will apply to agriculture; and will repair thoſe misfortunes, which they " have brought upon themſelves by their odious and criminal plot againſt a man who " knows how to make himſelf be feared and reſpected. The authority with which I " am inveſted ſhall never loſe its force in my hands; I will never ſuffer it to be de- " ſpiſed; I will enforce obedience. Every military man muſt approve my conduct, " and adopt my principles. The whites ought never to truſt to the friendſhip of the " blacks; they ought not even to demean themſelves ſo far as to ſeek for it. I am " a foreigner, and on that account ought to exert myſelf the more in order to pro- " cure reſpect to the French flag. My adminiſtration will reſtore to it that degree of " weight which the weakneſs of my predeceſſors made it loſe.——Such almoſt was " the ſubſtance of Benyowſki's converſation. He added invectives of every kind " againſt the iſlanders, whoſe character he delineated under the blackeſt and falſeſt " colours.

" We judged that an abſolute want of proviſions was the only motive which had " determined him to preſerve peace. The hatred and reſentment of this revengeful " man had given way only to the moſt urgent neceſſity. M. Belcombe, being much " alarmed on this account, endeavoured to inſpire Benyowſki with juſter and more " humane ideas; and though he was convinced of the inutility of his exhorta- " tions and efforts to render the peace durable, he reſolved, on his return to Louiſ- " burgh, to make a new treaty, in order to convince the inhabitants of Madagaſcar " that he entertained ſentiments truly pacific.

" Benyowſki violently oppoſed this plan, which M. de Belcombe had formed, of " again aſſembling the iſlanders, for the purpoſe of confirming the peace; and he en- " deavoured to prove, that the holding of a new *palabre* would be attended with " great inconveniences. His remonſtrances however were of no avail; the aſſembly " was held on the ſecond of October 1776; but it was not numerous, and conſiſted " only of an hundred and fifty of the natives. M. de Belcombe, on this occaſion, " renewed the treaty; exhorted theſe people to cultivate their lands; to avoid all " cauſe of diſcord among themſelves; and aſſured them that the French eſtabliſh- " ment at the Bay of Antongil had no other object in view than that of ſecuring to " them happineſs and tranquillity. Sell, ſaid he, what proviſions you can ſpare to " the French, and they will protect you. Your enemies will then no longer dare to " attack you; and you may, in future, apply to commerce and agriculture with the " greateſt ſafety. It is but doing juſtice to M. de Belcombe to obſerve, that he neg- " lected no means which were likely to re-eſtabliſh concord and confidence among the " iſlanders; but every hope of proſperity was chimerical, as long as the French ſet- " tlements were under the direction of Benyowſki. The iſlanders remained motionleſs, " and ſeemed to be inſenſible to all the teſtimonies of friendſhip and aſſurances of good- " will which were given to them. Benyowſki appeared to me very much chagrined " at the inſinuations thrown out againſt his conduct. This was very evident; for " M. de Belcombe wiſhed that his ſentiments might not be miſunderſtood, though he " always behaved to the Governor with that deference and reſpect which are neceſſary " for preſerving ſubordination. Before our departure from Madagaſcar, I had a con- " verſation with Benyowſki, on the little advantage which France was likely to derive " from the eſtabliſhment at the Bay of Antongil. You are right, ſaid he, in your " opinion; but a leſſon which has coſt two millions of livres, is not too dear to teach " your nation, that it ought to have allowed me a ſquadron of ſhips, with two millions " of livres for my annual expenditure. Had it then ſent ſix hundred recruits every " year, I ſhould have raiſed in the courſe of twenty years a flouriſhing and formidable " colony. I obſerved to him that the country was unhealthful; and that five in ſix " of the people ſent thither fell victims to the inſalubrity of the climate. In anſwer to " this, Benyowſki replied, that by clearing conſiderable tracts of land, during the " favourable ſeaſon, diſeaſes might be prevented, and that the *Plain of Health* was a " healthful ſpot, whatever M. de Belcombe might ſay to the contrary. If I have loſt " a great many people, continued he; and if the eighty who remain, are either ſick " or in a ſtate of convaleſcence, this deplorable ſituation, in which you find me, is to " be aſcribed to the war I was obliged to undertake againſt the iſlanders, and ſtill " more to my reſiding at Louiſburgh. Beſides, it is always much eaſier to conquer " a colony belonging to an enemy, than to eſtabliſh one. I agreed with him in this " idea; and quitted him, much aſtoniſhed at the confidence repoſed by the French " miniſtry in the projects of this foreigner.

" On

" On our arrival at the Iſle of France, that colony began to be in want of pro-
" viſions. The reſources of Madagaſcar had abſolutely failed. It was neceſſary,
" therefore, to ſend ſhips to the Cape of Good Hope; and heavy complaints pro-
" ceeded from every quarter, in order to open the eyes of the miniſtry reſpecting the
" miſconduct of Benyowſki."

The journal from which the above account is extracted proves, that the eſtabliſhment formed at the Bay of Antongil was not ſuſceptible of being preſerved.

At the time when it was inſpected by M. de Belcombe, M. de Boynes was not miniſter of the marine. M. Turgot had ſucceeded to that office; and under the adminiſtration of this prudent miniſter ſuch an eſtabliſhment could not be ſupported. Vain efforts were made to avert the ſtorm, for impoſtors every where find protectors; but ſentence was pronounced; and if it was not put in execution till the adminiſtration of his ſucceſſor, it was becauſe M. Turgot did not remain long enough in office to pay particular attention to this part of his duty. This illuſtrious man, whoſe eminent talents raiſed him far above the generality of his cotemporaries, knew from M. Poivre, that Benyowſki was a dangerous adventurer, who had rendered himſelf the tyrant and ſcourge of the natives of Madagaſcar. Having juſt then returned to Europe, I learned that Benyowſki had made a conqueſt of the iſland of Madagaſcar; and I heard his courage and abilities every where extolled. I was aſſured that he had built towns and fortreſſes; that he had conſtructed a grand road from Louiſburgh to Bombetoc; and all theſe reveries ſeriouſly propagated were ſo much believed, as to become a ſubject of wonder and converſation in the city. One was ſcarcely allowed to doubt the truth of theſe ridiculous fables; and M. Poivre himſelf was obliged to undertake the taſk of refuting them. In the mean time Benyowſki, diſgraced, arrived in Paris, where he endeavoured to confirm the reports which had been ſpread of his brilliant exploits in Madagaſcar. He complained loudly of the injuſtice of the adminiſtration of the Iſle of France; and was at length able, if not to juſtify himſelf, at leaſt to obtain new rewards. He then inſinuated himſelf into favour with Dr. Franklin: this fact is inconteſtable, as I was an eye-witneſs of it; but I cannot reproach myſelf with having ſuffered that celebrated man to be ignorant of what I knew reſpecting this adventurer. Benyowſki, however, went to America, where he had ſcarcely arrived when he again formed a project of getting poſſeſſion of Madagaſcar; and with that view proceeded to the Bay of Antongil, in an American veſſel. I am not acquainted with the object of this expedition; but I know that M. de Souillac, the governor of the iſle of France, ſent, on the 9th of May 1786, a veſſel, called the Louiſa, commanded by Viſcount de la Croix, to oppoſe Benyowſki's enterpriſes; and cauſed a detachment of ſixty men from the regiment of Pondicherry, under the orders of M. Larcher, a captain of infantry, to accompany him. M. Mayeur, alſo, the principal factor, embarked in the ſame veſſel, in order to give M. Larcher every information neceſſary to counteract the views of Benyowſki; for it was known, that he had ſeized a magazine belonging to the king at Angoncy, a village ſituated to the north of the Bay of Antongil.

The Louiſa caſt anchor at Foulepointe on the 17th of the ſame month; and Count de la Croix, after procuring ſuch proviſions as he ſtood in need of, quitted that port and proceeded to Angoncy. He arrived there on the 23d; but inſtead of anchoring in the bay, the entrance of which is difficult, and the ſituation badly laid down in charts, he choſe rather to anchor at the diſtance of half a league from the ſhore, in the bay of the eaſtern cape near to that of Angoncy. When the veſſel was ſafely moored, M. Larcher prepared to make good a landing; and ſome boats well manned, and having each two pieces of cannon in their bows, advanced towards a part of the coaſt where no obſtacle appeared to interrupt them: but when the people were juſt ready to go on ſhore, a volley

volley from Benyowſki's troops left them in no doubt reſpecting the hoſtile intentions of that adventurer. A few cannon ſhots, however, diſperſed the enemy, who were ſeen retreating into the woods; and after they had diſappeared, a deſcent was effected without impediment or diſorder. M. Larcher, at the head of his men, wiſhed to march directly towards Benyowſki's ſettlement; but he was unwilling to entangle himſelf in the thick woods, where it would have been impoſſible for him to make uſe of his artillery. The iſlanders therefore, who ſerved him as guides, conducted him by a more open route, which would, however, have preſented inſurmountable obſtacles had it been guarded and defended.

M. Larcher had five marſhes, and a bad bridge, ninety feet long, to croſs, before he could arrive at Benyowſki's ſettlement. It may be readily ſuppoſed that he would not have purſued this route had he been acquainted with the danger of it: but Benyowſki was ſo little afraid that any one could march by ſo difficult a road, that he had neglected to cut down the bridge which rendered it paſſable. This negligence is inconceivable in a man who expected an attack: for it was afterwards known, that he openly ſaid, "The people of Foulepointe will ſoon come to aſk reſtitution of the "magazine I have ſeized: I am glad of it; for they will ſave me the trouble of going "to attack them at Foulepointe."

When M. Larcher had paſſed the bridge with his artillery, he diſtinctly heard the noiſe of people at work. A little while after the advanced guard announced that he ſaw a red flag, which is the ordinary ſignal for engaging in this iſland. M. Larcher immediately ordered his men to inſpect their arms, and to prepare for marching towards the enemy in order of battle. Fifty houſes were then perceived, all regularly placed in a line, one of which, larger and higher than the reſt, was judged to be that of Benyowſki. They had not yet ſeen the fort, as the view of it was intercepted by a ſmall grove of trees: but as ſoon as they diſtinguiſhed it, they obſerved about an hundred men who were retiring to it with precipitation.

This fort, ſituated on an eminence, and ſurrounded by ſtrong paliſades, was defended by two four-pounders and a few ſwivels. As ſoon as Benyowſki judged that the French were near enough, he ordered his men to fire the cannon. The firſt diſcharge was with bullets; the ſecond with grape ſhot; and the third with ſmall balls. Theſe three diſcharges were ſupported by a briſk fire of muſketry; but notwithſtanding this defence, the French continued to advance in good order. When the commanding officer thought that he was at a proper diſtance from the enemy, he ordered them to return Benyowſki's fire. This ſingle volley proved deciſive: Benyowſki received a wound in the breaſt with a ball, which put an end to his exiſtence, at the moment when he was juſt applying a match to a cannon loaded with grape-ſhot. Luckily the priming did not catch fire: had this cannon been diſcharged, it would certainly have occaſioned great diſorder among the French; and might have, perhaps, cauſed their expedition to miſcarry. They were in a ſituation where it was neceſſary for them either to conquer or periſh; they were deprived of every means of being ſupported; all communication with the coaſt was cut off; and they were incloſed in ſuch a manner that it would have been impoſſible for them to regain their veſſel. Immediately after Benyowſki's death, the fort ſurrendered at diſcretion. The greater part of the iſlanders ſaved themſelves over the paliſades; and no attempt was made to ſtop them. The object of the expedition was accompliſhed; and M. Larcher had ſtrict orders to treat the inhabitants of the country with humanity. Some of them, who joined the whites, laid down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners; but they were the ſame moment releaſed, and reſtored to their full liberty. This generous behaviour

behaviour induced the chief of Angoncy to come to requeſt peace, and to throw himſelf under the protection of the French. He preſented to M. Larcher an old Portugueſe woman, and the Baroneſs d'Adeſcheins, the widow of an officer who had followed Benyowſki to Madagaſcar. Theſe two women had fled for ſhelter to the chief; and it was in compliance with their entreaties that he delivered them into the hands of the French. This chief complained bitterly of Benyowſki's tyranny. He ſaid he had reigned over that fertile part of the country where he was eſtabliſhed with a rod of iron; that he plundered the inhabitants without mercy; and deſtroyed, through fear, the fruits of their induſtry. He was continually adding new taxes to the burthens which he thought proper to impoſe on them; and he violated, in an outrageous manner, the moſt reſpected uſages and cuſtoms. Their vain remonſtrances were rejected with harſhneſs. In treating them as ſlaves, and ſubjecting them to the moſt galling yoke, he wiſhed to make them loſe even the hopes of recovering their liberty. Theſe people were ſubmiſſive to his caprices: his conſummate audacity, his cunning, and ſtill more the impetuoſity of his character, had rendered him abſolute maſter of Madagaſcar; and, at the time when he was killed, he was preparing to drive the French from the iſland and even to turn their kindneſſes againſt themſelves.

Generous nation, but too eaſy to be deluded, ceaſe to give way to that enthuſiaſm which has involved you in ſo many evils. Remember that the Malegaches have ſtill to reproach you for abandoning their country to pillage, and to the tyranny of an adventurer, who was in every reſpect unworthy of the reception with which you honoured him. You entruſted to this foreigner ſeveral millions of money, and objects of the utmoſt importance. You granted him rewards and marks of diſtinction reſerved for your moſt zealous defenders; but what gratitude did he ſhew for them? He took up arms againſt you; he fired upon your troops; he plundered your magazines. Had not inconſiſtency and imprudence preſided over all his actions, he would have found means to prevent you from carrying on commerce, or having any intercourſe with Madagaſcar.

The Malegaches, exhauſted by inteſtine wars, had loſt, during the adminiſtration of Benyowſki, almoſt all their good qualities: they were become baſe ſlaves, devoted to the caprices of a ferocious and intractable maſter. Under him the lands remained uncultivated; agriculture was neglected; and commerce interrupted had converted into a deſert, a country once fertile and flouriſhing. This artful man had ſpread the ſeeds of hatred and diſcord among the iſlanders; and his haughty and diſdainful gait united with his impudence and impoſture to overawe the multitude. Through features which diſplayed pride and duplicity, one could ſtill diſtinguiſh a ferocious aſpect, capable of intimidating the moſt intrepid. The events of his life have been only a long ſeries of crimes and villanies; and his death was a juſt puniſhment for his infamous treachery. It was neceſſary either to deliver Madagaſcar from the yoke of this tyrant, or to abandon the colonies of the iſles of France and Bourbon.

Theſe ſavage people had neither ſufficient knowledge nor ſpirit to recover, by themſelves, their loſt liberty; and how could they avoid and eſcape from the ſnares with which Benyowſki had artfully ſurrounded them? This common enemy found means by his duplicity to create diviſion amongſt them. As the French therefore, through their enthuſiaſm, were the authors of all the evils which they experienced, juſtice and equity would have obliged us to go to their aſſiſtance, even had not the intereſt of our commerce rendered it neceſſary. But I have already proved that the Iſle of France depends in a great meaſure for its ſubſiſtence on the Iſland of Madagaſcar, and this dependence is abſolute in the time of great calamities. The Cape of Good

Hope affords reſources then which are diſtant, expenſive, uncertain, and in every reſpect inſufficient. It is doubtleſs much to be wiſhed that ſome fixed and permanent eſtabliſhments could be formed in this part; but I have ſhewn that the inſalubrity of the air is an obſtacle which cannot be ſurmounted without ſacrificing the lives of a great number of men. From the month of May, however, till the end of October, theſe ſhores may bé frequented without danger. This is the period moſt favourable for commerce; it is likewiſe the time of harveſt; and proviſions of every kind may be then procured.

Reflections on the Northern Part of Madagascar.

THE northern part of Madagaſcar is much more fertile in productions of every kind than the ſouthern part. For this reaſon it is more frequented by European veſſels; but the interior part of the country has never yet been viſited. When at the Iſle of France, I in vain endeavoured to procure ſuch information as might enable me to write a deſcription of it. On this ſubject, Bigorne could only give me ſome vague and uncertain ideas, which it was difficult to make any uſe of. It was, however, from what he told me that I drew out, at Manaharre, a ſhort memoir, which afterwards ſerved as a baſis for Benyowſki, to propoſe the forming of an eſtabliſhment at the Bay of Antongil. This memoir contains the itinerary of the iſlanders, who go from Bombetoc to that bay; but nothing remarkable is to be found in it, except an account of the numerous difficulties which occur in that paſſage. If the Malegaches ſurmount theſe difficulties, it is merely becauſe they are much nimbler, and more inured to fatigue, than the greater part of the Europeans. The high mountains of Vigagora, which muſt be traverſed, preſent at every ſtep obſtacles capable of ſtopping men the moſt accuſtomed to brave dangers of every kind. Whoever may be obliged to undertake a journey by this rugged way, ought, if he is prudent, to furniſh himſelf with ropes and poles to climb the ſteepeſt places. I know by experience how neceſſary ſuch precautions are, for I have made uſe of theſe helps more than once when travelling in thoſe mountains. When I found myſelf ſurrounded by rocks, a ſmall cord held by my guides revived my courage, and facilitated an acceſs to the higheſt precipices. Silk cords are preferable to thoſe of hemp, becauſe they are ſtronger and much lighter. Dr. Franklin propoſes paper kites, to enable people to croſs rivers, the currents of which may be rapid. This method might, doubtleſs, be of utility in certain circumſtances to thoſe who cannot ſwim well. Thoſe, however, who are unacquainted with that uſeful art may, by means of bamboos faſtened to a long rope, croſs very rapid rivers when they have in their ſervice vigorous iſlanders and good ſwimmers, who by this ſimple apparatus can draw them from the one bank to the other. With prudence and induſtry man may ſurmount great obſtacles: there are few above his genius when he has learned early to attempt to overcome ſuch difficulties.

In the foreſts the compaſs is his guide; and, every where elſe, mechanics furniſhes him with the means of eſcaping from the moſt difficult ſituations. Theſe means vary according to circumſtances; but it would be improper here to enter into farther details on this ſubject. I muſt, however, obſerve, that a kind of hammock like thoſe employed in the colonies for carrying women and children, would be of infinite utility to thoſe who travel in theſe wild countries. This hammock muſt be light and waterproof; it ſhould be made therefore of very ſtrong canvas, covered with gum elaſtic diſſolved in linſeed-oil, a kind of varniſh uſed for confining the inflammable air in

balloons. Such a hammock may be employed, not only as a bed, by ſuſpending it between two trees; but, by means of a bamboo, it may be converted alſo into a vehicle for tranſporting the traveller from one place to another when he finds himſelf fatigued: and becauſe the canvas, on account of the varniſh, is impenetrable to water, the hammock becomes a real pirogua, the advantages of which are ſo obvious that it is unneceſſary to explain them.

The place moſt frequented by the Europeans in the northern part of Madagaſcar, is called Foulepointe; but the natives give it the name of *Voulou-Voulou*. The harbour is ſurrounded by a reef of rocks, which break the force of the waves, and ſhelter ſhips from heavy ſeas. The ſhores of it are very bold, and the leaſt depth of the water is twenty-three feet at low tides.

The reef, which conſiſts of coral rocks, is joined to the main land, and ſtretches N.N.E. whilſt the coaſt ſtretches N.N.W.

The entrance of the harbour, which is on the north ſide, is about fifty fathoms in breadth. The depth of the baſin is about fifty fathoms: it is capable of containing ten large veſſels, which may anchor along-ſide of each other in from thirty to thirty-five feet of water. The ground is ſure; but in the winter ſeaſon, the entrance is ſhut by a ſhifting ſand bank, which is diſſipated when the ſouth-eaſt ſucceed the north winds or calm weather. The ſea never riſes or falls more than four or five feet at the time of ſpring or neap tides. During the latter the reef of rocks appears above the water; and abundance of natural productions may be then found on them, ſuch as moſſes, marine plants, black coral, valuable madrepores, ſea ſtars, inſects, and ſhells, which by the variety of their form, and the brilliancy of their colours ſerve to ornament the cabinets of the curious. The mouths of the rivers here are bordered with mangles which are loaded with oyſters of an excellent taſte. Theſe oyſters adhere to the branches, and form cluſters of the moſt ſingular and remarkable figures. At a little diſtance from thoſe parts which the ſea covers, there are found veins of a kind of ſand different from that of the ſhore, and which appears to have experienced a ſemi-vitrification. This ſand is intermixed with ſtones of a ſoft friable nature, interſperſed with an infinite number of ſmall fragments of natural glaſs. Foulepointe, according to the obſervations which I made, lies in latitude 17° 40′ 20″, and longitude 47° 30′. During my ſtay here, Reaumur's thermometer never roſe above twenty-ſeven degrees, and never fell lower than fifteen. The barometer experienced very little variation, and always between twenty-eight inches two lines and twenty-eight inches five lines.

Ships can procure at Foulepointe proviſions of every kind in abundance, and at a low price. The markets are well ſupplied when commerce experiences no check or reſtraint on the part of the Europeans. Some years ago the people of Foulepointe refuſed to ſell hogs and pigs, becauſe an old man who lived at the diſtance of four leagues from the port, and who was accounted a ſorcerer, had forbidden them. This Ombiaſſe pretended that they would be threatened with great misfortunes if they did not endeavour to deſtroy the race of theſe filthy animals: but this prohibition does not prevent the Europeans from procuring them in the mountains, where they may be found in large herds. It would not perhaps be difficult to deſtroy this inconvenient ſuperſtition among theſe iſlanders. The villages in the neighbourhood of Foulepointe are not numerous; they are diſperſed here and there on the declivities of little hills, and are defended only by paliſades. They are agreeably ſhaded by a multitude of uſeful trees, ſuch as the cocoa-nut tree, bamboos, orange and lemon trees, wild vines, and bananas, the fruit of which are ſo much eſteemed by the Europeans: but the moſt remarkable is the *raven*, a kind of palm-tree known only in Madagaſcar.

This tree, the top part of which is prepared and eaten in the ſame manner as that of the cabbage-palm, riſes to a great height. It is covered with a hard bark, and its wood, which is fibrous and hard, is employed for conſtructing houſes. The walls and partitions of theſe houſes are formed of the ribs of its leaves, which have the ſolidity of wood and the pliability of leather, and which are faſtened together in a very ingenious manner. The leaves ſerve to cover them; and this covering, which laſts a long time, is preferable to our thatch.

It is of the leaves of the raven alſo that the Madecaſſes make their plates, diſhes, and cups. Theſe veſſels are always clean, but they are never uſed more than once.

Under the membranous covering which incloſes the flowers of this palm, is found a gummy ſubſtance of an exquiſite taſte, which one would take to be honey.

It is not ſurpriſing that the Madecaſſes endeavour to be ſurrounded by a tree ſo uſeful. They make very large planks of it by ſplitting it from the one end to the other. Theſe planks, however, muſt be ſtraightened the moment they are ſplit.

The lands belonging to Foulepointe abound with rich paſtures and cattle. When you go along the fertile banks of the beautiful river Ongleby, you are ſurpriſed to ſee it diſappear all of a ſudden in the ſands, at the diſtance of four miles from its mouth. This river, which is deep in ſome places and in others broad and ſhallow, produces plenty of fiſh, and is covered with water-fowl. Piroguas ſail up it for more than twenty leagues. It is a pity that this river, like all the reſt in Madagaſcar, ſhould be filled with monſtrous crocodiles. The ſight of them often ſtrikes a terror into the moſt intrepid iſlanders when travelling along its banks. Great precaution is neceſſary to avoid the danger of being ſurpriſed by theſe deſtructive amphibious animals. I one day ſaw an ox dragged away and devoured by one of theſe monſters.

What makes the rivers of Madagaſcar delightful, renders them alſo dangerous. The trees and ſhrubs which cover their banks, ſerve as an aſylum and retreat to theſe formidable animals.

On advancing a few leagues from Foulepointe, towards the high mountains of *Ambotiſmene*, the land begins to riſe, and the plains and the valleys are ſheltered from the winds by little hills. The heat here is not incommodious, becauſe the country is high and covered with wood: the low lands, which are leſs cultivated, are more wild and rural. The iſlanders in this part do not keep their cattle, but ſuffer them to wander about without a guide, and without ſhackles.

The meadows, which are ſituated at the bottom of the valleys, are watered by a multitude of ſtreams and rivulets, the windings of which are ſo much the more agreeable as they are formed by the hand of nature. The flowers by which they are enamelled, have more ſplendour, and diſplay a greater variety of colours than thoſe with which our meads are ornamented. Tufts of trees ſcattered here and there without art or regularity, render the view of theſe rural ſpots delightful and intereſting. Some leagues farther the ſcene changes, and the country becomes mountainous. A ſkilful painter would here be at a loſs to fix upon the moſt pictureſque ſcene. His imagination, bewildered and undetermined reſpecting a choice of objects, would not allow him the free exerciſe of his talent; he could not advance a ſingle ſtep without ſeeing a ſudden and unexpected change produce new proſpects, and the moſt intereſting points of view. But without ſtopping to catch a general ſketch of this beautiful country, if you employ yourſelf in ſtudying its productions, an immenſe and truly uſeful field then opens before you; and a multitude of vegetables diſperſed every where in profuſion preſent themſelves to your reſearches.

You will perceive ſix diſtinct kinds of rice; you will ſee barley of a ſuperior beauty; and you will diſtinguiſh ten kinds of yams, ſome of which are as large as one's thigh, and all of them fit for ſupplying food to men as well as to cattle. But beſides theſe roots, which require ſome care and cultivation, there are others abſolutely wild, called by the iſlanders *fanghits*. This root, which is as large as a man's body, has a delicate taſte, and is covered with a reddiſh coloured ſkin. We are aſſured that it both allays hunger and quenches thirſt: it is diuretic, and eaſy of digeſtion.

You may procure alſo various kinds of turnips and beans, with peaſe of an exquiſite taſte.

The *varvattes* reſembles the caper ſhrub, and flowers in the ſame manner. Each pod contains a ſmall pea of the ſize of a lentil. This leguminous plant riſes to the height of the cherry-tree: in ſome of the interior provinces its leaves are employed for feeding ſilk-worms.

When you quit the plains and meadows, to enter thoſe immenſe foreſts which ſerve as a retreat for a variety of wild animals, your imagination is ſtruck with beauties of another kind. Profound ſolitude, a coolneſs which ſurpriſes you in ſo warm a climate, ſhades inacceſſible to the rays of the ſun, and echoes which on all ſides repeat the bellowing of the cattle, ſtill afford you new enjoyments. But theſe enjoyments do not equally delight all: they ſeem to be ſuited in a peculiar manner to thoſe who are of a ſerious and melancholy diſpoſition: yet, however inſenſible people may be to the beauties of nature, they will always behold with a kind of enthuſiaſm that multitude of trees of a prodigious ſize and height, among which the *foterſbe* is particularly diſtinguiſhed.

Thoſe who prefer the ſtudy of botany to that of mineralogy will find abundance of plants in the mountains of Ambotiſmene to gratify their curioſity. Enormous blocks of rock-cryſtal alſo may be ſeen there, ſome of which are chryſtallized, while others appear to have no regular form; ſome of them contain ſchorl and other foreign bodies. Thoſe kinds of ſchorl in greateſt requeſt among naturaliſts, are common in theſe mountains, as well as indices of tin-mines, which the iſlanders call *voula-foutcheſine*. Iron mines of an excellent quality are diſperſed in great profuſion all over the iſland, and very near to the ſurface of the earth. The Malegaches break and pound the ore, and place it between four ſtones lined with potter's clay; they then employ a double wooden pump, inſtead of a pair of bellows, to give the fire more ſtrength; and in the ſpace of an hour the mineral is in a ſtate of fuſion. The iron produced by this operation is ſoft and malleable: no better is known in the world. There are, doubtleſs, other mines in this iſland; but thoſe who wiſh to ſearch for them muſt not be afraid of difficulties and labour. Riches of this kind being incloſed in the bowels of the earth, much digging and tedious exertions are neceſſary to procure them: beſides, acceſs to the mountains of Ambotiſmene is impracticable, as the iſlanders ſay, to the Europeans; for their ſummits abound with ſteep rocks and precipices, which prevent them from being approached. The higheſt of theſe mountains is about eighteen hundred fathoms above the level of the ſea. In its ſhape it has a great reſemblance to the Table Mount deſcribed by every traveller who has viſited the Cape of Good Hope.

I can only give this faint ſketch of the mineralogical riches of Madagaſcar. The real riches, however, of this iſland are its numerous vegetable productions, varied almoſt without end by the nature and fertility of its ſoil. I ſhall here give a deſcription of thoſe which I brought to the Iſle of France to M. Poivre.

DESCRIPTION

DESCRIPTION OF TREES, SHRUBS, AND PLANTS, WHICH GROW IN THE NORTHERN PART OF MADAGASCAR, AND WHICH I CARRIED TO THE ISLE OF FRANCE, IN THE END OF THE YEAR 1768.

MALAO-MANGHIT, a large tree, the bark of which is brown, the trunk ſtraight, and the wood white. Its ſap, at firſt white and milky, becomes, when expoſed to the air, as red as blood. The fruit is a kind of nutmeg. The Malegaches aſcribe to this nut the ſame virtues as we aſcribe to the real nutmeg.

Rarabe. This is a wild nutmeg-tree, larger and much more beautiful than the *malao-manghit*. It furniſhes a nutmeg from which the Malegaches extract a very aromatic oil. This oil, with which they rub their bodies and hair, is efficacious in curing and diſſipating cold humours. Taken internally it ſtrengthens the ſtomach.

Bachi-bachi. The bachi-bachi reſembles the rarabè; but its leaves and fruit are a little different. It grows in elevated places. Its fruit, as well as the covering which contains them, is aromatic.

Rhara-horac is a real wild nutmeg-tree, the trunk of which is large, and the branches buſhy. It delights to grow in moiſt marſhy places. The *founingo-mena-rabou*, a large pigeon of a blue colour, is very fond of the fruit of this tree. After digeſting the mace, it ſows the nuts throughout the whole iſland.

Ravend-ſara. Of all the nutmeg-trees in the iſland of Madagaſcar the ravend-ſara has principally engaged the attention of botaniſts. The odour of cloves, cinnamon and nutmegs is not much different from that of a kind of perfume extracted by diſtillation from the leaves of this tree. They yield an eſſential oil much more eſteemed than that procured from cloves. The cooks in India employ this perfume for ragouts, in preference to any other kind of ſpicery. This valuable tree grows in moiſt places; but a dry ſoil is not abſolutely contrary to its nature. It becomes very large and buſhy; its top, which is of a pyramidal form, is well furniſhed with leaves; its wood is white, exceedingly hard as well as heavy, and deſtitute of ſmell, but the bark exhales a very ſtrong odour. Its fruit is a real nut flattened at the two extremities. The perfume of the nut, and the huſk in which it is incloſed, is not ſo ſtrong as that of the leaves, but in my opinion it is much more delicate.

Harame. The harame is the largeſt and talleſt kind of tree that grows in the neighbourhood of Foulepointe. The wood of the trunk appears whitiſh externally, and of a reddiſh colour in the heart. When it has attained its utmoſt ſize, it every year caſts its outer bark, which is thick and grey. The trunk is ſmooth and without branches, except at the upper extremity; but its branches are well furniſhed with leaves, and the buſh on its top has a very beautiful appearance.

The ſmalleſt inciſion made in this tree produces, in great abundance, a white reſinous gum, which has a very ſtrong aromatic ſmell. The Malegache women make it into a kind of paſte with which they rub their faces, in order to preſerve the freſhneſs of the ſkin.

When this reſinous gum is burnt, it exhales a perfume like that of incenſe. The fruit is a nut, the huſk of which only is aromatic.

Laben. This tree grows in ſandy places on the ſea-ſhore, and riſes to a very great height. Its wood, which is hard, and of a reddiſh colour, is proper for being employed in cabinet-work. The fruit of the Laben is of the ſhape and ſize of a large olive. The kernel it contains is white and oily, and has a delicate taſte.

Fouraha.

Fouraha. The fouraha is one of the moſt beautiful and uſeful trees to be found in warm climates. The wood of it, next to that of *Tec*, is the beſt in India for conſtructing veſſels. It may very properly be compared to the *Tacamaca* of the Iſle of France. Like that tree it yields a balm of a green colour, which is excellent for curing wounds. This tree, which is large and buſhy, is loaded with branches of a great ſize, and is remarkable for its prodigious height.

Tevartna. The tevartna exhibits, in the midſt of the foreſts, all the ſymmetry of art. It ſeems to have been cut on purpoſe into a pyramid conſiſting of ſeven ſtories; and its buſhy branches, placed horizontally around a ſmooth ſtraight trunk, give it an appearance altogether ſingular. It is, perhaps, the moſt beautiful tree known for decoration.

Hintchy. This tree, the moſt common of all thoſe found in the foreſts near Foulepointe, is exceedingly proper for forming avenues, as its top is well furniſhed with leaves. It reſembles the plum-tree, and riſes to the ſame height. The wood, which is of a red colour, may be uſed for cabinet work. Its bark is ſmooth and white; and the leaves are large, and of a beautiful green.

Foterſbè. The foterſbè is one of the largeſt trees in Madagaſcar; but its wood is fit only for fuel. Another kind of *foterſbè*, deſcribed by Flacourt under the name of *vouafoutra*, grows in the marſhes.

Tanguem. This tree grows on the borders of the ſea. Its wood, which is hard and variegated with veins, is proper for cabinet and inlaid work. The Malegaches make too much uſe of the fruit of this tree, to the dangerous qualities of which they are no ſtrangers. It is a real manchineel, which, as is well known, produces one of the moſt formidable of poiſons.

Antafara. The antafara is known in the Iſle of France under the name of milk-wood. Its flowers have the ſame ſmell and ſhape as thoſe of jaſmine. If a ſlight inciſion be made in the trunk of this tree, it yields, in great abundance, a milky juice which is of a very cauſtic nature.

Aſſy. This tree, which is a beautiful kind of palm, riſes to the height of ten feet. Its trunk is marked with the impreſſion of its leaves, which are continually falling in ſucceſſion. Its top is crowned with three or four rows of leaves, four or five feet in length, and an inch and a half in breadth. Theſe leaves reſemble thoſe of the lily: they are as thick as one's hand, and form a beautiful umbrella.

Tafoumouna. The wood of this tree, which is large and buſhy, is white, and its bark ſmooth. Its fruit is a real acorn, like that of the oak. The kernel has a taſte ſomewhat aromatic, and ſmells like turpentine.

Hounits. The wood of the *hounits* is of a beautiful yellow colour. The bark is red, and when an inciſion is made in it, a juice red as coral iſſues from it. By the help of a common lye the Malegaches extract a fine red dye from the bark of the root. The *hounits* is large and beautiful.

Zavin-ravin. This tree riſes to a moderate ſize, and is not buſhy. The trunk is full of knots; the bark is grey, and the wood white. It grows in marſhy places.

Lingo. The lingo is a woody creeping twig, which aſcends to the ſummits of the higheſt trees. This twig is only two inches in diameter. Its wood is yellow, as well as the interior part of the bark.

The Malegaches employ the root and bark of the *lingo* to dye thread red and yellow.

Harongan. This tree, which is about fifteen feet in height, grows in a ſandy ſoil. Its leaves are uſed to dye mats and baſkets red. The gum extracted from it is a kind of dragon's blood.

Tancaſſon.

Tancaſſon. The tancaſſon is a kind of wild vine, the fruit of which is ſour, and ſomewhat agreeable to the taſte. This twig riſes to the tops of the higheſt trees. Its root is diuretic. The iſlanders eſteem the fruit of the *tancaſſon*. Flacourt, who has deſcribed ſeveral kinds of wild vines, makes no mention of it.

Taco. A kind of wild vine like the *tancaſſon*.

Voua-lomba. A kind of vine, the fruit of which the Europeans prefer to all others, and which they call *Madagaſcar grapes*. Their taſte is ſomewhat ſouriſh. This plant dies every year. Its root is a kind of yam.

Aanakuey. A large ſenſitive plant.

Areſou. A ſpecies of elder.

Tougnounan. The flowers of this tree are ſhaped like a bell; and the wood of it is uſed for making aſſagays.

Tafoumounan. Small white flowers: fruit like an acorn.

Racoudrit. A green fruit that grow in cluſters.

Uvang-biri. A paraſite plant bearing large ſquare pods, the ſeeds of which are anti-hemorrhoidal.

Tevarte. A pyramidal ſhrub, cut naturally into ſtories.

Azambou. Has a fruit which grows in the form of a red noſegay.

Uua-he-Taïtchou. Produces a fruit good to eat.

Sampan-leva. Has a fruit in the form of a yellow chaplet.

Tchingit. A kind of baſtard ſenna tree, with yellow flowers.

Lacca. Bears a ſmall fruit like a grain of pepper. Its flowers grow in the form of the bezel of a ring.

Vognindoſong.

Fanpechourou. A kind of lily in the form of a ſtar. This flower announces the ſeaſon for whale fiſhing.

Voua-hintchi.

Filao. Equiſetum arboreſcens.

Voantliſan. A prickly tree, bearing no leaves but on the top.

Tchuvi-ovi. A kind of ipecacuanha, ſeriploca.

Jacuan. A ſpecies of almond-tree, without leaves, which produces gum.

Timbalave. Shrub with white gondolated flowers.

Ampalt. Has round leaves which file iron.

Anghivi. Its fruit gives a bitter but agreeable taſte to the liquors drunk by the Madecaſſes.

Azon-Ranou. A freſh-water mangle, the pods of which grow oppoſite to each other.

Farafer. A paraſite plant, the flower of which is long and red, and ſhaped like a man's hand, or a fork with five prongs.

Vongo. A beautiful tree, the fruit of which is called Vaas-ſou-vara. When an inciſion is made in its trunk, it produces a yellow gum.

Voua-mitſa-voi. A ſpecies of aſter, or ſtarwort.

Tongouna-lein-tien. Kind of mint.

Sanoang-matan-nahanrou. Kind of creeping aſparagus.

Ranga-zaa. Bulbous plant with a white flower.

Tchïlotou. White tulip.

Fifoutche. Tree with leaves like thoſe of mallow. Flowers grow around the trunk.

Schira. Palm-tree, the bark of which is burnt in order to extract a ſalt from it, uſed by the Malegaches with their food.

Raven

Raven-tongharts. Balſamic plant.
Tanroujou. Kind of benjamin, bearing a button-ſhaped fruit.
Azou-ranou. Shrub, the fruit of which is of a cinnamon colour.
Afatrahè. Shrub, the bark of which is odoriferous.
Vaing-bare. Paraſite plant: its leaves are downy, and its flowers white.
Talate. Bears thick leaves, and berries like thoſe of the holly.
Jang. A tree which produces large bunches of flowers.
Vua-tani. Has a flower like that of the lihoa of China.
Vua-montucung. Paraſite plant, with leaves like thoſe of the tamarind-tree. Its fruit reſembles a bean.
Fua-toutouc. Shrub, with red fruit, which are eaten, and which taſte like ſtrawberries.
Moulton-rongou. Reſembles the *rara.* Its leaves are ſmall, and the fruit oblong and angular.
Vouang-titirang. Produces a kind of nut, the huſk of which is downy, and of a yellow colour.
Voua-malim. Bears a pod like the apocynon.
Voua-rougni. Kind of freſh-water mangle.
Voua-ſourindi. Large tree with ſmall red flowers diſpoſed in cluſters.
Ampali. Has long leaves, uſed for poliſhing wood, and freeing iron from ruſt.
Joudi-faſal. Semper vivens.
Voua-ſevarantou.
Vouang-taè. Malum cidonium.
Voua-fatre. Kind of box. Its fruit, which are aromatic, are eaten.
Enghi-panza. Small ſpecies of indigo.
Enghi-be. Large indigo with big pods.
Vua-macoliong. Kind of tamarind, from which an oil is extracted.
Sacaviro-ambou. Hog-ginger. A kind of zedoary.
Vua-fao. Species of the ſago palm.
Ouvi-rombè. Creeping twig, the leaves of which are ſmall, and ſhaped like a ſharp-pointed heart.
Chifontſui. Has ſmall leaves diſpoſed in pairs, like thoſe of the leſſer *harame.* Its flowers conſiſt of four green leaves incloſed in a calyx.
Vua-honda. Bears a fruit of the form of a cucumber, which ſmell like a quince.
Sangnamou-batou. The leaves of this plant have the ſame effect as thoſe of the coculus indicus. When uſed to catch fiſh, they muſt be bruiſed.
Vaint-rombou. Herb endowed with the ſame properties as the above.
Sanga-Sanga. A triangular kind of bulruſh, the real *papyrus.*
Vua-toudinga. Bears a fruit like the *pipar* of China.
Vua-carabo. A kind of twig which bears a fruit like a large cheſnut.
Vua-nantoula. Bears a fruit which contains a large kernel like the ſeeds of the ſapotilla, but much thicker.
Vouang-pin-lela. Has leaves like thoſe of the cinnamon-tree, without any ſmell.
Vua-tingui-le-pas. Produces a fruit of a green colour, the pulp of which diſpoſed in coats opens like the petals of a flower. The ſeeds are found in the heart, incloſed in a bag with three round corners.
Anja-oidy. Kind of very high heath.
Vua-tchiriè. Species of *vacoua* with long narrow leaves.
Vua-khicaſon. Bears a ſmall fruit like the *rangouſtan.*

Tchouti-morou or *ranou*. Small filiquous plant.

Vua-hia-vavè. Creeping twig with female white flowers.

Vua-nambouavon. Bears red fruit diſpoſed in the form of a noſegay. The flowers are of a violet colour; the leaves, which are whitiſh, and which grow in pairs, are uſeful for healing wounds and ulcers.

Vua-rha. Kind of fig-tree, the fruit of which are eaten.

Vua-he-taïtſou.

Varou. Kind of mallow.

Lindem. Species of palm.

Angnan-rambou-lahe.

Tongou-hintchi.

Harame. The gum of this tree appears to be of the ſame nature as ambergris.

Chingolpont.

Chiſtala.

Alut-mandrout.

Vanghoui-nangboua.

Bakrang. Creeping twig which bears large berries like buttons.

Ardouranga. Small plant, with a red filiquous flower like indigo.

Vaguinang-boua. Shrub with white downy leaves, and white flowers. Its root heals wounds.

Cani-pouti. Graſs with large leaves, the juice of which is employed for making figures on the body.

Thipoulou-pouli.

Adabou. Large tree.

Ouoi-randra. An aquatic plant with indented leaves; flowers ſhaped like a creſcent; root fit to be eat.

Tottlas. Kind of laurel, the leaves and berries of which are aromatic.

Vour-honda. Bears a large fruit like an oblong cylindrical mango. It has a ſweet odour, and its ſeeds are ramified. The leaves are placed exactly oppoſite to each other.

Mounou-founace. A ſhrub with violet flowers. The leaves are diſpoſed by threes.

Azou-minti. Curious pyramidal ſhrub.

Azou-minti-be. The ſame with large leaves. A beautiful tree.

Tocam-boudi. A ſmall palm with large leaves divided at the extremity.

Fouraugdra. A kind of creeping twig which bears a triangular bladder. Its leaves are like parſley.

Voua-mandroucou. Produces flowers which grow from the trunk. The petals have a ſpiral form.

Voua-mena. Bears a ſweet fruit as red as coral. The wood and the leaves are alſo red.

Mang. Tree, the leaves of which are like thoſe of the mallow, but larger and ſtronger. Its flowers are downy like thoſe of the *ketmia*, and of a roſe colour.

Angua-malou. Kind of aromatic ſhrub, with flowers like golden buttons.

Volang-bondi-pouni. Red wood, which turns black as it grows old. This wood is proper for dying.

Tſimamaſoo. Creeping twig, the flowers of which are like thoſe of jaſmine, and of a bright red colour.

Manouquibonga. Shrub compoſed of twigs like the vine. Its flowers, which are beautiful, and red, are diſpoſed in the form of a plume of feathers.

Maan. Kind of downy plant, with leaves like thoſe of the mallow.
Sommoutorang. Bears a downy flower, in ſhape like the bezel of a ring.
Lalong.
Via-foutchi. Woody creeping twig. The fruit is incloſed in a ſtar-like calyx.
Diti-azou. Has a fruit like a ſmall pear.
Tavoutala. Small bulbous plant. It is a ſpecies of orchis, and bears a flower of a flaxen colour.
Chetchia. Kind of hieracium, with a yellow flower.
Angnan-rambou. Another hieracium, with a violet-coloured flower.
Catoubanda. Kind of chickweed, employed to diſſipate ſwellings.
Nantou. Mat-wood of two kinds, with large and ſmall leaves.
Amp-elang-thi-fouhe. Gentianella, with a violet-coloured flower.
Campoudi. Kind of chickweed, or alſine.
Onbave. Tree which produces a gum like gum-arabic.
Bontou. Tree the root of which dyes yellow. It grows near water: its leaves are thick and diſpoſed in pairs.
Voai-marang. Shrub the bark of which ſtops fluxes.
Vuendrang. Kind of galega.
Afè. Large polipodium, the ſeeds of which are eaten.
Tabourounangat. Betel tree.
Vua-rozan.
Voua-aſſim.
Ampelantghi. Beautiful plant, which riſes to the height of a foot.
Sondi-fa-fat. Plant found on the borders of the ſea. The Malegaches when fatigued rub their bodies with the leaves of this plant, and ſuch frictions render them freſh and nimble. They pretend that the leaves of the *Sondi-fa-fat* are incorruptible. They are applied with ſucceſs to wounds.
Vognin d'oſong. Paraſite plant, the leaves of which reſemble thoſe of the lily. The period when this plant flowers announces the time of whale-fiſhing. It flowers in June. The prows of the piroguas which are intended for the whale-fiſhery are ornamented with large bunches of its flowers.
Azimena. Very beautiful ſhrub with a buſhy top. Its leaves are thick, and of a bright green colour. It riſes to the height of four feet; and its flowers exhale an exceeding ſweet odour.
Teulon-gouala. A ſhrub the leaves of which are odoriferous, and ſerve the Malegaches to make pillows. It is about four feet in height, and its fruit are bitter, oily, and aromatic.
Voua-azignè. The ſtraighteſt and talleſt tree found in Madagaſcar. It greatly ſurpaſſes in height all the other trees of the iſland. Its wood, which is yellow, hard, and heavy, is employed for building houſes; but more commonly for making the keels of piroguas. The gum which diſtils from this tree, is as yellow as amber; but it is viſcous and without ſmell. The Malegaches procure from this valuable tree a kind of clear oil, which when freſh has a very agreeable taſte. This oil mixed with rice renders that food more delicate; and it is for the moſt part prepared in this manner by theſe iſlanders.
Tougmonnam. Tree which grows on the ſummits of the mountains. Its wood, which is hard and heavy, is of a red or browniſh yellow colour, and is uſed for cabinet work and aſſagays.

Vohan-ſilan. Tree twelve feet in height. Its trunk, which is ſtraight, is covered with prickles; and its leaves, which are four inches and a half in length, and two and a half in breadth, are of a beautiful green colour. There are no leaves on the trunk of this tree; but its top, which is perfectly round, is loaded with them. The wood-pigeons are remarkably fond of the fruit of the *vohan-ſilan*, the appearance of which is altogether ſingular.

Toulouc. Buſhy ſhrub which grows in every kind of ſoil. The fruit of this ſhrub has an agreeable taſte, and is known under the name of the Madagaſcar ſtrawberry. It is eſteemed by the Europeans as well as by the Malegaches.

Voua-ſeverantou. Buſhy ſhrub which riſes to the height of ſix or ſeven feet. It grows commonly in a ſandy ſoil. Its wood is white.

Chi-font-fui. Beautiful ſhrub, the ſtem of which is ſtraight, and without leaves. Its top is round and buſhy.

Finguere. Kind of wild fig-tree, which, when inciſions are made in it, yields a milky juice. This juice, after it coagulates, forms a real elaſtic gum, like that which diſtils from the caoutchouc. The Malegaches make flambeaux of it, which burn without wicks, and afford them an excellent light when they go out to fiſh in the night-time. Spirit of wine makes no impreſſion on this gum; but it diſſolves in æther and linſeed-oil. There are alſo other fat and oily ſubſtances which affect it very ſenſibly.

The *finguere* riſes to the height of twenty feet. Its leaves are eight inches long, and four in breadth. Its fruit reſembles a round fig, and is full of ſmall ſeeds. The Malegaches eat this fig with pleaſure; but for my part I found it bitter and cauſtic.

On attentively examining the bottles and other veſſels which the Peruvians make of elaſtic gum, it may be readily comprehended how eaſy it would be to employ it in chirurgical operations. Belts and bandages made of this ſubſtance would be attended with many advantages. Diſſolved in linſeed-oil or æther, it in a great meaſure loſes its elaſticity, and in that ſtate it is very proper for coating over ſilk, in order to render it impervious to air or water. M. Bernard lately has employed elaſtic gum for a variety of purpoſes, which it would be too tedious to enumerate. I muſt, however, obſerve that the Chineſe have been long acquainted with the art of diſſolving this elaſtic gum, and of giving it various colours. M. Bertin, miniſter of ſtate, was ſo kind as to ſhew me ſeveral articles made of it, the moſt remarkable of which was a ſmall ball, perfectly reſembling a ball of amber.

Bagnets. Plant from which real indigo is procured in Madagaſcar. The iſlanders extract this dye from it by a very ſimple operation. When the plant begins to flower, they infuſe the ſtem and the leaves in water. After they have become putrid, the water aſſumes a violet colour, and when this colour grows very dark, the ſtem and leaves are taken out. A certain quantity of oil is then poured into the coloured water, and the water being drawn off, a ſediment remains behind, which, when dried in the ſun, furniſhes a beautiful indigo.

M. de la Marck made me obſerve that the *revendſas* is not a nutmeg-tree, but a proper genus. It is the bagatophyllum *.

The *intchy*, according to the opinion of that learned botaniſt, is a *courbaril-hymenæa.*

The antafara, according to the ſame, is a ſpecies of the genus called *taberna-montana.*

* *Juſſ. Gen.* p. 431.

The

The *filao* is the *caſuarina* of Forſter and Linnæus the ſon.

The *vua-tchiriè* is the *pandamus*.

In the enumeration, here given, of the trees and plants of Madagaſcar, I have made no mention of ananas, white pepper, water-melons, bananas, Indian ſaffron, the large cardamum, ginger, veronica, alkekengi, purſlain, ſweet baſil, ſtar-wort, gentianella, the winter cherry, the papyrus of the ancients, called *ſanga-ſanga*, the nenuphar, &c. &c. With regard to the animals found in Madagaſcar, Flacourt has left nothing of importance for me to ſay on that ſubject.

Description of a Tree, which bears a singular Fruit, much celebrated in India, and known under the Name of the Cocoa of the Maldives.

THE tree which bears that fruit, known under the name of the *Cocoa of the Maldives*, or the *ſea-cocoa*, riſes to the height of forty or fifty feet. The top of this beautiful tree, which may be claſſed among the palms, has the form of a fan; and is compoſed of ten or twelve branches, twenty feet long. Each of theſe branches, or palms, proceeds from a pedicle ſix feet in length, which is indented quite round.

From the bottom of the leaves ariſes a ramified panicle, the branches of which are terminated by female flowers. The piſtil of theſe flowers, when ripe, produces a ſpherical fruit, eight or ten inches in diameter. The covering of the fruit is thick and fibrous, like that of the common cocoa. The ſhape of theſe cocoas, however, is extremely ſingular; and the bottom of them is filled with a milky ſubſtance, of a bitter and diſagreeable taſte. The trunk of this tree differs very little from that of the cocoa-tree; but it is larger and harder. The Iſle of Palms is covered with this tree: but it is not to be found in any of the neighbouring iſlands, or in any other known part of the world. It is probable, therefore, that thoſe nuts which are accidentally found at the Maldives have come from the Iſle of Palms, though the diſtance between theſe two places is about three hundred leagues. This remark may ſerve to point out the direction of the currents in the Indian Ocean.

The Indians aſcribe great medicinal virtues to this nut, known to botaniſts under the name of *nux medica*. The Aſiatic phyſicians pretend that it is antiſcorbutic; that it radically cures the venereal diſeaſe; and that it is a powerful antidote againſt poiſon. The Indian princes cauſe cups to be made of it, which are always more or leſs ornamented with gold and precious ſtones. Theſe cocoas are in ſo much requeſt all over Aſia, that it was not uncommon, about the year 1759, the period when they were diſcovered, to ſee them ſold for upwards of four hundred pounds ſterling each.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST

OF

THE CANARY ISLANDS:

Tranſlated from a Spaniſh Manuſcript, lately found in the Iſland of Palma *.

With an Enquiry into the Origin of the Ancient Inhabitants.

By George Glas.

BOOK I.

THE firſt account we had of the Canary Iſlands being publicly known in Europe, after the decline of the Roman empire, was ſome time between the years 1326 and 1334, by means of a French ſhip that was driven among them by a ſtorm.

Upon this diſcovery, a Spaniſh nobleman, Count of Claramonte, named Don Luis, ſon of Don Alonzo de la Cerda, ſurnamed the Diſinherited †, procured a grant ‡ of thoſe iſlands, with the title of King, from Pope Clement VI, upon Condition that he would cauſe the goſpel to be preached to the natives.

Two years after this, Don Luis obtained a Licence from Pedro, king of Arragon, to equip a fleet from ſome of his ports, in order to take poſſeſſion of the Canary Iſlands; but though ſome of his ſhips were actually fitted out, yet the deſign failed, firſt by reaſon of his being engaged in ſome other affairs, and laſtly by his death, which happened ſoon after. However, it is probable that either part of that ſquadron, or ſome other ſhips, went to the Canaries about that time, the crews of which were natives of Majorca, which then belonged to the crown of Arragon. What became of thoſe veſſels ſhall be related in its proper place. Nothing was done afterwards towards perfecting the diſcovery, until the year 1385, when ſome Biſcayners and inhabitants of Seville joined to equip a fleet of five ſhips at Cadiz, in order to make deſcents upon and plunder the Canary Iſlands and the adjacent coaſt of Barbary. The command of theſe ſhips was given to one Ferdinando Peraza, a gentleman of Seville.

After coaſting the African ſhore, they ſailed weſtward, and fell in with the iſland now called Lancerota, where they landed. The natives came in crowds to the port to behold them: but the Spaniards ſhooting ſome arrows among them, killed ſome,

* 4to, London, 1764.

† He was right heir to the crown of Caſtille, but was deprived of it by his uncle Sancho IV. From Donna Iſabella, daughter to this Luis de la Cerda, is deſcended the noble family of Medina Celi in Spain. *Mariana.*

‡ When this grant was made to Don Luis, it gave ſuch umbrage to the Engliſh ambaſſadors, who then happened to be at Rome, that they immediately diſpatched an expreſs to their court, to prevent this conveyance, imagining there were no other Fortunate Iſlands than thoſe of Great Britain: ſuch was the ignorance of thoſe times. *Heylin's Coſmography.*

wounded

wounded others, and ſo frightened the reſt that they ran away; upon which the Spaniards marched to the town where the natives reſided, which they ſacked, and carried off a large booty of goat-ſkins, tallow, and ſheep, and one hundred and ſeventy of the inhabitants, among whom were Guanareme, King of the iſland, and Tinguafaya, his wife: with theſe they returned on board their ſhips, and ſailed back to Spain; where, in thoſe days, their plunder was reckoned to be very valuable.

The next expedition to Lancerota was from Seville, in the year 1393. This fleet did not attempt to ſubdue the iſland, but returned ſoon after, with ſeveral captives and a great number of goat-ſkins; by which it appeared that the deſign of the Spaniards, in thoſe expeditions, was only to enrich themſelves by robbery and plunder. Several people now, excited by avarice, ſolicited Henry III, King of Caſtille, for a licence to conquer the Canary Iſlands, as Henry pretended they were his property; but on what he founded this claim, I believe, is not known. In the year 1369, the contention for the crown of Caſtille was ended by the death of Don Pedro, who was ſtabbed by his baſtard-brother Don Henry, who then ſucceeded to the crown. A few years before this happened, ſeveral noblemen, from the province of Normandy in France, came to Caſtille, to the aſſiſtance of Don Henry, among whom were Bertran Claquin, Conſtable, and Rubin de Bracamonte, Admiral of France. This laſt had two nephews by a ſiſter who lived in Normandy, and was married to the Lord of Betancour, Granville, and other places in that country: the eldeſt, named John de Betancour, though at that time an old man, had a ſtrong deſire to travel, and do ſomething worthy of his anceſtors, and therefore determined to make a voyage to Spain to viſit his uncle the Admiral, With this view he went to Rochel, a ſea-port town, where he was to embark for that country: while he remained there, he became acquainted with one Gadifer de la Sala, a man of conſiderable fortune. This perſon, having the ſame paſſion for ſeeing foreign countries, ſoon agreed with John de Betancour to go with him in queſt of the Fortunate Iſlands, much talked of at that time in Europe. In order to proſecute their deſign, they ſold ſome of their lands, and mortgaged others, by which they raiſed money ſufficient to equip a ſmall fleet, well provided with ſkilful mariners, pilots, and ſome people as interpreters, who muſt conſequently have been in ſome of the iſlands before that time.

This fleet conſiſted of three ſhips, containing two hundred perſons, excluſive of the ſeamen: among that number were many young gentlemen of Normandy, ſeveral of whom were relations of John de Betancour. On the firſt of May, 1400, they ſet ſail, and proceeded on the voyage, without any thing of conſequence happening to them, until they arrived at the iſlands. The firſt they ſaw was Lancerota, which name was then given to it by John de Betancour, probably in honour of ſome perſon of his acquaintance. When he landed his men, the natives gathered together in a body to defend themſelves, imagining that theſe ſtrangers were come to plunder and carry them off, as others had done before: but obſerving the French to be well armed, and keeping together, they were afraid to attack them, but retired into the country, and left them at liberty to encamp in a convenient place; for the natives had nothing to oppoſe them with but ſticks and ſtones, theſe being their only weapons.

But finding that the French remained ſome days in the ſame place, without following or attempting to moleſt them, they began to take courage, ſo that ſome of them ventured into the camp, who were well treated by John de Betancour and Gadifer de la Sala, who allowed them to take whatever they choſe, and to come in and go out of the camp whenever they pleaſed. This good treatment removed all their fears; inſomuch

insomuch that when the French began to build a fort for their defence and accommodation, the natives chearfully assisted them in bringing stones, lime, &c. necessary for the work. This fort was built at the port of Rubicon.

The ready obedience and quiet behaviour of the natives gave great satisfaction to John de Betancour and Gadifer de la Sala. They now determined to pass over to the next island, which is separated from Lancerota only by a channel of two leagues in breadth; and, leaving an officer and some men in the port of Rubicon, they landed at Valtarrahala, in the island of Fuertaventura, then called by the French Fortuite. The inhabitants, seeing such a number of strange people coming into their island, gathered in great numbers to oppose them, being men of a more warlike spirit than those of Lancerota, stronger, and of a larger size; which the French perceiving, and considering what a handful of people they had to attack such a multitude with, thought proper to reimbark, and set sail: taking, therefore, a view of some of the rest of the islands, they afterwards returned to Lancerota, where they consulted what was next to be done; and considering how few people they had for such an undertaking as the conquest of the islands, it was determined that Gadifer de la Sala should return to France, in order to bring over supplies of men, &c. Accordingly he went; but, unfortunately for the expedition, he died a few days after his arrival in France. When this was known to John de Betancour, he found himself deprived of his expected succours, and without money or friends in France; which determined him to embark for Spain, where he arrived, and applied to his uncle Rubin de Bracamonte, and other relations there, for assistance to prosecute his design: but his chief patron and interceffor with the King of Castille was the Infant Don Ferdinando, afterwards King of Arragon, by whose means he procured from the king, Don Henry III, a grant of the Fortunate Islands, with the title of King. This done, he went to Seville, and equipped a fleet, well provided with men and necessaries, for the conquest of these islands, the King supplying him with money to defray the charge of that armament. This grant of the Canary Islands to John de Betancour was dated in the year 1403.

When John de Betancour arrived in this country, the island of Fuertaventura was divided into two kingdoms, one commencing at the Villa and continuing unto Handia, and the other extending from the Villa unto Corralejo, which were separated by a loose dry stone wall, four leagues in length, crossing the breadth of the island from sea to sea. There were in this island, at the time of the conquest, four thousand fighting men. Those amongst them who were most famous for their virtue and valour had the appellation of Mahay and Altihay, which were names of great honour. It is said that when John de Betancour and Gadifer de la Sala came in quest of these islands, the then king of Lancerota, who was named Guadarfia, was descended from an European, who had been driven by a tempest on this island, and whose history is related after this manner:

When Don John I, son of Henry II, reigned in Castille, he was engaged in a war against the King of Portugal and the Duke of Lancaster, about the succession to the crown of Castille; the duke pretending that it was his right, on account of his marriage with Donna Constanza, eldest daughter of King Peter.

In the course of that war, and about the year 1377, King John sent some ships, commanded by one Martin Ruiz de Avendano, to scour the coasts of Gallicia, Biscay, and England. This fleet met with a severe tempest, which lasted many days, insomuch that the admiral's ship was obliged to bear away and drive before the wind, until she arrived in a port at the island of Lancerota.

Here the Spaniards landed, and were kindly received by the natives, who treated them with the beſt that the iſland afforded. Don Martin Ruiz de Avendano was lodged in the houſe of Qonzamas, the king, while he remained in the iſland. In that time he became ſo intimate with Fayna, the King's wife, that ſhe had a daughter by him named Yco. Her complexion was very fair, in compariſon of the natives: when of age, ſhe was married to one of the royal family, who became King of the iſland after Guanarame and Tinguafaya were carried priſoners to Spain, in the fleet commanded by Ferdinand Peraza, in the year 1385 or 1386. By this man Yco had a ſon named Guadarfia. After Guanarame's death, there was a great diſſention in the iſland about the ſucceſſion; the natives inſiſting that Guadarfia was incapable of it, becauſe his mother Yco was not noble, being, as was ſuppoſed by her colour, the daughter of a ſtranger, and not of Qonzamas the king. To end the diſpute, the council met, and came to a reſolution, to ſhut up Yco with three female ſervants in the houſe of the deceaſed Qonzamas, and there to ſmoke them; and if ſhe came out alive, ſhe was to be declared noble, and the genuine offspring of Qonzamas. Before ſhe went to the ſmoaky trial, an old woman adviſed her to convey ſecretly into the room a large ſponge moiſtened in water, and when the ſmoke ſhould begin to be troubleſome, to put it to her mouth and noſtrils, and breathe in it. Yco took her advice, which ſucceeded to her wiſh; for when the door of the room that was ſmoked was opened, the three ſervants were found ſtifled, and Yco alive; upon which ſhe was brought forth with great marks of honour, and her ſon Guadarfia was immediately declared King of Lancerota. This is the ſame whom John de Betancour found reigning, on his firſt arrival at that iſland.

John de Betancour, being deſirous of bringing the iſland of Canaria into ſubjection to him, ſailed thither with two ſhips, and anchored at a place called Anganagen, where he landed all the forces which he brought with him, and marched them up the country in good order, and with great precaution, leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed. This was a neceſſary meaſure, as appeared afterwards; for the natives, ſeeing ſuch a number of armed men on their iſland, immediately gave the alarm to each other, and aſſembled in great numbers, headed by a King or Captain, named Artemis, and fell upon the Europeans with great fury and reſolution, annoying them with ſtones and darts, which they threw by hand with amazing dexterity, and with ſuch velocity as to exceed the motion of thoſe thrown from ſlings or bows. Beſides theſe weapons, they had ſticks or poles, whoſe ends were hardened by fire, and ſharpened, which they uſed as ſpears. John de Betancour and his men defended themſelves with the greateſt courage; but the attack they had to ſuſtain was ſo rude, and the natives, with their Captain Artemis, preſſed ſo furiouſly on them, that though the Europeans killed a great number of them, they were at length obliged to give way, and retreated in good order to the ſea-ſhore: but the natives gathering on every ſide, to the number of five thouſand, purſued our adventurers ſo cloſely, that John de Betancour, finding it in vain to attempt the conqueſt of the place with ſuch an handful of men againſt ſuch a multitude of well-armed and valiant inhabitants, reimbarked with his troops, under favour of the night, in the beſt manner he could, leaving the field of battle to his enemies, who nevertheleſs bought their victory at a dear rate, having their King Artemis, with many others, killed in the engagement.

From Anganagen the fleet ſailed for the iſland of Palma; but not being able to effect a landing, it was determined to return to Canaria, to try their fortune once more againſt the courageous natives, and retrieve the honour they imagined they had loſt there: but on their arrival they found thoſe people aſſembled in vaſt numbers to oppoſe them, which

made them ſail back to Fuertaventura. It was on this expedition that John de Betancour gave the epithet of Grand (or Great) to the iſland of Canaria, which it retains to this day.

John de Betancour remained ſome time in Fuertaventura, to refreſh his men, and cure them of their wounds. After his unſucceſsful attempt on Canaria, he could not pretend to try his fortune again there, for want of more ſoldiers; but, not enduring to remain idle, he determined to make an attempt on ſome other iſland. To this end he took with him all the men that could be ſpared from his garriſons of Lancerota and Fuertaventura, and ſailed to the iſland of Gomera, where he landed at the principal port without oppoſition, which ſurpriſed him greatly, and made him apprehenſive of an ambuſcade; he therefore marched ſlowly up the country, with the greateſt precaution. Soon after he perceived the natives approaching towards him in a diſorderly manner, without any ſign of hoſtility, but on the contrary with an appearance of mirth and joy; however, they came armed with darts, lances, ſwords, ſhields, and croſs-bows, which greatly perplexed him, and made him ſtill more apprehenſive of danger, till they drew very near to him, when ſome of them accoſted the Europeans in the Spaniſh tongue, which amazed and agreeably ſurpriſed them. Both parties now began to converſe together freely and in a very friendly manner; and the Europeans were moſt courteouſly entertained by them. This behaviour of the Gomerans, the fertility of their iſland, the goodneſs of the climate, and its excellent harbour, induced John de Betancour to ſpend ſome time in it, in order to refreſh and ſtrengthen his people. During his ſtay in Gomera the Europeans and natives lived together in the utmoſt harmony, inſomuch that theſe gave a cordial invitation to the new-comers to take up their reſidence among them. This invitation was readily accepted by John de Betancour, who thereupon made a diviſion of lands among his followers, and determined, ſince he had now bid adieu to his native country, to fix his reſidence for the remainder of his life in the pleaſant iſland of Gomera.

We muſt now enquire into the cauſe of this kind reception which the Europeans met with from the natives, and by what means ſome of the latter ſo well underſtood and ſpoke the Spaniſh language.

It appears then, that about thirty years before the arrival of John de Betancour, ſome Spaniſh veſſels came to Gomera, commanded by one Don Ferdinando, who landed at a place where the King's brother lived: the natives attacked the Spaniards, but were defeated, and the King's brother loſt his life in the encounter. After this, Don Ferdinando marched in-land; but as ſoon as Amalvige, the King of the place, heard of the invaſion of the iſland by ſtrangers, and of the death of his brother, he gathered the natives together, and gave battle to the Spaniards, who were defeated, and purſued into a place which had only one narrow entry, ſo that they could not retire but by throwing themſelves over the ſteep cliffs that ſurrounded them, the iſlanders having blocked up the paſſage by which they entered with felled trees, and guarded it ſo cloſely, that the Spaniards were compelled to remain there two days without meat or drink. At laſt Don Ferdinando found means to come to a parley with Amalvige, in which he ſo effectually wrought upon that Prince's compaſſionate diſpoſition, that he ordered the paſſage to be cleared, and conducted the ſtrangers to his reſidence, where he entertained them with great hoſpitality, giving them proviſions and whatever elſe he could afford; in ſhort, he treated them as if no diſpute had ever ſubſiſted. When Don Ferdinando returned to his ſhips, which he had left in the harbour, he made ſeveral preſents to Amalvige, conſiſting of ſwords, ſhields, and other warlike accoutrements, which were held in great eſteem by the natives: he then took leave of his

benefactor, and ſailed away. It is ſaid, that before he departed, Amalvige was converted, and baptized with many of his people; that he was named Ferdinando Amalvige; and that when the Spaniards were going away, the King begged of their commander that he would leave ſome perſon to inſtruct them in their new doctrine, upon which he left a prieſt, and promiſed to return ſoon himſelf. The prieſt did not long ſurvive the departure of Don Ferdinando; however, by his good behaviour, in that ſhort ſpace of time he greatly won the affections of the natives, and baptized many of them. They ſay it was owing to him that John de Betancour was ſo well received in Gomera, having filled their minds with the moſt favourable impreſſions of the Spaniards. Who this Don Ferdinando was, cannot certainly be determined: there are two opinions concerning him; the one is, that he was one Don Ferdinando Ormel, a native of Corunna, in Gallicia, who, with ſeveral of his countrymen, left the ſervice of the King of Caſtille, to enter into that of the King of Portugal. About the year 1382, he went with a fleet to ſcour the coaſt of Spain, ſubject to Don Juan I, then King of Caſtille, and was driven by a tempeſt, with ſome of his ſhips, to the iſland of Gomera: this Don Ferdinando was father of Don Juan Ferdinando Ormel who was killed by King John I, of Portugal, in the houſe of the Queen Donna Leonora. The other opinion is, that he was one Don Ferdinando de Caſtro, who was in the ſervice of King Ferdinando of Caſtille, and much beloved by him After that King's death he went to reſide in England, and could never more be prevailed on to return to his native country; but we are not told how he left England, or what accident brought him to Gomera.

Why this iſland was called Gomera is not known, though it undoubtedly bore that name before the arrival of John de Betancour, which it ſtill retains.

John de Betancour, after ſettling affairs in Gomera, ſailed to the iſland of Hierro or Ferro, and anchored in the harbour belonging to that iſland. When the natives perceived the ſhips approaching with their white ſails, they remembered the prophecy of a man who had formerly lived among them, named Yore, and who was reckoned a ſoothſayer or diviner; this man, when on his death-bed, called the natives together, and told them that after his death, when his fleſh ſhould be conſumed and his bones mouldered to duſt, their god Eraoranzan would come to them in white houſes on the water; and adviſed them not to reſiſt or fly from him, but to adore him, becauſe he was to come to do them good. The natives, who placed great faith in his predictions, buried him in a place apart from the reſt of their dead, that his bones might afterwards be diſtinguiſhed from theirs. Now ſeeing the ſhips approach with their white ſails ſwelling on the ſurface of the waves, they firmly believed the prophecy was fulfilled, and went to the cave where Yore was buried, and there found his bones crumbled to duſt; upon which they ran joyfully to the ſhore to receive their god Eraoranzan.

When John de Betancour anchored in the port, he took great care in landing his men, for fear of being overpowered by the iſlanders, who were crowding to the water-ſide; but finding that they were unarmed, and ſhewed no ſigns of hoſtility, he approached them, and was received with every demonſtration of joy and friendſhip: the natives conducted the Europeans to their houſes, and treated them with the beſt of every thing they had. John de Betancour having thus got footing in Hierro, gave thanks to God for his ſucceſs, and that no blood had been ſpilt on the occaſion. He ſtaid there ſome days to refreſh his people, and then returned to Fuertaventura, after leaving in Hierro a mixed garriſon, compoſed of Biſcayners, French, and Flemings, under the command of one Lazaro, a Biſcayner, to whom he gave a ſtrict charge to

behave to the natives with indulgence, and to uſe all poſſible means to inſtruct them in the faith and doctrine of the Church of Rome.

The name of this iſland, before the arrival of John de Betancour, was Eſero, which ſignifies, in the language of its ancient inhabitants, *Strong:* when the Spaniards ſhewed them iron, they found it exceeding every thing in ſtrength, therefore they called it *Eſero*; and afterwards, when they began to ſpeak the Caſtillian language, they called iron indifferently by the name of *Eſero*, or *Hierro*, which laſt is the Spaniſh word for that metal; ſo that they at laſt tranſlated the real name of the iſland Eſero into the Spaniſh one Hierro, which it retains to this day. But the Portugueſe and ſome others following their own dialect, call it Ferro: and ſome will have it, that the natives called it Fer; though there is no proof for this aſſertion.

The four iſlands, Lancerota, Fuertaventura, Gomera, and Hierro, being now conquered, the natives converted, and order eſtabliſhed among them, John de Betancour, after taking ſome repoſe, began to think ſeriouſly of retrieving his honour, which he imagined had been ſullied by the unſucceſsful attack on Canaria; and to avenge himſelf on the natives for the loſs of ſo many brave ſoldiers as had fallen in that expedition.

Accordingly, in November 1406, he muſtered all his forces, embarked with them, and ſailed for Canaria. But fearing his ſhips might be deſcried by the natives of that iſland, he avoided approaching the coaſt till evening; when, under favour of the night, he anchored in the port of Gando, and that he might not alarm the Canarians, diſembarked his men ſilently, placed ſome parties in ambuſh, and prepared for an attack by day-break. However, the Canarians having, ſince the firſt invaſion of their iſland, kept a conſtant look-out for the approach of an enemy (and ſhips may be ſeen from the tops of the high mountains of Canaria at a great diſtance), he found his ſchemes all fruſtrated; for, the evening before, the natives had diſcovered his fleet, and were prepared to give thoſe diſturbers of their repoſe a warm reception: accordingly, when the Europeans diſembarked in the night, they watched all their motions, unperceived by them; and after having formed counter-ambuſcades, they gave a great ſhout, as a ſignal for the attack, and fell ſuddenly upon Betancour and his men with ſuch impetuoſity that they were put to the rout, great numbers being killed and wounded. Had it not been for John de Betancour's remarkable preſence of mind in rallying his men for a retreat, joined with the courage and diſcipline of his troops, not one of thoſe that had landed could have eſcaped; and, after all, it was with the greateſt difficulty they regained their ſhips. This repulſe obliged John de Betancour, againſt his will, to return back with his troops to his iſlands of Lancerota and Fuertaventura, where he remained ſome time, inconſolable for his bad ſucceſs, notwithſtanding all the people could do to divert his grief, ſo much was he vexed with this diſappointment. But time, which conquers every thing, got the better of his uneaſineſs, and at length totally diſſipated it, ſo that he began to contrive how to repair his bad fortune. After anxiouſly revolving many ſchemes in his mind for that end, he determined upon one, which was that of going again to Spain, to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the King of Caſtille, Don Henry III, by whoſe aid he had been enabled to conquer the iſlands of Fuertaventura, Gomera, and Hierro; and was the more encouraged to hope for ſucceſs from the many connections and relations which he had at the court of Caſtille. He then ſent for the chiefs of the four iſlands, natives as well as Europeans, to whom he opened his mind at large, concerning his intended voyage to Spain, and his project of ſubduing the other three iſlands, eſpecially Canaria, where they had been hitherto ſo

grievouſly baffled; telling them, at the ſame time, that he hoped ſhortly to return with large ſupplies of men, money, ſhipping, and other neceſſaries: moreover he promiſed to go to Rome, to requeſt of the Pope to ſend over a Biſhop to take care of their ſouls. He, above all things, recommended to them to live in amity and concord during his abſence; and gave them ſome neceſſary inſtructions in relation to the preſerving peace with the natives; acquainting them at the ſame time that he intended to make his nephew, Maſon de Betancour, Governor of the iſlands in his abſence, of whoſe prudence and good-will towards them all he was well aſſured; and that he would protect and befriend every one to the utmoſt of his power. He then proceeded to make a partition of lands, reſerving to himſelf the fifth part of the produce of the four iſlands; but declared to the Europeans who had aſſiſted him in conquering them, that he would deprive them of no part of their preſent poſſeſſions till after the expiration of nine years. This exemption he intended as a reward for their fidelity and the hardſhips which they had endured in his ſervice. As to Maſon de Betancour, he made over to him the third part of his fifth of the produce of the iſlands, and declared him ſole inheritor of the whole after his death. He gave him orders to build two churches, one in Lancerota, in the valley and village of Teguis, which is named St. Mary de Betancour; and the other in Fuertaventura, called the church of St. Mary, from which the valley and village ſo called take their names.

The government of the conquered iſlands being thus ſettled, John de Betancour gathered all the orchilla*, goat ſkins, tallow, and ſlaves which he could procure, embarked them in three ſhips, and ſet ſail, leaving another ſhip in Lancerota to load with orchilla, which he ordered his nephew to ſend to Italy. He arrived ſafe at the port of St. Lucar de Baremeda, where he was received by the Count de Nieble, Don Henry de Guzman, father of the firſt Duke of Medina Sidonia, with whom he ſtaid a ſhort time to refreſh himſelf after the fatigue of his voyage, and then went to the court of Caſtille, where he was graciouſly received by Queen Catherine, widow of Henry III. and the Infant Don Ferdinando, then guardians to the young Prince Don John. They were greatly pleaſed to hear from his own mouth an account of the Canary Iſlands, with his adventures there. They promiſed him their aſſiſtance in reducing thoſe which remained unconquered, made him many valuable preſents, and furniſhed him with an equipage and every thing neceſſary for his journey to Rome at their own expence. After remaining ſome time in that city, where he ſaw every thing remarkable, he went to Avignon to wait on Pope Benedict XIII, who, at his requeſt, appointed a Biſhop for the Canary Iſlands, with the title of Biſhop of Rubicon: this was one Albert, a Franciſcan Friar, and native of Seville in Spain, brother to Guillen Peraza, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to make mention hereafter. From Avignon our adventurer went to his own houſe of Betancour, in Normandy, to viſit his relations, and to ſettle ſome differences with his brother Reynald de Betancour, concerning his lands in that country: from thence he went to Granville, where he fell ſick and died, in the year 1408, aged ſeventy years, eight of which he had employed in the conqueſt of the Fortunate Iſlands. His body was interred in the great chapel of Granville; and having no children, his poſſeſſions in Normandy fell to his brother Reynald, otherwiſe Morlet de Betancour.

* This is a weed which grows on the rocks by the ſea-ſhore of the Canary Iſlands, and other places in the ſame climate.

BOOK II.

Of the Etymology of the Word Canaria, &c.

IN the foregoing book we find that John de Betancour name this iſland Gran Canaria, adding the epithet Grand to its former name Canaria. He did not this on account of its ſize (for it is not the largeſt of the Canary Iſlands), but becauſe of the ſtrength, courage, and number of its inhabitants, who baffled all his attempts to ſubdue them. But how it came by the name Canaria is not eaſy to determine; for ſince thoſe iſlands were known by the name of the Fortunate Iſlands, this has always retained its proper name, Canaria. Pliny ſays, that this iſland was named Canaria on account of its abounding with dogs of a very large ſize, two of which were preſented to Juba, King of Mauritania. This opinion, however, ſeems to want foundation; for it is natural to ſuppoſe that theſe dogs would have increaſed greatly ſince Pliny's time, whereas on the contrary, when the Europeans came to Canaria they found not any dogs on the iſland. Other authors (among whom are Franciſco de Tamara, in his Cuſtoms of all Nations; and Homara, in his General Hiſtory of the Indies) affirm that this iſland is called Canaria from the natives eating, like dogs, raw fleſh in great quantities; but this aſſertion is falſe; for the natives ate fleſh very moderately, and never raw. It is true, indeed, they only half roaſted it; and the reaſon they gave to the Spaniards, at the time of the conqueſt, for this kind of cookery, was, that the juice of the meat is its ſubſtance, conſequently the beſt and moſt proper nouriſhment for men.

My author gives two opinions concerning the name Canaria, which indeed appear more probable than either of the foregoing.

The firſt is, that in Canaria there are a great many thorny buſhes, which bear fruit of a red colour, called in Latin, Uva Canina, i. e. Dog's Grape. Thoſe who diſcovered this iſland in the time of the Romans, ſeeing ſuch a number of thoſe buſhes, might from them name the iſland Canaria.

The ſecond opinion is, that it is named Canaria becauſe it abounds with an herb, called, in Latin, Canaria (but in the Caſtillian language Triguera), which the dogs eat in the ſpring, to cauſe themſelves to vomit or purge. When people ſend their horſes to the field to graze, they take care to prevent their feeding in places where much of this herb grows, as it cauſeth a great increaſe of blood in them, and that ſo ſuddenly as to ſubject them to danger of ſuffocation. He adds, that in the ſkirts of Mount Atlas, in Africa, there is a tribe of Africans called Canarios, who, perhaps, firſt diſcovered and peopled this iſland, and called it after their own name. But after all thoſe opinions, he does not inform us what name the natives called the iſland by, which is certainly a great omiſſion; however, by his manner of treating the etymology of the name, it is to be ſuppoſed he took it for granted that they themſelves called their iſland Canaria.

Pliny makes mention of a people called Canarii, who dwelt beyond Mount Atlas*, and bordering upon the country of the Peroeſi Ethiopians.

Ptolemy the geographer calls Cape Blanco, in Africa, or ſome other cape on that coaſt, fronting the Canary Iſlands, Ganaria Extrema: and the Blacks, who now live on the banks of the river Senegal, call all that country between that river and Mount Atlas,

* This country is that part of Africa adjacent to the Canary Iſlands.

Gannar.

Gannar. Formerly they knew more of it than at preſent, which I ſhall have occaſion to prove in the deſcription of that country.

From this ſimilitude of names one would be naturally led to believe that the natives of the iſland Canaria and thoſe of the neighbouring continent of Africa, were one and the ſame people. For Pliny was certainly miſinformed when he related, that the Canarii bordering upon the Peroeſi Ethiopians, were ſo called from their living in fellowſhip with dogs, and ſharing with, and devouring like them, the bowels of wild beaſts.

When the Europeans came firſt to Gran Canaria, that iſland was ſuppoſed to contain no leſs than fourteen thouſand fighting men; but a great ſickneſs or plague prevailing amongſt them ſome time after, it ſwept away two-thirds of the inhabitants. They were of a dark complexion, like the natives of Lancerota and Fuertaventura, well proportioned, and of a good ſtature; active, warlike, cheerful, good-natured, and ſtrictly faithful to their promiſes, inſomuch that they conſidered a lye as the greateſt of crimes. They were very fond of hazardous enterprizes, ſuch as climbing to the top of ſteep precipices, to pitch poles of ſo great a weight, that one of them was a ſufficient burden for a man of common ſtrength to carry on level ground. The Spaniards affirm that the devil aſſiſted them in placing theſe poles, that others, attempting the like might fall down headlong and be deſtroyed. My author ſays, he believes this to be true; and that the devil appeared to them in the ſhape of an animal reſembling a ſhock dog, and ſometimes in other figures, which the natives call Tibicenas.

The Canarians had nobility among them, who were diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar by the peculiar cut of their hair and beards. It was not ſufficient to entitle a man to nobility, that he was the offspring of noble or rich parents; but he was to be formally declared noble by the Faycag, a perſon of great rank, and next in dignity to the Guanarteme, whoſe buſineſs it was to decide differences among the natives and regulate the ceremonies of their religion: in ſhort, he was a prieſt, and acted alſo as a judge in civil affairs. Their manner of conferring nobility was very ſingular: at a determined time of life, the ſon of a nobleman let his hair grow long; and when he found he had ſtrength ſufficient to bear the fatigues of war, he went to the Faycag, and ſaid, "I am ſuch an one, the ſon of ſuch a nobleman, and deſire to be ennobled "alſo." Upon which the Faycag went to the town or village where the young man was brought up, and there aſſembled all the nobles and others of that place, whom he made to ſwear ſolemnly by Acoran, their god, to declare the truth concerning him. He then aſked them, if they had ever ſeen the youth demean himſelf ſo far as to dreſs victuals or to go into the folds to look after ſheep or goats, and whether he was ever known to milk or kill them: if they knew any thing of his ſtealing cattle, or forcibly taking them away from the owners in time of peace; whether he was any way diſcourteous, ill-tongued, or guilty of any indecent behaviour, eſpecially to women. If to theſe queſtions they all anſwered in the negative, then the Faycag cut the youth's hair in a round form, and ſo ſhort as not to hang beneath his ears; then giving into his hand a ſtaff or pole called Magade, declared him noble. But, on the other hand, if the ſtanders-by could charge him with any of thoſe things, of which the Faycag had interrogated them, and bring ſufficient proof thereof, then inſtead of being declared noble, the Faycag ſhaved his head, and ſent him away in diſgrace, by which he was rendered incapable of nobility, and remained ever after a plebeian.

In their wars they held it as baſe and mean to moleſt or injure the women and children of the enemy, conſidering them as weak and helpleſs, therefore improper objects of their reſentment: neither did they throw down or damage the houſes of worſhip.

The

The weapons uſed by the Canarians in war, were clubs, which they called Modagas; and ſharp-pointed poles, hardened by fire, and theſe they named Amodagas. But after the Europeans began to invade their iſland, they made targets in imitation of theirs; and ſwords of Te-a, or pitch-pine, the edges of which were hardened by fire, and tempered in ſuch a manner that they cut like ſteel.

Beſides theſe, they had many other weapons, taken at different times from the Europeans, and which they carefully preſerved, and made good uſe of, in the day of battle.

But their chief ſtrength lay in the before-mentioned Amodagas or wooden ſpears, and ſtones, which they threw with great force and dexterity.

They had public places ſet apart for fighting duels, in which were eminences or ſtages, raiſed for the combatants to fight on, that they might be the more eaſily obſerved by all the ſpectators. When a challenge was given and accepted, the parties went to the Council of the iſland, called in the Canarian language Sabor, (which conſiſted of twelve members called Gayres) for a licence to fight, which was eaſily obtained. Then they went to the Faycag to have this licence confirmed; which being done, they gathered together all their relations and friends, not to aſſiſt them (for thoſe people looked on with the ſame compoſure as if the combat had been between two beaſts *), but to be ſpectators of their gallantry and behaviour. The company then repaired to the public place, or theatre, where the combatants mounted upon two ſtones, placed at the oppoſite ſides of it, each ſtone being flat at top, and about half a yard in diameter. on theſe they ſtood faſt without moving their feet, till each had thrown three round ſtones at his antagoniſt. Though they were good markſmen, yet they generally avoided thoſe miſſive weapons by the agile writhing of their bodies. Then arming themſelves with ſharp flints in their left hands, and cudgels or clubs in their right, they drew near and fell on, beating and cutting each other till they were tired; when the parties, by conſent, retired with their friends, to eat and drink, but ſoon after returned to the ſcene of action, and renewed the engagement, cudgelled and cut each other with great dexterity as before, until the Gayres called out Gama! Gama! (i. e. Enough! Enough! or Give over!) when they immediately left off, and ever after remained good friends.

If during the time of the combat, one of the parties happened to break his cudgel, then the other immediately deſiſted from ſtriking, and ſo the diſpute ended, and the parties were reconciled, neither of them being declared victor. Thoſe duels were generally fought on public feſtivals, rejoicings, or ſuch like occaſions, which drew together a great concourſe of people, when the combatants had an opportunity to diſplay their dexterity, ſtrength, and valour. Theſe ſpectacles made a great impreſſion on the minds of the youth, exciting in them a ſpirit of emulation to excel in gallant feats. If either of the combatants happened to be deeply wounded, they beat a ruſh till it became like tow, and dipping it in melted goats butter, applied it to the wound, as hot as the patient could bear it: the older the butter was, the ſooner it effected a cure.

Of their Marriages, Manner of educating their Children, of their Worſhip, their Oaths, and their Habits.

NONE of the Canarians had more than one wife, and the wife one huſband, contrary to what ſome miſinformed authors affirm. When the parents were inclined to marry their daughter, they ſet her apart thirty days, during which they fed her

* The Spaniards, and many other Europeans, when they challenge, do not fight in earneſt before a multitude of ſpectators, like the Engliſh, when they box publicly in the ſtreets: therefore my author (being a Spaniard) makes the above remark.

with

with large quantities of milk and goffio, in order to fatten her; for they imagined lean women were leſs capable of conceiving children than thoſe who were fat. It has alſo been ſaid, that the night before the bride was preſented to her huſband, ſhe was delivered to the Guanarteme, who, if he did not chuſe to lie with her himſelf, gave her to the Faycag, or to ſome other noble perſon of his intimate acquaintance, to enjoy her: but the preſent natives deny that ſuch a cuſtom ever exiſted among their anceſtors. They were very careful in the education of their children, and never failed to chaſtiſe them when they did amiſs. It was alſo cuſtomary to propoſe two of the youth as examples for the reſt, the one of virtue, the other of vice; and when a child did any thing to diſpleaſe its parents, they told it that ſuch an action was like thoſe of the perſon ſet up as a bad example; on the other hand, when they did any thing praiſe-worthy, it was commended, and told that ſuch behaviour was amiable, and reſembled that of the good perſon. This ſort of inſtruction had the deſired effect, by raiſing the ſpirit of emulation among the youth to excel in virtuous actions.

The Canarians had among them religious women, called Magadas, a number of whom lived together in one houſe. There were many of thoſe houſes in Canaria, which were held ſacred; and criminals who fled to any of them, were protected from the officers of juſtice. The Magadas were diſtinguiſhed from other women by their long white garments, which ſwept the ground as they walked. The convents or houſes in which they dwelt were called Tamoganteen Acoran (i. e. houſes of god); but houſes of worſhip were called by the Canarians Almogaren (i. e. temples or holy houſes); they were daily ſprinkled with the milk of goats from whom they did not take the kids, and which were ſet apart for giving milk for that purpoſe. They held that this Acoran dwelt on high, and governed every thing on the earth. They adored him by putting their hands together, and lifting them towards heaven.

In the iſland there are two rocks, one in the diſtrict of Galdar, named Tirmac; the other in Telde, called Vinicaya *. To theſe rocks they went in proceſſion in times of public calamity, accompanied by the religious women called Magadas, carrying in their hands branches of palm-trees, and veſſels filled with milk and butter, which they poured on the rocks, dancing round them, and ſinging mournful ſongs like dirges, or what the Spaniards call Endechas; from thence they went to the ſea-ſide, and all at once and with one accord ſtruck the water forcibly with their rods, ſhouting together at the ſame time with a very loud voice. Their diviſion of time was not by days, weeks, and years, as with us, but they reckoned by moons.

The habit of the Canarians was a tight coat, with a hood to it like that of a Capuchin Friar; it reached down to the knees, and was girded about the waiſt with a leather ſtrap or girdle. This garment was made of a ſort of ruſh, which they beat until it was quite ſoft like flax, and then divided the filaments and wove them together. Over this they wore cloaks of goat ſkins, with the hairy ſide outwards in ſummer, and inwards in winter. They alſo wore caps made of the ſkins of goats, taken off almoſt entire, which they placed in ſuch a manner on their heads that they had a goat's beard hanging under each ear, which they ſometimes tied under the chin. All theſe garments were neatly ſewed and painted, and in every other reſpect much more curious than thoſe of the natives in the other iſlands. Some wore bonnets of ſkins, adorned with feathers. Their ſhoes were made of raw hides, like thoſe in Lancerota and Fuertaventura.

* They ſwore by theſe rocks, and thoſe oaths were very ſolemn.

They had public houſes, or rooms, in which they aſſembled to dance and ſing. The Canarian dance is ſtill in uſe in theſe iſlands, and is called Canario: its ſtep is quick and ſhort. Their ſongs were either dirges or amorous ſonnets, ſet to grave and plaintive tunes.

Of their Puniſhments, Employments, and Manner of living.

THE Canarians were remarkable for their good government, regularity, and ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice. When a man committed a crime deſerving of death, they apprehended him and put him in priſon, where he was tried, and immediately upon conviction they led him to the place of execution, which was the ſame where they uſed to feaſt, wreſtle, and fight duels. Here the delinquent was ſtretched on the ground, and his head placed on a flat ſtone; then the executioner, who was a man ſet apart for that office, taking up a large heavy ſtone, and lifting it as high as he could, he ſuddenly let it fall on the criminal's head. But for crimes that were not worthy of death, they uſed the Lex Talionis, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, &c.

None of the Canarians exerciſed the trade of a butcher except the dregs of the people. This employment was accounted ſo ignominious, that they would not ſo much as allow one of that profeſſion to enter into any of their houſes, or to touch any thing belonging to them. It was made unlawful for the butchers even to keep company with any but thoſe of their own profeſſion; and when they wanted any thing of another perſon, they were obliged to carry a ſtaff with them, and point at what they wanted, ſtanding at a conſiderable diſtance. As a recompence for this abject ſtate, the natives were obliged to ſupply the butchers with every thing they had occaſion for. It was not lawful for any Canarian, except the butchers, to kill cattle: when any perſon wanted his beaſt, &c. to be killed, he was obliged to lead it to the public ſhambles, but was not allowed to enter himſelf; and this prohibition extended even to the women and children.

The houſes in Gran Canaria were built of ſtone, without cement, but ſo neat and regular that they made a beautiful appearance. At the top they laid wooden beams or rafters, very cloſe to each other, and covered them with earth. The walls of theſe houſes were very low, and the floors ſunk lower than the level of the ground on which they ſtood, being ſo contrived for the advantage of warmth in the winter ſeaſon. Their beds and bedding were goat ſkins dreſſed in the hair, after a moſt curious manner. Their other furniture conſiſted of baſkets, and mats of palm-leaves and ruſhes, made extremely neat, and very ingeniouſly wrought. There were among them people whoſe ſole occupation was to build houſes and manufacture mats, &c. The women in general were employed in painting and dying; and in the proper ſeaſon they very carefully gathered the flowers, ſhrubs, &c. from which they extracted the ſeveral colours. The threads they uſed for ſewing and other purpoſes were made of the ſpringy nerves or tendons of the loins of ſheep, goats, or ſwine, with which they were ſupplied by the butchers. Theſe they firſt anointed with butter, and afterwards prepared by fire in ſuch a manner that they could ſplit them into fine threads at their pleaſure. Their needles were made of bone, and their fiſh-hooks of horn. All their veſſels uſed in cookery were made of clay, hardened by the ſun, which they called Ganigos. Their wealth conſiſted chiefly in goats, which they called Aridaman; and ſome ſheep, which they called Taharan: they had alſo hogs, which they named Ta-

guacen. Their common food was barley-meal roaſted, which they called Goffio, and eat with milk or goats fleſh. When they made a feaſt, they dreſſed this latter with hog's lard or butter, and this diſh they called Tamazanona. Their barley, which they called Aſamotan *, they ground with a hand-mill. The following is the manner in which they ploughed their lands; about twenty people aſſembled together, each having a wooden inſtrument (not unlike a hoe) with a ſpur or tooth at the end of it, on which they fixed a goat's horn; with this they broke the ground, and afterwards took care, if the rain came not in its proper ſeaſon, to moiſten it with water, which they brought by canals from the rivulets. The women gathered in the corn, of which they reaped only the ears: theſe they threſhed with ſticks, or beat with their feet, and then winnowed in their hands.

Their only fruits were vicacorras, mocanes, and wild dates; and ſome time before the conqueſt of their iſland, they had figs: green figs they call Archormaſe, and dried ones Tehaunenen. Their poor lived by the ſea-coaſt, chiefly on fiſh which they catched in the night-time, by making a blaze on the water with torches of pitch-pine. In the day-time, whenever they diſcovered a ſhoal of ſardinas, a ſmall fiſh reſembling herrings or pilchards, a great number of men, women, and children waded into the ſea, and ſwimming beyond the ſhoal, chaſed the fiſh towards the ſhore; then with a net, made of a tough kind of ruſh, they encloſed and drew them to land, and there made an equal diviſion of their prize: in doing this, every woman in the company who had young children, received a ſhare for each; or if ſhe happened to be with child, ſhe received a ſhare for the child in her womb.

When any of their nobles died, they brought out the corpſe and placed it in the ſun, took out the bowels and entrails, which they waſhed, and then buried in the earth: the body they dried, and ſwathed round with bandages of goat ſkins, and then fixed it upright in a cave, cloathed with the ſame garments which the deceaſed wore when alive. But if no proper cave was at hand, they carried the dead body to one of thoſe ſtony places now called Mal Paices, where, levelling the ground and fixing the ſmall looſe ſtones, they made a coffin of very large ones, placed ſo as not to touch the body; then they took another large ſtone, two yards in length, wrought into a round form, and with this they cloſed the coffin, and afterwards filled up the niche between the top of the round ſtone and the outer part of the ſides of the coffin with ſmall ſtones, in ſo neat a manner, that every one who beholds them muſt be ſurpriſed at the ingenuity of this people. Some of their dead bodies were put into cheſts, and afterwards depoſited in a kind of ſtone ſepulchres. There were certain perſons among them whoſe profeſſion it was, and who were ſet apart for the purpoſe of preparing the dead bodies burial, and making up the tombs.

The lower claſs of people were buried in the Mal Paices, in holes covered with dry ſtones; and, excepting thoſe bodies which were placed upright in the caves, all the others were laid with their heads towards the north.

* I have reaſon to believe that by my author's negligence theſe two words are tranſpoſed; Tamazanona ſignifying Barley, and Aſamotan, the above mentioned diſh.

BOOK III.

Of the Iſland of Palma, and of the ancient Inhabitants thereof; their Manners, Cuſtoms, Worſhip, &c.

IT is not poſitively known how this iſland came firſt to be called Palma. In all probability it received this name from the Europeans at the time of their diſcovering it, for the natives called it Benahoare, which in their language ſignifies My Country*. When the Europeans firſt landed on this iſland, it produced no ſort of corn, or eatable roots, excepting the roots of fern, of which the natives made meal (as the inhabitants of this and ſome other of the Canary Iſlands do to this day), and alſo of the ſeed of a tree or ſhrub called Amagante. Both theſe ſorts of meal they ate mixed with milk or broth. Their other ſorts of food were fleſh of goats, ſheep, and hogs, which they ate either roaſted or boiled. The ſkins of the two firſt ſerved them for cloathing, and of the latter they made ſhoes. The weapon they uſed in war was a ſtaff or pole, ſharpened at the point and hardened by fire, which they called Moca.

Of the Iſland of Thenerife or Tenerife.

THE next iſland was named Thenerife, or the White Mountain, by the natives of Palma; Thener, in their language, ſignifying a Mountain, and Ife, White: the Pike, or ſummit of Thenerife being always covered with ſnow. This name has been continued to it by the Spaniards ever ſince; but the natives called it Chineche, and themſelves Vincheni: how the Spaniards came to give them the name of Guanches, is not known.

An Inquiry concerning the Origin of the Natives of the Canary Iſlands.

PLINY ſays, "There are no inhabitants in the Fortunate Iſlands." And in another place he ſays, "In Canaria are veſtiges of buildings, which teſtify that it was formerly inhabited."

Plutarch's Fortunate Iſlands were alſo peopled, according to his account of them; for he ſays in one place, "The ſoil is ſo abundantly fruitful, that it produces ſponteneouſly plants and fruits, for uſe and delicacy, ſufficient to anſwer the wants and delight the palates of the inhabitants." Deſcribing the temperature of the climate, he ſays, "It is firmly believed even by the barbarous natives themſelves, that this is the ſeat of the Bleſſed."

* When the Spaniards aſked the meaning of the word Benahoare, the natives would naturally anſwer, 'This Place, our Land, my Country, this Iſland, or our Dwelling-place;' but I have reaſon to imagine that it did not literally ſignify My Country.

If

If theſe iſlands were formerly inhabited, what became of the natives afterwards? for Madeira and Porto Santo, when diſcovered by the Portugueze, were utterly deſtitute of inhabitants. It muſt have been owing to ſome uncommon event, that all theſe people abandoned their native country, without ſo much as leaving a ſingle family behind. But if they periſhed in the iſland, it is ſtill more extraordinary; for we never heard of the whole inhabitants of any country being deſtroyed without exception, by war, famine, peſtilence, or any other calamity. If I may be allowed to gueſs at the cauſe of this depopulation, we muſt obſerve that almoſt two thirds of each of the Canary Iſlands are now covered with calcined rocks, pumice-ſtones, and black duſt or aſhes, which have formerly been thrown out from volcanoes, the remains of which are ſtill to be ſeen in every one of thoſe iſlands.

I do not think it improbable, that many of the natives might have been deſtroyed by thoſe violent eruptions; and that the remainder, being terrified, abandoned their country, and went in queſt of new habitations: but where they went, is a queſtion not eaſily ſolved; though ſome writers aſſert, that they paſſed over to America: but this is mere conjecture.

From two paſſages in the Nubian Geographer, it would ſeem that there were inhabitants in the Canary Iſlands, Madeira, or Po to Santo, ſome time after the conqueſt of Spain by the Moors, and before the Spaniards expelled the Moors from Liſbon, in 1147. Of this the reader may judge for himſelf, as I ſhall here tranſcribe thoſe paſſages.

Part I. Of the Third Climate. "In this ſea is alſo the iſland of two brothers, "magicians; the one of which is called Sciarraham, and the other Sciaram.

"This port is oppoſite to Aſafi*, and is at ſo ſmall a diſtance from it, that, when "the air on the ſea is clear and free from clouds, you can diſcern ſmoke on the Con- "tinent. There is alſo in this ſea an iſland of ſheep, which is large and covered with "a dark cloud †; in which iſland are innumerable ſheep, but ſmall, and their fleſh "extremely bitter to the taſte, and unfit for food: and this likewiſe appears from the "relation of the Almaghrurin (Wanderers)."

Part I. Of the Fourth Climate. "Oppoſite to Liſbon (which is ſituated on the "coaſt of the Dark Sea), on the South bank of the river is the caſtle of Almaaden "(of treaſure), ſo called from gold which is thrown out after a ſtorm at ſea. From "Liſbon went out Almaghrurin (the Wanderers), who attempted the Dark Sea, to "make diſcoveries: and from them a path in the town, not far from the lake, takes "its name, which it will retain to lateſt ages.

"And this is their hiſtory. Eight men, who were couſins, having built a merchant- "ſhip, and provided it with water and neceſſary proviſions for ſeveral months, began "their voyage as ſoon as the eaſt wind began to blow: and when they had ſailed "almoſt eleven days, with a fair wind, they came at laſt to a certain ſea, whoſe "thick waters had a diſagreeable ſmell, where there were many rocks and a duſky "light: wherefore, being afraid of certain ſhipwreck, they altered their courſe, and

* That this is Azaffi in Barbary is beyond all doubt, as may be ſeen by what he ſays thereof in the deſcription of the kingdom of Morocco: although Porto Santo is not ſo near the Continent as he repreſents it, yet it is exactly, as he ſays, fronting Aſafi, or oppoſite to it.

† This anſwers exactly to the gloom or cloud that ſurrounded Madeira, when diſcovered by the Portugueze, and which made them afraid to venture near it. The iſlands Tenerife, Palma, and Madeira appear at a diſtance (when the trade-wind blows) like thick dark clouds. Madeira was full of woods when diſcovered, which no doubt attracted the vapours, and made it appear more gloomy.

"ſailing

" ſailing twelve days to the ſouth, they landed upon an iſland of ſheep, or cattle, " where innumerable flocks ſtrayed without a ſhepherd or guide. Here they found " a fountain of running water, which was over-ſhadowed by a wild fig-tree. And " having caught ſome ſheep, or cattle, they killed them; but perceiving their fleſh ſo " bitter that it could not be eaten, they only took their ſkins. After this, ſailing alſo " twelve days at the ſouth, they deſcried at a diſtance a certain iſland, and ſeeing " habitations and cultivated lands, they ſailed near to it, to make farther diſcoveries. " But not long after, they were ſurrounded with boats, taken priſoners, and conducted, " together with their ſhip, to a certain town ſituated on the ſea coaſt; where when " they arrived they ſaw reddiſh men, with thin and long hair, and tall in ſtature; the " women were alſo ſurpriſingly beautiful. They were kept there for three days, in a " certain houſe; but on the fourth day a man came to them, and aſked them, in " Arabic, concerning their condition, for what they came, and to whom they belonged? " When they had told him all their ſtory, he promiſed happy things to them, and at " the ſame time told them he was the King's interpreter. Wherefore, the next day, " being brought to the King, and interrogated by him about the ſame things which " the interpreter had aſked, they told the King the ſame ſtory which they had told the " interpreter the day before; that they had ventured to ſea to diſcover whatever was " remarkable or wonderful in it, and to penetrate to its utmoſt bounds. The King " hearing theſe things, laughed, and ſaid to the interpreter, Tell theſe men, that my " father commanded ſome of his ſubjects to ſail this ſea; and they ſailed by its breadth " a whole month, ſo that the light failed them altogether, and ſo their voyage was " vain and uſeleſs. Moreover, the King commanded the interpreter to promiſe good " things in his name to theſe people, and to bid them put their confidence in him. " They were then conducted back to the place of their confinement, and detained " there till the weſt wind began to blow. Then being put into a boat, with their eyes " bound, they were ſent to ſea; where, according to their relation, they remained " three days and nights: at length they arrived at the Continent, where they were " put on ſhore, with their hands tied behind their backs, and thus left to ſhift for " themſelves. In this condition they lay till day-break, during which time they ſuf- " fered the greateſt uneaſineſs from being bound ſo tight. But at length hearing a " noiſe of human voices, they altogether called aloud for help; when ſome people " approaching, and ſeeing them in this miſerable condition, enquired of them the " cauſe: theſe people (who were barbarians) aſked them if they knew how far they " were from their own country? To which they replied, they could not tell. Upon " this they were told that it was two months travel. The commander of theſe un- " fortunate men hearing this, burſt out into this exclamation, Va Asfi! i. e. Alas! " what we ſuffer! and the place has ever ſince been called Asfi. It is a harbour in " the weſtermoſt part of the coaſt, of which we have already made mention."

As the Nubian Geographer had not the above-mentioned account from the adventurers themſelves, we may reaſonably conclude that we have not the relation of the voyage exactly as it was performed: but if there is any truth in it at all, the iſland where the voyagers were blind-folded, and from thence ſent to Azaffi, can be no other than one of the Canary Iſlands, Madeira, or Porto Santo, all which lie within three days ſail of Azaffi.

Of all thoſe iſlands, Fuertaventura bids faireſt for the iſland of the two brothers, magicians, becauſe in clear weather it may be perceived from the continent of that part of Africa ſituated to the ſouth-weſt of Azaffi.

Now

Now as Azaffi was at that time the remoteſt ſea-port town to the ſouth-weſt, it is probable that the natives of the continent oppoſite to Fuertaventura, coming to Azaffi to trade, might inform the inhabitants of that town, that from their coaſt they always, in clear weather, obſerved an iſland. This will account for our author's ſaying, "This port looks towards Azaffi, and is at ſo ſmall a diſtance from it, that, when "the air on the ſea is clear and free from clouds, you can diſcern ſmoke on the "Continent."

I ſhall now proceed to give ſome account of the original of thoſe people deſcribed in the foregoing Hiſtory of the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of the Canary Iſlands. The author of that Hiſtory has written no leſs than three folio pages to confute an opinion, held by ſome, that the natives of the Canaries were the deſcendants of the ten tribes of Iſrael that were carried into captivity by the Aſſyrians.

His own opinion is, that they came from Mauritania; and this he founds on the reſemblance of names of places in Africa and in the iſlands; for, ſays he, "Telde, "which is the name of the oldeſt habitation in Canaria, Orotava, and Tegeſte, are "all names which we find given to places in Mauritania and in Mount Atlas. "It is to be ſuppoſed that Canaria, Fuertaventura, and Lancerota, were peopled by "the Alarbes, who are the nation moſt eſteemed in Barbary; for the natives of thoſe "iſlands named milk Aho, and barley Temaſen, which are the names that are given "thoſe things in the language of the Alarbes of Barbary." He adds, that—

"Among the books of a library that was in the cathedral of St. Anna, in Canaria, "there was one, ſo much diſfigured and torn that it wanted both the beginning and "the end; it treated of the Romans, and gave an account, that when Africa was a "Roman province, the natives of Mauritania rebelled, and killed their Preſidents and "Governors; upon which the ſenate, reſolving to puniſh and make a ſevere example "of the rebels, ſent a powerful army into Mauritania, which vanquiſhed and reduced "them again to obedience: ſoon after, the ringleaders of the rebellion were put to "death; and the tongues of the common ſort, and of their wives and children, were "cut out, and then they were all put on board veſſels, with ſome grain and cattle, "and tranſported to the Canary Iſlands *."

Whether the Canarians were exiles from Africa or not, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but am perſuaded they came originally from thence. This may eaſily be proved from the ſimilitude of cuſtoms and language in South Barbary, to thoſe of the natives of all the Canary Iſlands, excepting Tenerife †.

For inſtance, the Libyans, before they gave their daughters in marriage, kept them apart ſome time, and fed them with milk till they became very fat. When any of them were wounded, they poured hot butter into the wound. And their principal diſh, called Couſcouſſou, was much the ſame with the Goffio of the Canarians.

But the greateſt proof lies in the ſimilitude between the Canarian and Libyan languages. My author is miſtaken when he ſays, the languages of the iſlands reſembled the language ſpoken by the Alarbes or Arabs of Barbary; for the two words he mentions are not Arabic, but Shillha, the language now ſpoken in the mountains in the kingdoms of Morocco, Suz, and other parts of South Barbary.

* One Thomas Nicols, who lived ſeven years in the Canary Iſlands, and wrote a hiſtory of them, ſays, that the beſt account he could get of the origin of the natives, was, that they were exiles from Africa, baniſhed thence by the Romans, who cut out their tongues for blaſpheming their gods.

† The language in Tenerife, at the time of the conqueſt, had no affinity to thoſe ſpoken in the reſt of the iſlands: it ſeems to have ſome reſemblance of the Peruvian or ſome other of the American tongues.

It

It is evident that the Libyans did not come to the Canary Iſlands till after Pliny had wrote his Natural Hiſtory; for he tells us that thoſe iſlands were then uninhabited; and it is as clear it muſt have been before the conqueſt of Barbary by the Arabs, otherwiſe we ſhould have found ſome of the ceremonies of the Mahomedan religion * among the Canarians.

It is even not improbable that the Libyans who firſt ſettled in the iſlands, fled thither to avoid falling into the hands of the victorious Arabs.

The natives of the Canary Iſlands, at the time of the conqueſt, knew not the uſe of boats, conſequently the inhabitants of one iſland could not have any intercourſe with thoſe of another; yet, ſays my author, the languages of all of them, except that of Tenerife, though very different, had ſome affinity to each other.

* All the Libyans profeſs Mahomedaniſm.

JOURNIES in the INTERIOR of AFRICA.

By Mr. Browne *.

ITINERARIES.

From Cobbé to Sennaar.

		Bearing.	Days.
FROM Cobbé to Shawer - - -			1½
From Shawer to Rîl - - - -		S. S. E.	2

At Rîl is a large pool of water, never completely dry, and a little to the E. of it a ſpacious houſe built by Sultan Teraub, eldeſt brother of the preſent monarch.

From Rîl to Fadow - - - -	E.	3	
From Fadow to Cawb - - - -	E.	3	

Near Cawb commences a ridge of hills, running N. and S. or nearly ſo.

From Cawb to Dar Hummâr	Mean bearing - -	E.	2
From Dar Hummâr to Emdî	Mean bearing - -	E.	3
From Emdî to Kreiga	Mean bearing - -	E.	0½

In each of theſe towns are Fukkara, who adminiſter juſtice.

From Kreiga to Ibeit † - - -		E.	1

Between Kreiga and Ibeit is Habu-Harrâs, a place diſtant from the former three hours. Its neighbourhood is laid out in gardens belonging to the people of Dongola eſtabliſhed there, in which they cultivate onions, &c. The ſituation of Abu Harrâs is in length N. and S. and the wells which ſupply it with water are to the S. of the town.

From Ibeit to Miteina - - - -	0½
From Miteina to Autoſh - - - -	2
From Autoſh to Yaſsîn - - -	0½

Yaſsîn is a town of Fukkara.

From Yaſsîn to Breiſſa, *deep ſand* - - -	0½
From Breiſſa to Cone - - -	1

Cone is at the foot of a mountain of the ſame name, which lies S. of the road. Near Cone, a little S. of the road, is a pool of water, and this is a place where travellers commonly repoſe themſelves.

From Cone to Kinnana - - - -	1
From Kinnana to Deggîn - - -	1
From Deggîn to Hellet Allais ‡, on the Bahr-el-abiad, the place which the ferry-boats frequent - - -	1

* See vol. xv. pag. 108.

† Ibeit is one of the principal towns of Kordofân: it is alſo the name of a ſmall diſtrict.

‡ The bearing of the road from Ril to Hellet Allais is reported to be generally E. with very ſmall variation.

	Bearing.	Days.

Hellet Allais is ſituated on the W. of the river. The river (Bahr-el-abiad) is here of ſuch breadth, that the features of a perſon ſtanding on the other ſide cannot be diſtinguiſhed, but the human voice is heard.—A number of trees is ſeen here to the W. of the river, not to the E. Hellet Allais is altogether built of clay.—A large palm-tree grows in the middle of the town.

On the eaſtern ſide of the river is *Shillûk*—not far removed from it, being reported to be within ſight of Allais.

Shillûk is a town of idolaters, built with clay. The inhabitants have no other clothing than bands of long graſs, which they paſs round the waiſt and between the thighs. They are all black; both ſexes are accuſtomed to ſhave their heads. The people of Shillûk have the dominion of the river, and take toll of all paſſengers, in ſuch articles of traffic as paſs among them. The name *Shillûk* is not Arabic, and its meaning is unknown.—When aſked concerning their name or country, the people reply *Shillûk*. When employed in tranſporting Mohammedans acroſs the ferry, they occaſionally exhibit the importance which their ſituation gives them. After the Mûſlim has placed himſelf in the boat, they will aſk him, "Who is the maſter of that river?" The other replies, as is uſual, "Ullah or Rubbani"—God is the maſter of it. "No," anſwers the Shillûk, "you muſt ſay that ſuch a one (naming his chief) is the maſter of it, or you ſhall not paſs." They are repreſented as ſhewing hoſpitality to ſuch as come among them in a peaceable manner, and as never betraying thoſe to whom they have once accorded protection. The particulars of their worſhip, as in moſt other inſtances where I have had my information from Mohammedans, have not been deſcribed.

From Shillûk to Dar Ruga - - - -	E. ¼ N.		1
From Dar Ruga to Waalia - - -	E.		1
From Waalia to Shadli - - - -	E.		1
From Shadli to Sennaar - - - -			0¼

Sennar, *Medinet el Fun* or *Fungi*, is ſituated on the river which flows from Habbeſh, which river is much ſmaller than the *Bahr-el-abiad*, and before the annual increaſe is fordable between Sennaar and Baſboch.

The ſlaves who have uſurped the government reſide in *Terfeia*, on the oppoſite ſide of the river. Between them and the people of the city have been perpetual ſkirmiſhes for the laſt ſix years. (1794.)

The Bahr-el-abiad ſuffers the ſame periodical increaſe and diminution as the Nile in Egypt.

From Sennaar to Gondâr.

From Terfeia to Rhad - - -	E. N. E.		1
From Rhad to Dender - - -	E.		1
From Dender to Béla - - -	S. E.		1
From Béla to Teawa - - -			1

Rhad is on the banks of a river of the ſame name. After paſſing Béla, the traveller leaves the river, and proceeds by a mountainous

	Bearing.	Days.

road to Teawa. The ſoil in the neighbourhood of Teawa is clay, and the town is built of that material. The people of the place uſe for bread the Mahriek, (white maize), which grows there luxuriantly.

From Teawa to Râs el fîl - - -	S. E.	1¼
From Râs el fîl to Gondâr - - -	E. S. E.	7

The officer who governs Râs el fîl is appointed by the king of Habbeſh.—Inhabitants of Râs el fîl called *Giberti.*

Road from Sennaar to Swakem.

From Sennaar to Teawa - - -		4
From Teawa to Atbara, a town on that river - -	E.	1
From Atbara to Hallanga - - -	N.	2

The people of Hallanga are Mohammedans, but uſe not the Arabic language generally. They are of an olive complexion. The *Mahriek* in their neighbourhood is ſaid to grow ſo large, that the ſtem at bottom is ſeen of the ſize of a man's wriſt.

From Hallanga to Swakem - - -	N. E.	12

During great part of the way the road is mountainous and rocky. The ſpace between the two laſt places is uncultivated, and inhabited only by wandering Arabs. Theſe are of two races, Bijjé and Okoot. Both of them breed camels in great number, ſheep, &c. Swakem is ſituated on an iſland, in which the governor and principal perſons reſide: but the greater number live on the main land.

Road from Sennaar to Mahas.

From Sennaar to Herbajé - - -	N. ¼ W.	3
From Herbajé to Halfeia - - -	N.	5

At Halfeia is the confluence of the Bahr-el-abiad and Bahr el aſrek.

From Halfeia to Chendi - - - -	N.	3
From Chendi to Birbîr - - - -		3
From Birbîr to Shaikié - - - -		3
From Shaikié to Dongola - - -	N. W.	2
From Dongola to Mahas - - -	N.	1

From Sennaar to Fazoglo.

From Sennaar to Dachala - - -	E.	3
From Dachala to Emſirié - - -	S. E.	1
From Emſirié to Louni - - - -	S.	3
From Louni to Gerbîn - - - -	S.	3

The people of Dachala are Mohammedans reſiding on the weſtern bank of the Bahr el aſrek.—Gerbîn is a mountainous place, which ſerves for confining malefactors under the government of Sennaar.

Mountainous—From Gerbîn to Fazoglo - -	S.	4

The mines of Fazoglo afford much gold: they belong to Sennaar.

From Gerbîn to Gondar.

	Bearing.	Days.
From Fazoglo there is no direct road. Having returned to Gerbîn,		
From Gerbîn to Hafsîb - - -	E.	2
From Hafsîb to Beida - - - -	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	2

Beida is the firſt town under the Abyſſinian government, and is deſcribed as chiefly inhabited by fugitive ſlaves, who belong to perſons within that empire.

From Beida to Kourmi - - -		3
From Kourmi to Haſſeb-ullah - - -		3

This road is mountainous, circuitous, and abounds with ſprings of water. The civet cat is ſo common in this diſtrict, that in every houſe, it is ſaid, there are fifteen or twenty tame ones.

From Haſſeb-ullah to Gondâr - - -	E.	10

Mountainous and difficult road.

Sundry Routes of the Merchants of Sennaar.

From Sennaar to Gebel-el-Moié - - -	S. W.	1
From Gebel-el-Moié to Bahr-el-abad - -	W. S. W.	$1\frac{1}{2}$
From Sennaar to Bahhadîn - - -	S. S. W.	$0\frac{1}{2}$
From Bahhadîn to Menâjel - - -	S. W.	2
From Menâjel to the Bahr-el-abiad. - - -	W.	2

Road to Gondar.

From Sennaar to Terfeia - - -		$0\frac{1}{2}$
From Terfeia to Subî-deleib - - -		$0\frac{1}{2}$
From Subî-deleib to Wullad Midani - -		$0\frac{1}{2}$
From Midani to the Bahr-el-afrek - -		$0\frac{1}{2}$
From the river to Mendala - - -		2
From Mendala to Kaila - - -		1

Kaila is mountainous.

From Kaila to Embutteik - - - -		1

Mountainous and deep ſand.

From Embutteik to *Goze*, or the ſands - - -		2
From Goze to the Atbara - - -		3

This country is inhabited by the Biſharîn Arabs, who are Mohammedans.

From Atbara to Gebel Cuffa - - -		3
From Gebel Cuffa to Gebel en Narr - -		3
From Gebel en Narr to Gondar - -		12

A Route which ſeems to be uncertain, and of which the Bearings are not accurately given.

From the Goze or ſands of the Atbara, above mentioned, to El-Edd belonging to the Bijjé - - -		3

	Bearing.	Days.
From El-Edd to Swakem - - -	N. E.	12

This road is filled with Arabs.

From Swakem to Gebel-el-Hellé - - -	W.	3
From Gebel-el-Hellé to Gebel-el-Sillah - -	S. W.	2
From Gebel-el-Sillah to Gabel-el-Beit - -		2
From Gebel-el-Beit to Birbîr - - -		6

All this road from Swakem to Birbîr is repreſented as rocky.—Birbîr is ſituated in a clayey ſoil.

From Birbîr to Wullad-el-Magedûb - - -	S.	2
From Wullad-el-Magedûb to Biſharié - - -		2
From Biſharié to Shûkûrié - - - -		3

Biſharié are a foreign race, but Shûkûrié ſpeak Arabic as their native language.

Arabs—From Shûkûrié to Hellalié - - -	4
From Hellalié to Bahr-el-afrek - - -	1
From Bahr-el-afrek to Em-uſhar - - -	1
From Em-uſhar to Wullad-el-fûrûk - - -	1
From Wullad-el-fûrûk to Hummûr - - -	2
Clayey ſoil.	
Mohammedans—From Hûmmûr to Senût abûd - -	2

From Ibeit to Emdurman and Halfeia, and return to Ibeit by another road.

From Ibeit to Bahra - - - -	E.	1½
From Bahra to Emganatîr - - -	N. E.	2
From Emganatîr to Shegeîk - - -	N. E.	1
From Shegeîk to Gimmoyé - - - -	N.	2
From Gimmoyé to Emdurmân - - -	N.	2

All this country is inhabited by Mohammedans, who ſpeak Arabic alone.—Gimmoyé and Emdurmân are both on the W. bank of the Bahr-el-abiad, and the latter is at the place of union between that river and the Abawi.—Returning W.

From Emdurmân to Harraza, a mountain of difficult paſſage	S. W.	3
Road deſert and deſtitute of water.		

The inhabitants of Harraza are idolaters, of mixed complexion, but moſt of them of a reddiſh hue.—They breed ſome horſes, which they mount.

From Harraza to Abu-hadîd - - -	S. W.	1
From Abuhadîd to Zerawy - - - -		0½
From Zerawy to Eſherſhar - - - -		1

Eſherſhar is famous for its ſalt, which is gathered by the Arabs, tranſported to other places and ſold. The people of this laſt place are Arabs, but thoſe of Zerawy, Harraza, and Abu-hadîd, neither Arabs nor Mohammedans.

From Eſherſhar to Biſherié - - - -	S.	1
Road deſert.		

Biſherié is full of palm-trees.

From Biſherié to Bahra - - - -	S.S.W.	1
From Bahra to Ibeit - - - -		1½

Route

Route from Ibeit to Sheibôn, where are gold mines, and other places, returning to Ibeit.

	Bearing.	Days.
From Ibeit to Bahra - - - -	E.	1½
From Bahra to Khûkjé - - - -	S. E.	4¼
From Khûkjé to Abu-jenûch - - -	S.	1
From Abu-jenûch to Seijé - - -	E.	0½
From Seijé to Tummara - - -	S. E.	2

Between the two laſt places is a rocky road, with intervals of deep ſand and clay.

From Tummara to Demîk - - -	S. ½ E.	1

The people from Abu-jenûch hither are idolaters, and deſtitute of clothing. The ſoil at and near Demîk is clay.

From Demîk to Khéga - - - -	S. ¼ E.	1
From Khéga to Dibri - - - -	S. S. E.	0¾
Mountainous and rocky.		
From Dibri to Sheibôn - - - -	S. S. E.	1¼
Clayey ſoil.		

Near this place, in a deep glen or valley, much gold is found, both duſt and in ſmall pieces. The natives collect the duſt in quills of the oſtrich and vulture, and in that condition ſell it to the merchants. They have a ceremony on diſcovering a large piece of gold, of killing a ſheep on it before they remove it. The people are all black, as are thoſe above mentioned from Abu-jenûch hither. They have ſome form of marriage, i. e. of an agreement between man and woman to cohabit. Women of full age wear a piece of platted graſs on their parts. The younger and unmarried are quite naked. The ſlaves, which are brought in great numbers from this quarter, are ſome priſoners of war among themſelves, (for their wars are frequent,) and ſome ſeduced by treachery and ſold. But it is ſaid to be a common practice for the father in time of ſcarcity to ſell his children.

At Sheibôn are ſome Mohammedans, who live among the idolaters and wear clothing: it is not ſaid whether Arabs or not.

The people above deſcribed are independent tribes of negroes, who have no other ruler than their reſpective chiefs, the authority of whom is very ſmall, except in time of war. The Mecque of Sennaar uſed to claim ſome tribute from the people of Sheibôn, but received nothing regularly.

From Sheibôn to Shurrû - - - -	W. S. W.	¾
From Shurrû to Luca - - - -		1

Luca is another place where reſides an independent chief: it is alſo famous for its gold, which, as at Sheibôn, is the only medium of exchange among the inhabitants.

From Luca to Koheila - - - -	W.	1½

In Koheila are Arabs, not ſubject to any monarch of the country. Some idolaters alſo live among them.

From Koheila to Tlinga, a town - - -	W. ¼ W.	1

People of Tlinga Mohammedans.—This country is called by the Arabs Dar Kinnana

From

	Bearing.	Days.
From Tlinga to Gebel Sahd - - -	W. ¼ W.	½
Gebel Sahd is within the dominion of Sennaar.		
From Gebel Sahd to Baha-ed-dîn - - -	N.	1
Still Dar Kinnana.		
From Baha-ed-dîn to Gebel-el-abîd - - -	N. N. E.	1
From Gebel-el-abîd to Tumbûl - - -	N.	1
Tumbûl is under the government of the king of the Tuclawi.		
From Tumbûl to Seifabân - - -		1
Seifabân is inhabited by Arabs alone. - - -		
From Seifabân to Abdome - - -		½
From Abdome to Tuggala, capital of the king of Tuclawi -	N.	½
This district is called Sagurnié, country of the mountaineers.		
From Tuggala to Deir - - - -		1
From Deir to Gebel-el-deir - - -		1
From Gebel-el-deir to Gebel-le-Bucclé - - -	N. N. W.	1
From Gebel-el-Bucclé to Ibeit - - -	N.	½

From Rîl to Wara, capital of Bergoo.

From Rîl to Gebel Marra, *deep sand* - - -	W.	2
Gebel Marra to Bishara Taib - - -	W.	2
Bishara Taib to the confines of Fûr - - -	W.	5

All this road is mountainous and rocky, and the inhabitants from Rîl W. to the confines of Fûr are Mohammedans. The water on Gebel Marra, which is a lofty mountain, rises with some remarkable circumstances, and it is said to be sulphureous. The people there feed partly on wheat, which grows near the place, partly on Mahreik.

The people who inhabit the confines of Fûr W. are called *Tûmúrkée.*

From the confines to Dar Ruma - - -	W. ¼ N.	8
Desert, sand and clay, some water.		
From Dar Ruma to Kibbéid - - -		2
Kibbéid is situated on a hill or rock.		
From Kibbéid to Kajachsa - - -		1
From Kajachsa to Bendala - - -		1¼
Bendala is inhabited by the slaves of the Sultan of Bergoo.—The people of *Ruma*, and thence to Bendala are idolaters.	N.E.	
From Bendala to Wullad-el-Bucca - - -		1
Bucca is a mountainous district.		
From Bucca to Dar Missélâd - - -		1
From Dar Missélâd to Wara, the residence of the Sultan of Bergoo - - - -		2¼

From

From Wara to Bahr-el-Gazalle.

	Bearing.	Days.
From Wara to Nimr, where the merchants reſide, as at Cobbé in Dar-Fûr - - - -	W.	0¼
From Nimr to Battah - - -		2

Battah is ſituated on a ſmall river, which flows from the S. and then deviating to the W. falls into the Bahr el Fittré. Battah belongs to the Miſſelâd.

From Battah to Dirota - - - -	W.	1
From Dirota to Dar Hummâr - - -		0½
Road, clayey ſoil.		
From Dar Hummâr to Coſeiât - - -		1
Dar Hummar rocky.		
From Coſeiât to Shungeiât - - -		1

Two towns of idolaters.

From Shungeiât to Dar Dajeou—*Caffres* - -		1
Cooka, Mohammedans—From Dar Dajeou to Dar Cooka -		3
From Cooka to Muddago - - -		2

In Muddago are Mohammedans, who are governed by a petty prince under the king of Bergoo.

From Buddago to Bahr-el-Fittré - - -	N. W.	1½
The people on the banks of Bahr-el-Fittré are called Abû-ſemmîn, and are Mohammedans. They uſe little boats for the purpoſe of paſſing from one place to another on the river.		
From Bahr-el-Fittré to Bahr-el-Gazalle - -		2
Road deep ſand, no trees.		

The neighbourhood of the Bahr-el-Gazalle is inhabited by Arabs, who feed camels and ſheep, and ſome oxen.

Route from Khukjé to the Bahr-el-ada, and thence towards the Bahr-el-abiad.

From Khukjé to Baraka - - -	S. S. W.	3
Baraka is inhabited by independent Arabs.		

The greater part of this road is deep ſand: the remainder, from *Baraka* by the Bahr-el-ada, is clay. The part of that river, which is here meant, is occupied by tribes of Arabs feeding cows and ſheep; they are called Miſſirié. This part of the river is alſo frequented by wild and ferocious animals. The Miſſirié Arabs comb their hair back, twiſt it, and faſten it in the form of a ſcorpion's tail behind. They collect honey of the wild kind in great quantity, and hunt the elephant.

From Baraka to Tûrrût - - -	S. E.	4
From Tûrrût to Jungeiôn - - -	S. E.	1

The people of Jungeiôn are tall and black; they have cows, ſheep, and goats, and feed on the *Mahriek* or white maize. They collect the dung of the animals mentioned, dry it, roaſt it on the fire, and afterwards uſe it for a bed. Theſe people are very numerous. The country in their neighbourhood is all a plain, and the ſoil clay.

They

	Bearing.	Days.
They have a practice, apparently ſuperſtitious, of milking their cows into a veſſel with a narrow mouth, that the milk may not be ſeen, and never pour it into a diſh or bowl; and any ſtranger who viſits them is obliged to drink of the dugs of the cow, as do the calves.		
From Jungeiôn to Shâd - - -	S. E.	1
From Shâd to Inigulgulé - - -	N.	$0\frac{1}{4}$

Route from Khukjé to the Bahr-el-ada, thence toward the Bahr-el-abiad, and returning to Rîl.

The inhabitants of Inigulgulé are idolaters. They clothe themſelves with a kind of cotton cloth.

From Inigulgulé to the reſidence of the king of Ibbé - -	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	$1\frac{1}{2}$
From ſaid reſidence to the confines of Dar-Fûr - -	N. W.	4
From the confines to Tubeldié - - -		2
From Tubeldié to Rîl - - -		8

All this road is ſandy, but filled with many and large trees.

Road from Bahr-el-Gazalle to Bornou.

From Bahr-el-gazalle to the capital of Dar Bagherme -	N. E.	3
From the ſaid reſidence to Kottocom - -	N. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.	18
The inhabitants of this diſtrict are Mohammedans. In the road two rivers are croſſed by the traveller, one of which is called *Kitchena*. It runs from S. E. to N. W. - - -		
From Kottocom to Bornou, the imperial city - -	N. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.	

The road lies in part through ſand, in part through deep clay. There are many trees. The neighbourhood of the Bahr-el-gazalle ſeems by the deſcription to be a foreſt.

The city Bornou is ſurrounded by a wall, in which there are four gates, opening E., W., N., and S. A ſmall river runs near it, which falls into the Bahr-el-gazalle.

Bergoo is ſaid to be fifteen days in extent from E. to W., and from N. to S. twenty days.—Baghermé, in the former direction, twelve; in the latter, fifteen days.—Baghermé has many troops, but Bergoo is eſtimated the ſtrongeſt. The people of Bergoo are remarkable for their zealous attachment to the faith, and read the Korân daily.

Some deſcription of Bergoo.

Within about a day's journey of Wara are ſaid to be eight large mountains, the inhabitants of each of which uſe a diſtinct language. They are Mohammedans, and ſaid to be brave, furniſhing the armies of the Sultan of Bergoo with recruits as often as required. One of the mountains, called Kergna, is ſituated S. E.; another W. which is inhabited by a people called Wullad Mazé; Gebel Mimi N., Gebel Abſenûm E., Gebel Abdurrûg E.

Other mountains of Bergoo are, Gebel Tama, N., Gebel Kaſhimirié, W., each of them two days from Wara. Gebel Abu-hadîd, E. the ſame diſtance.

Three days W. of Wara is the river called Bahr Miſſelâd.

Route from Wara to Cubcabéa in Dar-Fur, and another route from the laſt place back to Wara.

	Bearing.	Days.
From Wara to Abu-ſhareb	S. E.	5
From Abu-ſhareb to the confines of Fûr	E. ¼ S.	1½
From the confines to Emdokne	E.	1
From Emdokne to Dar Miſſeladîn	E. ¼ S.	1
From Miſſeladîn to Cubcabéa		3
From Cubcabéa to Jellé	N. W. ¼ W.	1
From Jellé to Jimmer	N. E. ¼ N.	4

The Sultan of Jimmer is ſubject to Fûr.—The people are Mohammedans. In the road is found water, and the ſoil is ſand and rock.

From Jimmer to Zeghawa	E. ¼ N.	2

Mountainous.

The Sultan of Zeghawa is alſo dependent on Fûr.

From Zeghawa to Tama	N. N. W.	2½
From Tama to the confines		1
From the confines to Abu-ſenûn		2
From Abu-ſenûn to Wara	W.	8

A Route ſometimes taken by the Merchants of Bergoo.

From Wara to Emjûfûr		2
From Emjûfûr to Timé Degeou		1½

Another Route.

From Wara to Jumbo	N. with little variation E.	1
From Jumbo to Doreng		1
From Doreng to Dageou		2

Sandy road—Mohammedans.

From Dageou to Kergna		2
From Kergna to Ghannîm		2
From Ghannîm to Dreida		2

This road is mountainous, ſoil ſandy, many trees.

The people Mohammedans, under the government of Bergoo.

From Dreida to Beneia		1½
From Beneia to Dongata		3½
From Dongata to Bendala	W.	3½

Mountain.

From Bendala to Berjid	S. S. W.	2½
From Berjid to Kibbeid		3½

Mountainous.

From

	Bearing.	Days.
From Kibbeid to Kajachfa - - -	S.	2
From Kajachfa to Baniân - - -		$2\frac{1}{2}$
From Baniân to Ain - - -		$3\frac{1}{2}$
From Ain to Kuddano - - -		$1\frac{1}{2}$
From Kuddano to Gizân - - -	S.E.	2
From Gizân to Wara - - -	S.	4

Another Route from Wara, and returning thither.

From Wara to Middeisîs - - - -	N.E.	$2\frac{1}{2}$
From Middeisîs to Beit-el-Habbûba - - -		2
From Beit-el-Habbûba to Truanié - - -		$2\frac{1}{2}$
From Truanié to Gidîd - - - -		$1\frac{1}{2}$
From Gidîd to Kuddano - - - -		2
From Kuddano to Wara - - - -		3

Another Route.

From Wara to Birket-el-Rumli - - - -	W.S.W.	4
From Birket-el-Rumli to Goze, *or the ſands* - -	N.	2
From Goze to Dirota - - - -	E.	$2\frac{1}{2}$
From Dirota to Butta - - - -	E.	2
From Butta to Wara - - - - -	E.	$2\frac{1}{2}$

Near Butta is a ſmall river, of which my informer remembered not the name.—This road is full of a ſpecies of tree, whoſe leaves are deſcribed as white, and which bears a fruit, which, however, is not eaten, except by the camels, which are fond of it; it is called قلقل *Kulkul*, forſan *Caſſia tora* Fors?

Route from Cobbé to the Copper Mines of Fertît.

From Cobbé to Cuffé - - -	S. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.	1
From Cuffé to Currio - - - -		$1\frac{3}{4}$
From Currio to Treiga - - -		$1\frac{1}{4}$
Sandy road.		
From Treiga to Beit Melek Eide - - -		1
From Beit Melek Eide to Dar Miffelâd -		3
Rocky.		
From Dar Miffelâd to Dar Marra - - -		1
Caffres—From Dar Marra to Dar Fungaro - -		3
One day and a half mountain, the remainder foreſt and clayey ſoil.		
From Dar Fungaro to Dar-el-abid-eſ-Sultan-Fûr - -		$2\frac{1}{2}$
From the latter to Dar-el-Nahâs - -		$8\frac{1}{2}$
Rocky road, earth where viſible is red.		

The people wear a ſlight covering over the parts of generation, in other reſpects are quite naked.

From Dar-el-Nahas to Bahr Taiſha - - -	E.	3
From Bahr Taiſha to Bahr-el-abiad - - -		$4\frac{1}{2}$

Days.
Bearing.

The former falls into the latter at a place called *Tenderni*, which is peopled by idolaters, called *Cuſni*. This ſpot is full of palm trees, and another kind of tree, which by deſcription would ſeem to be the cocoa.

Here it is ſeen that the diſtance between Cobbé and the copper mine is $23\frac{1}{2}$ days, direction nearly S. and that a certain ſtation on the Bahr-el-abiad is $7\frac{1}{2}$ days diſtant from that place, direction generally E.

Route from Dar Bergoo to the Sources of the Bahr-el-abiad.

From Abu Telfân South, ten days journey, is ſaid to be the ſource of the Bahr-el-abiad: but the particulars of the route my informer was unable to give me, he not having travelled it. The place is called Donga, and is the reſidence of a chief or king of an idolatrous nation. The country there is very mountainous, and in the ſpot where the river riſes are ſaid to be forty diſtinct hills: theſe are called Kumri. From them a great number of ſprings iſſue, which uniting into one great channel form the Bahr-el-abiad. The people of Bergoo go thither ſometimes to ſeize captives, but there is no trade between them and the natives. The people are quite naked, black, and idolaters. The place is ſaid to be twenty days removed from the confines of Bornou. All the road thither is mountainous. From Donga to Shillûk 30 days.

TRAVELS

IN THE

INTERIOR DISTRICTS OF AFRICA.

By MUNGO PARK.*

CHAP. I.—*The Author proceeds to Waſſiboo—is joined by ſome fugitive Kaartans, who accompany him in his Route through Bambarra.—Diſcovers the Niger.—Some Account of Sego, the Capital of Bambarra.—Manſong, the King, refuſes to ſee the Author, but ſends him a preſent.—Great Hoſpitality of a Negro Woman.*

WAWRA is a ſmall town ſurrounded with high walls, and inhabited by a mixture of Mandingoes and Foulahs. The inhabitants employ themſelves chiefly in cultivating corn, which they exchange with the Moors for ſalt. Here, being in ſecurity from the Moors, and very much fatigued, I reſolved to reſt myſelf; and meeting with a hearty welcome from the Dooty, whoſe name was Flancharee, I laid myſelf down upon a bullock's hide, and ſlept ſoundly for about two hours. The curioſity of the people would not allow me to ſleep any longer. They had ſeen my ſaddle and bridle, and were aſſembled in great number to learn who I was, and whence I came. Some were of opinion that I was an Arab; others inſiſted that I was ſome Mooriſh Sultan; and they continued to debate the matter with ſuch warmth, that the noiſe awoke me. The Dooty (who had formerly been at Gambia) at laſt interpoſed in my behalf, and aſſured them that I was certainly a white man; but he was convinced, from my appearance, that I was a very poor one.

In the courſe of the day, ſeveral women, hearing that I was going to Sego, came and begged me to inquire of Manſong, the king, what was become of their children. One woman, in particular, told me that her ſon's name was Mamadee; that he was no Heathen, but prayed to God morning and evening, and had been taken from her about three years ago, by Manſong's army; ſince which ſhe had never heard of him. She ſaid, ſhe often dreamed about him; and begged me, if I ſhould ſee him, either in Bambarra, or in my own country, to tell him, that his mother and ſiſter were ſtill alive. In the afternoon, the Dooty examined the contents of the leather bag, in which I had packed up my clothes; but finding nothing that was worth taking, he returned it, and told me to depart in the morning.

July 6th. It rained very much in the night, and at daylight I departed, in company with a Negro, who was going to a town called Dingyee for corn: but we had not proceeded above a mile, before the aſs upon which he rode kicked him off, and he returned, leaving me to proſecute the journey by myſelf.

I reached Dingyee about noon; but the Dooty and moſt of the inhabitants had gone into the fields to cultivate corn. An old Foulah, obſerving me wandering about the town, deſired me to come to his hut, where I was well entertained; and the Dooty, when he returned, ſent me ſome victuals for myſelf, and corn for my horſe.

* 8vo. London, 1810.

July

July 7th. In the morning, when I was about to depart, my landlord, with a great deal of diffidence, begged me to give him a lock of my hair. He had been told, he ſaid, that white men's hair made a ſaphie, that would give to the poſſeſſor all the knowledge of white men. I had never before heard of ſo ſimple a mode of education, but inſtantly complied with the requeſt; and my landlord's thirſt for learning was ſuch, that, with cutting and pulling, he cropped one ſide of my head pretty cloſely; and would have done the ſame with the other, had I not ſignified my diſapprobation by putting on my hat, and aſſuring him, that I wiſhed to reſerve ſome of this precious merchandize for a future occaſion.

I reached a ſmall town called Waſſiboo, about twelve o'clock, where I was obliged to ſtop until an opportunity ſhould offer of procuring a guide to Satilé, which is diſtant a very long day's journey, through woods without any beaten path. I accordingly took up my reſidence at the Dooty's houſe, where I ſtaid four days; during which time I amuſed myſelf by going to the fields with the family to plant corn. Cultivation is carried on here on a very extenſive ſcale; and, as the natives themſelves expreſs it, "hunger is never known." In cultivating the ſoil, the men and women work together. They uſe a large ſharp hoe, much ſuperior to that uſed in Gambia: but they are obliged, for fear of the Moors, to carry their arms with them to the field. The maſter, with the handle of his ſpear, marks the field into regular plats, one of which is aſſigned to every three ſlaves.

On the evening of the 11th, eight of the fugitive Kaartans arrived at Waſſiboo.—They had found it impoſſible to live under the tyrannical government of the Moors, and were now going to transfer their allegiance to the King of Bambarra. They offered to take me along with them as far as Satilé; and I accepted the offer.

July 12th. At daybreak we ſet out, and travelled with uncommon expedition until ſunſet: we ſtopped only twice in the courſe of the day; once at a watering-place in the woods, and another time at the ruins of a town, formerly belonging to Daiſy, called *Illa-Compe* (the corn town). When we arrived in the neighbourhood of Satilé, the people who were employed in the corn fields, ſeeing ſo many horſemen took us for a party of Moors, and ran ſcreaming away from us. The whole town was inſtantly alarmed, and the ſlaves were ſeen, in every direction, driving the cattle and horſes towards the town. It was in vain that one of our company galloped up to undeceive them: it only frightened them the more; and when we arrived at the town, we found the gates ſhut, and the people all under arms. After a long parley we were permitted to enter; and as there was every appearance of a heavy tornado, the Dooty allowed us to ſleep in his baloon, and gave us each a bullock's hide for a bed.

July 13th. Early in the morning we again ſet forward. The roads were wet and ſlippery, but the country was very beautiful, abounding with rivulets, which were increaſed by the rain into rapid ſtreams. About ten o'clock we came to the ruins of a village, which had been deſtroyed by war about ſix months before: and in order to prevent any town from being built there in future, the large Bentang tree, under which the natives ſpent the day, had been burnt down; the wells filled up; and every thing that could make the ſpot deſirable, completely deſtroyed.

About noon, my horſe was ſo much fatigued that I could not keep up with my companions; I therefore diſmounted, and deſired them to ride on, telling them, that I would follow as ſoon as my horſe had reſted a little. But I found them unwilling to leave me; the lions, they ſaid, were very numerous in thoſe parts, and though they might not ſo readily attack a body of people, they would ſoon find out an individual; it was therefore agreed, that one of the company ſhould ſtay with me, to aſſiſt in driving

driving my horſe, while the others paſſed on to Galloo, to procure lodgings, and collect graſs for the horſes before night. Accompanied by this worthy Negro, I drove my horſe before me until about four o'clock, when we came in ſight of Galloo, a conſiderable town, ſtanding in a fertile and beautiful valley, ſurrounded with high rocks.

As my companions had thoughts of ſettling in this neighbourhood, they had a fine ſheep given them by the Dooty; and I was fortunate enough to procure plenty of corn for my horſe. Here they blow upon elephants teeth when they announce evening prayers, in the ſame manner as at Kemmoo.

Early next morning (July 14th), having firſt returned many thanks to our landlord for his hoſpitality, while my fellow-travellers offered up their prayers that he might never want, we ſet forward; and about three o'clock arrived at Moorja; a large town, famous for its trade in ſalt, which the Moors bring here in great quantities, to exchange for corn and cotton cloth. As moſt of the people here are Mahomedans, it is not allowed to the Kafirs to drink beer, which they call *Neo-dollo* (corn ſpirit,) except in certain houſes. In one of theſe I ſaw about twenty people ſitting round large veſſels of this beer, with the greateſt conviviality; many of them in a ſtate of intoxication. As corn is plentiful, the inhabitants are very liberal to ſtrangers; I believe we had as much corn and milk ſent us by different people, as would have been ſufficient for three times our number; and though we remained here two days, we experienced no diminution of their hoſpitality.

On the morning of the 16th, we again ſet forward, accompanied by a coffle of fourteen aſſes loaded with ſalt, bound for Sanſanding. The road was particularly romantic, between two rocky hills; but the Moors ſometimes lie in wait here to plunder ſtrangers. As ſoon as we had reached the open country, the maſter of the ſalt coffle thanked us for having ſtaid with him ſo long, and now deſired us to ride on. The ſun was almoſt ſet before we reached Datliboo. In the evening we had a moſt tremendous tornado. The houſe in which we lodged, being flat-roofed, admitted the rain in ſtreams; the floor was ſoon ankle-deep, the fire extinguiſhed, and we were left to paſs the night upon ſome bundles of fire-wood, that happened to lie in a corner.

July 17th. We departed from Datliboo; and about ten o'clock paſſed a large coffle returning from Sego, with corn hoes, mats, and other houſehold utenſils. At five o'clock we came to a large village, where we intended to paſs the night, but the Dooty would not receive us. When we departed from this place, my horſe was ſo much fatigued that I was under the neceſſity of driving him, and it was dark before we reached Fanimboo, a ſmall village; the Dooty of which no ſooner heard that I was a white man, than he brought out three old muſkets, and was much diſappointed when he was told that I could not repair them.

July 18th. We continued our journey; but, owing to a light ſupper the preceding night, we felt ourſelves rather hungry this morning, and endeavoured to procure ſome corn at a village; but without ſucceſs. The towns were now more numerous, and the land that is not employed in cultivation affords excellent paſturage for large herds of cattle; but owing to the great concourſe of people daily going to and returning from Sego, the inhabitants are leſs hoſpitable to ſtrangers.

My horſe becoming weaker and weaker every day, was now of very little ſervice to me: I was obliged to drive him before me for the greater part of the day; and did not reach Geoſorro until eight o'clock in the evening. I found my companions wrangling with the Dooty, who had abſolutely refuſed to give or ſell them any proviſions; and as none of us had taſted victuals for the laſt twenty-four hours, we were by no means diſpoſed to faſt another day, if we could help it. But finding our entreaties

without effect, and being very much fatigued, I fell aſleep, from which I was awakened, about midnight, with the joyful information "*Kinnenata*" (the victuals is come). This made the remainder of the night paſs away pleaſantly; and at day-break, July 19th, we reſumed our journey, propoſing to ſtop at a village called Doolinkeaboo, for the night following. My fellow-travellers, having better horſes than myſelf, ſoon left me, and I was walking barefoot, driving my horſe, when I was met by a coffle of ſlaves, about ſeventy in number, coming from Sego. They were tied together by their necks with thongs of a bullock's hide, twiſted like a rope, ſeven ſlaves upon a thong, and a man with a muſket between every ſeven. Many of the ſlaves were ill-conditioned, and a great number of them women. In the rear came Sidi Mahomed's ſervant, whom I remembered to have ſeen at the camp of Benowm: he preſently knew me, and told me that theſe ſlaves were going to Morocco, by the way of Ludamar, and the Great Deſert.

In the afternoon, as I approached Doolinkeaboo, I met about twenty Moors on horſeback, the owners of the ſlaves I had ſeen in the morning; they were well armed with muſkets, and were very inquiſitive concerning me, but not ſo rude as their countrymen generally are. From them I learned that Sidi Mahomed was not at Sego, but had gone to Kancaba for gold duſt.

When I arrived at Doolinkeaboo, I was informed that my fellow-travellers had gone on; but my horſe was ſo much fatigued that I could not poſſibly proceed after them. The Dooty of the town, at my requeſt, gave me a draught of water, which is generally looked upon as an earneſt of greater hoſpitality; and I had no doubt of making up for the toils of the day, by a good ſupper and a ſound ſleep: unfortunately, I had neither one nor the other. The night was rainy and tempeſtuous, and the Dooty limited his hoſpitality to the draught of water.

July 20th. In the morning, I endeavoured, both by entreaties and threats, to procure ſome victuals from the Dooty, but in vain. I even begged ſome corn from one of his female ſlaves, as ſhe was waſhing it at the well, and had the mortification to be refuſed. However, when the Dooty was gone to the fields, his wife ſent me a handful of meal, which I mixed with water, and drank for breakfaſt. About eight o'clock, I departed from Doolinkeaboo, and at noon ſtopped a few minutes at a large Korree; where I had ſome milk given me by the Foulahs. And hearing that two Negroes were going from thence to Sego, I was happy to have their company, and we ſet out immediately. About four o'clock we ſtopped at a ſmall village, where one of the Negroes met with an acquaintance, who invited us to a ſort of public entertainment, which was conducted with more than common propriety. A diſh made of ſour milk and meal, called *Sinkatoo*, and beer made from their corn, was diſtributed with great liberality; and the women were admitted into the ſociety: a circumſtance I had never before obſerved in Africa. There was no compulſion; every one was at liberty to drink as he pleaſed: they nodded to each other when about to drink, and on ſetting down the calabaſh, commonly ſaid *berka*, (thank you). Both men and women appeared to be ſomewhat intoxicated, but they were far from being quarrelſome.

Departing from thence we paſſed ſeveral large villages, where I was conſtantly taken for a Moor, and became the ſubject of much merriment to the Bambarrans; who, ſeeing me drive my horſe before me, laughed heartily at my appearance.—He has been at Mecca, ſays one; you may ſee that by his clothes: another aſked me if my horſe was ſick; a third wiſhed to purchaſe it, &c.; ſo that I believe the very ſlaves were aſhamed to be ſeen in my company. Juſt before it was dark, we took up our lodging for the night at a ſmall village, where I procured ſome victuals for myſelf and ſome

corn for my horſe, at the moderate price of a button; and was told that I ſhould ſee the Niger (which the Negroes call Joliba or *the great water*), early the next day. The lions are here very numerous; the gates are ſhut a little after ſunſet, and nobody allowed to go out. The thoughts of ſeeing the Niger in the morning, and the troubleſome buzzing of muſketoes, prevented me from ſhutting my eyes during the night; and I had ſaddled my horſe and was in readineſs before daylight; but, on account of the wild beaſts, we were obliged to wait until the people were ſtirring, and the gates opened. This happened to be a market-day at Sego, and the roads were every where filled with people carrying different articles to ſell. We paſſed four large villages, and at eight o'clock ſaw the ſmoke over Sego.

As we approached the town, I was fortunate enough to overtake the fugitive Kaartans, to whoſe kindneſs I had been ſo much indebted in my journey through Bambarra. They readily agreed to introduce me to the king; and we rode together through ſome marſhy ground, where, as I was anxiouſly looking around for the river, one of them called out, *geo affilli* (ſee the water); and looking forwards, I ſaw with infinite pleaſure the great object of my miſſion; the long-ſought-for majeſtic Niger, glittering to the morning ſun, as broad as the Thames at Weſtminſter, and flowing ſlowly *to the eaſtward*. I haſtened to the brink, and having drank of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer, to the Great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavours with ſucceſs.

The circumſtance of the Niger's flowing towards the eaſt, and its collateral points, did not, however, excite my ſurpriſe; for although I had left Europe in great heſitation on this ſubject, and rather believed that it ran in the contrary direction, I had made ſuch frequent inquiries during my progreſs, concerning this river, and received from Negroes of different nations ſuch clear and deciſive aſſurances that its general courſe was *towards the riſing ſun*, as ſcarce left any doubt on my mind; and more eſpecially as I knew that Major Houghton had collected ſimilar information, in the ſame manner.

Sego, the capital of Bambarra, at which I had now arrived, conſiſts, properly ſpeaking, of four diſtinct towns; two on the northern bank of the Niger, called Sego Korro, and Sego Boo; and two on the ſouthern bank called Sego Soo Korro, and Sego See Korro. They are all ſurrounded with high mud walls; the houſes are built of clay, of a ſquare form, with flat roofs; ſome of them have two ſtories, and many of them are white-waſhed. Beſides theſe buildings, Mooriſh moſques are ſeen in every quarter; and the ſtreets, though narrow, are broad enough for every uſeful purpoſe, in a country where wheel carriages are entirely unknown. From the beſt inquiries I could make, I have reaſon to believe that Sego contains altogether about thirty thouſand inhabitants. The King of Bambarra conſtantly reſides at Sego See Korro; he employs a great many ſlaves in conveying people over the river, and the money they receive (though the fare is only ten kowrie ſhells for each individual) furniſhes a conſiderable revenue to the king, in the courſe of a year. The canoes are of a ſingular conſtruction, each of them being formed of the trunks of two large trees, rendered concave, and joined together, not ſide by ſide, but end ways; the junction being exactly acroſs the middle of the canoe: they are therefore very long and diſproportionably narrow, and have neither decks nor maſts; they are, however very roomy; for I obſerved in one of them four horſes, and ſeveral people croſſing over the river. When we arrived at this ferry, with a view to paſs over to that part of the town in which the king reſides, we found a great number waiting for a paſſage; they looked at me with ſilent wonder, and I diſtinguiſhed

with concern, many Moors among them. There were three different places of embarkation, and the ferrymen were very diligent and expeditious; but, from the crowd of people, I could not immediately obtain a paſſage; and ſat down upon the bank of the river, to wait for a more favourable opportunity. The view of this extenſive city; the numerous canoes upon the river; the crowded population and the cultivated ſtate of the ſurrounding country, formed altogether a proſpect of civilization and magnificence which I little expected to find in the boſom of Africa.

I waited more than two hours without having an opportunity of croſſing the river; during which time the people who had croſſed, carried information to Manſong the king, that a white man was waiting for a paſſage and was coming to ſee him. He immediately ſent over one of his chief men, who informed me that the king could not poſſibly ſee me until he knew what had brought me into his country; and that I muſt not preſume to croſs the river without the king's permiſſion. He therefore adviſed me to lodge at a diſtant village, to which he pointed, for the night; and ſaid that in the morning he would give me further inſtructions how to conduct myſelf. This was very diſcouraging. However, as there was no remedy, I ſet off for the village; where I found, to my great mortification, that no perſon would admit me into his houſe. I was regarded with aſtoniſhment and fear, and was obliged to ſit all day without victuals, in the ſhade of a tree; and the night threatened to be very uncomfortable, for the wind roſe, and there was great appearance of a heavy rain; and the wild beaſts are ſo very numerous in the neighbourhood that I ſhould have been under the neceſſity of climbing up the tree, and reſting among the branches. About ſunſet, however, as I was preparing to paſs the night in this manner, and had turned my horſe looſe, that he might graze at liberty, a woman returning from the labours of the field, ſtopped to obſerve me, and perceiving that I was weary and dejected, inquired into my ſituation, which I briefly explained to her: whereupon, with looks of great compaſſion, ſhe took up my ſaddle and bridle, and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, ſhe lighted up a lamp, ſpread a mat on the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry, ſhe ſaid ſhe would procure me ſomething to eat. She accordingly went out, and returned in a ſhort time with a very fine fiſh; which having cauſed to be half broiled upon ſome embers, ſhe gave me for ſupper. The rites of hoſpitality being thus performed towards a ſtranger in diſtreſs, my worthy benefactreſs (pointing to the mat, and telling me I might ſleep there without apprehenſion) called to the female part of her family, who had ſtood gazing on me all the while in fixed aſtoniſhment, to reſume their taſk of ſpinning cotton; in which they continued to employ themſelves great part of the night. They lightened their labour by ſongs, one of which was compoſed extempore; for I was myſelf the ſubject of it. It was ſung by one of the young women, the reſt joining in a ſort of chorus. The air was ſweet and plaintive, and the words, literally tranſlated were theſe.—"The winds roared, and "the rains fell.—The poor white man, faint and weary, came and ſat under our tree. —he has no mother to bring him milk; no wife to grind his corn.—*Chorus.* Let us "pity the white man; no mother has he, &c. &c."—Trifling as this recital may appear to the reader, to a perſon in my ſituation, the circumſtance was affecting in the higheſt degree. I was oppreſſed by ſuch unexpected kindneſs; and ſleep fled from my eyes. In the morning I preſented my compaſſionate landlady with two of the four braſs buttons which remained on my waiſtcoat: the only recompenſe I could make her.

July

July 21ſt. I continued in the village all this day, in converſation with the natives, who came in crowds to ſee me; but was rather uneaſy towards evening, to find that no meſſage had arrived from the king, the more ſo, as the people began to whiſper that Manſong had received ſome very unfavourable accounts of me, from the Moors and Slatees reſiding at Sego; who it ſeems were exceedingly ſuſpicious concerning the motives of my journey. I learnt that many conſultations had been held with the king, concerning my reception and diſpoſal: and ſome of the villagers frankly told me, that I had many enemies, and muſt expect no favour.

July 22d. About eleven o'clock, a meſſenger arrived from the king; but he gave me very little ſatisfaction. He inquired particularly if I had brought any preſent; and ſeemed much diſappointed when he was told that I had been robbed of every thing by the Moors. When I propoſed to go along with him, he told me to ſtop until the afternoon, when the king would ſend for me.

July 23. In the afternoon another meſſenger arrived from Manſong, with a bag in his hands. He told me it was the king's pleaſure that I ſhould depart forthwith from the vicinage of Sego: but that Manſong, wiſhing to relieve a white man in diſtreſs, had ſent me five thouſand kowries,* to enable me to purchaſe proviſions in the courſe of my journey; the meſſenger added, that if my intentions were really to proceed to Jenné, he had orders to accompany me as a guide to Sanſanding. I was, at firſt, puzzled to account for this behaviour of the king; but from the converſation I had with the guide, I had afterwards reaſon to believe that Manſong would willingly have admitted me into his preſence at Sego; but was apprehenſive he might not be able to protect me againſt the blind and inveterate malice of the Mooriſh inhabitants. His conduct, therefore, was at once prudent and liberal. The circumſtances under which I made my appearance at Sego, were undoubtedly ſuch as might create in the mind of the king, a well-warranted ſuſpicion that I wiſhed to conceal the true object of my journey. He argued, probably, as my guide argued: who, when he was told, that I had come from a great diſtance, and through many dangers, to behold the Joliba river, naturally inquired, if there were no rivers in my own country, and whether one river was not like another. Notwithſtanding this, and in ſpite of the jealous machinations of the Moors, this benevolent prince thought it ſufficient, that a white man was found in his dominions, in a condition of extreme wretchedneſs, and that no other plea was neceſſary to entitle the ſufferer to his bounty.

CHAP. II.—*Departure from Sego, and Arrival at Kabba.—Deſcription of the Shea or vegetable Butter Tree.—The Author and his Guide arrive at Sanſanding.—Behaviour of the Moors at that Place.—The Author purſues his Journey to the Eaſtward.—Incidents on the Road.—Arrives at Modiboo, and proceeds for Kea; but obliged to leave his Horſe by the Way.—Embarks at Kea in a Fiſherman's Canoe for Moorzan; is conveyed from thence acroſs the Niger to Silla.—Determines to proceed no further Eaſtward.—Some Account of the further Courſe of the Niger, and the Towns in its Vicinage, towards the Eaſt.*

BEING, in the manner that has been related, compelled to leave Sego, I was conducted the ſame evening to a village about ſeven miles to the eaſtward, with ſome

* Mention has already been made of theſe little ſhells, which paſs current as money in many parts of the Eaſt Indies as well as Africa. In Bambarra, and the adjacent countries, where the neceſſaries of life are very cheap, one hundred of them would commonly purchaſe a day's proviſions for myſelf, and corn for my horſe. I reckoned about two hundred and fifty kowries equal to one ſhilling.

of the inhabitants of which my guide was acquainted, and by whom we were well received.* He was very friendly and communicative, and ſpoke highly of the hoſpitality of his countrymen; but withal told me, that if Jenné was the place of my deſtination, which he ſeemed to have hitherto doubted, I had undertaken an enterprize of greater danger than probably I was apprized of: for, although the town of Jenné was, nominally, a part of the King of Bambarra's dominions, it was in fact, he ſaid, a city of the Moors; the leading part of the inhabitants being Buſhreens, and even the governor himſelf, though appointed by Manſong, of the ſame ſect. Thus was I in danger of falling a ſecond time into the hands of men who would conſider it not only juſtifiable, but meritorious, to deſtroy me: and this reflection was aggravated by the circumſtance that the danger increaſed, as I advanced in my journey; for I learned that the places beyond Jenné were under the Mooriſh influence, in a ſtill greater degree than Jenné itſelf; and Tombuctoo, the great object of my ſearch, altogether in poſſeſſion of that ſavage and mercileſs people, who allow no Chriſtian to live there. But I had now advanced too far to think of returning to the weſtward, on ſuch vague and uncertain information, and determined to proceed; and being accompanied by the guide, I departed from the village on the morning of the 24th. About eight o'clock, we paſſed a large town called Kabba, ſituated in the midſt of a beautiful and highly cultivated country; bearing a greater reſemblance to the centre of England, than to what I ſhould have ſuppoſed had been the middle of Africa. The people were every where employed in collecting the fruit of the Shea trees, from which they prepare vegetable butter.—Theſe trees grow in great abundance all over this part of Bambarra. They are not planted by the natives, but are found growing naturally in the woods; and in clearing wood land for cultivation, every tree is cut down but the Shea. The tree itſelf very much reſembles the American oak; and the fruit, from the kernel of which, being firſt dried in the ſun, the butter is prepared, by boiling the kernel in water, has ſomewhat the appearance of a Spaniſh olive. The kernel is enveloped in a ſweet pulp, under a thin green rind; and the butter produced from it, beſides the advantage of its keeping the whole year without ſalt, is whiter, firmer, and, to my palate, of a richer flavour than the beſt butter I ever taſted made from cow's milk. The growth and preparation of this commodity, ſeem to be among the firſt objects of African induſtry in this and the neighbouring ſtates; and it conſtitutes a main article of their inland commerce.

We paſſed, in the courſe of the day, a great many villages, inhabited chiefly by fiſhermen; and in the evening about five o'clock arrived at Sanſanding; a very large town, containing, as I was told, from eight to ten thouſand inhabitants. This place is much reſorted to by the Moors, who bring ſalt from Beeroo, and beads and coral from the Mediterranean, to exchange here for gold duſt, and cotton cloth. This cloth they ſell to great advantage in Beeroo, and other Mooriſh countries, where, on account of the want of rain, no cotton is cultivated.

I deſired my guide to conduct me to the houſe in which we were to lodge, by the moſt private way poſſible. We accordingly rode along between the town and the river, paſſing by a creek or harbour, in which I obſerved twenty large canoes, moſt of them fully loaded, and covered with mats, to prevent the rain from injuring the goods. As we proceeded, three other canoes arrived, two with paſſengers, and one with goods.

* I ſhould have before obſerved, that I found the language of Bambarra, a ſort of corrupted Mandingo. After a little practice, I underſtood, and ſpoke it without difficulty.

I was happy to find that all the Negro inhabitants took me for a Moor; under which character I ſhould probably have paſſed unmoleſted, had not a Moor, who was ſitting by the river ſide, diſcovered the miſtake, and ſetting up a loud exclamation, brought together a number of his countrymen.

When I arrived at the houſe of Counti Mamadi, the Dooty of the town, I was ſurrounded with hundreds of people, ſpeaking a variety of different dialects, all equally unintelligible to me. At length, by the aſſiſtance of my guide, who acted as interpreter, I underſtood that one of the ſpectators pretended to have ſeen me at one place, and another at ſome other place; and a Mooriſh woman abſolutely ſwore that ſhe had kept my houſe three years at Gallam on the river Senegal. It was plain that they miſtook me for ſome other perſon; and I deſired two of the moſt confident, to point towards the place where they had ſeen me. They pointed due ſouth; hence I think it probable that they came from Cape Coaſt, where they might have ſeen many white men. Their language was different from any I had yet heard. The Moors now aſſembled in great numbers; with their uſual arrogance, compelling the Negroes to ſtand at a diſtance. They immediately began to queſtion me concerning my religion; but finding that I was not maſter of the Arabic, they ſent for two men, whom they call *Ilhuidi* (Jews), in hopes that they might be able to converſe with me. Theſe Jews, in dreſs and appearance, very much reſemble the Arabs; but though they ſo far conform to the religion of Mahomet, as to recite, in public, prayers from the Koran, they are but little reſpected by the Negroes; and even the Moors themſelves allowed, that though I was a Chriſtian, I was a better man than a Jew. They, however, inſiſted, that, like the Jews, I muſt conform ſo far as to repeat the Mahomedan prayers; and when I attempted to wave the ſubject, by telling them that I could not ſpeak Arabic, one of them, a Shereef from Tuat, in the Great Deſert, ſtarted up and ſwore by the Prophet, that if I refuſed to go to the moſque, he would be one that would aſſiſt in carrying me thither. And there is no doubt but this threat would have been immediately executed, had not my landlord interpoſed in my behalf. He told them, that I was the king's ſtranger, and he could not ſee me ill treated, whilſt I was under his protection. He therefore adviſed them to let me alone for the night; aſſuring them, that, in the morning I ſhould be ſent about my buſineſs. This ſomewhat appeaſed their clamour; but they compelled me to aſcend a high ſeat, by the door of the moſque, in order that every body might ſee me; for the people had aſſembled in ſuch numbers as to be quite ungovernable; climbing upon the houſes, and ſqueezing each other, like the ſpectators at an execution. Upon this ſeat I remained until ſunſet, when I was conducted into a neat little hut, with a ſmall court before it; the door of which Counti Mamadi ſhut, to prevent any perſon from diſturbing me. But this precaution could not exclude the Moors. They climbed over the top of the mud wall, and came in crowds into the court, in order, they ſaid, to ſee me *perform my evening devotions, and eat eggs*. The former of theſe ceremonies, I did not think proper to comply with; but I told them I had no objection to eat eggs, provided they would bring me eggs to eat. My landlord immediately brought me ſeven hen's eggs, and was much ſurpriſed to find that I could not eat them raw; for it ſeems to be a prevalent opinion among the inhabitants of the interior, that Europeans ſubſiſt almoſt entirely on this diet. When I had ſucceeded, in perſuading my landlord that this opinion was without foundation, and that I would gladly partake of any victuals which he might think proper to ſend me; he ordered a ſheep to be killed, and part of it to be dreſſed for my ſupper. About midnight, when the Moors had left me, he paid me a viſit, and with much earneſtneſs deſired me to write him a ſaphie. "If a Moor's ſaphie is good,

(ſaid

(ſaid this hoſpitable old man), a white man's muſt needs be better." I readily furniſhed him with one, poſſeſſed of all the virtues I could concentrate; for it contained the Lord's prayer. The pen with which it was written was made of a reed; a little charcoal and gum-water made very tolerable ink, and a thin board anſwered the purpoſe of paper.

July 25th. Early in the morning, before the Moors were aſſembled, I departed from Sanſanding, and ſlept the enſuing night at a ſmall town call Sibili; from whence, on the day following, I reached Nyara, a large town at ſome diſtance from the river, where I halted the 27th, to have my clothes waſhed, and recruit my horſe. The Dooty there has a very commodious houſe, flat roofed, and two ſtories high. He ſhewed me ſome gunpowder of his own manufacturing; and pointed out as a great curioſity a little brown monkey, that was tied to a ſtake by the door, telling me that it came from a far-diſtant country, called Kong.

July 28th. I departed from Nyara, and reached Nyamee about noon. This town is inhabited chiefly by Foulahs, from the kingdom of Maſina. The Dooty (I know not why) would not receive me, but civilly ſent his ſon on horſeback, to conduct me to Modiboo; which, he aſſured me, was at no great diſtance.

We rode nearly in a direct line through the woods; but in general went forwards with great circumſpection. I obſerved that my guide frequently ſtopped, and looked under the buſhes. On inquiring the reaſon of this caution, he told me that lions were very numerous in that part of the country, and frequently attacked people travelling through the woods. While he was ſpeaking, my horſe ſtarted, and looking round, I obſerved a large animal of the camelopard kind, ſtanding at a little diſtance. The neck and fore legs were very long; the head was furniſhed with two ſhort black horns, turning backwards; the tail, which reached down to the ham joint, had a tuft of hair at the end. The animal was of a mouſe colour; and it trotted away from us in a very ſluggiſh manner; moving its head from ſide to ſide, to ſee if we were purſuing it. Shortly after this, as we were croſſing a large open plain, where there were a few ſcattered buſhes, my guide, who was a little way before me, wheeled his horſe round in a moment, calling out ſomething in the Foulah language, which I did not underſtand. I inquired in Mandingo what he meant; *Wara billi billi*, a very large lion, ſaid he; and made ſigns for me to ride away. But my horſe was too much fatigued: ſo we rode ſlowly paſt the buſh, from which the animal had given us the alarm. Not ſeeing any thing myſelf, however, I thought my guide had been miſtaken, when the Foulah ſuddenly put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming, *Soubah an alluhi* (God preſerve us!) and to my great ſurpriſe I then perceived a large red lion, at a ſhort diſtance from the buſh, with his head couched between his fore paws. I expected he would inſtantly ſpring upon me, and inſtinctively pulled my feet from my ſtirrups to throw myſelf on the ground, that my horſe might become the victim, rather than myſelf. But it is probable the lion was not hungry; for he quietly ſuffered us to paſs, though we were fairly within his reach. My eyes were ſo rivetted upon this ſovereign of the beaſts, that I found it impoſſible to remove them, until we were at a conſiderable diſtance. We now took a circuitous route, through ſome ſwampy ground, to avoid any more of theſe diſagreeable rencounters. At ſunſet we arrived at Modiboo, a delightful village on the banks of the Niger, commanding a view of the river for many miles, both to the eaſt and weſt. The ſmall green iſlands (the peaceful retreat of ſome induſtrious Foulahs, whoſe cattle are here ſecure from the depredations of wild beaſts,) and the majeſtic breadth of the river, which is here much larger than at Sego, render the ſituation one of the moſt enchanting in the world.

Here

Here are caught great plenty of fiſh, by means of long cotton nets, which the natives make themſelves, and uſe nearly in the ſame manner as nets are uſed in Europe. I obſerved the head of a crocodile lying upon one of the houſes, which they told me had been killed by the ſhepherds, in a ſwamp near the town. Theſe animals are not uncommon in the Niger; but I believe they are not oftentimes found dangerous. They are of little account to the traveller, when compared with the amazing ſwarms of muſquetoes, which riſe from the ſwamps and creeks, in ſuch numbers as to haraſs even the moſt torpid of the natives; and as my clothes were now almoſt worn to rags, I was but ill prepared to reſiſt their attacks. I uſually paſſed the night without ſhutting my eyes, walking backwards and forwards, fanning myſelf with my hat; their ſtings raiſed numerous bliſters on my legs and arms; which, together with the want of reſt, made me very feveriſh and uneaſy.

July 29th. Early in the morning, my landlord obſerving that I was ſickly, hurried me away; ſending a ſervant with me as a guide to Kea. But though I was little able to walk, my horſe was ſtill leſs able to carry me; and about ſix miles to the eaſt of Modiboo, in croſſing ſome rough clayey ground he fell; and the united ſtrength of the guide and myſelf, could not place him again upon his legs. I ſat down for ſome time beſide this worn-out aſſociate of my adventures; but finding him ſtill unable to riſe, I took off the ſaddle and bridle, and placed a quantity of graſs before him. I ſurveyed the poor animal, as he lay panting on the ground, with ſympathetic emotion; for I could not ſuppreſs the ſad apprehenſion that I ſhould myſelf, in a ſhort time, lie down and periſh in the ſame manner, of fatigue and hunger. With this foreboding I left my poor horſe; and with great reluctance followed my guide on foot, along the bank of the river, until about noon; when we reached Kea, which I found to be nothing more than a ſmall fiſhing village. The Dooty, a ſurly old man, who was ſitting by the gate, received me very coolly; and when I informed him of my ſituation, and begged his protection, told me, with great indifference, that he paid very little attention to fine ſpeeches, and that I ſhould not enter his houſe. My guide remonſtrated in my favour, but to no purpoſe; for the Dooty remained inflexible in his determination. I knew not where to reſt my wearied limbs, but was happily relieved by a fiſhing canoe, belonging to Silla, which was at that moment coming down the river. The Dooty waved to the fiſherman to come near, and deſired him to take charge of me as far as Moorzan. The fiſherman, after ſome heſitation, conſented to carry me; and I embarked in the canoe, in company with the fiſherman, his wife, and a boy. The Negro who had conducted me from Modiboo, now left me; I requeſted him to look to my horſe on his return, and take care of him if he was ſtill alive, which he promiſed to do.

Departing from Kea, we proceeded about a mile down the river, when the fiſherman paddled the canoe to the bank, and deſired me to jump out. Having tied the canoe to a ſtake, he ſtripped off his clothes, and dived for ſuch a length of time, that I thought he had actually drowned himſelf, and was ſurpriſed to ſee his wife behave with ſo much indifference upon the occaſion; but my fears were over when he raiſed up his head aſtern of the canoe, and called for a rope. With this rope he dived a ſecond time, and then got into the canoe, and ordered the boy to aſſiſt him in pulling. At length, they brought up a large baſket, about ten feet in diameter, containing two fine fiſh, which the fiſherman (after returning the baſket into the water) immediately carried aſhore, and hid in the graſs. We then went a little further down, and took up another baſket, in which was one fiſh. The fiſherman now left us, to carry his

prizes to ſome neighbouring market; and the woman and boy proceeded with me in the canoe, down the river.

About four o'clock we arrived at Moorzan, a fiſhing-town on the northern bank; from whence I was conveyed acroſs the river to Silla, a large town; where I remained until it was quite dark, under a tree, ſurrounded by hundreds of people. But their language was very different from the other parts of Bambarra; and I was informed that in my progreſs eaſtward, the Bambarra tongue was but little underſtood, and that when I reached Jenné, I ſhould find that the majority of the inhabitants ſpoke a different language, called *Jenné Kummo*, by the Negroes; and *Kalam Soudan*, by the Moors.

With a great deal of intreaty, the Dooty allowed me to come into his baloon, to avoid the rain; but the place was very damp, and I had a ſmart paroxyſm of fever during the night. Worn down by ſickneſs, exhauſted with hunger and fatigue; half naked, and without any article of value, by which I might procure proviſions, clothes, or lodging; I began to reflect ſeriouſly on my ſituation. I was now convinced by painful experience, that the obſtacles to my further progreſs were inſurmountable. The tropical rains were already ſet in with all their violence; the rice grounds and ſwamps were every where overflowed; and in a few days more, travelling of every kind, unleſs by water, would be completely obſtructed. The kowries which remained of the King of Bambarra's preſent, were not ſufficient to enable me to hire a canoe for any great diſtance; and I had but little hopes of ſubſiſting by charity, in a country where the Moors have ſuch influence. But above all, I perceived that I was advancing more and more within the power of thoſe mercileſs fanatics; and from my reception both at Sego and Sanſanding, I was apprehenſive that, in attempting to reach even Jenné (unleſs under the protection of ſome man of conſequence amongſt them, which I had no means of obtaining), I ſhould ſacrifice my life to no purpoſe; for my diſcoveries would periſh with me. The proſpect either way was gloomy. In returning to the Gambia, a journey on foot of many hundred miles preſented itſelf to my contemplation, through regions and countries unknown. Nevertheleſs, this ſeemed to be the only alternative; for I ſaw inevitable deſtruction in attempting to proceed to the eaſtward. With this conviction on my mind, I hope my readers will acknowledge, that I did right in going no farther. I had made every effort to execute my miſſion in its fulleſt extent, which prudence could juſtify. Had there been the moſt diſtant proſpect of a ſucceſsful termination, neither the unavoidable hardſhips of the journey, nor the dangers of a ſecond captivity, ſhould have forced me to deſiſt. This, however, neceſſity compelled me to do; and whatever may be the opinion of my general readers on this point, it affords me inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, that my honourable employers have been pleaſed, ſince my return, to expreſs their full approbation of my conduct.

Having thus brought my mind, after much doubt and perplexity, to a determination to return weſtward; I thought it incumbent on me, before I left Silla, to collect from the Mooriſh and Negro traders, all the information I could, concerning the further courſe of the Niger eaſtward, and the ſituation and extent of the kingdoms in its vicinage; and the following few notices I received from ſuch various quarters, as induce me to think they are authentic.

Two ſhort days journey to the eaſtward of Silla, is the town of Jenné, which is ſituated on a ſmall iſland in the river; and is ſaid to contain a greater number of inhabitants than Sego itſelf, or any other town in Bambarra. At the diſtance of two days more,

more, the river ſpreads into a conſiderable lake, called *Dibbie* (or the dark lake), concerning the extent of which, all the information I could obtain was, that in croſſing it, from weſt to eaſt, the canoes loſe ſight of land one whole day. From this lake the water iſſues in many different ſtreams, which terminate in two large branches, one whereof flows towards the north-eaſt, and the other to the eaſt; but theſe branches join at Kabra, which is one day's journey to the ſouthward of Tombuctoo, and is the port or ſhipping-place of that city. The tract of land which the two ſtreams encircle, is called Jinbala, and is inhabited by Negroes; and the whole diſtance, by land, from Jenné to Tombuctoo, is twelve days' journey.

From Kabra, at the diſtance of eleven days' journey, down the ſtream, the river paſſes to the ſouthward of Houſſa, which is two days' journey diſtant from the river. Of the further progreſs of this great river, and its final exit, all the natives with whom I converſed, ſeemed to be entirely ignorant. Their commercial purſuits ſeldom induce them to travel further than the cities of Tombuctoo and Houſſa; and as the ſole object of thoſe journies is the acquirement of wealth, they pay but little attention to the courſe of rivers, or the geography of countries. It is, however, highly probable that the Niger affords a ſafe and eaſy communication between very remote nations. All my informants agreed, that many of the Negro merchants who arrive at Tombuctoo and Houſſa, from the eaſtward, ſpeak a different language from that of Bambarra, or any other kingdom with which they are acquainted. But even theſe merchants, it would ſeem, are ignorant of the termination of the river, for ſuch of them as can ſpeak Arabic, deſcribe the amazing length of its courſe in very general terms; ſaying only that they believe it *runs to the world's end.*

The names of many kingdoms to the eaſtward of Houſſa, are familiar to the inhabitants of Bambarra. I was ſhewn quivers and arrows of very curious workmanſhip, which I was informed came from the kingdom of Kaſſina.

On the northern bank of the Niger, at a ſhort diſtance from Silla, is the kingdom of Maſina, which is inhabited by Foulahs. They employ themſelves there, as in other places, chiefly in paſturage, and pay an annual tribute to the King of Bambarra, for the lands which they occupy.

To the north-eaſt of Maſina, is ſituated the kingdom of Tombuctoo, the great object of European reſearch: the capital of this kingdom being one of the principal marts for that extenſive commerce which the Moors carry on with the Negroes. The hopes of acquiring wealth in this purſuit, and zeal for propagating their religion, have filled this extenſive city with Moors and Mahomedan converts; the King himſelf, and all the chief officers of ſtate are Moors; and they are ſaid to be more ſevere and intolerant in their principles than any other of the Mooriſh tribes in this part of Africa. I was informed by a venerable old Negro, that when he firſt viſited Tombuctoo, he took up his lodging at a ſort of public inn, the landlord of which, when he conducted him into his hut, ſpread a mat on the floor, and laid a rope upon it; ſaying, "If "you are a Muſſulman you are my friend, ſit down; but if you are a Kafir, you are "my ſlave, and with this rope I will lead you to market." The preſent King of Tombuctoo is named *Abu Abrahima;* he is reported to poſſeſs immenſe riches. His wives and concubines are ſaid to be clothed in ſilk, and the chief officers of ſtate live in conſiderable ſplendour. The whole expence of his government is defrayed, as I was told, by a tax upon merchandize, which is collected at the gates of the city.

The city of Houſſa (the capital of a large kingdom of the ſame name, ſituated to the eaſtward of Tombuctoo,) is another great mart for Mooriſh commerce. I converſed with many merchants who had viſited that city; and they all agreed that it is larger,

and more populous, than Tombuctoo. The trade, police, and government, are nearly the ſame in both; but in Houſſa, the negroes are in greater proportion to the Moors, and have ſome ſhare in the government.

Concerning the ſmall kingdom of Jinbala, I was not able to collect much information. The ſoil is ſaid to be remarkably fertile, and the whole country ſo full of creeks and ſwamps, that the Moors have hitherto been baffled in every attempt to ſubdue it. The inhabitants are Negroes, and ſome of them are ſaid to live in conſiderable affluence, particularly thoſe near the capital; which is a reſting-place for ſuch merchants as tranſport goods from Tombuctoo to the weſtern parts of Africa.

To the ſouthward of Jinbala, is ſituated the Negro kingdom of Gotto, which is ſaid to be of great extent. It was formerly divided into a number of petty ſtates, which were governed by their own chiefs; but their private quarrels invited invaſion from the neighbouring kingdoms. At length a politic chief, of the name of Mooſee, had addreſs enough to make them unite in hoſtilities againſt Bambarra; and on this occaſion he was unanimouſly choſen general; the different chiefs conſenting for a time to act under his command. Mooſee immediately diſpatched a fleet of canoes, loaded with proviſions, from the banks of the lake Dibbie up the Niger, towards Jenné, and with the whole of his army puſhed forwards into Bambarra. He arrived on the banks of the Niger oppoſite to Jenné, before the townſpeople had the ſmalleſt intimation of his approach; his fleet of canoes joined him the ſame day, and having landed the proviſions, he embarked part of his army, and in the night took Jenné by ſtorm. This event ſo terrified the King of Bambarra, that he ſent meſſengers to ſue for peace, and in order to obtain it, conſented to deliver to Mooſee a certain number of ſlaves every year; and return every thing that had been taken from the inhabitants of Gotto. Mooſee, thus triumphant, returned to Gotto, where he was declared king, and the capital of the country is called by his name.

On the weſt of Gotto is the kingdom of Baedoo, which was conquered by the preſent King of Bambarra about ſeven years ago, and has continued tributary to him ever ſince.

Weſt of Baedoo is Maniana; the inhabitants of which, according to the beſt information I was able to collect, are cruel and ferocious: carrying their reſentment towards their enemies ſo far as never to give quarter; and even to indulge themſelves with unnatural and diſguſting banquets of human fleſh.

I am well aware that the accounts which the negroes give of their enemies, ought to be received with great caution; but I heard the ſame account in ſo many different kingdoms, and from ſuch variety of people, whoſe veracity I had no occaſion to ſuſpect, that I am diſpoſed to allow it ſome degree of credit. The inhabitants of Bambarra, in the courſe of a long and bloody war, muſt have had frequent opportunities of ſatisfying themſelves as to the fact; and if the report had been entirely without foundation, I cannot conceive why the term *Madummulo* (man eaters), ſhould be applied excluſively to the inhabitants of Maniana.

CHAP.

CHAP. III. — *The Author returns Weſtward — arrives at Modiboo, and recovers his Horſe — finds great Difficulty in travelling, in conſequence of the Rains, and the overflowing of the River; — is informed that the King of Bambarra had ſent Perſons to apprehend him; — avoids Sego, and proſecutes his Journey along the Banks of the Niger. — Incidents on the Road. — Cruelties attendant on African Wars. — The Author croſſes the River Frina, and arrives at Taſiara.*

HAVING, for the reaſons aſſigned in the laſt chapter, determined to proceed no farther eaſtward than Silla, I acquainted the dooty with my intention of returning to Sego, propoſing to travel along the ſouthern ſide of the river; but he informed me, that from the number of creeks and ſwamps on that ſide, it was impoſſible to travel by any other route than along the northern bank; and even that route, he ſaid, would ſoon be impaſſable on account of the overflowing of the river. However, as he commended my determination to return weſtward, he agreed to ſpeak to ſome one of the fiſhermen to carry me over to Moorzan. I accordingly ſtepped into a canoe about eight o'clock in the morning of July 30th, and in about an hour was landed at Moorzan. At this place I hired a canoe for ſixty kowries, and in the afternoon arrived at Kea; where, for forty kowries more, the dooty permitted me to ſleep in the ſame hut with one of his ſlaves. This poor Negro, perceiving that I was ſickly, and that my clothes were very ragged, humanely lent me a large cloth to cover me for the night.

July 31ſt. The dooty's brother being going to Modiboo, I embraced the opportunity of accompanying him thither, there being no beaten road. He promiſed to carry my ſaddle, which I had left at Kea when my horſe fell down in the woods, as I now propoſed to preſent it to the King of Bambarra.

We departed from Kea at eight o'clock, and about a mile to the weſtward obſerved, on the bank of the river, a great number of earthen jars piled up together. They were very neatly formed, but not glazed; and were evidently of that ſort of pottery which is manufactured at Downie (a town to the weſt of Tombuctoo), and ſold to great advantage in different parts of Bambarra. As we approached towards the jars, my companion plucked up a large handful of herbage, and threw it upon them; making ſigns for me to do the ſame, which I did. He then, with great ſerioufneſs, told me that theſe jars belonged to ſome ſupernatural power; that they were found in their preſent ſituation about two years ago: and as no perſon had claimed them, every traveller as he paſſed them, from reſpect to the inviſible proprietor, threw ſome graſs, or the branch of a tree, upon the heap, to defend the jars from the rain.

Thus converſing, we travelled in the moſt friendly manner until, unfortunately, we perceived the footſteps of a lion, quite freſh in the mud, near the river ſide. My companion now proceeded with great circumſpection; and at laſt, coming to ſome thick underwood, he inſiſted that I ſhould walk before him. I endeavoured to excuſe myſelf, by alledging that I did not know the road; but he obſtinately perſiſted; and after a few high words and menacing looks, threw down the ſaddle and went away. This very much diſconcerted me: but as I had given up all hopes of obtaining a horſe, I could not think of encumbering myſelf with a ſaddle; and taking off the ſtirrups and girths, I threw the ſaddle into the river. The Negro no ſooner ſaw me throw the ſaddle into the water, than he came running from among the buſhes where he had concealed himſelf, jumped into the river, and by help of his ſpear,

brought out the ſaddle, and ran away with it. I continued my courſe along the bank; but as the wood was remarkably thick, and I had reaſon to believe that a lion was at no great diſtance, I became much alarmed, and took a long circuit through the buſhes to avoid him.

About four in the afternoon I reached Modiboo, where I found my ſaddle. The guide, who had got there before me, being afraid that I ſhould inform the King of his conduct, had brought the ſaddle with him in a canoe.

While I was converſing with the dooty, and remonſtrating againſt the guide for having left me in ſuch a ſituation, I heard a horſe neigh in one of the huts; and the dooty inquired, with a ſmile, if I knew who was ſpeaking to me? He explained himſelf, by telling me that my horſe was ſtill alive, and ſomewhat recovered from his fatigue; but he inſiſted that I ſhould take him along with me; adding, that he had once kept a Moor's horſe for four months, and when the horſe had recovered and got into good condition, the Moor returned and claimed it, and refuſed to give him any reward for his trouble.

Aug. 1ſt. I departed from Modiboo, driving my horſe before me: and in the afternoon reached Nyamee, where I remained three days; during which time it rained without intermiſſion, and with ſuch violence, that no perſon could venture out of doors.

Aug. 5th. I departed from Nyamee; but the country was ſo deluged, that I was frequently in danger of loſing the road, and had to wade acroſs the ſavannahs for miles together, knee deep in water. Even the corn ground, which is the drieſt land in the country, was ſo completely flooded, that my horſe twice ſtuck faſt in the mud, and was not got out without the greateſt difficulty.

In the evening of the ſame day I arrived at Nyara, where I was well received by the dooty; and as the 6th was rainy, I did not depart until the morning of the 7th; but the water had ſwelled to ſuch a height, that in many places the road was ſcarcely paſſable; and though I waded breaſt deep acroſs the ſwamps, I could only reach a ſmall village called Nemaboo, where, however, for an hundred kowries, I procured from ſome foulahs plenty of corn for my horſe, and milk for myſelf.

Aug. 8th. The difficulties I had experienced the day before, made me anxious to engage a fellow-traveller; particularly as I was aſſured, that, in the courſe of a few days, the country would be ſo completely overflowed, as to render the road utterly impaſſable; but though I offered two hundred kowries for a guide, nobody would accompany me. However, on the morning following, (Auguſt 9th,) a Moor and his wife, riding upon two bullocks, and bound for Sego with ſalt, paſſed the village; and agreed to take me along with them: but I found them of little ſervice, for they were wholly unacquainted with the road, and being accuſtomed to a ſandy ſoil, were very bad travellers. Inſtead of wading before the bullocks, to feel if the ground was ſolid, the woman boldly entered the firſt ſwamp, riding upon the top of the load; but when ſhe had proceeded about two hundred yards, the bullock ſunk into a hole, and threw both the load and herſelf among the reeds. The frightened huſband ſtood for ſome time ſeemingly petrified with horror, and ſuffered his wife to be almoſt drowned before he went to her aſſiſtance.

About ſunſet we reached Sibity: but the dooty received me very coolly; and when I ſolicited for a guide to Sanſanding, he told me his people were otherwiſe employed. I was ſhewn into a damp old hut, where I paſſed a very uncomfortable night; for when the walls of the hut are ſoftened by the rain, they frequently become too

weak

weak to ſupport the weight of the roof. I heard three huts fall during the night, and was apprehenſive that the hut I lodged in would be the fourth. In the morning, as I went to pull ſome graſs for my horſe, I counted fourteen huts which had fallen in this manner ſince the commencement of the rainy ſeaſon.

It continued to rain with great violence all the 10th; and as the dooty refuſed to give me any proviſions, I purchaſed ſome corn, which I divided with my horſe.

Aug. 11th. The dooty compelled me to depart from the town, and I ſet out for Sanſanding without any great hopes of faring better there than I had done at Sibity; for I learned from people who came to viſit me, that a report prevailed, and was univerſally believed, that I had come to Bambarra as a ſpy; and as Manſong had not admitted me into his preſence, the dooties of the different towns were at liberty to treat me in what manner they pleaſed. From repeatedly hearing the ſame ſtory, I had no doubt of the truth of it; but as there was no alternative, I determined to proceed, and a little before ſunſet I arrived at Sanſanding. My reception was what I expected. Counti Mamadi, who had been ſo kind to me formerly, ſcarcely gave me welcome. Every one wiſhed to ſhun me, and my landlord ſent a perſon to inform me, that a very unfavourable report was received from Sego concerning me, and that he wiſhed me to depart early in the morning. About ten o'clock at night Counti Mamadi himſelf came privately to me, and informed me, that Manſong had diſpatched a canoe to Jenné to bring me back; and he was afraid I ſhould find great difficulty in going to the weſt country. He adviſed me, therefore, to depart from Sanſanding before daybreak; and cautioned me againſt ſtopping at Diggani, or any town near Sego.

Aug. 12th. I departed from Sanſanding, and reached Kabba in the afternoon. As I approached the town, I was ſurpriſed to ſee ſeveral people aſſembled at the gate; one of whom, as I advanced, came running towards me, and taking my horſe by the bridle, led me round the walls of the town; and then pointing to the weſt, told me to go along, or it would fare worſe with me. It was in vain that I repreſented the danger of being benighted in the woods, expoſed to the inclemency of the weather, and to the fury of wild beaſts. "Go along," was all the anſwer; and a number of people coming up, and urging me in the ſame manner with great earneſtneſs, I ſuſpected that ſome of the King's meſſengers, who were ſent in ſearch of me, were in the town; and that theſe Negroes, from mere kindneſs, conducted me paſt it with a view to facilitate my eſcape. I accordingly took the road for Sego, with the uncomfortable proſpect of paſſing the night on the branches of a tree. After travelling about three miles, I came to a ſmall village near the road. The dooty was ſplitting ſticks by the gate; but I found I could have no admittance; and when I attempted to enter, he jumped up, and with the ſtick he held in his hand threatened to ſtrike me off the horſe, if I preſumed to advance another ſtep.

At a little diſtance from this village (and farther from the road), is another ſmall one. I conjectured, that being rather out of the common route the inhabitants might have fewer objections to give me houſe-room for the night; and having croſſed ſome corn fields, I ſat down under a tree by the well. Two or three women came to draw water; and one of them perceiving I was a ſtranger, inquired whither I was going. I told her I was going for Sego, but being benighted on the road, I wiſhed to ſtay at the village until morning; and begged ſhe would acquaint the dooty with my ſituation. In a little time the dooty ſent for me, and permitted me to ſleep in a large baloon, in one corner of which was conſtructed a kiln for drying the fruit of the ſhea trees: it contained about half a cart load of fruit, under which was kept

up

up a clear wood fire. I was informed that in three days the fruit would be ready for pounding and boiling; and that the butter thus manufactured, is preferable to that which is prepared from fruit dried in the ſun, eſpecially in the rainy ſeaſon, when the proceſs by inſolation is always tedious, and oftentimes ineffectual.

Aug. 13th. About ten o'clock I reached a ſmall village within half a mile of Sego, where I endeavoured, but in vain, to procure ſome proviſions. Every one ſeemed anxious to avoid me; and I could plainly perceive, by the looks and behaviour of the inhabitants, that ſome very unfavourable accounts had been circulated concerning me. I was again informed that Manſong had ſent people to apprehend me; and the dooty's ſon told me I had no time to loſe, if I wiſhed to get ſafe out of Bambarra. I now fully ſaw the danger of my ſituation, and determined to avoid Sego altogether. I accordingly mounted my horſe, and taking the road for Diggani, travelled as faſt as I could, until I was out of ſight of the villagers, when I ſtruck to the weſtward, through high graſs and ſwampy ground. About noon, I ſtopped under a tree, to conſider what courſe to take; for I had now no doubt but that the Moors and Slatees had miſinformed the King reſpecting the object of my miſſion, and that the people were abſolutely in ſearch of me to convey me a priſoner to Sego. Sometimes I had thoughts of ſwimming my horſe acroſs the Niger, and going to the ſouthward for Cape Coaſt; but reflecting that I had ten days to travel before I ſhould reach Kong, and afterward an extenſive country to traverſe, inhabited by various nations, with whoſe language and manners I was totally unacquainted, I relinquiſhed this ſcheme, and judged, that I ſhould better anſwer the purpoſe of my miſſion, by proceeding to the weſtward along the Niger, endeavouring to aſcertain how far the river was navigable in that direction. Having reſolved upon this courſe, I proceeded accordingly; and a little before ſunſet arrived at a Foulah village called Sooboo, where, for two hundred kowries, I procured lodging for the night.

Aug. 14th. I continued my courſe along the bank of the river, through a populous and well cultivated country. I paſſed a walled town called Kamalia*, without ſtopping; and at noon rode through a large town called Samee, where there happened to be a market, and a number of people aſſembled in an open place in the middle of the town, ſelling cattle, cloth, corn, &c. I rode through the midſt of them without being much obſerved; every one taking me for a Moor. In the afternoon I arrived at a ſmall village called Binni, where I agreed with the dooty's ſon, for one hundred kowries, to allow me to ſtay for the night; but when the dooty returned, he inſiſted that I ſhould inſtantly leave the place; and if his wife and ſon had not interceded for me, I muſt have complied.

Aug. 15th. About nine o'clock I paſſed a large town called Sai, which very much excited my curioſity. It is completely ſurrounded by two very deep trenches, at about two hundred yards diſtant from the walls. On the top of the trenches are a number of ſquare towers; and the whole has the appearance of a regular fortification. Inquiring into the origin of this extraordinary intrenchment, I learned from two of the townſpeople the following particulars; which, if true, furniſh a mournful picture of the enormities of African wars. About fifteen years ago, when the preſent King of Bambarra's father deſolated Maniana, the dooty of Sai had two ſons ſlain in battle, fighting in the King's cauſe. He had a third ſon living; and when the King demanded a further reinforcement of men, and this youth among the reſt, the dooty refuſed to ſend him. This conduct ſo enraged the King, that when he returned from Maniana,

* There is another town of this name hereafter to be mentioned.

about the beginning of the rainy ſeaſon, and found the dooty protected by the inhabitants, he ſat down before Sai with his army, and ſurrounded the town with the trenches I had now ſeen. After a ſiege of two months, the townſpeople became involved in all the horrors of famine; and whilſt the King's army were feaſting in their trenches, they ſaw with pleaſure the miſerable inhabitants of Sai devour the leaves and bark of the bentang tree that ſtood in the middle of the town. Finding, however, that the beſieged would ſooner periſh than ſurrender, the King had recourſe to treachery. He promiſed, that if they would open the gates, no perſon ſhould be put to death, nor ſuffer any injury but the dooty alone. The poor old man determined to ſacrifice himſelf, for the ſake of his fellow-citizens, and immediately walked over to the King's army, where he was put to death. His ſon, in attempting to eſcape, was caught and maſſacred in the trenches; and the reſt of the townſpeople were carried away captives, and ſold as ſlaves to the different Negro traders.

About noon I came to the village of Kaimoo, ſituated upon the bank of the river; and as the corn I had purchaſed at Sibili, was exhauſted, I endeavoured to purchaſe a freſh ſupply; but was informed that corn was become very ſcarce all over the country; and though I offered fifty kowries for a ſmall quantity, no perſon would ſell me any. As I was about to depart, however, one of the villagers (who probably miſtook me for a Mooriſh ſhereef) brought me ſome as a preſent; only deſiring me in return, to beſtow my bleſſing upon him; which I did in plain Engliſh, and he received it with a thouſand acknowledgments. Of this preſent I made my dinner; and it was the third ſucceſſive day that I had ſubſiſted entirely upon raw corn.

In the evening I arrived at a ſmall village called Song, the ſurly inhabitants of which would not receive me, nor ſo much as permit me to enter the gate; but as lions were very numerous in this neighbourhood, and I had frequently, in the courſe of the day, ſeen the impreſſion of their feet on the road, I reſolved to ſtay in the vicinity of the village. Having collected ſome graſs for my horſe, I accordingly lay down under a tree by the gate. About ten o'clock I heard the hollow roar of a lion at no great diſtance, and attempted to open the gate; but the people from within told me, that no perſon muſt attempt to enter the gate without the dooty's permiſſion. I begged them to inform the dooty that a lion was approaching the village, and I hoped he would allow me to come within the gate. I waited for an anſwer to this meſſage with great anxiety; for the lion kept prowling round the village, and once advanced ſo very near me, that I heard him ruſtling among the graſs, and climbed the tree for ſafety. About midnight the dooty with ſome of his people opened the gate, and deſired me to come in. They were convinced, they ſaid, that I was not a Moor; for no Moor ever waited any time at the gate of a village, without curſing the inhabitants.

Aug. 16th. About ten o'clock I paſſed a conſiderable town, with a moſque, called Jabbe. Here the country begins to riſe into hills, and I could ſee the ſummits of high mountains to the weſtward. I had very diſagreeable travelling all this day, on account of the ſwampineſs of the roads; for the river was now riſen to ſuch a height, as to overflow great part of the flat land on both ſides: and from the muddineſs of the water, it was difficult to diſcern its depth. In croſſing one of theſe ſwamps, a little to the weſtward of a town called Gangu, my horſe being up to the belly in water, ſlipt ſuddenly into a deep pit, and was almoſt drowned before he could diſengage his feet from the ſtiff clay at the bottom. Indeed both the horſe and his rider were ſo completely covered with mud, that in paſſing the village of Callimana, the people compared us to two dirty elephants. About noon I ſtopped at a

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ſmall village near Yamina, where I purchaſed ſome corn, and dried my papers and clothes.

The town of Yamina, at a diſtance, has a very fine appearance. It covers nearly the ſame extent of ground as Sanſanding; but having been plundered by Daiſy, King of Kaarta, about four years ago, it has not yet reſumed its former proſperity; nearly one half of the town being nothing but a heap of ruins: however, it is ſtill a conſiderable place, and is ſo much frequented by the Moors, that I did not think it ſafe to lodge in it: but, in order to ſatisfy myſelf reſpecting its population and extent, I reſolved to ride through it; in doing which, I obſerved a great many Moors ſitting upon the Bentangs, and other places of public reſort. Every body looked at me with aſtoniſhment; but as I rode briſkly along, they had no time to aſk queſtions.

I arrived in the evening at Farra, a walled village; where, without much difficulty, I procured a lodging for the night.

Aug. 17th. Early in the morning I purſued my journey, and at eight o'clock paſſed a conſiderable town called Balaba: after which the road quits the plain, and ſtretches along the ſide of the hill. I paſſed in the courſe of this day the ruins of three towns; the inhabitants of which were all carried away by Daiſy, King of Kaarta, on the ſame day that he took and plundered Yamina. Near one of theſe ruins I climbed a tamarind tree, but found the fruit quite green and ſour; and the proſpect of the country was by no means inviting; for the high graſs and buſhes ſeemed completely to obſtruct the road, and the low lands were all ſo flooded by the river, that the Niger had the appearance of an extenſive lake. In the evening I arrived at Kanika, where the dooty, who was ſitting upon an elephant's hide at the gate, received me kindly; and gave me for ſupper ſome milk and meal; which I conſidered (as to a perſon in my ſituation it really was) a very great luxury.

Aug. 18th. By miſtake I took the wrong road, and did not diſcover my error until I had travelled near four miles; when coming to an eminence, I obſerved the Niger conſiderably to the left. Directing my courſe towards it, I travelled through long graſs and buſhes, with great difficulty, until two o'clock in the afternoon; when I came to a comparatively ſmall, but very rapid river; which I took at firſt for a creek, or one of the ſtreams of the Niger. However, after I had examined it with more attention, I was convinced that it was a diſtinct river; and as the road evidently croſſed it (for I could ſee the pathway on the oppoſite ſide), I ſat down upon the bank, in hopes that ſome traveller might arrive, who would give me the neceſſary information concerning the fording place; for the banks were ſo covered with reeds and buſhes, that it would have been almoſt impoſſible to land on the other ſide, except at the pathway; which, on account of the rapidity of the ſtream, it ſeemed very difficult to reach. No traveller, however, arriving, and there being a great appearance of rain, I examined the graſs and buſhes, for ſome way up the bank, and determined upon entering the river conſiderably above the pathway, in order to reach the other ſide before the ſtream had ſwept me too far down. With this view I faſtened my clothes upon the ſaddle, and was ſtanding up to the neck in water, pulling my horſe by the bridle to make him follow me, when a man came accidentally to the place, and ſeeing me in the water, called to me with great vehemence to come out. The alligators, he ſaid, would devour both me and my horſe, if we attempted to ſwim over. When I had got out, the ſtranger, who had never before ſeen a European, ſeemed wonderfully ſurpriſed. He twice put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming in a low tone of voice, "God preſerve me! who is this?" but when he heard me ſpeak the Bambarra tongue, and found that I was going the

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ſame way as himſelf, he promiſed to aſſiſt me in croſſing the river; the name of which he told me was Frina. He then went a little way along the bank, and called to ſome perſon, who anſwered from the other ſide. In a ſhort time a canoe, with two boys, came paddling from among the reeds: theſe boys agreed for fifty kowries, to tranſport me and my horſe over the river, which was effected without much difficulty; and I arrived in the evening at Taffara, a walled town; and ſoon diſcovered that the language of the natives was improved, from the corrupted dialect of Bambarra, to the pure Mandingo.

CHAP. IV.—*Inhoſpitable Reception at Taffara.—A Negro Funeral at Sooha.—The Author continues his Route through ſeveral Villages along the Banks of the Niger, until he comes to Koolikorro. Supports himſelf by writing* Saphies *—reaches Maraboo—loſes the Road; and after many Difficulties arrives at Bammakoo.—Takes the Road for Sibidooloo—meets with great Kindneſs at a Village called Kooma;—is afterwards robbed, ſtripped, and plundered by Banditti.—The Author's Reſource and Conſolation under exquiſite Diſtreſs.—He arrives in Safety at Sibidooloo.*

ON my arrival at Taffara, I inquired for the dooty, but was informed that he had died a few days before my arrival, and that there was, at that moment, a meeting of the chief men for electing another; there being ſome diſpute about the ſucceſſion. It was probably owing to this unſettled ſtate of the town that I experienced ſuch a want of hoſpitality in it; for though I informed the inhabitants that I ſhould only remain with them for one night, and aſſured them that Manſong had given me ſome kowries to pay for my lodging, yet no perſon invited me to come in; and I was forced to ſit alone under the bentang tree, expoſed to the rain and wind of a tornado, which laſted with great violence until midnight. At this time the ſtranger, who had aſſiſted me in croſſing the river, paid me a viſit, and obſerving that I had not found a lodging, invited me to take part of his ſupper, which he had brought to the door of his hut: for being a gueſt himſelf, he could not, without his landlord's conſent, invite me to come in. After this, I ſlept upon ſome wet graſs in the corner of a court. My horſe fared ſtill worſe than myſelf; the corn I had purchaſed being all expended, and I could not procure a ſupply.

Aug. 20th. I paſſed the town of Jaba, and ſtopped a few minutes at a village called Somino, where I begged and obtained ſome coarſe food, which the natives prepare from the huſks of corn, and call *Boo*. About two o'clock I came to the village of Sooha, and endeavoured to purchaſe ſome corn from the dooty, who was ſitting by the gate; but without ſucceſs. I then requeſted a little food by way of charity, but was told he had none to ſpare. Whilſt I was examining the countenance of this inhoſpitable old man, and endeavouring to find out the cauſe of the ſullen diſcontent, which was viſible in his eye, he called to a ſlave who was working in the corn-field at a little diſtance, and ordered him to bring his hoe along with him. The dooty then told him to dig a hole in the ground; pointing to a ſpot at no great diſtance. The ſlave, with his hoe, began to dig a pit in the earth; and the dooty, who appeared to be a man of a very fretful diſpoſition, kept muttering and talking to himſelf until the pit was almoſt finiſhed, when he repeatedly pronounced the words *dankatoo* (good for nothing); *jankra lemon* (a real plague); which expreſſions I thought could be applied to nobody but myſelf; and as the pit had very much the appearance of a grave, I thought it prudent to mount my horſe, and was about to decamp, when the ſlave, who had before

gone into the village, to my ſurpriſe, returned with the corpſe of a boy about nine or ten years of age, quite naked. The negro carried the body by a leg and an arm, and threw it into the pit with a ſavage indifference, which I had never before ſeen. As he covered the body with earth, the dooty often expreſſed himſelf *naphula attiniata* (money loſt); whence I concluded that the boy had been one of his ſlaves.

Departing from this ſhocking ſcene, I travelled by the ſide of the river until ſunſet, when I came to Koolikorro; a conſiderable town, and a great market for ſalt. Here I took up my lodging at the houſe of a Bambarran, who had formerly been the ſlave of a Moor, and in that character had travelled to Aoran, Towdinni, and many other places in the Great Deſert; but turning Muſſulman, and his maſter dying at Jenné, he obtained his freedom, and ſettled at this place, where he carries on a conſiderable trade in ſalt, cotton-cloth, &c. His knowledge of the world has not leſſened that ſuperſtitious confidence in ſaphies and charms, which he had imbibed in his earlier years; for when he heard that I was a Chriſtian, he immediately thought of procuring a ſaphie; and for this purpoſe brought out his *walha*, or writing board; aſſuring me, that he would dreſs me a ſupper of rice, if I would write him a ſaphie to protect him from wicked men. The propoſal was of too great conſequence to me to be refuſed; I therefore wrote the board full from top to bottom, on both ſides; and my landlord, to be certain of having the whole force of the charm, waſhed the writing from the board into a calabaſh with a little water, and having ſaid a few prayers over it, drank this powerful draught; after which, leſt a ſingle word ſhould eſcape, he licked the board until it was quite dry. A ſaphie writer was a man of too great conſequence to be long concealed: the important information was carried to the dooty, who ſent his ſon with half a ſheet of writing-paper, deſiring me to write him a *naphula ſaphie* (a charm to procure wealth). He brought me, as a preſent, ſome meal and milk; and when I had finiſhed the ſaphie, and read it to him with an audible voice, he ſeemed highly ſatisfied with his bargain, and promiſed to bring me in the morning ſome milk for my breakfaſt. When I had finiſhed my ſupper of rice and ſalt, I laid myſelf down upon a bullock's hide, and ſlept very quietly until morning; this being the firſt good meal and refreſhing ſleep that I had enjoyed for a long time.

Aug. 21ſt. At daybreak I departed from Koolikorro, and about noon paſſed the villages of Kayoo and Toolumbo. In the afternoon I arrived at Maraboo; a large town, and, like Koolikorro, famous for its trade in ſalt. I was conducted to the houſe of a Kaartan, of the tribe of Jower, by whom I was well received. This man had acquired a conſiderable property in the ſlave trade: and, from his hoſpitality to ſtrangers, was called by way of pre-eminence, *Jattee* (the landlord); and his houſe was a ſort of public inn for all travellers. Thoſe who had money were well lodged, for they always made him ſome return for his kindneſs; but thoſe who had nothing to give, were content to accept whatever he thought proper; and as I could not rank myſelf among the monied men, I was happy to take up my lodging in the ſame hut with ſeven poor fellows who had come from Kancaba in a canoe. But our landlord ſent us ſome victuals.

Aug. 22d. One of the landlord's ſervants went with me a little way from the town to ſhew me what road to take; but whether from ignorance or deſign I know not, he directed me wrong; and I did not diſcover my miſtake until the day was far advanced: when, coming to a deep creek, I had ſome thoughts of turning back; but as by that means I foreſaw that I could not poſſibly reach Bammakoo before night, I reſolved to croſs it; and leading my horſe cloſe to the brink, I went behind him, and puſhed him headlong into the water, and then taking the bridle in my teeth, ſwam over to the

other ſide. This was the third creek I had croſſed in this manner ſince I had left Sego; but having ſecured my notes and memorandums in the crown of my hat, I received little or no inconvenience from ſuch adventures. The rain and heavy dew kept my clothes conſtantly wet; and the roads being very deep and full of mud, ſuch a waſhing was ſometimes pleaſant, and oftentimes neceſſary. I continued travelling, through high graſs, without any beaten road, and about noon came to the river; the banks of which are here very rocky, and the force and roar of the water were very great. The King of Bambarra's canoes, however, frequently paſs theſe rapids, by keeping cloſe to the bank; perſons being ſtationed on the ſhore with ropes faſtened to the canoe, while others puſh it forward with long poles. At this time, however, it would, I think, have been a matter of great difficulty for any European boat to have croſſed the ſtream. About four o'clock in the afternoon, having altered my courſe from the river towards the mountains, I came to a ſmall pathway, which led to a village called Frookaboo, where I ſlept.

Aug. 23d. Early in the morning I ſet out for Bammakoo, at which place I arrived about five o'clock in the afternoon. I had heard Bammakoo much talked of as a great market for ſalt, and I felt rather diſappointed to find it only a middling town, not quite ſo large as Marraboo; however, the ſmallneſs of its ſize is more than compenſated by the riches of its inhabitants; for when the Moors bring their ſalt through Kaarta or Bambarra, they conſtantly reſt a few days at this place; and the Negro merchants here, who are well acquainted with the value of ſalt in different kingdoms, frequently purchaſe by wholeſale, and retail it to great advantage. Here I lodged at the houſe of a Sera-Woolli negro, and was viſited by a number of Moors. They ſpoke very good Mandingo, and were more civil to me than their countrymen had been. One of them had travelled to Rio Grande, and ſpoke very highly of the Chriſtians. He ſent me in the evening ſome boiled rice and milk. I now endeavoured to procure information concerning my route to the weſtward, from a ſlave-merchant who had reſided ſome years on the Gambia. He gave me ſome imperfect account of the diſtance, and enumerated the names of a great many places that lay in the way; but withal told me that the road was impaſſable at this ſeaſon of the year: he was even afraid, he ſaid, that I ſhould find great difficulty in proceeding any farther; as the road croſſed the Joliba at a town about half a day's journey to the weſtward of Bammakoo; and there being no canoes at that place large enough to receive my horſe, I could not poſſibly get him over for ſome months to come. This was an obſtruction of a very ſerious nature; but as I had no money to maintain myſelf even for a few days, I reſolved to puſh on, and if I could not convey my horſe acroſs the river, to abandon him, and ſwim over myſelf. In thoughts of this nature I paſſed the night, and in the morning conſulted with my landlord how I ſhould ſurmount the preſent difficulty. He informed me that one road ſtill remained, which was indeed very rocky, and ſcarcely paſſable for horſes; but that if I had a proper guide over the hills to a town called Sibidooloo, he had no doubt, but with patience and caution, I might travel forwards through Manding. I immediately applied to the dooty, and was informed that a *Jilli Kea* (ſinging man) was about to depart for Sibidooloo, and would ſhew me the road over the hills. With this man, who undertook to be my conductor, I travelled up a rocky glen about two miles, when we came to a ſmall village; and here my muſical fellow-traveller found out that he had brought me the wrong road. He told me that the horſe-road lay on the other ſide of the hill, and throwing his drum upon his back, mounted up the rocks, where indeed no horſe could follow him, leaving me to admire his agility, and trace out a road for myſelf. As I found it impoſſible to proceed, I rode back to the level ground,

and directing my courſe to the eaſtward, came about noon to another glen, and diſcovered a path on which I obſerved the marks of horſes' feet: following this path, I came in a ſhort time to ſome ſhepherds' huts, where I was informed that I was in the right road, but that I could not poſſibly reach Sibidooloo before night. Soon after this I gained the ſummit of a hill, from whence I had an extenſive view of the country. Towards the ſouth-eaſt, appeared ſome very diſtant mountains, which I had formerly ſeen from an eminence near Marraboo, where the people informed me, that theſe mountains were ſituated in a large and powerful kingdom called Kong; the ſovereign of which could raiſe a much greater army than the King of Bambarra. Upon this height the ſoil is ſhallow; the rocks are iron-ſtone and ſchiſtus, with detached pieces of white quartz.

A little before ſunſet, I deſcended on the north-weſt ſide of this ridge of hills, and as I was looking about for a convenient tree under which to paſs the night (for I had no hopes of reaching any town), I deſcended into a delightful valley, and ſoon afterwards arrived at a romantic village called Kooma. This village is ſurrounded by a high wall, and is the ſole property of a Mandingo merchant, who fled hither with his family during a former war. The adjacent fields yield him plenty of corn, his cattle roam at large in the valley, and the rocky hills ſecure him from the depredations of war. In this obſcure retreat he is ſeldom viſited by ſtrangers, but whenever this happens, he makes the weary traveller welcome. I ſoon found myſelf ſurrounded by a circle of the harmleſs villagers. They aſked me a thouſand queſtions about my country; and, in return for my information, brought corn and milk for myſelf, and graſs for my horſe: kindled a fire in the hut where I was to ſleep, and appeared very anxious to ſerve me.

Aug. 25th. I departed from Kooma, accompanied by two ſhepherds, who were going towards Sibidooloo. The road was very ſteep and rocky, and as my horſe had hurt his feet much in coming from Bammakoo, he travelled ſlowly and with great difficulty; for in many places the aſcent was ſo ſharp, and the declivities ſo great, that if he had made one falſe ſtep, he muſt inevitably have been daſhed to pieces. The ſhepherds being anxious to proceed, gave themſelves little trouble about me or my horſe, and kept walking on at a conſiderable diſtance. It was about eleven o'clock, as I ſtopped to drink a little water at a rivulet (my companions being near a quarter of a mile before me), that I heard ſome people calling to each other, and preſently a loud ſcreaming, as from a perſon in great diſtreſs. I immediately conjectured that a lion had taken one of the ſhepherds, and mounted my horſe to have a better view of what had happened. The noiſe, however, ceaſed; and I rode ſlowly towards the place from whence I thought it had proceeded, calling out, but without receiving any anſwer. In a little time, however, I perceived one of the ſhepherds lying among the long graſs near the road; and though I could ſee no blood upon him, I concluded he was dead. But when I came cloſe to him, he whiſpered me to ſtop; telling me that a party of armed men had ſeized upon his companion, and ſhot two arrows at himſelf as he was making his eſcape. I ſtopped to conſider what courſe to take, and looking round, ſaw at a little diſtance a man ſitting upon the ſtump of a tree; I diſtinguiſhed alſo the heads of ſix or ſeven more, ſitting among the graſs with muſkets in their hands. I had now no hopes of eſcaping, and therefore determined to ride forward towards them. As I approached them, I was in hopes they were elephant hunters: and by way of opening the converſation, inquired if they had ſhot any thing; but without returning an anſwer, one of them ordered me to diſmount; and then, as if recollecting himſelf, waved with his hand for me to proceed. I accordingly rode

paſt, and had with ſome difficulty croſſed a deep rivulet, when I heard ſomebody holloa; and looking behind, ſaw thoſe I had taken for elephant hunters, running after me, and calling out to me to turn back. I ſtopped until they were all come up; when they informed me that the King of the Foulahs had ſent them on purpoſe to bring me, my horſe, and every thing that belonged to me, to Fooladoo; and that therefore I muſt turn back, and go along with them. Without heſitating a moment, I turned round and followed them, and we travelled together near a quarter of a mile, without exchanging a word; when coming to a dark place of the wood, one of them ſaid, in the Mandingo language, "this place will do;" and immediately ſnatched my hat from my head. Though I was by no means free of apprehenſion, yet I reſolved to ſhew as few ſigns of fear as poſſible, and therefore told them, that unleſs my hat was returned to me, I ſhould proceed no further. But before I had time to receive an anſwer, another drew his knife, and ſeizing upon a metal button which remained upon my waiſtcoat, cut it off, and put it into his pocket. Their intentions were now obvious; and I thought that the eaſier they were permitted to rob me of every thing, the leſs I had to fear. I therefore allowed them to ſearch my pockets without reſiſtance, and examine every part of my apparel, which they did with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs. But obſerving that I had one waiſtcoat under another, they inſiſted that I ſhould caſt them both off; and at laſt, to make ſure work, ſtripped me quite naked. Even my half boots (though the ſole of one of them was tied on to my foot with a broken bridle rein) were minutely inſpected. Whilſt they were examining the plunder, I begged them, with great earneſtneſs, to return my pocket compaſs; but when I pointed it out to them, as it was lying on the ground, one of the banditti, thinking I was about to take it up, cocked his muſket, and ſwore that he would lay me dead on the ſpot, if I preſumed to put my hand upon it. After this, ſome of them went away with my horſe, and the remainder ſtood conſidering whether they ſhould leave me quite naked, or allow me ſomething to ſhelter me from the ſun. Humanity at laſt prevailed: they returned me the worſt of the two ſhirts, and a pair of trowſers; and, as they went away, one of them threw back my hat, in the crown of which I kept my memorandums; and this was probably the reaſon they did not wiſh to keep it. After they were gone, I ſat for ſome time looking around me with amazement and terror. Whichever way I turned, nothing appeared but danger and difficulty. I ſaw myſelf in the midſt of a vaſt wilderneſs in the depth of the rainy ſeaſon, naked and alone; ſurrounded by ſavage animals, and men ſtill more ſavage. I was five hundred miles from the neareſt European ſettlement. All theſe circumſtances crowded at once on my recollection; and I confeſs that my ſpirits began to fail me. I conſidered my fate as certain, and that I had no alternative, but to lie down and periſh. The influence of religion, however, aided and ſupported me. I reflected that no human prudence or foreſight could poſſibly have averted my preſent ſufferings. I was indeed a ſtranger in a ſtrange land, yet I was ſtill under the protecting eye of that Providence who has condeſcended to call himſelf the ſtranger's friend. At this moment, painful as my reflections were, the extraordinary beauty of a ſmall moſs, in fructification, irreſiſtibly caught my eye. I mention this to ſhew from what trifling circumſtances the mind will ſometimes derive conſolation; for though the whole plant was not larger than the top of one of my fingers, I could not contemplate the delicate conformation of its roots, leaves, and capſula, without admiration. Can that Being (thought I), who planted, watered, and brought to perfection, in this obſcure part of the world, a thing which appears of ſo ſmall importance, look with unconcern upon the ſituation and

ſufferings

ſufferings of creatures formed after his own image?—ſurely not! Reflections like theſe, would not allow me to deſpair. I ſtarted up, and diſregarding both hunger and fatigue, travelled forwards, aſſured that relief was at hand; and I was not diſappointed. In a ſhort time I came to a ſmall village, at the entrance of which I overtook the two ſhepherds who had come with me from Kooma. They were much ſurpriſed to ſee me; for they ſaid, they never doubted that the Foulahs, when they had robbed, had murdered me. Departing from this village, we travelled over ſeveral rocky ridges, and at ſunſet, arrived at Sibidooloo; the frontier town of the kingdom of Manding.

CHAP. V.—*Government of Manding.—The Author's Reception by the Manſa, or chief Man of Sibidooloo, who takes Meaſures for the Recovery of his Horſe and Effects.—The Author removes to Wonda;—great Scarcity and its afflicting Conſequences.—The Author recovers his Horſe and Clothes;—preſents his Horſe to the Manſa; and proſecutes his Journey to Kamalia—Some Account of that Town.—The Author's kind Reception by Karfa Taura, a Slatee, who propoſes to go to the Gambia in the next dry Seaſon, with a Caravan of Slaves.—The Author's Sickneſs, and Determination to remain and accompany Karfa.*

THE town of Sibidooloo is ſituated in a fertile valley, ſurrounded with high rocky hills. It is ſcarcely acceſſible for horſes, and during the frequent wars between the Bambarrans, Foulahs, and Mandingoes, has never once been plundered by an enemy. When I entered the town, the people gathered round me, and followed me into the baloon; where I was preſented to the dooty or chief man, who is here called manſa, which uſually ſignifies king. Nevertheleſs, it appeared to me that the government of Manding was a ſort of republic, or rather an oligarchy; every town having a particular Manſa, and the chief power of the ſtate, in the laſt reſort, being lodged in the aſſembly of the whole body. I related to the manſa the circumſtances of my having been robbed of my horſe and apparel: and my ſtory was confirmed by the two ſhepherds. He continued ſmoking his pipe all the time I was ſpeaking; but I had no ſooner finiſhed, than taking his pipe from his mouth, and toſſing up the ſleeve of his coat with an indignant air, "ſit down (ſaid he), you ſhall have every "thing reſtored to you; I have ſworn it:"—and then turning to an attendant, "give the white man (ſaid he) a draught of water; and with the firſt light of the "morning go over the hills, and inform the dooty of Bammakoo, that a poor white "man, the King of Bambarra's ſtranger, has been robbed by the King of Fooladoo's "people."

I little expected, in my forlorn condition, to meet with a man who could thus feel for my ſufferings. I heartily thanked the manſa for his kindneſs, and accepted his invitation to remain with him until the return of the meſſenger. I was conducted into a hut, and had ſome victuals ſent me, but the crowd of people which aſſembled to ſee me, all of whom commiſerated my misfortunes, and vented imprecations againſt the Foulahs, prevented me from ſleeping until paſt midnight. Two days I remained without hearing any intelligence of my horſe or clothes; and as there was at this time a great ſcarcity of proviſions, approaching even to famine, all over this part of the country, I was unwilling to trepaſs any farther on the manſa's generoſity, and begged permiſſion to depart to the next village. Finding me very anxious to proceed, he told me that I might go as far as a town called Wonda, where he hoped I would remain a few days, until I heard ſome account of my horſe, &c.

I departed

I departed accordingly on the next morning of the 28th, and ſtopped at ſome ſmall villages for refreſhment. I was preſented at one of them with a diſh which I had never before ſeen. It was compoſed of the bloſſoms or *antheræ* of the maize, ſtewed in milk and water. It is eaten only in time of great ſcarcity. On the 30th, about noon, I arrived at Wonda; a ſmall town with a moſque, and ſurrounded by a high wall. The manſa, who was a Mahomedan, acted in two capacities: as chief magiſtrate of the town, and ſchoolmaſter to the children. He kept his ſchool in an open ſhed, where I was deſired to take up my lodging, until ſome account ſhould arrive from Sibidooloo, concerning my horſe and clothes; for though the horſe was of little uſe to me, yet the few clothes were eſſential. The little raiment upon me could neither protect me from the ſun by day, nor the dews and muſquetoes by night: indeed, my ſhirt was not only worn thin, like a piece of muſlin, but withal was ſo very dirty, that I was happy to embrace an opportunity of waſhing it; which having done, and ſpread it upon a buſh, I ſat down naked, in the ſhade, until it was dry.

Ever ſince the commencement of the rainy ſeaſon, my health had been greatly on the decline. I had often been affected with ſlight paroxyſms of fever; and from the time of leaving Bammakoo, the ſymptoms had conſiderably increaſed. As I was ſitting in the manner deſcribed, the fever returned with ſuch violence, that it very much alarmed me; the more ſo, as I had no medicine to ſtop its progreſs, nor any hope of obtaining that care and attention which my ſituation required.

I remained at Wonda nine days; during which time I experienced the regular return of the fever every day. And though I endeavoured as much as poſſible to conceal my diſtreſs from my landlord, and frequently lay down the whole day, out of his ſight, in a corn field; conſcious how burthenſome I was to him and his family, in a time of ſuch great ſcarcity; yet I found that he was apprized of my ſituation: and one morning as I feigned to be aſleep by the fire, he obſerved to his wife, that they were likely to find me a very troubleſome and chargeable gueſt; for that, in my preſent ſickly ſtate, they ſhould be obliged, for the ſake of their good name, to maintain me until I recovered or died.

The ſcarcity of proviſions was certainly felt at this time moſt ſeverely by the poor people, as the following circumſtance moſt painfully convinced me. Every evening, during my ſtay, I obſerved five or ſix women come to the manſa's houſe, and receive each of them a certain quantity of corn. As I knew how valuable this article was at this juncture, I inquired of the manſa, whether he maintained theſe poor women from pure bounty, or expected a return when the harveſt ſhould be gathered in. "Obſerve that "boy, ſaid he (pointing to a fine child about five years of age); "his mother has "ſold him to me, for forty days' proviſion for herſelf and the reſt of her family. I "have bought another boy in the ſame manner." Good God, thought I, what muſt a mother ſuffer, before ſhe ſells her own child! I could not get this melancholy ſubject out of my mind, and the next night, when the women returned for their allowance, I deſired the boy to point out to me his mother, which he did. She was much emaciated, but had nothing cruel or ſavage in her countenance; and when ſhe had received her corn, ſhe came and talked to her ſon, with as much cheerfulneſs as if he had ſtill been under her care.

Sept. 6th. Two people arrived from Sibidooloo, bringing with them my horſe and clothes; but I found that my pocket compaſs was broken to pieces. This was a great loſs, which I could not repair.

Sept. 7th. As my horſe was grazing near the brink of a well, the ground gave way, and he fell in. The well was about ten feet diameter, and ſo very deep,

that

that when I ſaw my horſe ſnorting in the water, I thought it was impoſſible to ſave him. The inhabitants of the village, however, immediately aſſembled, and having tied together a number of withes * they lowered a man down into the well, who faſtened thoſe withes round the body of the horſe; and the people, having firſt drawn up the man, took hold of the withes, and to my ſurpriſe pulled the horſe out with the greateſt facility. The poor animal was now reduced to a mere ſkeleton, and the roads were ſcarcely paſſable, being either very rocky, or elſe full of mud and water; I therefore found it impracticable to travel with him any farther, and was happy to leave him in the hands of one who I thought would take care of him. I accordingly preſented him to my landlord; and deſired him to ſend my ſaddle and bridle, as a preſent, to the manſa of Sibidooloo; being the only return I could make him, for having taken ſo much trouble in procuring my horſe and clothes.

I now thought it neceſſary, ſick as I was, to take leave of my hoſpitable landlord. On the morning of Sept. 8th, when I was about to depart, he preſented me with his ſpear, as a token of remembrance, and a leather bag to contain my clothes. Having converted my half boots into ſandals, I travelled with more eaſe, and ſlept that night at a village called Ballanti. On the 9th, I reached Nemacoo; but the manſa of the village thought fit to make me ſup upon the camelion's diſh. By way of apology, however, he aſſured me the next morning, that the ſcarcity of corn was ſuch, that he could not poſſibly allow me any. I could not accuſe him of unkindneſs, as all the people actually appeared to be ſtarving.

Sept. 10th. It rained hard all day, and the people kept themſelves in their huts. In the afternoon I was viſited by a Negro, named Modi Lemina Taura, a great trader, who ſuſpecting my diſtreſs, brought me ſome victuals; and promiſed to conduct me to his houſe at Kinyeto the day following.

Sept. 11th. I departed from Nemacoo, and arrived at Kinyeto in the evening; but having hurt my ancle in the way, it ſwelled and inflamed ſo much that I could neither walk nor ſet my foot to the ground the next day, without giving pain. My landlord obſerving this, kindly invited me to ſtop with him a few days; and I accordingly remained at his houſe until the 14th; by which time I felt much relieved, and could walk with the help of a ſtaff. I now ſet out, thanking my landlord for his great care and attention; and being accompanied by a young man, who was travelling the ſame way, I proceeded for Jerijang, a beautiful and well cultivated diſtrict, the manſa of which is reckoned the moſt powerful chief of any in Manding.

On the 15th, I reached Doſita, a large town, where I ſtaid one day on account of the rain; but continued very ſickly, and was ſlightly delirious in the night. On the 17th I ſet out for Manſia, a conſiderable town, where ſmall quantities of gold are collected. The road led over a high rocky hill, and my ſtrength and ſpirits were ſo much exhauſted, that before I could reach the top of the hill I was forced to lie down three times, being very faint and ſickly. I reached Manſia in the afternoon. The manſa of this town had the character of being very inhoſpitable; he however ſent me a little corn for my ſupper, but demanded ſomething in return; and when I aſſured him that I had nothing of value in my poſſeſſion, he told me (as if in jeſt), that my white ſkin ſhould not defend me, if I told him lies. He then ſhewed me the hut wherein I was to ſleep; but took away my ſpear, ſaying that it ſhould be returned

* From a plant called *kabba*, that climbs like a vine upon the trees.

to

to me in the morning. This trifling circumſtance, when joined to the character I had heard of the man, made me rather ſuſpicious of him; and I privately deſired one of the inhabitants of the place, who had a bow and quiver, to ſleep in the ſame hut with me. About midnight, I heard ſomebody approach the door, and obſerving the moonlight ſtrike ſuddenly into the hut, I ſtarted up, and ſaw a man ſtepping cautiouſly over the threſhold. I immediately ſnatched up the Negro's bow and quiver, the rattling of which made the man withdraw; and my companion looking out, aſſured me that it was the manſa himſelf, and adviſed me to keep awake until the morning. I cloſed the door, and placed a large piece of wood behind it; and was wondering at this unexpected viſit, when ſomebody preſſed ſo hard againſt the door, that the Negro could ſcarcely keep it ſhut. But when I called to him to open the door, the intruder ran off, as before.

Sept. 16th. As ſoon as it was light, the Negro, at my requeſt, went to the manſa's houſe and brought away my ſpear. He told me that the manſa was aſleep, and leſt this inhoſpitable chief ſhould deviſe means to detain me, he adviſed me to ſet out before he was awake, which I immediately did; and about two o'clock reached Kamalia, a ſmall town, ſituated at the bottom of ſome rocky hills, where the inhabitants collect gold in conſiderable quantities. The buſhreens here live apart from the kafirs, and have built their huts in a ſcattered manner, at a ſhort diſtance from the town. They have a place ſet apart for performing their devotions in, to which they give the name of *miſſura*, or moſque; but it is in fact nothing more than a ſquare piece of ground made level, and ſurrounded with the trunks of trees, having a ſmall projection towards the eaſt, where the marraboo, or prieſt, ſtands when he calls the people to prayers. Moſques of this conſtruction are very common among the converted Negroes; but having neither walls nor roof, they can only be uſed in fine weather. When it rains, the buſhreens perform their devotions in their huts.

On my arrival at Kamalia, I was conducted to the houſe of a buſhreen named Karfa Taura, the brother of him to whoſe hoſpitality I was indebted at Kinyeto. He was collecting a coffle of ſlaves, with a view to ſell them to the Europeans on the Gambia as ſoon as the rains ſhould be over. I found him ſitting in his baloon ſurrounded by ſeveral ſlatees, who propoſed to join the coffle. He was reading to them from an Arabic book; and inquired, with a ſmile, if I underſtood it? Being anſwered in the negative, he deſired one of the ſlatees to fetch the little curious book, which had been brought from the weſt country. On opening this ſmall volume, I was ſurpriſed and delighted, to find it our *Book of Common Prayer;* and Karfa expreſſed great joy to hear that I could read it; for ſome of the ſlatees who had ſeen the Europeans upon the coaſt, obſerving the colour of my ſkin (which was now become very yellow from ſickneſs), my long beard, ragged clothes, and extreme poverty; were unwilling to admit that I was a white man, and told Karfa, that they ſuſpected I was ſome Arab in diſguiſe. Karfa, however, perceiving that I could read this book, had no doubt concerning me; and kindly promiſed me every aſſiſtance in his power. At the ſame time he informed me that it was impoſſible to croſs the Jallonka wilderneſs for many months yet to come, as no leſs than eight rapid rivers, he ſaid, lay in the way. He added, that he intended to ſet out himſelf for Gambia as ſoon as the rivers were fordable, and the graſs burnt; and adviſed me to ſtay and accompany him. He remarked, that when a caravan of the natives could not travel through the country, it was idle for a ſingle white man to attempt it. I readily admitted that ſuch an attempt was an act of raſhneſs, but I aſſured him that I had now no alternative; for having no money to ſupport myſelf, I muſt either beg my ſubſiſtence, by travelling from place to

place, or periſh for want. Karfa now looked at me with great earneſtneſs, and inquired if I could eat the common victuals of the country; aſſuring me he had never before ſeen a white man. He added, that if I would remain with him until the rains were over, he would give me plenty of victuals in the meantime, and a hut to ſleep in; and that after he had conducted me in ſafety to the Gambia, I might then make him what return I thought proper. I aſked him if the value of one prime ſlave would ſatisfy him. He anſwered in the affirmative; and immediately ordered one of the huts to be ſwept for my accommodation. Thus was I delivered, by the friendly care of this benevolent Negro, from a ſituation truly deplorable. Diſtreſs and famine preſſed hard upon me; I had, before me, the gloomy wilds of Jallonkadoo, where the traveller ſees no habitation for five ſucceſſive days. I had obſerved at a diſtance, the rapid courſe of the river Kokoro. I had almoſt marked out the place where I was doomed, I thought, to periſh, when this friendly Negro ſtretched out his hoſpitable hand for my relief.

In the hut which was appropriated for me, I was provided with a mat to ſleep on, an earthen jar for holding water, and a ſmall calabaſh to drink out of; and Karfa ſent me from his own dwelling, two meals a day; and ordered his ſlaves to ſupply me with fire-wood and water. But I found that neither the kindneſs of Karfa, nor any ſort of accommodation could put a ſtop to the fever which weakened me, and which became every day more alarming. I endeavoured as much as poſſible to conceal my diſtreſs; but on the third day after my arrival, as I was going with Karfa to viſit ſome of his friends, I found myſelf ſo faint that I could ſcarcely walk, and before we reached the place, I ſtaggered, and fell into a pit from which the clay had been taken to build one of the huts. Karfa endeavoured to conſole me with the hopes of a ſpeedy recovery; aſſuring me, that if I would not walk out in the wet, I ſhould ſoon be well. I determined to follow his advice, and confine myſelf to my hut; but was ſtill tormented with the fever, and my health continued to be in a very precarious ſtate for five enſuing weeks. Sometimes I could crawl out of the hut, and ſit a few hours in the open air; at other times I was unable to riſe, and paſſed the lingering hours in a very gloomy and ſolitary manner. I was ſeldom viſited by any perſon except my benevolent landlord, who came daily to inquire after my health. When the rains became leſs frequent, and the country began to grow dry, the fever left me; but in ſo debilitated a condition, that I could ſcarcely ſtand upright, and it was with great difficulty that I could carry my mat to the ſhade of a tamarind tree, at a ſhort diſtance, to enjoy the refreſhing ſmell of the corn-fields, and delight my eyes with a proſpect of the country. I had the pleaſure, at length, to find myſelf in a ſtate of convaleſcence: towards which the benevolent and ſimple manners of the Negroes, and the peruſal of Karfa's little volume, greatly contributed.

In the mean time, many of the ſlatees who reſided at Kamalia, having ſpent all their money, and become in a great meaſure dependent upon Karfa's hoſpitality, beheld me with an eye of envy, and invented many ridiculous and trifling ſtories to leſſen me in Karfa's eſteem. And in the beginning of December, a Sera-Woolli ſlatee, with five ſlaves, arrived from Sego: this man too, ſpread a number of malicious reports concerning me; but Karfa paid no attention to them, and continued to ſhew me the ſame kindneſs as formerly. As I was one day converſing with the ſlaves which this ſlatee had brought, one of them begged me to give him ſome victuals. I told him I was a ſtranger, and had none to give. He replied, "I gave *you* victuals when you was hungry.—Have you forgot the man who brought you milk at Kar-

rankalla? But (added he, with a ſigh) *the irons were not then upon my legs!*" I immediately recollected him, and begged ſome ground nuts from Karfa to give him, as a return for his former kindneſs. He told me that he had been taken by the Bambarrans, the day after the battle at Joka, and ſent to Sego, where he had been purchaſed by his preſent maſter, who was carrying him down to Kajaaga. Three more of theſe ſlaves were from Kaarta, and one from Waſſela, all of them priſoners of war. They ſtopped four days at Kamalia, and were then taken to Bala, where they remained until the river Kokoro was fordable, and the graſs burnt.

In the beginning of December Karfa propoſed to complete his purchaſe of ſlaves; and for this purpoſe collected all the debts which were owing to him in his own country. And on the 19th, being accompanied by three ſlatees, he departed for Kancaba, a large town on the banks of the Niger; and a great ſlave-market. Moſt of the ſlaves, who are ſold at Kancaba, come from Bambarra; for Manſong, to avoid the expence and danger of keeping all his priſoners at Sego, commonly ſends them in ſmall parties to be ſold at the different trading towns; and as Kancaba is much reſorted to by merchants, it is always well ſupplied with ſlaves which are ſent thither up the Niger in canoes. When Karfa departed from Kamalia, he propoſed to return in the courſe of a month; and during his abſence I was left to the care of a good old buſhreen who acted as ſchoolmaſter to the young people of Kamalia.

Being now left alone, and at leiſure to indulge my own reflections, it was an opportunity not to be neglected of augmenting and extending the obſervations I had already made on the climate and productions of the country; and of acquiring a more perfect knowledge of the natives, than it was poſſible for me to obtain in the courſe of a tranſient and perilous journey through the country. I endeavoured likewiſe to collect all the information I could concerning thoſe important branches of African commerce, the trade for gold, ivory, and ſlaves. Such was my employment, during the remainder of my ſtay at Kamalia; and I ſhall now proceed to lay before my readers the reſult of my reſearches and inquiries; avoiding, as far as I can, a repetition of thoſe circumſtances and obſervations, which were related, as occaſion aroſe, in the narrative of my journey.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Climate and Seaſons. — Winds. — Vegetable Productions. — Population. — General Obſervations on the Character and Diſpoſition of the Mandingoes; and a ſummary Account of their Manners and Habits of Life, their Marriages, &c.*

THE whole of my route, both in going and returning, having been confined to a tract of country bounded nearly by the 12th and 15th parallels of latitude, the reader muſt imagine that I found the climate in moſt places extremely hot; but no where did I feel the heat ſo intenſe and oppreſſive as in the camp at Benowm, of which mention has been made in a former place*. In ſome parts, where the country aſcends into hills, the air is at all times comparatively cool; yet none of the diſtricts which I traverſed, could properly be called mountainous. About the middle of June, the hot and ſultry atmoſphere is agitated by violent guſts of wind (called *tornadoes*), accompanied with thunder and rain. Theſe uſher in what is denominated the *rainy ſeaſon;* which continues until the month of November. During this time the diurnal rains are very heavy: and the prevailing winds are from the ſouth-weſt. The termination of the rainy ſeaſon, is likewiſe attended with violent tornadoes; after which the wind

* Not inſerted in this extract.—Edit.

ſhifts to the north-eaſt, and continues to blow from that quarter, during the reſt of the year.

When the wind ſets in from the north-eaſt it produces a wonderful change in the face of the country. The graſs ſoon becomes dry and withered; the rivers ſubſide very rapidly, and many of the trees ſhed their leaves. About this period is commonly felt the *harmattan*, a dry and parching wind, blowing from the north-eaſt, and accompanied by a thick ſmoky haze; through which the ſun appears of a dull red colour. This wind, in paſſing over the great deſert of Sahara, acquires a very ſtrong attraction for humidity, and parches up every thing expoſed to its current. It is, however, reckoned very ſalutary, particularly to Europeans, who generally recover their health during its continuance. I experienced immediate relief from ſickneſs, both at Dr. Laidley's and at Kamalia, during the harmattan. Indeed, the air, during the rainy ſeaſon, is ſo loaded with moiſture, that clothes, ſhoes, trunks, and every thing that is not cloſe to the fire, become damp and mouldy; and the inhabitants may be ſaid to live in a ſort of vapour bath; but this dry wind braces up the ſolids, which were before relaxed, gives a cheerful flow of ſpirits, and is even pleaſant to reſpiration. Its ill effects are, that it produces chaps in the lips, and afflicts many of the natives with ſore eyes.

Whenever the graſs is ſufficiently dry, the Negroes ſet it on fire; but in Ludamar, and other Mooriſh countries, this practice is not allowed; for it is upon the withered ſtubble that the Moors feed their cattle, until the return of the rains. The burning the graſs in Manding exhibits a ſcene of terrific grandeur. In the middle of the night, I could ſee the plains and mountains, as far as my eye could reach, varigated with lines of fire; and the light reflected on the ſky, made the heavens appear in a blaze. In the day time, pillars of ſmoke were ſeen in every direction; while the birds of prey were obſerved hovering round the conflagration, and pouncing down upon the ſnakes, lizards, and other reptiles, which attempted to eſcape from the flames. This annual burning is ſoon followed by a freſh and ſweet verdure, and the country is thereby rendered more healthful and pleaſant.

Of the moſt remarkable and important of the vegetable productions, mention has already been made; and they are nearly the ſame in all the diſtricts through which I paſſed. It is obſervable, however, that although many ſpecies of the edible roots which grow in the Weſt India iſlands, are found in Africa, yet I never ſaw, in any part of my journey, either the ſugar-cane, the coffee or the cocoa tree; nor could I learn, on inquiry, that they were known to the natives. The pine apple, and the thouſand other delicious fruits, which the induſtry of civilized man (improving the bounties of nature), has brought to ſuch great perfection in the tropical climates of America, are here equally unknown. I obſerved, indeed, a few orange and banana trees near the mouth of the Gambia; but whether they were indigenous, or were formerly planted there by ſome of the white traders, I could not poſitively learn. I ſuſpect that they were originally introduced by the Portugueſe.

Concerning property in the ſoil; it appeared to me that the lands in native woods were conſidered as belonging to the King, or (where the government was not monarchial) to the ſtate. When any individual of free condition, had the means of cultivating more land than he actually poſſeſſed, he applied to the chief man of the diſtrict, who allowed him an extenſion of territory, on condition of forfeiture if the lands were not brought into cultivation by a given period. The condition being fulfilled, the ſoil became veſted in the poſſeſſor; and for aught that appeared to me, deſcended to his heirs.

The

The population, however, conſidering the extent and fertility of the ſoil, and the eaſe with which lands are obtained, is not very great, in the countries which I viſited. I found many extenſive and beautiful diſtricts, entirely deſtitute of inhabitants: and in general, the borders of the different kingdoms were either very thinly peopled or entirely deſerted. Many places are likewiſe unfavourable to population, from being unhealthful. The ſwampy banks of the Gambia, the Senegal, and other rivers towards the coaſt, are of this deſcription. Perhaps it is on this account chiefly that the interior countries abound more with inhabitants than the maritime diſtricts; for all the Negro nations that fell under my obſervation, though divided into a number of petty independent ſtates, ſubſiſt chiefly by the ſame means, live nearly in the ſame temperature, and poſſeſs a wonderful ſimilarity of diſpoſition. The Mandingoes, in particular, are a very gentle race; cheerful in their diſpoſitions, inquiſitive, credulous, ſimple, and fond of flattery. Perhaps the moſt prominent defect in their character, was that inſurmountable propenſity, which the reader muſt have obſerved to prevail in all claſſes of them, to ſteal from me the few effects I was poſſeſſed of. For this part of their conduct no complete juſtification can be offered, becauſe theft is a crime in their own eſtimation; and it muſt be obſerved, that they are not habitually and generally guilty of it towards each other. This, however, is an important circumſtance in mitigation; and before we pronounce them a more depraved people than any other, it were well to conſider whether the lower order of people in any part of Europe, would have acted, under ſimilar circumſtances, with greater honeſty towards a ſtranger, than the Negroes acted towards me. It muſt not be forgotten, that the laws of the country afforded me no protection; that every one was at liberty to rob me with impunity; and finally, that ſome part of my effects were of as great value, in the eſtimation of the negroes, as pearls and diamonds would have been in the eyes of a European. Let us ſuppoſe a black merchant of Hindoſtan to have found his way into the centre of England, with a box of jewels at his back; and that the laws of the kingdom afforded him no ſecurity; in ſuch a caſe, the wonder would be, not that the ſtranger was robbed of any part of his riches, but that any part was left for a ſecond depredator. Such, on ſober reflection, is the judgment I have formed concerning the pilfering diſpoſition of the Mandingo Negroes towards myſelf. Notwithſtanding I was ſo great a ſufferer by it, I do not conſider that their natural ſenſe of juſtice was perverted or extinguiſhed: it was overpowered only, for the moment, by the ſtrength of a temptation which it required no common virtue to reſiſt.

On the other hand, as ſome counterbalance to this depravity in their nature, allowing it to be ſuch, it is impoſſible for me to forget the diſintereſted charity, and tender ſolicitude, with which many of theſe poor heathens (from the ſovereign of Sego, to the poor women who received me at different times into their cottages when I was periſhing of hunger) ſympathiſed with me in my ſufferings; relieved my diſtreſſes; and contributed to my ſafety. This acknowledgment, however, is perhaps more particularly due to the female part of the nation. Among the men, as the reader muſt have ſeen, my reception, though generally kind, was ſometimes otherwiſe. It varied according to the various tempers of thoſe to whom I made application. The hardneſs of avarice in ſome, and the blindneſs of bigotry in others, had cloſed up the avenues to compaſſion; but I do not recollect a ſingle inſtance of hardheartedneſs towards me in the women. In all my wanderings and wretchedneſs, I found them uniformly kind and compaſſionate; and I can truly ſay as my predeceſſor Mr. Ledyard, has eloquently ſaid before me; "To a woman, I never addreſſed myſelf in the "language of decency and friendſhip, without receiving a decent and friendly anſwer.

"If

" If I was hungry or thirſty, wet or ſick, they did not heſitate, like the men, to per-
" form a generous action. In ſo free and ſo kind a manner did they contribute to
" my relief; that if I was dry, I drank the ſweeteſt draught, and if hungry, I eat the
" coarſeſt morſel with a double reliſh."

It is ſurely reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the ſoft and amiable ſympathy of nature, which was thus ſpontaneouſly manifeſted towards me in my diſtreſs, is diſplayed by theſe poor people as occaſion requires, much more ſtrongly towards perſons of their own nation and neighbourhood, and eſpecially when the objects of their compaſſion are endeared to them by the ties of conſanguinity. Accordingly, the maternal affection (neither ſuppreſſed by the reſtraints, nor diverted by the ſolicitudes of civilized life) is every where conſpicuous among them; and creates a correſpondent return of tenderneſs in the child. An illuſtration of this has been given; " Strike me," ſaid my attendant, " but do not curſe my mother." The ſame ſentiment I found univerſally to prevail, and obſerved in all parts of Africa, that the greateſt affront which could be offered to a Negro, was to reflect on her who gave him birth.

It is not ſtrange, that this ſenſe of filial duty and affection among the Negroes, ſhould be leſs ardent towards the father than the mother. The ſyſtem of poligamy, while it weakens the father's attachment, by dividing it among the children of different wives, concentrates all the mother's jealous tenderneſs to one point, the protection of her own offspring. I perceived with great ſatisfaction too, that the maternal ſolicitude extended not only to the growth and ſecurity of the perſon, but alſo, in a certain degree, to the improvement of the mind of the infant; for one of the firſt leſſons in which the Mandingo women inſtruct their children, is *the practice of truth.* In the caſe of an unhappy mother, whoſe ſon was murdered by Mooriſh banditti, at Funingkedy, her only conſolation in her uttermoſt diſtreſs was the reflection that the poor boy, in the courſe of his blameleſs life, *had never told a lie.* Such teſtimony from a fond mother, on ſuch an occaſion, muſt have operated powerfully on the youthful part of the ſurrounding ſpectators. It was at once a tribute of praiſe to the deceaſed, and a leſſon to the living.

The Negro women ſuckle their children until they are able to walk of themſelves. Three years nurſing is not uncommon; and during this period the huſband devotes his whole attention to his other wives. To this practice it is owing, I preſume, that the family of each wife is ſeldom very numerous. Few women have more than five or ſix children. As ſoon as an infant is able to walk, it is permitted to run about with great freedom. The mother is not over ſolicitous to preſerve it from ſlight falls, and other trifling accidents. A little practice ſoon enables the child to take care of itſelf, and experience acts the part of a nurſe. As they advance in life, the girls are taught to ſpin cotton, and to beat corn, and are inſtructed in other domeſtic duties; and the boys are employed in the labours of the field. Both ſexes, whether buſhreens or kafirs, on attaining the age of puberty are circumciſed. This painful operation is not conſidered by the kafirs ſo much in the light of a religious ceremony as a matter of convenience and utility. They have, indeed, a ſuperſtitious notion that it contributes to render the marriage ſtate prolific. The operation is performed upon ſeveral young people at the ſame time; all of whom are exempted from every ſort of labour for two months afterwards. During this period, they form a ſociety called *Solimana.* They viſit the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, where they dance and ſing, and are well treated by the inhabitants. I had frequently, in the courſe of my journey, obſerved parties of this deſcription, but they were all males. I had, however, an opportunity of ſeeing a female *Solimana* at Kamalia.

In

In the courſe of the celebration, it frequently happens that ſome of the young women get married. If a man takes a fancy to any one of them, it is not conſidered as abſolutely neceſſary, that he ſhould make an overture to the girl herſelf. The firſt object is to agree with the parents, concerning the recompence to be given them, for the loſs of the company and ſervices of their daughter. The value of two ſlaves is a common price, unleſs the girl is thought very handſome; in which caſe, the parents will raiſe their demand very conſiderably. If the lover is rich enough, and willing to give the ſum demanded, he then communicates his wiſhes to the damſel; but her conſent is by no means neceſſary to the match; for if the parents agree to it, and eat a few *kolla-nuts*, which are preſented by the ſuitor as an earneſt of the bargain, the young lady muſt either have the man of their choice, or continue unmarried, for ſhe cannot afterwards be given to another. If the parents ſhould attempt it, the lover is then authorized, by the laws of the country, to ſeize upon the girl as his ſlave. When the day for celebrating the nuptials is fixed on, a ſelect number of people are invited to be preſent at the wedding; a bullock or goat is killed, and great plenty of victuals dreſſed for the occaſion. As ſoon as it is dark, the bride is conducted into a hut, where a company of matrons aſſiſt in arranging the wedding dreſs, which is always white cotton, and is put on in ſuch a manner as to conceal the bride from head to foot. Thus arrayed, ſhe is ſeated upon a mat, in the middle of the floor, and the old women place themſelves in a circle round her. They then give her a ſeries of inſtructions, and point out, with great propriety, what ought to be her future conduct in life. This ſcene of inſtruction, however, is frequently interrupted by girls, who amuſe the company with ſongs and dances, which are rather more remarkable for their gaiety than delicacy. While the bride remains within the hut with the women, the bridegroom devotes his attention to the gueſts of both ſexes, who aſſemble without doors, and by diſtributing among them ſmall preſents of kolla-nuts, and ſeeing that every one partakes of the good cheer which is provided, he contributes much to the general hilarity of the evening. When ſupper is ended, the company ſpend the remainder of the night in ſinging and dancing, and ſeldom ſeparate until day-break. About midnight the bride is privately conducted by the women into the hut which is to be her future reſidence; and the bridegroom, upon a ſignal given, retires from his company. The new married couple, however, are always diſturbed towards morning by the women, who aſſemble to inſpect the nuptial ſheet (according to the manners of the ancient Hebrews, as recorded in ſcripture), and dance round it. This ceremony is thought indiſpenſably neceſſary, nor is the marriage conſidered as valid without it.

The Negroes, as hath been frequently obſerved, whether Mahomedan or Pagan, allow a plurality of wives. The Mahomedans alone, are by their religion confined to four; and as the huſband commonly pays a great price for each, he requires from all of them the utmoſt deference and ſubmiſſion, and treats them more like hired ſervants than companions. They have, however, the management of domeſtic affairs, and each in rotation is miſtreſs of the houſehold, and has the care of dreſſing the victuals, overlooking the female ſlaves, &c. But though the African huſbands are poſſeſſed of great authority over their wives, I did not obſerve, that in general they treat them with cruelty; neither did I perceive that mean jealouſy in their diſpoſitions, which is ſo prevalent among the Moors. They permit their wives to partake of all public diverſions, and this indulgence is ſeldom abuſed; for though the Negro women are very cheerful and frank in their behaviour, they are by no means given to intrigue: I believe that inſtances of conjugal infidelity are not common. When the wives quarrel

rel among themſelves, a circumſtance which from the nature of their ſituation, muſt frequently happen, the huſband decides between them; and ſometimes finds it neceſſary to adminiſter a little corporal chaſtiſement, before tranquillity can be reſtored. But if any one of the ladies complains to the chief of the town, that her huſband has unjuſtly puniſhed her, and ſhewn an undue partiality to ſome other of his wives, the affair is brought to a public trial. In theſe *palavers*, however, which are conducted chiefly by married men, I was informed that the complaint of the wife, is not always conſidered in a very ſerious light; and the complainant herſelf is ſometimes convicted of ſtrife and contention, and left without remedy. If ſhe murmurs a the deciſion of the court, the magic rod of *Mumbo Jumbo* ſoon puts an end to the buſineſs.

The children of the Mandingoes are not always named after their relations; but frequently in conſequence of ſome remarkable occurrence. Thus, my landlord at Kamalia, was called *Karfa*, a word ſignifying *to replace;* becauſe he was born ſhortly after the death of one his brothers. Other names are deſcriptive of good or bad qualities; as *Modi*, "a good man;" *Fadibba*, "father of the town," &c.: indeed the very names of their towns have ſomething deſcriptive in them; as *Sibidooloo*, "the town of ciboa trees;" *Kenneyeto*, "victuals here;" *Doſita*, "lift your ſpoon." Others ſeem to be given by way of reproach, as *Bammakoo*, "waſh a crocodile;" *Karankalla*, "no cup to drink from," &c. A child is named, when it is ſeven or eight days old. The ceremony commences by ſhaving the infant's head; and a diſh called *Dega*, made of pounded corn and ſour milk, is prepared for the gueſts. If the parents are rich, a ſheep or a goat is commonly added. The feaſt is called *Ding koon lee*, "the child's head ſhaving." During my ſtay at Kamalia, I was preſent at four different feaſts of this kind, and the ceremony was the ſame in each, whether the child belonged to a buſhreen or a kafir. The ſchoolmaſter, who officiated as prieſt on theſe occaſions, and who is neceſſarily a buſhreen, firſt ſaid a long prayer over the *dega;* during which every perſon preſent took hold of the brim of the calabaſh with his right hand. After this, the ſchoolmaſter took the child in his arms, and ſaid a ſecond prayer; in which he repeatedly ſolicited the bleſſing of God upon the child, and upon all the company. When this prayer was ended, he whiſpered a few ſentences in the child's ear, and ſpit three times in its face; after which he pronounced his name aloud, and returned the infant to the mother. This part of the ceremony being ended the father of the child divided the *dega* into a number of balls, one of which he diſtributed to every perſon preſent. And inquiry was then made, if any perſon in the town was dangerouſly ſick, it being uſual, in ſuch caſes, to ſend the party a large portion of the *dega;* which is thought to poſſeſs great medical virtues. *

Among the Negroes, every individual, beſides his own proper name, has likewiſe a *kontong*, or ſurname, to denote the family or clan to which he belongs. Some of theſe families are very numerous and powerful. It is impoſſible to enumerate the various *kontongs* which are found in different parts of the country; though the knowledge of many of them is of great ſervice to the traveller: for as every Negro plumes himſelf upon the importance or the antiquity of his clan, he is much flattered when he is addreſſed by his *kontong*.

Salutations among the Negroes to each other, when they meet, are always obſerved; but thoſe in moſt general uſe among the kafirs, are *Abbe haeretto — E ning ſeni, —*

* Soon after baptiſm, the children are marked in different parts of the ſkin, in a manner reſembling what is called *tattowing* in the South-ſea Iſlands.

Anawari,

Anawari, &c. all of which have nearly the ſame meaning, and ſignify, *are you well*, or to that effect. There are likewiſe ſalutations which are uſed at different times of the day, as *E ning ſomo*, good morning, &c. The general anſwer to all ſalutations, is to repeat the *kontong* of the perſon who ſalutes, or elſe to repeat the ſalutation itſelf, firſt pronouncing the word *marhaba*, my friend.

CHAP. VII. — *The Account of the Mandingoes continued. — Their Notions in reſpect of the Planetary Bodies, and the Figure of the Earth. — Their religious Opinions, and Belief in a Future State. — Their Diſeaſes and Methods of Treatment. — Their Funeral Ceremonies, Amuſements, Occupations, Diet, Arts, Manufactures, &c.*

THE Mandingoes, and, I believe, the Negroes in general, have no artificial method of dividing time. They calculate the years by the number of *rainy ſeaſons*. They portion the year into *moons*, and reckon the days by ſo many *ſuns*. The day they divide into morning, mid-day, and evening; and further ſubdivide it, when neceſſary, by pointing to the ſun's place in the heavens. I frequently inquired of ſome of them what became of the ſun during the night, and whether we ſhould ſee the ſame ſun, or a different one, in the morning: but I found that they conſidered the queſtion as very childiſh. The ſubject appeared to them as placed beyond the reach of human inveſtigation; they had never indulged a conjecture, nor formed any hypotheſis about the matter. The moon, by varying her form, has more attracted their attention. On the firſt appearance of the new moon, which they look upon to be newly created, the Pagan natives, as well as Mahomedans, ſay a ſhort prayer; and this ſeems to be the only viſible adoration which the kafirs offer up to the Supreme Being. This prayer is pronounced in a whiſper; the party holding up his hands before his face: its purport (as I have been aſſured by many different people) is to return thanks to God for his kindneſs through the exiſtence of the paſt moon, and to ſolicit a continuation of his favour during that of the new one. At the concluſion, they ſpit upon their hands, and rub them over their faces. This ſeems to be nearly the ſame ceremony which prevailed among the heathens in the days of Job. *

Great attention, however, is paid to the changes of this luminary, in its monthly courſe: and it is thought very unlucky to begin a journey or any other work of conſequence in the laſt quarter. An eclipſe, whether of the ſun or moon, is ſuppoſed to be effected by witchcraft. The ſtars are very little regarded; and the whole ſtudy of aſtronomy appears to them as a uſeleſs purſuit, and attended to by ſuch perſons only as deal in magic.

Their notions of geography are equally puerile. They imagine that the world is an extended plain, the termination of which no eye has diſcovered; it being, they ſay, overhung with clouds and darkneſs. They deſcribe the ſea as a large river of ſalt water, on the farther ſhore of which is ſituated a country called *Tobaubo doo*, "the land of the white people." At a diſtance from Tobaubo doo, they deſcribe another country, which they alledge is inhabited by cannibals of a gigantic ſize, called *Koomi*. This country they call *Jong ſang doo*, "the land where the ſlaves are ſold." But of all countries in the world their own appears to them as the beſt, and their own people as the happieſt; and they pity the fate of other nations who have been placed by Providence in leſs fertile and leſs fortunate diſtricts.

* Chap. xxxi. ver. 26, 27, 28.

Some of the religious opinions of the Negroes, though blended with the weakeſt credulity and ſuperſtition, are not unworthy of attention. I have converſed with all ranks and conditions upon the ſubject of their faith, and can pronounce, without the ſmalleſt ſhadow of doubt, that the belief of one God, and of a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment is entire and univerſal among them. It is remarkable, however, that except on the appearance of a new moon, as before related, the Pagan natives do not think it neceſſary to offer up prayers and ſupplications to the Almighty. They repreſent the Deity, indeed, as the creator and preſerver of all things; but in general they conſider him as a Being ſo remote, and of ſo exalted a nature, that it is idle to imagine the feeble ſupplications of wretched mortals can reverſe the decrees and change the purpoſes of unerring Wiſdom. If they are aſked for what reaſon then do they offer up a prayer on the appearance of the new moon; the anſwer is, that cuſtom has made it neceſſary; they do it, becauſe their fathers did it before them. Such is the blindneſs of unaſſiſted nature! The concerns of this world, they believe, are committed by the Almighty to the ſuperintendance and direction of ſubordinate ſpirits, over whom they ſuppoſe that certain magical ceremonies have great influence. A white fowl ſuſpended to the branch of a particular tree; a ſnake's head, or a few handfuls of fruit, are offerings which ignorance and ſuperſtition frequently preſent, to deprecate the wrath, or to conciliate the favour of theſe tutelary agents. But it is not often that the Negroes make their religious opinions the ſubject of converſation: when interrogated, in particular concerning their ideas of a future ſtate, they expreſs themſelves with great reverence, but endeavour to ſhorten the diſcuſſion by obſerving — *mo o mo inta allo*, "no man knows any thing about it." They are content, they ſay, to follow the precepts and examples of their forefathers, through the various viciſſitudes of life; and when this world preſents no objects of enjoyment or comfort, they ſeem to look with anxiety towards another, which they believe will be better ſuited to their natures; but concerning which they are far from indulging vain and deluſive conjectures.

The Mandingoes ſeldom attain extreme old age. At forty, moſt of them become grey haired, and covered with wrinkles; and but few of them ſurvive the age of fifty-five or ſixty. They calculate the years of their lives, as I have already obſerved, by the number of rainy ſeaſons (there being but one ſuch in the year); and diſtinguiſh each year by a particular name, founded on ſome remarkable occurrence which happened in that year. Thus they ſay the year of the *Farbanna war;* the year of the *Kaarta war;* the year on which *Gadou was plundered, &c. &c.;* and I have no doubt that the year 1796, will in many places be diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Tobaubo tambi ſang*, "the year the white man paſſed;" as ſuch an occurrence would naturally form an epoch in their traditional hiſtory.

But notwithſtanding that longevity is uncommon among them, it appeared to me, that their diſeaſes are but few in number. Their ſimple diet, and active way of life, preſerve them from many of thoſe diſorders which imbitter the days of luxury and idleneſs. Fevers and fluxes are the moſt common, and the moſt fatal. For theſe, they generally apply ſaphies to different parts of the body, and perform a great many other ſuperſtitious ceremonies; ſome of which are, indeed, well calculated to inſpire the patient with the hope of recovery, and divert his mind from brooding over his own danger. But I have ſometimes obſerved among them a more ſyſtematic mode of treatment. On the firſt attack of a fever, when the patient complains of cold, he is frequently placed in a ſort of vapour: this is done by ſpreading branches of the *nauclea orientalis*

upon hot wood embers, and laying the patient upon them, wrapped up in a large cotton cloth. Water is then ſprinkled upon the branches, which deſcending to the hot embers, ſoon covers the patient with a cloud of vapour, in which he is allowed to remain until the embers are almoſt extinguiſhed. This practice commonly produces a profuſe perſpiration, and wonderfully relieves the ſufferer.

For the dyſentery, they uſe the bark of different trees reduced to powder, and mixed with the patient's food: but this practice is in general very unſucceſsful.

The other diſeaſes which prevail among the Negroes, are the *yaws*: the *elephantiaſis*; and a *leproſy* of the very worſt kind. This laſt mentioned complaint appears, at the beginning, in ſcurfy ſpots upon different parts of the body, which finally ſettle upon the hands or feet, where the ſkin becomes withered, and cracks in many places. At length, the ends of the fingers ſwell and ulcerate; the diſcharge is acrid and fetid; the nails drop off, and the bones of the fingers become carious, and ſeparate at the joints. In this manner the diſeaſe continues to ſpread, frequently until the patient loſes all his fingers and toes. Even the hands and feet are ſometimes deſtroyed by this inveterate malady, to which the Negroes give the name of *balla jou*, "incurable."

The *Guinea worm* is likewiſe very common in certain places, eſpecially at the commencement of the rainy ſeaſon. The Negroes attribute this diſeaſe, which has been deſcribed by many writers, to bad water; and allege that the people who drink from wells are more ſubject to it than thoſe who drink from ſtreams. To the ſame cauſe, they attribute the ſwelling of the glands of the neck (goitres), which are very common in ſome parts of Bambarra. I obſerved alſo, in the interior countries, a few inſtances of ſimple gonorrhœa; but never the confirmed lues. On the whole it appeared to me that the Negroes are better ſurgeons than phyſicians. I found them very ſucceſsful in their management of fractures and diſlocations, and their ſplints and bandages are ſimple and eaſily removed. The patient is laid upon a ſoft mat, and the fractured limb is frequently bathed with cold water. All abceſſes they open with the actual cautery; and the dreſſings are compoſed of either ſoft leaves, Shea butter, or cows' dung, as the caſe ſeems, in their judgment, to require. Towards the coaſt, where a ſupply of European lancets can be procured, they ſometimes perform phlebotomy; and in caſes of local inflammation, a curious ſort of cupping is practiſed. This operation is performed by making inciſions in the part, and applying to it a bullock's horn, with a ſmall hole in the end. The operator then takes a piece of bees-wax in his mouth, and putting his lips to the hole, extracts the air from the horn; and by a dexterous uſe of his tongue, ſtops up the hole with the wax. This method is found to anſwer the purpoſe, and in general produces a plentiful diſcharge.

When a perſon of conſequence dies, the relations and neighbours meet together, and manifeſt their ſorrow by loud and diſmal howlings. A bullock or goat is killed for ſuch perſons as come to aſſiſt at the funeral; which generally takes place in the evening of the ſame day on which the party died. The Negroes have no appropriate burial places, and frequently dig the grave in the floor of the deceaſed's hut, or in the ſhade of a favourite tree. The body is dreſſed in white cotton, and wrapped up in a mat. It is carried to the grave in the duſk of the evening by the relations. If the grave is without the walls of the town, a number of prickly buſhes are laid upon it, to prevent the wolves from digging up the body; but I never obſerved that any ſtone was placed over the grave, as a monument or memorial.

Hitherto I have conſidered the Negroes chiefly in a moral light; and confined myſelf to the moſt prominent features in their mental character; their domeſtic amuſements,

occupations, and diet; their arts and manufactures, with ſome other ſubordinate objects, are now to be noticed.

Of their muſic and dances, ſome account has incidentally been given in different parts of my journal. On the firſt of theſe heads, I have now to add a liſt of their muſical inſtruments, the principal of which are,—the *koonting*, a ſort of guitar, with three ſtrings;—*e korro*, a large harp, with eighteen ſtrings;—the *ſimbing*, a ſmall harp with ſeven ſtrings;—the *balafou*, an inſtrument compoſed of twenty pieces of hard wood of different lengths, with the ſhells of gourds hung underneath, to increaſe the ſound;—the *tangtang*, a drum, open at the lower end; and laſtly, the *tabala*, a large drum, commonly uſed to ſpread an alarm through the country. Beſides theſe, they make uſe of ſmall flutes, bowſtrings, elephants' teeth, and bells; and at all their dances and concerts *clapping of hands* appears to conſtitute a neceſſary part of the chorus.

With the love of muſic is naturally connected a taſte for poetry; and, fortunately for the poets of Africa, they are in a great meaſure exempted from that neglect and indigence, which in more poliſhed countries commonly attend the votaries of the Muſes. They conſiſt of two claſſes; the moſt numerous are the *ſinging-men*, called *Jilli kea*, mentioned in a former part of my narrative. One or more of theſe may be found in every town. They ſing extempore ſongs in honour of their chief men, or any other perſons who are willing to give "ſolid pudding for empty praiſe." But a nobler part of their office is to recite the hiſtorical events of their country: hence, in war, they accompany the ſoldiers to the field in order, by reciting the great actions of their anceſtors, to awaken in them a ſpirit of glorious emulation. The other claſs are devotees of the Mahometan faith, who travel about the country, ſinging devout hymns, and performing religious ceremonies, to conciliate the favour of the Almighty; either in averting calamity, or enſuring ſucceſs to any enterpriſe. Both deſcriptions of theſe itinerant bards are much employed and reſpected by the people, and very liberal contributions are made for them.

The uſual diet of the Negroes is ſomewhat different in different diſtricts; in general, the people of free condition breakfaſt about daybreak, upon gruel made of meal and water, with a little of the fruit of the tamarind, to give it an acid taſte. About two o'clock in the afternoon, a ſort of haſty pudding, with a little Shea butter, is the common meal; but the ſupper conſtitutes the principal repaſt, and is ſeldom ready before midnight. This conſiſts almoſt univerſally of kouſkous, with a ſmall portion of animal food, or Shea butter, mixed with it. In eating, the Kafirs as well as Mahomedans, uſe the right hand only.

The beverage of the Pagan Negroes are beer and mead; of each of which they frequently drink to exceſs. The Mahomedan converts drink nothing but water. The natives of all deſcriptions take ſnuff, and ſmoke tobacco; their pipes are made of wood, with an earthen bowl of curious workmanſhip. But in the interior countries, the greateſt of all luxuries is ſalt. It would appear ſtrange to an European, to ſee a child ſuck a piece of rock-ſalt, as if it were ſugar. This, however, I have frequently ſeen; although, in the inland parts, the poorer claſs of inhabitants are ſo very rarely indulged with this precious article, that to ſay *a man eats ſalt with his victuals*, is the ſame as ſaying, *he is a rich man.* I have myſelf ſuffered great inconvenience from the ſcarcity of this article. The long uſe of vegetable food creates ſo painful a longing for ſalt, that no words can ſufficiently deſcribe it.

The Negroes in general, and the Mandingoes in particular, are conſidered by the whites on the coaſt as an indolent and inactive people; I think without reaſon. The

nature of the climate is, indeed, unfavourable to great exertion; but ſurely a people cannot juſtly be denominated habitually indolent, whoſe wants are ſupplied, not by the ſpontaneous productions of nature, but by their own exertions. Few people work harder, when occaſion requires, than the Mandingoes; but not having many opportunities of turning to advantage the ſuperfluous produce of their labour, they are content with cultivating as much ground only as is neceſſary for their own ſupport. The labours of the field give them pretty full employment during the rains; and in the dry ſeaſon, the people who live in the vicinity of large rivers employ themſelves chiefly in fiſhing. The fiſh are taken in wicker baſkets, or with ſmall cotton nets; and are preſerved by being firſt dried in the ſun, and afterwards rubbed with Shea butter, to prevent them from contracting freſh moiſture. Others of the natives employ themſelves in hunting. Their weapons are bows and arrows; but the arrows in common uſe are not poiſoned *. They are very dexterous markſmen, and will hit a lizard on a tree, or any other ſmall object, at an amazing diſtance. They likewiſe kill Guinea-fowls, partridges, and pigeons, but never on the wing. While the men are occupied in theſe purſuits, the women are very diligent in manufacturing cotton cloth. They prepare the cotton for ſpinning, by laying it in ſmall quantities at a time, upon a ſmooth ſtone, or piece of wood, and rolling the ſeeds out with a thick iron ſpindle; and they ſpin it with the diſtaff. The thread is not fine, but well twiſted, and makes a very durable cloth. A woman, with common diligence, will ſpin from ſix to nine garments of this cloth in one year; which, according to its fineneſs, will ſell for a minkalli and a half, or two minkallies each†. The weaving is performed by the men. The loom is made exactly upon the ſame principle as that of Europe; but ſo ſmall and narrow, that the web is ſeldom more than four inches broad. The ſhuttle is of the common conſtruction; but as the thread is coarſe, the chamber is ſomewhat larger than the European.

The women dye this cloth of a rich and laſting blue colour, by the following ſimple proceſs: the leaves of the indigo when freſh gathered, are pounded in a wooden mortar, and mixed in a large earthen jar, with a ſtrong ley of wood aſhes; chamber-ley is ſometimes added. The cloth is ſteeped in this mixture, and allowed to remain until it has acquired the proper ſhade. In Kaarta and Ludamar, where the indigo is not plentiful, they collect the leaves, and dry them in the ſun; and when they wiſh to uſe them, they reduce a ſufficient quantity to powder, and mix it with the ley as before mentioned. Either way, the colour is very beautiful, with a fine purple gloſs; and equal, in my opinion, to the beſt Indian or European blue. This cloth is cut into various pieces, and ſewed into garments, with needles of the natives' own making.

As the arts of weaving, dying, ſewing, &c. may eaſily be acquired, thoſe who exerciſe them are not conſidered in Africa as following any particular profeſſion; for almoſt every ſlave can weave, and every boy can ſew. The only artiſts which are diſtinctly acknowledged as ſuch by the Negroes, and who value themſelves on exerciſing appropriate and peculiar trades, are the manufacturers of *leather* and of *iron*. The firſt of theſe, are called *Karrankea* (or as the word is ſometimes pronounced, *Gaun-*

* Poiſoned arrows are uſed chiefly in war. The poiſon, which is ſaid to be very deadly, is prepared from a ſhrub called *koona* (a ſpecies of *echites*), which is very common in the woods. The leaves of this ſhrub, when boiled with a ſmall quantity of water, yield a thick black juice, into which the Negroes dip a cotton thread; this thread they faſten round the iron of the arrow, in ſuch a manner that it is almoſt impoſſible to extract the arrow, when it has ſunk beyond the barbs, without leaving the iron point, and the poiſoned thread, in the wound.

† A minkalli is a quantity of gold, nearly equal in value to ten ſhillings ſterling.

gay).

gay). They are to be found in almoſt every town, and they frequently travel through the country in the exerciſe of their calling. They tan and dreſs leather with very great expedition, by ſteeping the hide firſt in a mixture of wood-aſhes and water, until it parts with the hair; and afterwards by uſing the pounded leaves of a tree called *goo*, as an aſtringent. They are at great pains to render the hide as ſoft and pliant as poſſible, by rubbing it frequently between their hands, and beating it upon a ſtone. The hides of bullocks are converted chiefly into ſandals, and therefore require leſs care in dreſſing than the ſkins of ſheep and goats, which are uſed for covering quivers and ſaphies, and in making ſheaths for ſwords and knives, belts, pockets, and a variety of ornaments. Theſe ſkins are commonly dyed of a red or yellow colour; the red, by means of millet ſtalks reduced to powder; and the yellow, by the root of a plant the name of which I have forgotten.

The manufactures in iron are not ſo numerous as the *Karrankeas;*; but they appear to have ſtudied their buſineſs with equal diligence. The Negroes on the coaſt being cheaply ſupplied with iron from the European traders, never attempt the manufacturing of this article themſelves; but in the inland parts, the natives ſmelt this uſeful metal in ſuch quantities, as not only to ſupply themſelves from it with all neceſſary weapons and inſtruments, but even to make it an article of commerce with ſome of the neighbouring ſtates. During my ſtay at Kamalia, there was a ſmelting furnace at a ſhort diſtance from the hut where I lodged, and the owner and his workmen made no ſecret about the manner of conducting the operation; and readily allowed me to examine the furnace, and aſſiſt them in breaking the iron ſtone. The furnace was a circular tower of clay, about ten feet high, and three in diameter; ſurrounded in two places with withes, to prevent the clay from cracking and falling to pieces by the violence of the heat. Round the lower part, on a level with the ground (but not ſo low as the bottom of the furnace, which was ſomewhat concave), were made ſeven openings, into every one of which were placed three tubes of clay, and the openings again plaſtered up in ſuch a manner that no air could enter the furnace, but through the tubes; by the opening and ſhutting of which they regulated the fire. Theſe tubes were formed by plaſtering a mixture of clay and graſs round a ſmooth roller of wood, which as ſoon as the clay began to harden was withdrawn, and the tube left to dry in the ſun. The iron-ſtone which I ſaw was very heavy and of a dull red colour, with greyiſh ſpecks; it was broken into pieces about the ſize of a hen's egg. A bundle of dry wood was firſt put into the furnace, and covered with a conſiderable quantity of charcoal, which was brought ready burnt from the woods. Over this was laid a ſtratum of iron-ſtone, and then another of charcoal, and ſo on, until the furnace was quite full. The fire was applied through one of the tubes, and blown for ſome time with a bellows made of goats' ſkins. The operation went on very ſlowly at firſt, and it was ſome hours before the flame appeared above the furnace; but after this, it burnt with great violence all the firſt night; and the people who attended put in at times more charcoal. On the day following the fire was not ſo fierce, and on the ſecond night ſome of the tubes were withdrawn, and the air allowed to have freer acceſs to the furnace; but the heat was ſtill very great, and a bluiſh flame roſe ſome feet above the top of the furnace. On the third day from the commencement of the operation, all the tubes were taken out, the ends of many of them being vitrified with the heat; but the metal was not removed until ſome days afterwards, when the whole was perfectly cool. Part of the furnace was then taken down, and the iron appeared in the form of a large irregular maſs, with pieces of charcoal adhering to it. It was ſonorous; and when any portion was broken off, the fracture exhibited a granu-

a granulated appearance, like broken ſteel. The owner informed me that many parts of this cake were uſeleſs, but ſtill there was good iron enough to repay him for his trouble. This iron, or rather ſteel, is formed into various inſtruments, by being repeatedly heated in a forge, the heat of which is urged by a pair of double bellows, of a very ſimple conſtruction, being made of two goats' ſkins; the tubes from which unite, before they enter the forge, and ſupply a conſtant and very regular blaſt. The hammer, forceps, and anvil are all very ſimple, and the workmanſhip (particularly in the formation of knives and ſpears) is not deſtitute of merit. The iron, indeed, is hard and brittle; and requires much labour before it can be made to anſwer the purpoſe.

Moſt of the African blackſmiths are acquainted alſo with the method of ſmelting gold, in which proceſs they uſe an alkaline ſalt, obtained from a ley of burnt corn-ſtalks evaporated to dryneſs. They likewiſe draw the gold into wire, and form it into a variety of ornaments, ſome of which are executed with a great deal of taſte and ingenuity.

Such is the chief information I obtained concerning the preſent ſtate of arts and manufactures in thoſe regions of Africa which I explored in my journey. I might add, though it is ſcarce worthy obſervation, that in Bambarra and Kaarta, the natives make very beautiful baſkets, hats, and other articles, both for uſe and ornament, from *ruſhes*, which they ſtain of different colours; and they contrive alſo to cover their calabaſhes with interwoven cane, dyed in the ſame manner.

In all the laborious occupations above deſcribed, the maſter and his ſlaves work together, without any diſtinction of ſuperiority. Hired ſervants, by which I mean perſons of free condition, voluntarily working for pay, are unknown in Africa; and this obſervation naturally leads me to conſider the condition of the ſlaves, and the various means by which they are reduced to ſo miſerable a ſtate of ſervitude. This unfortunate claſs are found, I believe, in all parts of this extenſive country, and conſtitute a conſiderable branch of commerce, with the ſtates on the Mediterranean, as well as with the nations of Europe.

CHAP. VIII. — *Obſervations concerning the State and Sources of Slavery in Africa.*

A STATE of ſubordination, and certain inequalities of rank and condition, are inevitable in every ſtage of civil ſociety; but when this ſubordination is carried to ſo great a length, that the perſons and ſervices of one part of the community are entirely at the diſpoſal of another part, it may then be denominated a ſtate of ſlavery; and in this condition of life, a great body of the Negro inhabitants of Africa have continued from the moſt early period of their hiſtory; with this aggravation, that their children are born to no other inheritance.

The ſlaves in Africa, I ſuppoſe, are nearly in the proportion of three to one to the freemen. They claim no reward for their ſervices, except food and clothing; and are treated with kindneſs or ſeverity, according to the good or bad diſpoſition of their maſters. Cuſtom, however, has eſtabliſhed certain rules with regard to the treatment of ſlaves, which it is thought diſhonourable to violate. Thus, the domeſtic ſlaves, or ſuch as are born in a man's own houſe, are treated with more lenity than thoſe which are purchaſed with money. The authority of the maſter over the domeſtic ſlave, as I have elſewhere obſerved, extends only to reaſonable correction: for the maſter cannot ſell his domeſtic, without having firſt brought him to a public trial, before the chief men

men of the place*. But theſe reſtrictions on the power of the maſter extend not to the caſe of priſoners taken in war, nor to that of ſlaves purchaſed with money. All theſe unfortunate beings are conſidered as ſtrangers and foreigners, who have no right to the protection of the law, and may be treated with ſeverity, or ſold to a ſtranger, according to the pleaſure of their owners. There are, indeed, regular markets where ſlaves of this deſcription are bought and ſold; and the value of a ſlave in the eye of an African purchaſer, increaſes in proportion to his diſtance from his native kingdom; for when ſlaves are only a few days' journey from the place of their nativity, they frequently effect their eſcape; but when one or more kingdoms intervene, eſcape being more difficult, they are more readily reconciled to their ſituation. On this account the unhappy ſlave is frequently transferred from one dealer to another, until he has loſt all hopes of returning to his native kingdom. The ſlaves which are purchaſed by the Europeans on the coaſt, are chiefly of this deſcription; a few of them are collected in the petty wars, hereafter to be deſcribed, which take place near the coaſt; but by far the greater number are brought down in large caravans from the inland countries, of which many are unknown, even by name, to the Europeans. The ſlaves which are thus brought from the interior, may be divided into two diſtinct claſſes; *firſt*, ſuch as were ſlaves from their birth, having been born of enſlaved mothers; *ſecondly*, ſuch as were born free, but who afterwards, by whatever means, became ſlaves. Thoſe of the firſt deſcription are by far the moſt numerous; for priſoners taken in war (at leaſt ſuch as are taken in open and declared war, when one kingdom avows hoſtilities againſt another) are generally of this deſcription. The comparatively ſmall proportion of free people to the enſlaved, throughout Africa, has already been noticed; and it muſt be obſerved, that men of free condition have many advantages over the ſlaves, even in war time. They are in general better armed, and well mounted; and can either fight or eſcape with ſome hopes of ſucceſs; but the ſlaves, who have only their ſpears and bows, and of whom great numbers are loaded with baggage, become an eaſy prey. Thus, when Manſong, King of Bambarra, made war upon Kaarta (as I have related in a former Chapter), he took in one day nine hundred priſoners, of which number not more than ſeventy were free men. This account I received from Daman Jumma, who had thirty ſlaves at Kemmoo, all of whom were made priſoners by Manſong. Again, when a freeman is taken priſoner, his friends will ſometimes ranſom him by giving two ſlaves in exchange; but when a ſlave is taken, he has no hopes of ſuch redemption. To theſe diſadvantages it is to be added, that the Slatees, who purchaſe ſlaves in the interior countries, and carry them down to the coaſt for ſale, conſtantly prefer ſuch as have been in that condition of life from their infancy, well knowing that theſe have been accuſtomed to hunger and fatigue, and are better able to ſuſtain the hardſhips of a long and painful journey than free men; and on their reaching the coaſt, if no opportunity offers of ſelling them to advantage, they can eaſily be made to maintain themſelves by their labour; neither are they ſo apt to attempt making their eſcape, as thoſe who have once taſted the bleſſings of freedom.

Slaves of the ſecond deſcription, generally become ſuch by one or other of the following cauſes, 1. *Captivity*. 2. *Famine*. 3. *Inſolvency*. 4. *Crimes*. A freeman

* In time of famine, the maſter is pemitted to ſell one or more of his domeſtics, to purchaſe proviſions for his family; and in caſe of the maſter's inſolvency, the domeſtic ſlaves are ſometimes ſeized upon by the creditors; and if the maſter cannot redeem them, they are liable to be ſold for payment of his debts. Theſe are the only caſes that I recollect, in which the domeſtic ſlaves are liable to be ſold, without any miſconduct or demerit of their own.

may,

may, by the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of Africa, become a ſlave by being taken in war. War is, of all others, the moſt productive ſource, and was probably the origin of ſlavery; for when one nation had taken from another a greater number of captives than could be exchanged on equal terms, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the conquerors, finding it inconvenient to maintain their priſoners, would compel them to labour; at firſt, perhaps, only for their own ſupport, but afterwards to ſupport their maſters. Be this as it may, it is a known fact, that priſoners of war in Africa are the ſlaves of the conquerors; and when the weak or unſucceſsful warrior begs for mercy beneath the uplifted ſpear of his opponent, he gives up at the ſame time his claim to liberty, and purchaſes his life at the expence of his freedom.

In a country, divided into a thouſand petty ſtates, moſtly independent and jealous of each other; where every freeman is accuſtomed to arms, and fond of military achievements; where the youth who has practiſed the bow and ſpear from his infancy, longs for nothing ſo much as an opportunity to diſplay his valour, it is natural to imagine that wars frequently originate from very frivolous provocation. When one nation is more powerful than another, a pretext is ſeldom wanting for commencing hoſtilities. Thus the war between Kajaaga and Kaſſon was occaſioned by the detention of a fugitive ſlave: that between Bambarra and Kaarta by the loſs of a few cattle. Other caſes of the ſame nature perpetually occur, in which the folly or mad ambition of their princes, and the zeal of their religious enthuſiaſts give full employment to the ſcythe of deſolation.

The wars of Africa are of two kinds, which are diſtinguiſhed by different appellations: that ſpecies which bears the greateſt reſemblance to our European conteſts, is denominated *killi*, a word ſignifying "to call out," becauſe ſuch wars are openly avowed and previouſly declared. Wars of this deſcription in Africa commonly terminate, however, in the courſe of a ſingle campaign. A battle is fought; the vanquiſhed ſeldom think of rallying again; the whole inhabitants become panic ſtruck; and the conquerors have only to bind the ſlaves, and carry off their plunder and their victims. Such of the priſoners as, through age or infirmity, are unable to endure fatigue, or are found unfit for ſale, are conſidered as uſeleſs; and I have no doubt are frequently put to death. The ſame fate commonly awaits a chief, or any other perſon who has taken a very diſtinguiſhed part in the war. And here it may be obſerved, that, notwithſtanding this exterminating ſyſtem, it is ſurpriſing to behold how ſoon an African town is rebuilt and repeopled. The circumſtance ariſes probably from this; that their pitched battles are few; the weakeſt know their own ſituation, and ſeek ſafety in flight. When their country has been deſolated, and their ruined towns and villages deſerted by the enemy, ſuch of the inhabitants as have eſcaped the *ſword*, and the *chain*, generally return, though with cautious ſteps, to the place of their nativity; for it ſeems to be the univerſal wiſh of mankind to ſpend the evening of their days where they paſſed their infancy. The poor Negro feels this deſire in its full force. To him no water is ſweet but what is drawn from his own well; and no tree has ſo cool and pleaſant a ſhade as the *tabba* tree * of his native village. When war compels him to abandon the delightful ſpot in which he firſt drew his breath, and ſeek for ſafety in ſome other kingdom, his time is ſpent in talking about the country of his anceſtors; and no ſooner is peace reſtored than he turns his back upon the land of ſtrangers, rebuilds with haſte his fallen walls, and exults to ſee the ſmoke aſcend from his native village.

* This is a large ſpreading tree (a ſpecies of *ſterculia*) under which the bentang is commonly placed.

The other ſpecies of African warfare is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *tegria*, "plundering or ſtealing." It ariſes from a ſort of hereditary feud which the inhabitants of one nation or diſtrict bear towards another. No immediate cauſe of hoſtility is aſſigned, or notice of attack given; but the inhabitants of each watch every opportunity to plunder and diſtreſs the objects of their animoſity by predatory excurſions. Theſe are very common, particularly about the beginning of the dry ſeaſon, when the labour of the harveſt is over and proviſions are plentiful. Schemes of vengeance are then meditated. The chief man ſurveys the number and activity of his vaſſals, as they brandiſh their ſpears at feſtivals; and elated with his own importance, turns his whole thoughts towards revenging ſome depredation or inſult, which either he or his anceſtors may have received from a neighbouring ſtate.

Wars of this deſcription are generally conducted with great ſecrecy. A few reſolute individuals, headed by ſome perſon of enterpriſe and courage, march quietly through the woods, ſurpriſe in the night ſome unprotected village, and carry off the inhabitants and their effects, before their neighbours can come to their aſſiſtance. One morning, during my ſtay at Kamalia, we were all much alarmed by a party of this kind. The King of Fooladoo's ſon, with five hundred horſemen, paſſed ſecretly through the woods, a little to the ſouthward of Kamalia, and on the morning following plundered three towns belonging to Madigai, a powerful chief in Jallonkadoo.

The ſucceſs of this expedition encouraged the governor of Bangaſſi, a town in Fooladoo, to make a ſecond inroad upon another part of the ſame country. Having aſſembled about two hundred of his people, he paſſed the river Kokoro in the night, and carried off a great number of priſoners. Several of the inhabitants who had eſcaped theſe attacks, were afterwards ſeized by the Mandingoes, as they wandered about in the woods, or concealed themſelves in the glens and ſtrong places of the mountains.

Theſe plundering excurſions always produce ſpeedy retaliation: and when large parties cannot be collected for this purpoſe, a few friends will combine together, and advance into the enemy's country, with a view to plunder, or carry off the inhabitants. A ſingle individual has been known to take his bow and quiver, and proceed in like manner. Such an attempt is doubtleſs in him an act of raſhneſs; but when it is conſidered that in one of theſe predatory wars he has probably been deprived of his child, or his neareſt relation, his ſituation will rather call for pity than cenſure. The poor ſufferer, urged on by the feelings of domeſtic or paternal attachment, and the ardour of revenge, conceals himſelf among the buſhes, until ſome young or unarmed perſon paſſes by. He then, tyger-like, ſprings upon his prey, drags his victim into the thicket, and in the night carries him off as a ſlave.

When a Negro has, by means like theſe, once fallen into the hands of his enemies, he is either retained as the ſlave of his conqueror, or bartered into a diſtant kingdom; for an African, when he has once ſubdued his enemy, will ſeldom give him an opportunity of lifting up his hand againſt him at a future period. A conqueror commonly diſpoſes of his captives according to the rank which they held in their native kingdom. Such of the domeſtic ſlaves as appear to be of a mild diſpoſition, and particularly the young women, are retained as his own ſlaves. Others that diſplay marks of diſcontent, are diſpoſed of in a diſtant country; and ſuch of the freemen, or ſlaves, as have taken an active part in the war, are either ſold to the ſlatees or put to death. War, therefore, is certainly the moſt general and moſt productive ſource of ſlavery; and the deſolations of war often (but not always) produce the ſecond cauſe of ſlavery, *famine;* in which caſe a freeman becomes a ſlave to avoid a greater calamity.

Perhaps, by a philoſophic and reflecting mind, death itſelf would ſcarcely be conſidered as a greater calamity than ſlavery; but the poor Negro, when fainting with hunger, thinks like ESAU of old; "*Behold I am at the point to die, and what profit "ſhall this birthright do to me?*" There are many inſtances of freemen voluntarily ſurrendering up their liberty to ſave their lives. During a great ſcarcity which laſted for three years, in the countries of the Gambia, great numbers of people became ſlaves in this manner. Dr. Laidley aſſured me that, at that time, many freemen came and begged, with great earneſtneſs, *to be put upon his ſlave-chain*, to ſave them from periſhing of hunger. Large families are very often expoſed to abſolute want: and as the parents have almoſt unlimited authority over their children, it frequently happens, in all parts of Africa, that ſome of the latter are ſold to purchaſe proviſions for the reſt of the family. When I was at Jarra, Daman Jumma pointed out to me three young ſlaves which he had purchaſed in this manner. I have already related another inſtance which I ſaw at Wonda: and I was informed that in Fooladoo, at that time, it was a very common practice.

The third cauſe of ſlavery, is *inſolvency*. Of all the offences (if inſolvency may be ſo called) to which the laws of Africa have affixed the puniſhment of ſlavery, this is the moſt common. A Negro trader commonly contracts debts on ſome mercantile ſpeculation, either from his neighbours, to purchaſe ſuch articles as will ſell to advantage in a diſtant market, or from the European traders on the coaſt; payment to be made in a given time. In both caſes, the ſituation of the adventurer is exactly the ſame. If he ſucceeds, he may ſecure an independency. If he is unſucceſsful, his perſon and ſervices are at the diſpoſal of another; for in Africa, not only the effects of the inſolvent, but even the inſolvent himſelf, is ſold to ſatisfy the lawful demands of his creditors *.

The fourth cauſe above enumerated, is *the commiſſion of crimes, on which the laws of the country affix ſlavery as a puniſhment*. In Africa, the only offences of this claſs are murder, adultery, and witchcraft; and I am happy to ſay, that they did not appear to me to be common. In caſes of murder, I was informed, that the neareſt relation of the deceaſed had it in his power, after conviction, either to kill the offender with his own hand, or ſell him into ſlavery. When adultery occurs, it is generally left to the option of the perſon injured, either to ſell the culprit, or accept ſuch a ranſom for him as he may think equivalent to the injury he has ſuſtained. By witchcraft, is meant pretended magic, by which the lives or healths of perſons are affected: in other words, it is the adminiſtering of poiſon. No trial for this offence, however, came under my obſervation while I was in Africa; and I therefore ſuppoſe that the crime and its puniſhment occur but very ſeldom.

When a freeman has become a ſlave by any one of the cauſes before mentioned, he generally continues ſo for life; and his children (if they are born of an enſlaved mother) are brought up in the ſame ſtate of ſervitude. There are, however, a few inſtances of ſlaves obtaining their freedom, and ſometimes even with the conſent of

* When a Negro takes up goods on credit from any of the Europeans on the coaſt, and does not make payment at the time appointed, the European is authorized, by the laws of the country, to ſeize upon the debtor himſelf, if he can find him; or if he cannot be found, on any perſon of his family; or in the laſt reſort, on *any native of the ſame kingdom*. The perſon thus ſeized on is detained while his friends are ſent in queſt of the debtor. When he is found, a meeting is called of the chief people of the place, and the debtor is compelled to ranſom his friend by fulfilling his engagements. If he is unable to do this, his perſon is immediately ſecured and ſent down to the coaſt, and the other releaſed. If the debtor cannot be found, the perſon ſeized on is obliged to pay double the amount of the debt, or is himſelf ſold into ſlavery. I was given to underſtand, however, that this part of the law is ſeldom enforced.

their maſters; as by performing ſome ſingular piece of ſervice, or by going to battle, and bringing home two ſlaves as a ranſom; but the common way of regaining freedom is by eſcape; and when ſlaves have once ſet their minds on running away, they often ſucceed. Some of them will wait for years before an opportunity preſents itſelf, and during that period ſhew no ſigns of diſcontent. In general, it may be remarked that ſlaves who come from a hilly country, and have been much accuſtomed to hunting and travel, are more apt to attempt their eſcape, than ſuch as are born in a flat country, and have been employed in cultivating the land.

Such are the general outlines of that ſyſtem of ſlavery which prevails in Africa; and it is evident from its nature and extent, that it is a ſyſtem of no modern date. It probably had its origin in the remote ages of antiquity, before the Mahomedans explored a path acroſs the deſert. How far it is maintained and ſupported by the ſlave traffic, which, for two hundred years, the nations of Europe have carried on with the natives of the coaſt, it is neither within my province, nor in my power, to explain. If my ſentiments ſhould be required concerning the effect which a diſcontinuance of that commerce would produce on the manners of the natives, I ſhould have no heſitation in obſerving, that, in the preſent unenlightened ſtate of their minds, my opinion is, the effect would neither be ſo extenſive or beneficial, as many wiſe and worthy perſons fondly expect.

CHAP. IX. — *Of Gold-duſt, and the Manner in which it is collected. — Proceſs of Waſhing it. — Its Value in Africa. — Of Ivory. — Surpriſe of the Negroes at the Eagerneſs of the Europeans for this Commodity. — Scattered Teeth frequently picked up in the Woods. — Mode of hunting the Elephant. — Some Reflections on the unimproved State of the Country, &c.*

THOSE valuable commodities, gold and ivory (the next objects of our inquiry) have probably been found in Africa from the firſt ages of the world. They are reckoned among its moſt important productions in the earlieſt records of its hiſtory.

It has been obſerved, that gold is ſeldom or never diſcovered except in *mountainous* and *barren* countries; nature, it is ſaid, thus making amends in one way for her penurioufneſs in the other. This, however, is not wholly true. Gold is found in conſiderable quantities throughout every part of Manding; a country which is indeed hilly, but cannot properly be called *mountainous*, much leſs *barren*. It is alſo found in great plenty in Jallonkadoo (particularly about Boori), another hilly, but by no means an infertile country. It is remarkable, that in the place laſt mentioned (Boori), which is ſituated about four days' journey to the ſouth-weſt of Kamalia, the ſalt-market is often ſupplied, at the ſame time, with rock-ſalt from the Great Deſert, and ſea-ſalt from the Rio Grande; the price of each, at this diſtance from its ſource, being nearly the ſame; and the dealers in each, whether Moors from the north, or Negroes from the weſt, are invited thither by the ſame motives, that of bartering their ſalt for gold.

The gold of Manding, ſo far as I could learn, is never found in any matrix or vein, but always in ſmall grains, nearly in a pure ſtate, from the ſize of a pin's head to that of a pea; ſcattered through a large body of ſand or clay; and in this ſtate it is called by the Mandingoes *ſanoo munko*, "gold powder." It is, however, extremely probable, by what I could learn of the ſituation of the ground, that moſt of it has originally been waſhed

waſhed down by repeated torrents from the neighbouring hills. The manner in which it is collected is nearly as follows:

About the beginning of December, when the harveſt is over, and the ſtreams and torrents have greatly ſubſided, the manſa, or chief man of the town, appoints a day to begin *ſanoo koo*, "gold waſhing;" and the women are ſure to have themſelves in readineſs by the time appointed. A hoe or ſpade for digging up the ſand, two or three calabaſhes for waſhing it in, and a few quills for containing the gold duſt, are all the implements neceſſary for the purpoſe. On the morning of their departure, a bullock is killed for the firſt day's entertainment, and a number of prayers and charms are uſed to enſure ſucceſs; for a failure on that day is thought a bad omen. The manſa of Kamalia, with fourteen of his people, were, I remember, ſo much diſappointed in their firſt day's waſhing, that very few of them had reſolution to perſevere; and the few that did, had but very indifferent ſucceſs; which indeed is not much to be wondered at; for inſtead of opening ſome untried place, they continue to dig and waſh in the ſame ſpot where they had dug and waſhed for years; and where, of courſe, but few large grains could be left.

The waſhing the ſands of the ſtreams is by far the eaſieſt way of obtaining the gold-duſt; but in moſt places the ſands have been ſo narrowly ſearched before, that unleſs the ſtream takes ſome new courſe, the gold is found but in ſmall quantities. While ſome of the party are buſied in waſhing the ſands, others employ themſelves farther up the torrent, where the rapidity of the ſtream has carried away all the clay, ſand, &c. and left nothing but ſmall pebbles. The ſearch among theſe is a very troubleſome taſk. I have ſeen women who have had the ſkin worn off the tops of their fingers in this employment. Sometimes, however, they are rewarded by finding pieces of gold, which they call *ſanoo birro*, "gold ſtones," that amply repay them for their trouble. A woman and her daughter, inhabitants of Kamalia, found in one day two pieces of this kind; one of five drachms, and the other of three drachms, weight. But the moſt certain and profitable mode of waſhing is practiſed in the height of the dry ſeaſon by digging a deep pit, like a draw-well, near ſome hill which has previouſly been diſcovered to contain gold. The pit is dug with ſmall ſpades or corn hoes, and the earth is drawn up in large calabaſhes. As the Negroes dig through the different ſtrata of clay or ſand, a calabaſh or two of each is waſhed, by way of experiment; and in this manner the labourers proceed, until they come to a ſtratum containing gold; or until they are obſtructed by rocks, or inundated by water. In general, when they come to a ſtratum of fine reddiſh ſand, with ſmall black ſpecks therein, they find gold in ſome proportion or other, and ſend up large calabaſhes full of the ſand, for the women to waſh; for though the pit is dug by the men, the gold is always waſhed by the women, who are accuſtomed from their infancy to a ſimilar operation, in ſeparating the huſks of corn from the meal.

As I never deſcended into any of theſe pits, I cannot ſay in what manner they are worked under ground. Indeed, the ſituation in which I was placed, made it neceſſary for me to be cautious not to incur the ſuſpicion of the natives, by examining too far into the riches of their country; but the manner of ſeparating the gold from the ſand is very ſimple, and is frequently performed by the women in the middle of the town; for when the ſearchers return from the valleys in the evening, they commonly bring with them each a calabaſh or two of ſand, to be waſhed by ſuch of the females as remain at home. The operation is ſimply as follows:

A portion of ſand or clay (for gold is ſometimes found in a brown coloured clay), is put into a large calabaſh, and mixed with a ſufficient quantity of water. The woman, whoſe

whoſe office it is, then ſhakes the calabaſh in ſuch a manner as to mix the ſand and water together, and give the whole a rotatory motion; at firſt gently, but afterwards more quick, until a ſmall portion of ſand and water, at every revolution, flies over the brim of the calabaſh. The ſand thus ſeparated, is only the coarſeſt particles mixed with a little muddy water. After the operation has been continued for ſome time, the ſand is allowed to ſubſide, and the water poured off; a portion of coarſe ſand, which is now uppermoſt in the calabaſh, is removed by the hand, and freſh water being added, the operation is repeated until the water comes off almoſt pure. The woman now takes a ſecond calabaſh, and ſhakes the ſand and water gently from the one to the other, reſerving that portion of ſand which is next the bottom of the calabaſh, and which is moſt likely to contain the gold. This ſmall quantity is mixed with ſome pure water, and being moved about in the calabaſh, is carefully examined. If a few particles of gold are picked out, the contents of the other calabaſh are examined in the ſame manner; but, in general, the party is well contented, if ſhe can obtain three or four grains from the contents of both calabaſhes. Some women, however, by long practice, become ſo well acquainted with the nature of the ſand, and the mode of waſhing it, that they will collect gold, where others cannot find a ſingle particle. The gold-duſt is kept in quills, ſtopt up with cotton; and the waſhers are fond of diſplaying a number of theſe quills in their hair. Generally ſpeaking, if a perſon uſes common diligence, in a proper ſoil, it is ſuppoſed that as much gold may be collected by him in the courſe of the dry ſeaſon as is equal to the value of two ſlaves.

Thus ſimple is the proceſs by which the Negroes obtain gold in Manding; and it is evident, from this account, that the country contains a conſiderable portion of this precious metal; for many of the ſmaller particles muſt neceſſarily eſcape the obſervation of the naked eye; and as the natives generally ſearch the ſands of ſtreams at a conſiderable diſtance from the hills, and conſequently far removed from the mines where the gold was originally produced, the labourers are ſometimes but ill paid for their trouble. Minute particles only of this heavy metal can be carried by the current to any conſiderable diſtance; the larger muſt remain depoſited near the original ſource from whence they came. Were the gold-bearing ſtreams to be traced to their fountains, and the hills from whence they ſpring properly examined, the ſand in which the gold is there depoſited would, no doubt, be found to contain particles of a much larger ſize *; and even the ſmall grains might be collected to conſiderable advantage by the uſe of quickſilver, and other improvements, with which the natives are at preſent unacquainted.

Part of this gold is converted into ornaments for the women; but, in general, theſe ornaments are more to be admired for their weight than their workmanſhip. They are maſſy and inconvenient, particularly the ear-rings, which are commonly ſo heavy as to pull down and lacerate the lobe of the ear; to avoid which they are ſupported by a thong of red leather, which paſſes over the crown of the head from one ear to the other. The necklace diſplays greater fancy; and the proper arrangement of the different beads and plates of gold, is the great criterion of taſte and elegance. When a

* I am informed that the gold mine, as it is called, in Wicklow, in Ireland, which was diſcovered in the year 1795, is near the top, and upon the ſteep ſlope of a mountain. Here pieces of gold of ſeveral ounces weight were frequently found. What would have been gold-duſt two miles below was here golden gravel; that is, each grain was like a ſmall pebble in ſize, and one piece was found which weighed near twenty-two ounces troy.

lady

lady of conſequence is in full dreſs, her gold ornaments may be worth altogether from fifty to eighty pounds ſterling.

A ſmall quantity of gold is likewiſe employed by the Slatees, in defraying the expences of their journies to and from the coaſt; but by far the greater proportion is annually carried away by the Moors in exchange for ſalt and other merchandize. During my ſtay at Kamalia, the gold collected by the different traders at that place, for ſalt alone, was nearly equal to one hundred and ninety-eight pounds ſterling; and as Kamalia is but a ſmall town, and not much reſorted to by the trading Moors, this quantity muſt have borne a very ſmall proportion to the gold collected at Kancaba, Kankaree, and ſome other large towns. The value of ſalt in this part of Africa is very great. One ſlab, about two feet and a half in length, fourteen inches in breadth, and two inches in thickneſs, will ſometimes ſell for about two pounds ten ſhillings ſterling, and from one pound fifteen ſhillings to two pounds, may be conſidered as the common price. Four of theſe ſlabs are conſidered as a load for an aſs, and ſix for a bullock. The value of European merchandize in Manding varies very much, according to the ſupply from the coaſt, or the dread of war in the country; but the return for ſuch articles is commonly made in ſlaves. The price of a prime ſlave, when I was at Kamalia, was from *nine* to *twelve* minkallies, and European commodities had then nearly the following value:

18 gun flints,
48 leaves of tobacco,
20 charges of gunpowder,
A cutlaſs,
} one minkalli.
A muſket from three to four minkallies.

The produce of the country, and the different neceſſaries of life when exchanged for gold, ſold as follows:

Common proviſions for one day, the weight of one *teelee-kiſſi*, (a black bean, ſix of which make the weight of one minkalli); — a chicken, one teelee-kiſſi, — a ſheep, three teelee-kiſſi, — a bullock, one minkalli, — a horſe from ten to ſeventeen minkallies.

The Negroes weigh the gold in ſmall balances, which they always carry about them. They make no difference in point of value, between gold duſt and wrought gold. In bartering one article for another the perſon who receives the gold always weighs it with his own teelee-kiſſi. Theſe beans are ſometimes fraudulently ſoaked in Shea butter, to make them heavy; and I once ſaw a pebble ground exactly into the form of one of them: but ſuch practices are not very common.

Having now related the ſubſtance of what occurs to my recollection concerning the African mode of obtaining gold from the earth, and its value in barter, I proceed to the next article, of which I propoſed to treat, namely, *ivory*.

Nothing creates a greater ſurpriſe among the Negroes on the ſea coaſt, than the eagerneſs diſplayed by the European traders to procure elephants' teeth; it being exceedingly difficult to make them comprehend to what uſe it is applied. Although they are ſhewn knives with ivory hafts, combs, and toys of the ſame material, and are convinced that the ivory thus manufactured, was originally parts of a tooth, they are not ſatisfied. They ſuſpect that this commodity is more frequently converted in Europe, to purpoſes of far greater importance; the true nature of which is ſtudiouſly concealed from them, leſt the price of ivory ſhould be enhanced. They cannot, they ſay, eaſily perſuade themſelves that ſhips would be built, and voyages undertaken, to procure

procure an article, which had no other value than that of furniſhing handles to knives, &c. when pieces of wood would anſwer the purpoſe equally well.

Elephants are very numerous in the interior of Africa, but they appear to be a diſtinct ſpecies from thoſe found in Aſia. Blumenbach, in his figures of objects of natural hiſtory, has given good drawings of a grinder of each; and the variation is evident. M. Cuvier alſo has given in the *Magazin Encyclopedique*, a clear account of the difference between them. As I never examined the Aſiatic elephant, I have choſen rather to refer to thoſe writers, than advance this as an opinion of my own. It has been ſaid that the African elephant is of a leſs docile nature than the Aſiatic, and incapable of being tamed. The Negroes certainly do not at preſent tame them; but when we conſider that the Carthaginians had always tame elephants in their armies, and actually tranſported ſome of them to Italy in the courſe of the Punic wars; it ſeems more likely that they ſhould have poſſeſſed the art of taming their own elephants, than have ſubmitted to the expence of bringing ſuch vaſt animals from Aſia. Perhaps, the barbarous practice of hunting the African elephants for the ſake of their teeth, has rendered them more untractable and ſavage, than they were found to be in former times.

The greater part of the ivory which is ſold on the Gambia, and Senegal rivers, is brought from the interior country. The lands towards the coaſt are too ſwampy, and too much interſected with creeks and rivers, for ſo bulky an animal as the elephant to travel through, without being diſcovered; and when once the natives diſcern the marks of his feet in the earth, the whole village is up in arms. The thoughts of feaſting on his fleſh, making ſandals of his hide, and ſelling the teeth to the Europeans, inſpire every one with courage; and the animal ſeldom eſcapes from his purſuers; but in the plains of Bambarra and Kaarta, and the extenſive wilds of Jallonkadoo, the elephants are very numerous; and, from the great ſcarcity of gunpowder in thoſe diſtricts, they are leſs annoyed by the natives.

Scattered teeth are frequently picked up in the woods, and travellers are very diligent in looking for them. It is a common practice with the elephant to thruſt his teeth under the roots of ſuch ſhrubs and buſhes as grow in the more dry and elevated parts of the country where the ſoil is ſhallow. Theſe buſhes he eaſily overturns, and feeds on the roots, which are in general more tender and juicy than the hard woody branches or the foliage; but when the teeth are partly decayed by age, and the roots more firmly fixed, the great exertions of the animal, in this practice, frequently cauſes them to break ſhort. At Kamalia I ſaw two teeth, one a very large one, which were found in the woods, and which were evidently broken off in this manner. Indeed it is difficult otherwiſe to account for ſuch a large proportion of broken ivory, as is daily offered for ſale, at the different factories; for when the elephant is killed in hunting, unleſs he daſhes himſelf over a precipice, the teeth are always extracted entire.

There are certain ſeaſons of the year when the elephants collect into large herds, and traverſe the country in queſt of food or water; and as all that part of the country to the north of the Niger is deſtitute of rivers, whenever the pools in the woods are dried up, the elephants approach towards the banks of that river. Here they continue until the commencement of the rainy ſeaſon, in the months of June or July; and during this time they are much hunted by ſuch of the Bambarrans as have gunpowder to ſpare. The elephant hunters ſeldom go out ſingly; a party of four or five join together; and having each furniſhed himſelf with powder and ball, and a quantity of corn-meal in a leather bag, ſufficient for five or ſix days' proviſion, they enter

the moſt unfrequented parts of the wood, and examine with great care every thing that can lead to the diſcovery of the elephants. In this purſuit, notwithſtanding the bulk of the animal, very great nicety of obſervation is required. The bröken branches, the ſcattered dung of the animal, and the marks of his feet, are carefully inſpected; and many of the hunters have, by long experience and attentive obſervation, become ſo expert in their ſearch, that as ſoon as they obſerve the foot-marks of an elephant, they will tell almoſt to a certainty at what time it paſſed, and at what diſtance it will be found.

When they diſcover a herd of elephants, they follow them at a diſtance, until they perceive ſome one ſtray from the reſt, and come into ſuch a ſituation as to be fired at with advantage. The hunters then approach with great caution, creeping amongſt the long graſs, until they have got near enough to be ſure of their aim. They then diſcharge all their pieces at once, and throw themſelves on their faces among the graſs. The wounded elephant immediately applies his trunk to the different wounds, but being unable to extract the balls, and ſeeing nobody near him, becomes quite furious, and runs about amongſt the buſhes, until by fatigue and loſs of blood he has exhauſted himſelf, and affords the hunters an opportunity of firing a ſecond time at him, by which he is generally brought to the ground.

The ſkin is now taken off, and extended on the ground with pegs, to dry; and ſuch parts of the fleſh as are moſt eſteemed, are cut up into thin ſlices, and dried in the ſun, to ſerve for proviſions on ſome future occaſion. The teeth are ſtruck out with a light hatchet, which the hunters always carry along with them; not only for that purpoſe, but alſo to enable them to cut down ſuch trees as contain honey; for though they carry with them only five or ſix days' proviſions, they will remain in the woods for months, if they are ſucceſsful; and ſupport themſelves upon the fleſh of ſuch elephants as they kill, and wild honey.

The ivory thus collected, is ſeldom brought down to the coaſt by the hunters themſelves. They diſpoſe of it to the itinerant merchants, who come annually from the coaſt with arms and ammunition, to purchaſe this valuable commodity. Some of theſe merchants will collect ivory in the courſe of one ſeaſon, ſufficient to load four or five aſſes. A great quantity of ivory is likewiſe brought from the interior, by the ſlave coffles; there are, however, ſome Slatees, of the Mahomedan perſuaſion, who, from motives of religion, will not deal in ivory, nor eat of the fleſh of the elephant, unleſs it has been killed with a ſpear.

The quantity of ivory collected in this part of Africa, is not ſo great, nor are the teeth in general, ſo large as in the countries nearer the Line: few of them weigh more than eighty, or one hundred pounds; and upon an average, a bar of European merchandize may be reckoned as the price of a pound of ivory.

I have now, I truſt, in this and the preceding chapters, explained with ſufficient minuteneſs, the nature and extent of the commercial connection which at preſent prevails, and has long ſubſiſted, between the Negro natives of thoſe parts of Africa which I viſited, and the nations of Europe; and it appears that ſlaves, gold, and ivory, together with a few other articles, *viz.* bees-wax and honey, hides, gums, and dye-woods, conſtitute the whole catalogue of exportable commodities. Other productions, however, have been incidentally noticed as the growth of Africa; ſuch as grain of different kinds, tobacco, indigo, cotton-wool, and perhaps a few others; but all of theſe (which can only be obtained by cultivation and labour) the natives raiſe ſufficient only for their own immediate expenditure; nor, under the preſent ſyſtem of their laws, manners, trade, and government, can any thing

farther be expected from them. It cannot, however, admit of a doubt, that all the rich and valuable productions, both of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, might eaſily be naturalized, and brought to the utmoſt perfection, in the tropical parts of this immenſe continent. Nothing is wanting to this end but example, to enlighten the minds of the natives, and inſtruction to enable them to direct their induſtry to proper objects. It was not poſſible for me to behold the wonderful fertility of the ſoil, the vaſt herds of cattle, proper both for labour and food, and a variety of other circumſtances favourable to colonization and agriculture, and reflect, withal, on the means which preſented themſelves of a vaſt inland navigation, without lamenting that a country, ſo abundantly gifted and favoured by nature, ſhould remain in its preſent ſavage and neglected ſtate. Much more did I lament, that a people of manners and diſpoſition ſo gentle and benevolent, ſhould either be left as they now are, immerſed in the groſs and uncomfortable blindneſs of pagan ſuperſtition, or permitted to become converts to a ſyſtem of bigotry and fanaticiſm; which, without enlightening the mind, often debaſes the heart. On this ſubject many obſervations might be made; but the reader will probably think that I have already digreſſed too largely; and I now, therefore, return to my ſituation at Kamalia.

CHAP. X. — *Tranſactions at Kamalia reſumed. — Arabic MSS. in Uſe among the Mahomedan Negroes. — Reflections concerning the Converſion and Education of the Negro Children. — Return of the Author's Benefactor,* KARFA. *— Further Account of the Purchaſe and Treatment of Slaves. — Faſt of Rhamadan, how obſerved by the Negroes. — Author's Anxiety for the Day of Departure. — The Caravan ſets out. — Account of it on its Departure, and Proceedings on the Road until its Arrival at Kinytakooro.*

THE ſchoolmaſter, to whoſe care I was entruſted during the abſence of Karfa, was a man of a mild diſpoſition, and gentle manners; his name was Fankooma; and although he himſelf adhered ſtrictly to the religion of Mahomet, he was by no means intolerant in his principles towards others who differed from him. He ſpent much of his time in reading; and teaching appeared to be his pleaſure, as well as employment. His ſchool conſiſted of ſeventeen boys, moſt of whom were ſons of Kafirs; and two girls, one of whom was Karfa's own daughter. The girls received their inſtructions in the day-time, but the boys always had their leſſons by the light of a large fire before daybreak, and again late in the evening; for being conſidered, during their ſcholarſhip, as the domeſtic ſlaves of the maſter, they were employed in planting corn, bringing fire-wood, and in other ſervile offices through the day.

Excluſive of the Koran, and a book or two of commentaries thereon, the ſchoolmaſter poſſeſſed a variety of manuſcripts, which had partly been purchaſed from the trading Moors, and partly borrowed from buſhreens in the neighbourhood, and copied with great care. Other manuſcripts had been produced to me at different places in the courſe of my journey; and on recounting thoſe I had before ſeen, and thoſe which were now ſhewn to me, and interrogating the ſchoolmaſter on the ſubject, I diſcovered that the negroes are in poſſeſſion (among others) of an Arabic verſion of the Pentateuch of Moſes, which they call *Taureta la Mooſa*. This is ſo highly eſteemed that it is often ſold for the value of one prime ſlave. They have likewiſe a verſion of the Pſalms of David *(Zabora Dawidi)*; and, laſtly, the book of Iſaiah,

which they call *Lingeeli la Iſa*, and it is in very high eſteem. I ſuſpect, indeed, that in all theſe copies, there are interpolations of ſome of the peculiar tenets of Mahomet, for I could diſtinguiſh in many paſſages the name of the prophet. It is poſſible, however, that this circumſtance might otherwiſe have been accounted for, if my knowledge of the Arabic had been more extenſive. By means of thoſe books, many of the converted Negroes have acquired an acquaintance with ſome of the remarkable events recorded in the Old Teſtament. The account of our firſt parents; the death of Abel; the deluge; the lives of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob; the ſtory of Joſeph and his brethren; the hiſtory of Moſes, David, Solomon, &c. All theſe have been related to me in the Mandingo language, with tolerable exactneſs, by different people; and my ſurpriſe was not greater on hearing theſe accounts from the lips of the Negroes, than theirs, on finding that I was already acquainted with them; for although the Negroes in general have a very great idea of the wealth and power of the Europeans, I am afraid that the Mahomedan converts among them think but very lightly of our ſuperior attainments in religious knowledge. The white traders in the maritime diſtricts take no pains to counteract this unhappy prejudice; always performing their own devotions in ſecret, and ſeldom condeſcending to converſe with the Negroes in a friendly and inſtructive manner. To me, therefore, it was not ſo much the ſubject of wonder as matter of regret, to obſerve, that while the ſuperſtition of Mahomet has, in this manner, ſcattered a few faint beams of learning among theſe poor people, the precious light of Chriſtianity is altogether excluded. I could not but lament, that although the coaſt of Africa has now been known and frequented by the Europeans for more than two hundred years, yet the Negroes ſtill remain entire ſtrangers to the doctrines of our holy religion. We are anxious to draw from obſcurity the opinions and records of antiquity, the beauties of Arabian and Aſiatic literature, &c.; but while our libraries are thus ſtored with the learning of various countries, we diſtribute with a parſimonious hand the bleſſings of religious truth to the benighted nations of the earth. The natives of Aſia derive but little advantage in this reſpect from an intercourſe with us; and even the poor Africans, whom we affect to conſider as barbarians, look upon us, I fear, as little better than a race of formidable but ignorant heathens. When I produced Richardſon's Arabic grammar to ſome ſlatees on the Gambia, they were aſtoniſhed to think that any European ſhould underſtand and write the ſacred language of their religion. At firſt they ſuſpected that it might have been written by ſome of the ſlaves carried from the coaſt; but on a cloſer examination, they were ſatisfied that no buſhreen could write ſuch beautiful Arabic; and one of them offered to give me an aſs, and ſixteen bars of goods, if I would part with the book. Perhaps, a ſhort and eaſy introduction to Chriſtianity, ſuch as is found in ſome of the catechiſms for children, elegantly printed in Arabic, and diſtributed on different parts of the coaſt, might have a wonderful effect. The expence would be but trifling; curioſity would induce many to read it; and the evident ſuperiority which it would poſſeſs over their preſent manuſcripts, both in point of elegance and cheapneſs, might at laſt obtain it a place among the ſchool-books of Africa.

The reflections which I have thus ventured to ſubmit to my readers on this important ſubject, naturally ſuggeſted themſelves to my mind on perceiving the encouragement which was thus given to learning (ſuch as it is) in many parts of Africa. I have obſerved, that the pupils at Kamalia were moſt of them the children of Pagans; their parents, therefore, could have had no predilection for the doctrines of Mahomet. Their aim was their children's improvement; and if a more enlightened ſyſtem had preſented itſelf, it would probably have been preferred. The children,

too, wanted not a ſpirit of emulation; which it is the aim of the tutor to encourage. When any one of them has read through the Koran, and performed a certain number of public prayers, a feaſt is prepared by the ſchoolmaſter, and the ſcholar undergoes an examination, or (in European terms) *takes out his degree.* I attended at three different inaugurations of this ſort, and heard with pleaſure, the diſtinct and intelligent anſwers which the ſcholars frequently gave to the buſhreens, who aſſembled on thoſe occaſions, and acted as examiners. When the buſhreens had ſatisfied themſelves reſpecting the learning and abilities of the ſcholar, the laſt page of the Koran was put into his hand, and he was deſired to read it aloud: after the boy had finiſhed this leſſon, he preſſed the paper againſt his forehead, and pronounced the word *Amen;* upon which all the buſhreens roſe, and ſhaking him cordially by the hand, beſtowed upon him the title of buſhreen.

When a ſcholar has undergone this examination, his parents are informed that he has completed his education, and that it is incumbent on them to redeem their ſon, by giving to the ſchoolmaſter a ſlave, or the price of a ſlave in exchange; which is always done, if the parents can afford to do it; if not, the boy remains the domeſtic ſlave of the ſchoolmaſter until he can, by his own induſtry, collect goods ſufficient to ranſom himſelf.

About a week after the departure of Karfa, three Moors arrived at Kamalia with a conſiderable quantity of ſalt, and other merchandize, which they had obtained on credit, from a merchant of Fezzan, who had lately arrived at Kancaba. Their engagement was to pay him his price when the goods were ſold, which they expected would be in the courſe of a month. Being rigid buſhreens, they were accommodated with two of Karfa's huts, and ſold their goods to very great advantage.

On the 24th of January, Karfa returned to Kamalia with a number of people, and thirteen prime ſlaves, which he had purchaſed. He likewiſe brought with him a young girl whom he had married at Kancaba, as his fourth wife, and had given her parents three prime ſlaves for her. She was kindly received at the door of the baloon by Karfa's other wives, who conducted their new acquaintance and co-partner into one of the beſt huts, which they had cauſed to be ſwept and white-waſhed, on purpoſe to receive her.*

My clothes were by this time become ſo very ragged, that I was almoſt aſhamed to appear out of doors; but Karfa, on the day after his arrival, generouſly preſented me with ſuch a garment and trowſers, as are commonly worn in the country.

The ſlaves which Karfa had brought with him were all of them priſoners of war; they had been taken by the Bambarran army in the kingdoms of Waſſela and Kaarta, and carried to Sego, where ſome of them had remained three years in irons. From Sego they were ſent, in company with a number of other captives, up the Niger in two large canoes, and offered for ſale at Yamina, Bammakoo, and Kancaba; at which places the greater number of the captives were bartered for gold-duſt, and the remainder ſent forward to Kankaree.

Eleven of them confeſſed to me that they had been ſlaves from their infancy; but the other two refuſed to give any account of their former condition. They were all very inquiſitive; but they viewed me at firſt with looks of horror, and repeatedly aſked if my countrymen were cannibals. They were very deſirous to know what

* The Negroes white-waſh their huts with a mixture of bone-aſhes and water, to which is commonly added a little gum.

became

became of the ſlaves after they had croſſed the ſalt-water. I told them, that they were employed in cultivating the land; but they would not believe me; and one of them, putting his hand upon the ground, ſaid with great ſimplicity, "Have you really got "ſuch ground as this to ſet your feet upon?" A deeply-rooted idea that the whites purchaſe Negroes for the purpoſe of devouring them, or of ſelling them to others, that they may be devoured hereafter, naturally makes the ſlaves contemplate a journey towards the coaſt with great terror; inſomuch that the ſlatees are forced to keep them conſtantly in irons, and watch them very cloſely to prevent their eſcape. They are commonly ſecured, by putting the right leg of one, and the left of another, into the ſame pair of fetters. By ſupporting the fetters with a ſtring, they can walk, though very ſlowly. Every four ſlaves are likewiſe faſtened together by the necks, with a ſtrong rope of twiſted thongs; and in the night an additional pair of fetters is put on their hands, and ſometimes a light iron chain paſſed round their necks.

Such of them as evince marks of diſcontent are ſecured in a different manner. A thick billet of wood is cut about three feet long, and a ſmooth notch being made upon one ſide of it, the ankle of the ſlave is bolted to the ſmooth part by means of a ſtrong iron ſtaple, one prong of which paſſes on each ſide of the ankle. All theſe fetters and bolts are made from native iron; in the preſent caſe they were put on by the blackſmith as ſoon as the ſlaves arrived from Kancaba, and were not taken off until the morning on which the coffle departed for Gambia.

In other reſpects, the treatment of the ſlaves during their ſtay at Kamalia, was far from being harſh or cruel. They were led out in their fetters every morning, to the ſhade of the tamarind tree, where they were encouraged to play at games of hazard, and ſing diverting ſongs, to keep up their ſpirits; for though ſome of them ſuſtained the hardſhips of their ſituation with amazing fortitude, the greater part were very much dejected, and would ſit all day in a ſort of ſullen melancholy, with their eyes fixed upon the ground. In the evening, their irons were examined, and their hand-fetters put on; after which they were conducted into two large huts, where they were guarded during the night by Karfa's domeſtic ſlaves. But notwithſtanding all this, about a week after their arrival, one of the ſlaves had the addreſs to procure a ſmall knife, with which he opened the rings of his fetters, cut the rope, and made his eſcape: more of them would probably have got off, had they aſſiſted each other; but the ſlave no ſooner found himſelf at liberty, than he refuſed to ſtop and aſſiſt in breaking the chain which was faſtened round the necks of his companions.

As all the ſlatees and ſlaves belonging to the coffle were now aſſembled, either at Kamalia, or ſome of the neighbouring villages, it might have been expected that we ſhould have ſet out immediately for Gambia; but though the day of our departure was frequently fixed, it was always found expedient to change it Some of the people had not prepared their dry proviſions; others had gone to viſit their relations, or collect ſome trifling debts; and, laſt of all, it was neceſſary to conſult whether the day would be a lucky one. On account of one of theſe, or other ſuch cauſes, our departure was put off, day after day, until the month of February was far advanced; after which all the ſlatees agreed to remain in their preſent quarters, until the *faſt-moon was over*. And here I may remark, that loſs of time is an object of no great importance in the eyes of a Negro. If he has any thing of conſequence to perform, it is a matter of indifference to him whether he does it to-day or to-morrow, or a month or two hence: ſo long as he can ſpend the preſent moment with any degree of comfort, he gives himſelf very little concern about the future.

The faſt of Rhamadan was obſerved with great ſtrictneſs, by all the buſhreens; but, inſtead of compelling me to follow their example, as the Moors did on a ſimilar occaſion, Karfa frankly told me that I was at liberty to purſue my own inclination. In order, however, to manifeſt a reſpect for their religious opinions, I voluntarily faſted three days, which was thought ſufficient to ſcreen me from the reproachful epithet of kafir. During the faſt, all the ſlatees belonging to the coffle aſſembled every morning in Karfa's houſe, where the ſchoolmaſter read to them ſome religious leſſons, from a large folio volume, the author of which was an Arab, of the name of *Sheiffa*. In the evening, ſuch of the women as had embraced Mahomedaniſm aſſembled, and ſaid their prayers publicly at the Miſura. They were all dreſſed in white, and went through the different proſtrations, preſcribed by their religion, with becoming ſolemnity. Indeed, during the whole faſt of Rhamadan, the Negroes behaved themſelves with the greateſt meekneſs and humility; forming a ſtriking contraſt to the ſavage intolerance and brutal bigotry, which at this period characteriſe the Moors.

When the firſt month was almoſt at an end, the Buſhreens aſſembled at the Miſura, to watch for the appearance of the new moon; but the evening being rather cloudy, they were for ſome time diſappointed, and a number of them had gone home with a reſolution to faſt another day, when on a ſudden this delightful object ſhowed her ſharp horns from behind a cloud, and was welcomed with the clapping of hands, beating of drums, firing muſkets, and other marks of rejoicing. As this moon is reckoned extremely lucky, Karfa gave orders that all the people belonging to the coffle ſhould immediately pack up their dry proviſions, and hold themſelves in readineſs; and on the 16th of April, the Slatees held a conſultation, and fixed on the 19th of the ſame month, as the day on which the coffle ſhould depart from Kamalia. This reſolution freed me from much uneaſineſs; for our departure had already been ſo long deferred, that I was apprehenſive it might ſtill be put off until the commencement of the rainy ſeaſon; and although Karfa behaved towards me with the greateſt kindneſs, I found my ſituation very unpleaſant. The ſlatees were unfriendly to me; and the trading Moors, who were at this time at Kamalia, continued to plot miſchief againſt me, from the firſt day of their arrival. Under theſe circumſtances, I reflected, that my life in a great meaſure depended on the good opinion of an individual, who was daily hearing malicious ſtories concerning the Europeans; and I could hardly expect that he would always judge with impartiality between me and his countrymen. Time had, indeed, reconciled me, in ſome degree, to their mode of life; and a ſmoky hut, or a ſcanty ſupper, gave me no great uneaſineſs; but I became at laſt wearied out with a conſtant ſtate of alarm and anxiety, and felt a painful longing for the manifold bleſſings of civilized ſociety.

On the morning of the 17th, a circumſtance occurred, which wrought a conſiderable change in my favour. The three trading Moors who had lodged under Karfa's protection, ever ſince their arrival at Kamalia, and had gained the eſteem of all the buſhreens, by an appearance of great ſanctity, ſuddenly packed up their effects, and, without once thanking Karfa for his kindneſs towards them, marched over the hills to Bala. Every one was aſtoniſhed at this unexpected removal; but the affair was cleared up in the evening, by the arrival of the Fezzan merchant from Kancaba (mentioned in p. 894.); who aſſured Karfa, that theſe Moors had borrowed all their ſalt and goods from him, and had ſent for him to come to Kamalia, and receive payment. When he was told that they had fled to the weſtward, he wiped a tear from each eye with the ſleeve of his cloak, and exclaimed, "Theſe *ſhir-*
"*rukas* (robbers) are Mahomedans, but they are not men; they have robbed me of
"two

"two hundred minkallies." From this merchant, I received information of the capture of our Mediterranean convoy by the French, in October 1795.

April 19th. The long wiſhed-for day of our departure was at length arrived: and the ſlatees, having taken the irons from their ſlaves, aſſembled with them at the door of Karfa's houſe, where the bundles were all tied up, and every one had his load aſſigned him. The coffle, on its departure from Kamalia, conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſlaves for ſale, the property of Karfa and four other ſlatees; but we were afterwards joined by five at Maraboo, and three at Bala; making in all thirty-five ſlaves. The free men were fourteen in number, but moſt of them had one or two wives and ſome domeſtic ſlaves, and the ſchoolmaſter, who was now upon his return for Woradoo, the place of his nativity, took with him eight of his ſcholars, ſo that the number of free people and domeſtic ſlaves amounted to thirty-eight, and the whole amount of the coffle was ſeventy-three. Among the freemen were ſix Jilli keas (ſinging men), whoſe muſical talents were frequently exerted, either to divert our fatigue, or obtain us a welcome from ſtrangers. When we departed from Kamalia, we were followed for about half a mile by moſt of the inhabitants of the town, ſome of them crying, and others ſhaking hands with their relations, who were now about to leave them; and when we had gained a piece of riſing ground, from which we had a view of Kamalia, all the people belonging to the coffle were ordered to ſit down in one place, with their faces towards the weſt, and the towns-people were deſired to ſit down in another place, with their faces towards Kamalia. In this ſituation, the ſchoolmaſter, with two of the principal ſlatees, having taken their places between the two parties, pronounced a long and ſolemn prayer; after which, they walked three times round the coffle, making an impreſſion in the ground with the ends of their ſpears, and muttering ſomething by way of charm. When this ceremony was ended, all the people belonging to the coffle ſprang up, and without taking a formal farewell of their friends, ſet forwards. As many of the ſlaves had remained for years in irons, the ſudden exertion of walking quick, with heavy loads upon their heads, occaſioned ſpaſmodic contractions of their legs, and we had not proceeded above a mile, before it was found neceſſary to take two of them from the rope, and allow them to walk more ſlowly until we reached Maraboo, a walled village, where ſome people were waiting to join the coffle. Here we ſtopt about two hours, to allow the ſtrangers time to pack up their proviſions, and then continued our rout to Bala, which town we reached about four in the afternoon. The inhabitants of Bala, at this ſeaſon of the year, ſubſiſt chiefly on fiſh, which they take in great plenty from the ſtreams in the neighbourhood. We remained here until the afternoon of the next day, the 20th, when we proceeded to Worumbang, the frontier village of Manding, towards Jallonkadoo. As we propoſed ſhortly to enter the Jallonka Wilderneſs, the people of this village furniſhed us with great plenty of proviſions; and on the morning of the 21ſt we entered the woods to the weſtward of Worumbang. After having travelled ſome little way, a conſultation was held, whether we ſhould continue our route through the Wilderneſs, or ſave one day's proviſions by going to Kinytakooro, a town in Jallonkadoo. After debating the maſter for ſome time, it was agreed that we ſhould take the road for Kinytakooro; but as that town was a long day's journey diſtant, it was neceſſary to take ſome refreſhment. Accordingly every perſon opened his proviſion-bag, and brought a handful or two of meal, to the place where Karfa and the ſlatees were ſitting. When every one had brought his quota, and the whole was properly arranged in ſmall gourd ſhells, the ſchoolmaſter offered up a ſhort prayer; the ſubſtance of which was, that God and the holy Prophet might preſerve us from robbers and all bad people,

that

that our proviſions might never fail us, nor our limbs become fatigued. This ceremony being ended, every one partook of the meal, and drank a little water; after which we ſet forward (rather running than walking), until we came to the river Kokoro, a branch of the Senegal, where we halted about ten minutes. The banks of this river are very high, and from the graſs and bruſhwood which had been left by the ſtream, it was evident that at this place the water had riſen more than twenty feet perpendicular, during the rainy ſeaſon. At this time it was only a ſmall ſtream ſuch as would turn a mill, ſwarming with fiſh; and on account of the number of crocodiles, and the danger of being carried paſt the ford by the force of the ſtream in the rainy ſeaſon, it is called *Kokoro* (dangerous). From this place we continued to travel with the greateſt expedition, and in the afternoon croſſed two ſmall branches of the Kokoro. About ſunſet we came in ſight of Kinytakooro, a conſiderable town, nearly ſquare, ſituated in the middle of a large and well cultivated plain: before we entered the town, we halted, until the people who had fallen behind, came up. During this day's travel, two ſlaves, a woman and a girl belonging to a ſlatee of Bala, were ſo much fatigued that they could not keep up with the coffle; they were ſeverely whipped, and dragged along until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when they were both affected with vomiting, by which it was diſcovered that they had *eaten clay*. This practice is by no means uncommon amongſt the Negroes; but whether it ariſes from a vitiated appetite, or from a ſettled intention to deſtroy themſelves, I cannot affirm. They were permitted to lie down in the woods, and three people remained with them until they had reſted themſelves; but they did not arrive at the town until paſt midnight; and were then ſo much exhauſted, that the ſlatee gave up all thoughts of taking them acroſs the woods in their preſent condition, and determined to return with them to Bala, and wait for another opportunity.

As this was the firſt town beyond the limits of Manding, greater etiquette than uſual was obſerved. Every perſon was ordered to keep in his proper ſtation, and we marched towards the town, in a ſort of proceſſion, nearly as follows:—In front, five or ſix ſinging men, all of them belonging to the coffle; theſe were followed by the other free people; then came the ſlaves faſtened in the uſual way by a rope round their necks, four of them to a rope, and a man with a ſpear between each four; after them came the domeſtic ſlaves, and in the rear the women of free condition, wives of the ſlatees, &c. In this manner we proceeded until we came within a hundred yards of the gate, when the ſinging men began a loud ſong, well calculated to flatter the vanity of the inhabitants, by extolling their known hoſpitality to ſtrangers, and their particular friendſhip for the Mandingoes. When we entered the town, we proceeded to the bentang, where the people gathered round us to hear our *dentegi* (hiſtory); this was related publicly by two of the ſinging men; they enumerated every little circumſtance which had happened to the coffle; beginning with the events of the preſent day, and relating every thing, in a backward ſeries, until they reached Kamalia. When this hiſtory was ended, the maſter of the town gave them a ſmall preſent; and all the people of the coffle, both free and enſlaved, were invited by ſome perſon or other, and accommodated with lodging and proviſions for the night.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI. — *The Coffle croſſes the Jallonka Wilderneſs. — Miſerable Fate of one of the female Slaves; — arrives at Sooſeeta; proceeds to Manna. — Some Account of the Jallonkas. — Croſſes the main Stream of the Senegal. — Bridge of a ſingular Conſtruction. — Arrives at Malacotta. — Remarkable Conduct of the King of the Jaloſs.*

WE continued at Kinytakooro until noon of the 22d of April, when we removed to a village about ſeven miles to the weſtward; the inhabitants of which being apprehenſive of hoſtilities from the foulahs of Fooladoo, were at this time employed in conſtructing ſmall temporary huts among the rocks, on the ſide of a high hill cloſe to the village. The ſituation was almoſt impregnable, being every where ſurrounded with high precipices, except on the eaſtern ſide, where the natives had left a pathway ſufficient to allow one perſon at a time to aſcend. Upon the brow of the hill, immediately over this path, I obſerved ſeveral heaps of large looſe ſtones, which the people told me were intended to be thrown down upon the foulahs, if they ſhould attempt the hill.

At day-break, on the 23d, we departed from this village, and entered the Jallonka wilderneſs. We paſſed, in the courſe of the morning, the ruins of two ſmall towns, which had lately been burnt by the foulahs. The fire muſt have been very intenſe; for I obſerved that the walls of many of the huts were ſlightly vitrified, and appeared at a diſtance as if covered with a red varniſh. About ten o'clock we came to the river Wonda, which is ſomewhat larger than the river Kokoro; but the ſtream was at this time rather muddy, which Karfa aſſured me was occaſioned by amazing ſhoals of fiſh. They were indeed ſeen in all directions, and in ſuch abundance, that I fancied the water itſelf taſted and ſmelt fiſhy. As ſoon as we had croſſed the river, Karfa gave orders that all the people of the coffle ſhould in future keep cloſe together, and travel in their proper ſtation; the guides and young men were accordingly placed in the van, the women and ſlaves in the centre, and the freemen in the rear. In this order, we travelled with uncommon expedition through a woody, but beautiful country, interſperſed with a pleaſing variety of hill and dale, and abounding with partridges, guinea-fowls, and deer, until ſunſet; when we arrived at a moſt romantic ſtream called Co-meiſſang. My arms and neck having been expoſed to the ſun during the whole day, and irritated by the rubbing of my dreſs in walking, were now very much inflamed and covered with bliſters; and I was happy to embrace the opportunity, while the coffle reſted on the bank of this river, to bathe myſelf in the ſtream. This practice, together with the cool of the evening, much diminiſhed the inflammation. About three miles to the weſtward of the Co-meiſſang we halted in a thick wood, and kindled our fires for the night. We were all by this time very much fatigued; having, as I judged, travelled this day thirty miles; but no perſon was heard to complain. Whilſt ſupper was preparing, Karfa made one of the ſlaves break ſome branches from the trees for my bed. When we had finiſhed our ſupper of kouſkous, moiſtened with ſome boiling water, and put the ſlaves in irons, we all lay down to ſleep; but we were frequently diſturbed in the night by the howling of wild beaſts; and we found the ſmall brown ants very troubleſome.

April 24th. Before day-break the buſhreens ſaid their morning prayers, and moſt of the free people drank a little *moening* (a ſort of gruel), part of which was likewiſe given to ſuch of the ſlaves as appeared leaſt able to ſuſtain the fatigues of the day.

One of Karfa's female ſlaves was very ſulky, and when ſome gruel was offered to her, ſhe refuſed to drink it. As ſoon as day dawned we ſet out, and travelled the whole morning over a wild and rocky country, by which my feet were very much bruiſed; and I was ſadly apprehenſive that I ſhould not be able to keep up with the coffle during the day; but I was in a great meaſure relieved from this anxiety, when I obſerved that others were more exhauſted than myſelf. In particular the woman ſlave, who had refuſed victuals in the morning, began now to lag behind, and complain dreadfully of pains in her legs. Her load was taken from her, and given to another ſlave, and ſhe was ordered to keep in the front of the coffle. About eleven o'clock, as we were reſting by a ſmall rivulet, ſome of the people diſcovered a hive of bees in a hollow tree, and they were proceeding to obtain the honey, when the largeſt ſwarm I ever beheld, flew out, and attacking the people of the coffle, made us fly in all directions. I took the alarm firſt, and I believe was the only perſon who eſcaped with impunity. When our enemies thought fit to deſiſt from purſuing us, and every perſon was employed in picking out the ſtings he had received, it was diſcovered that the poor woman abovementioned, whoſe name was Nealee, was not come up; and as many of the ſlaves in their retreat had left their bundles behind them, it became neceſſary for ſome perſons to return, and bring them. In order to do this with ſafety, fire was ſet to the graſs, a conſiderable way to the eaſtward of the hive, and the wind driving the fire furiouſly along, the party puſhed through the ſmoke, and recovered the bundles. They likewiſe brought with them poor Nealee, whom they found lying by the rivulet. She was very much exhauſted, and had crept to the ſtream in hopes to defend herſelf from the bees by throwing water over her body, but this proved ineffectual; for ſhe was ſtung in the moſt dreadful manner.

When the ſlatees had picked out the ſtings as far as they could, ſhe was waſhed with water, and then rubbed with bruiſed leaves; but the wretched woman obſtinately refuſed to proceed any farther; declaring that ſhe would rather die than walk another ſtep. As entreaties and threats were uſed in vain, the whip was at length applied: and after bearing patiently a few ſtrokes, ſhe ſtarted up, and walked with tolerable expedition for four or five hours longer, when ſhe made an attempt to run away from the coffle, but was ſo very weak, that ſhe fell down in the graſs. Though ſhe was unable to riſe, the whip was a ſecond time applied, but without effect; upon which Karfa deſired two of the ſlatees to place her upon the aſs which carried our dry proviſions; but ſhe could not ſit erect; and the aſs being very refractory, it was found impoſſible to carry her forward in that manner. The ſlatees however were unwilling to abandon her, the day's journey being nearly ended; they therefore made a ſort of litter of bamboo canes, upon which ſhe was placed, and tied on it with ſlips of bark: this litter was carried upon the heads of two ſlaves, one walking before the other, and they were followed by two others, who relieved them occaſionally. In this manner the woman was carried forward until it was dark, when we reached a ſtream of water, at the foot of a high hill called Gankaran-Kooro; and here we ſtopt for the night, and ſet about preparing our ſupper. As we had eat only one handful of meal ſince the preceding night, and travelled all day in a hot ſun, many of the ſlaves, who had loads upon their heads, were very much fatigued: and ſome of them *ſnapt their fingers*, which among the Negroes is a ſure ſign of deſperation. The ſlatees immediately put them all in irons; and ſuch of them as had evinced ſigns of great deſpondency, were kept apart from the reſt, and had their hands tied. In the morning they were found greatly recovered.

April

April 25th. At day-break poor Nealee was awakened; but her limbs were now become ſo ſtiff and painful, that ſhe could neither walk nor ſtand; ſhe was therefore lifted, like a corpſe, upon the back of the aſs; and the ſlatees endeavoured to ſecure her in that ſituation, by faſtening her hands together under the aſs's neck and her feet under the belly, with long ſlips of bark; but the aſs was ſo very unruly that no ſort of treatment could induce him to proceed with his load; and as Nealee made no exertion to prevent herſelf from falling, ſhe was quickly thrown off, and had one of her legs much bruiſed. Every attempt to carry her forward being thus found ineffectual, the general cry of the coffle was, *kang-tegi*, *kang-tegi*, "cut her throat, cut her throat;" an operation I did not wiſh to ſee performed, and therefore marched onwards with the foremoſt of the coffle. I had not walked above a mile when one of Karfa's domeſtic ſlaves came up to me, with poor Nealee's garment upon the end of his bow, and exclaimed *Nealee affeeleeta* (Nealee is loſt). I aſked him whether the ſlatees had given him the garment as a reward for cutting her throat; he replied, that Karfa and the ſchoolmaſter would not conſent to that meaſure, but had left her on the road, where undoubtedly ſhe ſoon periſhed, and was probably devoured by wild beaſts.

The ſad fate of this wretched woman, notwithſtanding the outcry before mentioned, made a ſtrong impreſſion on the minds of the whole coffle, and the ſchoolmaſter faſted the whole of the enſuing day, in conſequence of it. We proceeded in deep ſilence, and ſoon afterward croſſed the river Furkoomah, which was about as large as the river Wonda. We now travelled with great expedition, every one being apprehenſive he might otherwiſe meet with the fate of poor Nealee. It was however with great difficulty that I could keep up, although I threw away my ſpear, and every thing that could in the leaſt obſtruct me. About noon we ſaw a large herd of elephants, but they ſuffered us to paſs unmoleſted, and in the evening we halted near a thicket of bamboo, but found no water; ſo that we were forced to proceed four miles farther, to a ſmall ſtream, where we ſtopt for the night. We had marched this day, as I judged, about twenty-ſix miles.

April 26th. This morning two of the ſchoolmaſter's pupils complained much of pains in their legs, and one of the ſlaves walked lame, the ſoles of his feet being very much bliſtered and inflamed; we proceeded, notwithſtanding, and about eleven o'clock began to aſcend a rocky hill called Boki-Kooro, and it was paſt two in the afternoon before we reached the level ground on the other ſide. This was the moſt rocky road we had yet encountered, and it hurt our feet much. In a ſhort time we arrived at a pretty large river called Boki, which we forded: it ran ſmooth and clear, over a bed of whinſtone. About a mile to the weſtward of the river, we came to a road which leads to the north-eaſt towards Gadou, and ſeeing the marks of many horſes' feet upon the ſoft ſand, the ſlatees conjectured that a party of plunderers had lately rode that way, to fall upon ſome town of Gàdou; and leſt they ſhould diſcover, upon their return, that we had paſſed, and attempt to purſue us by the marks of our feet, the coffle was ordered to diſperſe, and travel in a looſe manner through the high graſs and buſhes. A little before it was dark, having croſſed the ridge of hills to the weſtward of the river Boki, we came to a well called *cullong qui* (white ſand well), and here we reſted for the night.

April 27th. We departed from the well early in the morning, and walked on, with the greateſt alacrity, in hopes of reaching a town before night. The road, during the forenoon, led through extenſive thickets of dry bamboos. About two o'clock we came

to a ſtream called Nunkolo, where we were each of us regaled with a handful of meal, which, according to a ſuperſtitious cuſtom, was not to be eaten until it was firſt moiſtened with water from this ſtream. About four o'clock we reached Sooſeeta, a ſmall Jallonka village, ſituated in the diſtrict of Kullo, which comprehends all that tract of country lying along the banks of the Black river, or main branch of the Senegal. Theſe were the firſt human habitations we had ſeen ſince we left the village to the weſtward of Kinytakooro; having travelled in the courſe of the laſt five days upwards of one hundred miles. Here, after a great deal of entreaty, we were provided with huts to ſleep in; but the maſter of the village plainly told us that he could not give us any proviſions, as there had lately been a great ſcarcity in this part of the country. He aſſured us, that before they had gathered in their preſent crops, the whole inhabitants of Kullo had been for twenty-nine days without taſting corn; during which time, they ſupported themſelves entirely upon the yellow powder which is found in the pods of the *nitta*, ſo called by the natives, a ſpecies of mimoſa; and upon the ſeeds of the bamboo cane, which when properly pounded and dreſſed, taſte very much like rice. As our dry proviſions were not yet exhauſted, a conſiderable quantity of kouſkous was dreſſed for ſupper, and many of the villagers were invited to take part of the repaſt; but they made a very bad return for this kindneſs; for in the night they ſeized upon one of the ſchoolmaſter's boys, who had fallen aſleep under the Bentang tree, and carried him away. The boy fortunately awoke before he was far from the village, and ſetting up a loud ſcream, the man who carried him, put his hand upon his mouth, and ran with him into the woods: but afterward underſtanding that he belonged to the ſchoolmaſter, whoſe place of reſidence is only three days journey diſtant, he thought, I ſuppoſe, that he could not retain him as a ſlave without the ſchoolmaſter's knowledge; and therefore ſtripped off the boy's clothes and permitted him to return.

April 28th. Early in the morning we departed from Sooſeeta, and about ten o'clock came to an unwalled town called Manna; the inhabitants of which were employed in collecting the fruit of the nitta trees, which are very numerous in this neighbourhood. The pods are long and narrow, and contain a few black ſeeds enveloped in the fine mealy powder before mentioned; the meal itſelf is of a bright yellow colour reſembling the flour of ſulphur, and has a ſweet mucilaginous taſte: when eaten by itſelf it is clammy, but when mixed with milk or water, it conſtitutes a very pleaſant and nouriſhing article of diet.

The language of the people of Manna is the ſame that is ſpoken of all over that extenſive and hilly country called Jallonkadoo. Some of the words have a great affinity to the Mandingo, but the natives themſelves conſider it as a diſtinct language: their numerals are theſe,

One	——	*Kidding.*
Two	——	*Fidding.*
Three	——	*Sarra.*
Four	——	*Nani.*
Five	——	*Soolo.*
Six	——	*Seni.*
Seven	——	*Soolo ma fidding.*
Eight	——	*Soolo ma ſarra.*
Nine	——	*Soolo ma nani.*
Ten	——	*Nuff.*

The Jallonkas, like the Mandingoes, are governed by a number of petty chiefs, who are, in a great meaſure, independent of each other; they have no common ſovereign; and the chiefs are ſeldom upon ſuch terms of friendſhip as to aſſiſt each other, even in war time. The chief of Manna, with a number of his people, accompanied us to the banks of the Baſing, or Black River (a principal branch of the Senegal), which we croſſed upon a bridge of bamboos, of a very ſingular conſtruction. The river at this place is ſmooth and deep, and has very little current. Two tall trees, when tied together by the tops, are ſufficiently long to reach from one ſide to the other; the roots reſting upon the rocks, and the tops floating in the water. When a few trees have been placed in this direction, they are covered with dry bamboos, ſo as to form a floating bridge, with a ſloping gangway at each end, where the trees reſt upon the rocks. This bridge is carried away every year by the ſwelling of the river in the rainy ſeaſon, and is conſtantly rebuilt by the inhabitants of Manna, who, on that account, expect a ſmall tribute from every paſſenger.

In the afternoon we paſſed ſeveral villages, at none of which could we procure a lodging; and in the twilight we received information that two hundred Jallonkas had aſſembled near a town called Melo, with a view to plunder the coffle. This induced us to alter our courſe, and we travelled with great ſecrecy until midnight, when we approached a town called Koba. Before we entered the town, the names of all the people belonging to the coffle were called over, and a freeman and three ſlaves were found to be miſſing. Every perſon immediately concluded that the ſlaves had murdered the freeman, and made their eſcape. It was therefore agreed that ſix people ſhould go back as far as the laſt village, and endeavour to find his body, or collect ſome information concerning the ſlaves. In the mean time the coffle was ordered to lie concealed in a cotton field near a large nitta tree, and nobody to ſpeak except in a whiſper. It was towards morning before the ſix men returned, having heard nothing of the man or the ſlaves. As none of us had taſted victuals for the laſt twenty-four hours, it was agreed that we ſhould go into Koba, and endeavour to procure ſome proviſions. We accordingly entered the town before it was quite day, and Karfa purchaſed from the chief man, for three ſtrings of beads, a conſiderable quantity of ground nuts, which we roaſted and eat for breakfaſt; we were afterwards provided with huts, and reſted here for the day.

About eleven o'clock, to our great joy and ſurpriſe, the freeman and ſlaves, who had parted from the coffle the preceding night, entered the town. One of the ſlaves, it ſeems, had hurt his foot, and the night being very dark, they ſoon loſt ſight of the coffle. The freeman, as ſoon as he found himſelf alone with the ſlaves, was aware of his own danger, and inſiſted on putting them in irons. The ſlaves were at firſt rather unwilling to ſubmit, but when he threatened to ſtab them one by one with his ſpear, they made no further reſiſtance; and he remained with them among the buſhes until morning, when he let them out of irons, and came to the town in hopes of hearing which route the coffle had taken. The information that we received concerning the Jallonkas, who intended to rob the coffle, was this day confirmed, and we were forced to remain here until the afternoon of the 30th: when Karfa hired a number of people to protect us, and we proceeded to a village called Tinkingtang. Departing from this village on the day following, we croſſed a high ridge of mountains to the weſt of the Black River, and travelled over a rough ſtony country until ſunſet, when we arrived at Lingicotta, a ſmall village in the diſtrict of Woradoo. Here we ſhook out the laſt handful of meal from our dry proviſion bags; this being the ſecond day ſince we

croſſed

croſſed the Black River) that we had travelled from morning until night without taſting one morſel of food.

May 2d. We departed from Lingicotta; but the ſlaves being very much fatigued, we halted for the night at a village about nine miles to the weſtward, and procured ſome proviſions through the intereſt of the ſchoolmaſter, who now ſent forward a meſſenger to Malacotta, his native town, to inform his friends of his arrival in the country, and to deſire them to provide the neceſſary quantity of victuals to entertain the coffle for two or three days.

May 3d. We ſet out for Malacotta, and about noon arrived at a village, near a conſiderable ſtream of water which flows to the weſtward; here we determined to ſtop for the return of the meſſenger which had been ſet to Malacotta the day before; and as the natives aſſured me that there were no crocodiles in this ſtream, I went and bathed myſelf. Very few people here can ſwim; for they came in numbers to diſſuade me from venturing into a pool, where they ſaid the water would come over my head. About two o'clock the meſſenger returned from Malacotta; and the ſchoolmaſter's elder brother being impatient to ſee him, came along with the meſſenger to meet him at this village. The interview between the two brothers, who had not ſeen each other for nine years, was very natural and affecting. They fell upon each other's neck, and it was ſome time before either of them could ſpeak. At length, when the ſchoolmaſter had a little recovered himſelf, he took his brother by the hand, and turning round, "This is the man," (ſaid he, pointing to Karfa) "who has been my "father in Manding; I would have pointed him out ſooner to you, but my heart was "too full."

We reached Malacotta in the evening, where we were well received. This is an unwalled town; the huts for the moſt part are made of ſplit cane, twiſted into a ſort of wicker-work, and plaſtered over with mud. Here we remained three days, and were each day preſented with a bullock from the ſchoolmaſter; we were likewiſe well entertained by the townſpeople, who appear to be very active and induſtrious. They make very good ſoap, by boiling ground nuts in water and then adding a ley of wood aſhes. They likewiſe manufacture excellent iron, which they carry to Bondou to barter for ſalt. A party of the townſpeople had lately returned from a trading expedition of this kind, and brought information concerning a war between Almami Abdulkader King of Foota Torra, and Damel King of the Jaloffs. The events of this war ſoon became a favourite ſubject with the ſinging men, and the common topic of converſation in all the kingdoms bordering upon the Senegal and Gambia; and as the account is ſomewhat ſingular, I ſhall here abridge it for the reader's information. The King of Foota Torra, inflamed with a zeal for propagating his religion, had ſent an embaſſy to Damel. The ambaſſador, on the occaſion, was accompanied by two of the principal buſhreens, who carried each a large knife, fixed on the top of a long pole. As ſoon as he had procured admiſſion into the preſence of Damel, and announced the pleaſure of his ſovereign, he ordered the buſhreens to preſent the emblems of his miſſion. The two knives were accordingly laid before Damel, and the ambaſſador explained himſelf as follows: "With this knife, (ſaid he) Abdulkader will condeſcend to ſhave the "head of Damel, if Damel will embrace the Mahomedan faith; and with this other "knife, Abdulkader will cut the throat of Damel, if Damel refuſes to embrace it:— "take your choice." Damel coolly told the ambaſſador that he had no choice to make: he neither choſe to have his head ſhaved, nor his throat cut; and with this anſwer the ambaſſador was civilly diſmiſſed. Abdulkader took his meaſures accordingly, and

with a powerful army invaded Damel's country. The inhabitants of the towns and villages filled up their wells, deſtroyed their proviſions, carried off their effects, and abandoned their dwellings, as he approached. By this means he was led on from place to place, until he had advanced three days journey into the country of the Jaloffs. He had, indeed, met with no oppoſition; but his army had ſuffered ſo much from the ſcarcity of water, that ſeveral of his men had died by the way. This induced him to direct his march towards a watering place in the woods, where his men, having quenched their thirſt, and being overcome with fatigue, lay down careleſsly to ſleep among the buſhes. In this ſituation they were attacked by Damel before daybreak, and completely routed. Many of them were trampled to death as they lay aſleep, by the Jaloff horſes; others were killed in attempting to make their eſcape; and a ſtill greater number were taken priſoners. Among the latter, was Abdulkader himſelf. This ambitious or rather frantic prince, who, but a month before had ſent the threatening meſſage to Damel, was now himſelf led into his preſence, a miſerable captive. The behaviour of Damel on this occaſion is never mentioned by the ſinging men but in terms of the higheſt approbation; and it was indeed ſo extraordinary in an African prince, that the reader may find it difficult to give credit to the recital. When his royal priſoner was brought before him in irons, and thrown upon the ground, the magnanimous Damel, inſtead of ſetting his foot upon his neck, and ſtabbing him with his ſpear, according to cuſtom in ſuch caſes, addreſſed him as follows: "Abdulkader, anſwer me this queſtion. If the chance of war had placed me "in your ſituation, and you in mine, how would you have treated me?" "I would "have thruſt my ſpear into your heart," returned Abdulkader with great firmneſs; "and I know that a ſimilar fate awaits me." "Not ſo," ſaid Damel; "my ſpear is "indeed red with the blood of your ſubjects killed in battle, and I could now give it "it a deeper ſtain, by dipping it in your own; but this would not build up my towns, "nor bring to life the thouſands who fell in the woods. I will not therefore kill you "in cold blood, but I will retain you as my ſlave, until I perceive that your preſence "in your own kingdom will be no longer dangerous to your neighbours; and then "I will conſider of the proper way of diſpoſing of you." Abdulkader was accordingly retained, and worked as a ſlave for three months; at the end of which period Damel liſtened to the ſolicitations of the inhabitants of Foota Torra, and reſtored to them their king. Strange as this ſtory may appear, I have no doubt of the truth of it: it was told me at Malacotta by the Negroes; it was afterwards related to me by the Europeans on the Gambia; by ſome of the French at Goree; and confirmed by nine ſlaves who were taken priſoners along with Abdulkader, by the watering place in the woods, and carried in the ſame ſhip with me to the Weſt Indies.

CHAP. XII.—*The Caravan proceeds to Konkadoo, and croſſes the Falemé River;—its Arrival at Baniſerile, Kirwani, and Tambacunda.—Incidents on the Road.—A Matrimonial Caſe.—The Caravan proceeds through many Towns and Villages, and arrives at length on the Banks of the Gambia; paſſes through Medina, the Capital of Woolli; and finally ſtops at Jindey.—The Author, accompanied by Karfa, proceeds to Piſana.—Various Occurrences previous to his Departure from Africa.*

ON the 7th of May we departed from Malacotta, and having croſſed the *Ba lee*, "Honey river," a branch of the Senegal, we arrived in the evening at a walled town, called

called Bintingala; where we reſted two days. From thence, in one day more, we proceeded to Dindikoo, a ſmall town ſituated at the bottom of a high ridge of hills from which this diſtrict is named *Konkadoo*, "the country of mountains." Theſe hills are very productive of gold. I was ſhewn a ſmall quantity of this metal, which had been lately collected: the grains were about the uſual ſize, but much flatter than thoſe of Manding, and were found in white quartz, which had been broken to pieces by hammers. At this town I met with a Negro, whoſe hair and ſkin were of a dull white colour. He was of that ſort which are called in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies *Albinos*, or White Negroes. The ſkin is cadaverous and unſightly, and the natives conſidered this complexion (I believe truly) as the effect of diſeaſe.

May 11th. At daybreak we departed from Dindikoo, and after a toilſome day's travel, arrived in the evening at Satadoo, the capital of a diſtrict of the ſame name. This town was formerly of conſiderable extent; but many families had left it in conſequence of the predatory incurſions of the foulahs of Foota Jalla, who made it a practice to come ſecretly through the woods, and carry off people from the corn-fields, and even from the wells near the town. In the afternoon of the 12th, we croſſed the Falemé river, the ſame which I had formerly croſſed at Bondou in my journey eaſtward. This river, at this ſeaſon of the year, is eaſily forded at this place, the ſtream being only about two feet deep. The water is very pure, and flows rapidly over a bed of ſand and gravel. We lodged for the night at a ſmall village called Medina, the ſole property of a Mandingo merchant, who, by a long intercourſe with Europeans, has been induced to adopt ſome of their cuſtoms. His victuals were ſerved up in pewter diſhes, and even his houſes were built after the faſhion of the Engliſh houſes on the Gambia.

May 13th. In the morning, as we were preparing to depart, a coffle of ſlaves belonging to ſome Serawoolli traders, croſſed the river, and agreed to proceed with us to Baniſerile, the capital of Dentila; a very long day's journey from this place. We accordingly ſet out together, and travelled with great expedition through the woods until noon; when one of the Serawoolli ſlaves dropt the load from his head, for which he was ſmartly whipped. The load was replaced; but he had not proceeded above a mile before he let it fall a ſecond time, for which he received the ſame puniſhment. After this he travelled in great pain until about two o'clock, when we ſtopt to breathe a little, by a pool of water, the day being remarkably hot. The poor ſlave was now ſo completely exhauſted that his maſter was obliged to releaſe him from the rope, for he lay motionleſs on the ground. A Serawoolli therefore undertook to remain with him, and endeavour to bring him to the town during the cool of the night; in the meanwhile we continued our route, and after a very hard day's travel, arrived at Baniſerile late in the evening.

One of our ſlatees was a native of this place, from which he had been abſent three years. This man invited me to go with him to his houſe; at the gate of which his friends met him, with many expreſſions of joy: ſhaking hands with him, embracing him, and ſinging and dancing before him. As ſoon as he had ſeated himſelf upon a mat, by the threſhold of his door, a young woman (his intended bride) brought a little water in a calabaſh, and kneeling down before him, deſired him to waſh his hands; when he had done this, the girl, with a tear of joy ſparkling in her eyes, drank the water; this being conſidered the greateſt proof ſhe could give him of her fidelity and attachment. About eight o'clock the ſame evening, the Serawoolli, who had been left in the woods to take care of the fatigued ſlave, returned and told us that he was dead; the general opinion, however, was that he himſelf had killed him, or left him to periſh

on the road; for the Serawoollies are ſaid to be infinitely more cruel in their treatment of ſlaves than the Mandingoes. We remained at Baniſerile two days, in order to purchaſe native iron, Shea-butter, and ſome other articles for ſale on the Gambia; and here the ſlatee, who had invited me to his houſe, and who poſſeſſed three ſlaves, part of the coffle, having obtained information that the price on the coaſt was very low, determined to ſeparate from us, and remain with his ſlaves, where he was, until an opportunity ſhould offer of diſpoſing of them to advantage; giving us to underſtand that he ſhould complete his nuptials with the young woman before mentioned, in the mean time.

May 16th. We departed from Baniſerile, and travelled through thick woods until noon, when we ſaw at a diſtance, the town of Julifunda, but did not approach it; as we propoſed to reſt for the night at a large town called Kirwani, which we reached about four o'clock in the afternoon. This town ſtands in a valley, and the country, for more than a mile round it, is cleared of wood and well cultivated. The inhabitants appear to be very active and induſtrious, and ſeem to have carried the ſyſtem of agriculture to ſome degree of perfection; for they collect the dung of their cattle into large heaps during the dry ſeaſon, for the purpoſe of manuring their land with it at the proper time. I ſaw nothing like this in any other part of Africa. Near the town are ſeveral ſmelting furnaces, from which the natives obtain very good iron. They afterwards hammer the metal into ſmall bars, about a foot in length, and two inches in breadth, one of which bars is ſufficient to make two Mandingo corn hoes. On the morning after our arrival, we were viſited by a ſlatee of this place, who informed Karfa, that among ſome ſlaves he had lately purchaſed, was a native of Foota Jalla; and as that country was at no great diſtance, he could not ſafely employ him in the labours of the field, leſt he ſhould effect his eſcape. The ſlatee was therefore deſirous of exchanging this ſlave for one of Karfa's, and offered ſome cloth and Shea-butter, to induce Karfa to comply with the propoſal, which was accepted. The ſlatee thereupon ſent a boy to order the ſlave in queſtion to bring him a few ground nuts. The poor creature ſoon afterwards entered the court in which we were ſitting, having no ſuſpicion of what was negociating, until the maſter cauſed the gate to be ſhut, and told him to ſit down. The ſlave now ſaw his danger, and perceiving the gate to be ſhut upon him, threw down the nuts, and jumped over the fence. He was immediately purſued and overtaken by the ſlatees, who brought him back, and ſecured him in irons, after which one of Karfa's ſlaves was releaſed and delivered in exchange. The unfortunate captive was at firſt very much dejected, but in the courſe of a few days his melancholy gradually ſubſided; and he became at length as cheerful as any of his companions.

Departing from Kirwani on the morning of the 20th, we entered the Tenda wilderneſs of two days journey. The woods were very thick, and the country ſhelved towards the ſouth-weſt. About ten o'clock we met a coffle of twenty-ſix people, and ſeven loaded aſſes, returning from the Gambia. Moſt of the men were armed with muſkets, and had broad belts of ſcarlet cloth over their ſhoulders, and European hats upon their heads. They informed us that there was very little demand for ſlaves on the coaſt, as no veſſel had arrived for ſome months paſt. On hearing this, the Serawoollies, who had travelled with us from the Falamé river, ſeparated themſelves and their ſlaves from the coffle. They had not, they ſaid, the means of maintaining their ſlaves in Gambia, until a veſſel ſhould arrive; and were unwilling to ſell them to diſadvantage; they therefore departed to the northward for Kajaaga. We continued our route through the Wilderneſs, and travelled all day through a rugged country,

covered with extenſive thickets of bamboo. At ſunſet, to our great joy, we arrived at a pool of water near a large tabba tree, whence the place is called Tabba-gee, and here we reſted a few hours. The water at this ſeaſon of the year is by no means plentiful in theſe woods; and as the days were inſufferably hot, Karfa propoſed to travel in the night. Accordingly, about eleven o'clock, the ſlaves were taken out of their irons, and the people of the coffle received orders to keep cloſe together; as well to prevent the ſlaves from attempting to eſcape, as on account of the wild beaſts. We travelled with great alacrity until day-break, when it was diſcovered that a free woman had parted from the coffle in the night: her name was called until the woods reſounded; but no anſwer being given, we conjectured that ſhe had either miſtaken the road, or that a lion had ſeized her unperceived. At length it was agreed that four people ſhould go back a few miles to a ſmall rivulet, where ſome of the coffle had ſtopt to drink, as we paſſed it in the night; and that the coffle ſhould wait for their return. The ſun was about an hour high before the people came back with the woman, whom they found lying faſt aſleep by the ſtream. We now reſumed our journey, and about eleven o'clock reached a walled town called Tambacunda, where we were well received. Here we remained four days, on account of a *palaver* which was held on the following occaſion: Modi Lemina, one of the ſlatees belonging to the coffle, had formerly married a woman of this town, who had borne him two children; he afterwards went to Manding, and remained there eight years, without ſending any account of himſelf, during all that time, to his deſerted wife; who, ſeeing no proſpect of his return, at the end of three years, had married another man, to whom ſhe had likewiſe borne two children. Lemina now claimed his wife; but the ſecond huſband refuſed to deliver her up; inſiſting that by the laws of Africa, when a man has been three years abſent from his wife, without giving her notice of his being alive, the woman is at liberty to marry again. After all the circumſtances had been fully inveſtigated in an aſſembly of the chief men, it was determined that the wife ſhould make her choice, and be at liberty either to return to the firſt huſband, or continue with the ſecond, as ſhe alone ſhould think proper. Favourable as this determination was to the lady, ſhe found it a difficult matter to make up her mind, and requeſted time for conſideration: but I think I could perceive that *firſt love* would carry the day. Lemina was indeed ſomewhat older than his rival, but he was alſo much richer. What weight this circumſtance had in the ſcale of his wife's affections, I pretend not to ſay.

On the morning of the 26th, as we departed from Tambacunda, Karfa obſerved to me that there were no Shea trees farther to the weſtward than this town. I had collected and brought with me from Manding the leaves and flowers of this tree; but they were ſo greatly bruiſed on the road that I thought it beſt to gather another ſpecimen at this place. The appearance of the fruit evidently places the Shea tree in the natural order of *ſapotæ*, and it has ſome reſemblance to the *mudhuca* tree, deſcribed by Lieutenant Charles Hamilton in the Aſiatic Reſearches, Vol. I. page 300. About one o'clock we reached Sibikillin, a walled village, but the inhabitants having the character of inhoſpitality towards ſtrangers, and of being much addicted to theft, we did not think proper to enter the gate. We reſted a ſhort time under a tree, and then continued our route until it was dark, when we halted for the night by a ſmall ſtream running towards the Gambia. Next day the road led over a wild and rocky country, every where riſing into hills, and abounding with monkies and wild beaſts. In the rivulets among the hills, we found plenty of fiſh. This was a very hard day's journey, and it was not until ſunſet that we reached the village of Koomboo, near to which are

the ruins of a large town formerly deſtroyed by war. The inhabitants of Koomboo, like thoſe of Sibikillin, have ſo bad a reputation, that ſtrangers ſeldom lodge in the village; we accordingly reſted for the night in the fields, where we erected temporary huts for our protection, there being great appearance of rain.

May 28th. We departed from Koomboo, and ſlept at a Foulah town about ſeven miles to the weſtward; from which on the day following having croſſed a conſiderable branch of the Gambia, called Neola Koba, we reached a well inhabited part of the country. Here are ſeveral towns within ſight of each other, collectively called Tenda, but each is diſtinguiſhed alſo by its particular name. We lodged at one of them called Koba Tenda, where we remained the day following, in order to procure proviſions for our ſupport in croſſing the Simbani woods. On the 30th we reached Jalacotta; a conſiderable town, but much infeſted by Foulah banditti, who come through the woods from Bondou, and ſteal every thing they can lay their hands on. A few days before our arrival, they had ſtolen twenty head of cattle, and on the day following made a ſecond attempt; but were beaten off, and one of them taken priſoner. Here, one of the ſlaves belonging to the coſſle, who had travelled with great difficulty for the laſt three days, was found unable to proceed any farther: his maſter (a ſinging man) propoſed therefore to exchange him for a young girl, belonging to one of the townſpeople. The poor girl was ignorant of her fate, until the bundles were all tied up in the morning, and the coſſle ready to depart; when, coming with ſome other young women to ſee the coſſle ſet out, her maſter took her by the hand, and delivered her to the ſinging man. Never was a face of ſerenity more ſuddenly changed into one of the deepeſt diſtreſs: the terror ſhe manifeſted on having the load put upon her head, and the rope faſtened round her neck, and the ſorrow with which ſhe bade adieu to her companions, were truly affecting. About nine o'clock, we croſſed a large plain covered with *ciboa* trees (a ſpecies of palm), and came to the river Nerico, a branch of the Gambia. This was but a ſmall river at this time, but in the rainy ſeaſon it is often dangerous to travellers. As ſoon as we had croſſed this river, the ſinging men began to vociferate a particular ſong, expreſſive of their joy at having got ſafe into the weſt country, or, as they expreſſed it, *the land of the ſetting ſun*. The country was found to be very level, and the ſoil a mixture of clay and ſand. In the afternoon it rained hard, and we had recourſe to the common Negro umbrella, a large ciboa leaf, which being placed upon the head, completely defends the whole body from the rain. We lodged for the night under the ſhade of a large tabba tree, near the ruins of a village. On the morning following, we croſſed a ſtream called Noulico, and about two o'clock, to my infinite joy, I ſaw myſelf once more on the banks of the Gambia, which at this place being deep and ſmooth is navigable; but the people told me that a little lower down the ſtream is ſo ſhallow that the coſſle frequently croſs it on foot. On the ſouth ſide of the river oppoſite to this place, is a large plain of clayey ground, called Toombi Toorila. It is a ſort of moraſs, in which people are frequently loſt, it being more than a day's journey acroſs it. In the afternoon we met a man and two women, with bundles of cotton cloth upon their heads. They were going, they ſaid, for Dentila, to purchaſe iron, there being a great ſcarcity of that article on the Gambia. A little before it was dark, we arrived at a village in the kingdom of Woolli, called Seeſukunda. Near this village there are great plenty of nitta trees, and the ſlaves in paſſing along had collected large bunches of the fruit; but ſuch was the ſuperſtition of the inhabitants, that they would not permit any of the fruit to be brought into the village. They had been told, they ſaid, that

ſome cataſtrophe would happen to the place when people lived upon nittas, and neglected to cultivate corn.

June 2d. We departed from Seeſukunda, and paſſed a number of villages, at none of which was the coffle permitted to ſtop, although we were all very much fatigued: it was four o'clock in the afternoon before we reached Baraconda, where we reſted one day. Departing from Baraconda on the morning of the 4th, we reached in a few hours Medina, the capital of the King of Woolli's dominions, from whom I had received an hoſpitable reception in the beginning of December 1795, in my journey eaſtward. I immediately inquired concerning the health of my good old benefactor, and learnt with great concern that he was dangerouſly ill. As Karfa would not allow the coffle to ſtop, I could not preſent my reſpects to the King in perſon; but I ſent him word, by the officer to whom we paid cuſtoms, that his prayers for my ſafety had not been unavailing. We continued our route until ſunſet, when we lodged at a ſmall village a little to the weſtward of Kootakunda, and on the day following arrived at Jindey; where, eighteen months before, I had parted from my friend Dr. Laidley; an interval, during which I had not beheld the face of a Chriſtian, nor once heard the delightful ſound of my native language.

Being now arrived within a ſhort diſtance of Piſania, from whence my journey originally commenced, and learning that my friend Karfa was not likely to meet with an immediate opportunity of ſelling his ſlaves on the Gambia; it occurred to me to ſuggeſt to him that he would find it for his intereſt to leave them at Jindey, until a market ſhould offer. Karfa agreed with me in this opinion; and hired, from the chief man of the town, huts for their accommodation, and a piece of land on which to employ them, in raiſing corn, and other proviſions for their maintenance. With regard to himſelf, he declared that he would not quit me until my departure from Africa. We ſet out accordingly, Karfa, myſelf, and one of the Foulahs belonging to the coffle, early on the morning of the 9th; but although I was now approaching the end of my tedious and toilſome journey, and expected in another day to meet with countrymen and friends, I could not part, for the laſt time, with my unfortunate fellow-travellers, doomed, as I knew moſt of them to be, to a life of captivity and ſlavery, in a foreign land, without great emotion. During a weariſome peregrination of more than five hundred Britiſh miles, expoſed to the burning rays of a tropical ſun, theſe poor ſlaves, amidſt their own infinitely greater ſufferings would commiſerate mine; and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirſt, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderneſs. We parted with reciprocal expreſſions of regret and benediction. My good wiſhes and prayers were all I could beſtow upon them; and it afforded me ſome conſolation to be told, that they were ſenſible I had no more to give.

My anxiety to get forward admitting of no delay on the road, we reached Tendacunda in the evening, and where hoſpitably received at the houſe of an aged black female called Seniora Camilla, a perſon who had reſided many years at the Engliſh factory, and ſpoke our language. I was known to her before I had left the Gambia, at the outſet of my journey; but my dreſs and figure were now ſo different from the uſual appearance of an European, that ſhe was very excuſable in miſtaking me for a Moor. When I told her my name and country, ſhe ſurveyed me with great aſtoniſhment, and ſeemed unwilling to give credit to the teſtimony of her ſenſes. She aſſured me that none of the traders on the Gambia ever expected to ſee me again; having

been informed long ago, that the Moors of Ludamar had murdered me, as they had murdered Major Houghton. I inquired for my two attendants, Johnſon and Demba, and learnt, with great ſorrow, that neither of them was returned. Karfa, who had never before heard people converſe in Engliſh, liſtened to us with great attention. Every thing he ſaw ſeemed wonderful. The furniture of the houſe, the chairs, &c. and particularly beds with curtains, were objects of his great admiration; and he aſked me a thouſand queſtions concerning the utility and neceſſity of different articles; to ſome of which I found it difficult to give ſatisfactory anſwers.

On the morning of the 10th, Mr. Robert Ainſley, having learnt that I was at Tendacunda, came to meet me, and politely offered me the uſe of his horſe. He informed me that Dr. Laidley had removed all his property to a place called Kaye, a little farther down the river, and that he was then gone to Domaſanſa with his veſſel, to purchaſe rice; but would return in a day or two. He therefore invited me to ſtay with him at Piſania, until the doctor's return. I accepted the invitation, and being accompanied by my friend Karfa, reached Piſania about ten o'clock. Mr. Ainſley's ſchooner was lying at anchor before the place. This was the moſt ſurpriſing object which Karfa had yet ſeen. He could not eaſily comprehend the uſe of the maſts, ſails, and rigging; nor did he conceive that it was poſſible, by any ſort of contrivance, to make ſo large a body move forwards by the common force of the wind. The manner of faſtening together the different planks which compoſed the veſſel, and filling up the ſeams ſo as to exclude the water, was perfectly new to him; and I found that the ſchooner with her cable and anchor, kept Karfa in deep meditation the greater part of the day.

About noon, on the 12th, Dr. Laidley returned from Doomaſanſa, and received me with great joy and ſatisfaction, as one riſen from the dead. Finding that the wearing apparel which I had left under his care was not ſold nor ſent to England, I loſt no time in reſuming the Engliſh dreſs; and diſrobing my chin of its venerable incumbrance. Karfa ſurveyed me in my Britiſh apparel with great delight; but regretted exceedingly that I had taken off my beard; the loſs of which, he ſaid, had converted me from a man into a boy. Dr. Laidley readily undertook to diſcharge all the pecuniary engagements I had entered into ſince my departure from the Gambia, and took my draft upon the Aſſociation for the amount. My agreement with Karfa (as I have already related) was to pay him the value of one prime ſlave, for which I had given him my bill upon Dr. Laidley, before we departed from Kamalia; for, in caſe of my death on the road, I was unwilling that my benefactor ſhould be a loſer. But this good creature had continued to manifeſt towards me ſo much kindneſs, that I thought I made him but an inadequate recompenſe, when I told him that he was now to receive double the ſum I had originally promiſed; and Dr. Laidley aſſured him that he was ready to deliver the goods to that amount, whenever he thought proper to ſend for them. Karfa was overpowered by this unexpected token of my gratitude, and ſtill more ſo, when he heard that I intended to ſend a handſome preſent to the good old ſchoolmaſter, Fankooma, at Malacotta. He promiſed to carry up the goods along with his own; and Dr. Laidley aſſured him that he would exert himſelf in aſſiſting him to diſpoſe of his ſlaves to the beſt advantage, the moment a ſlave veſſel ſhould arrive. Theſe and other inſtances of attention and kindneſs ſhewn him by Dr. Laidley, were not loſt upon Karfa. He would often ſay to me, "my journey has indeed been proſperous!" But, obſerving the improved ſtate of our manufactures, and our manifeſt ſuperiority in

in the arts of civilized life, he would ſometimes appear penſive, and exclaim with an involuntary ſigh, *fato ſing inter ſeng*, "black men are nothing." At other times, he would aſk me with great ſerioufneſs, what could poſſibly have induced me, who was no trader, to think of exploring ſo miſerable a country as Africa? He meant by this to ſignify that, after what I muſt have witneſſed in my own country, nothing in Africa could in his opinion deſerve a moment's attention. I have preſerved theſe little traits of character in this worthy Negro, not only from regard to the man, but alſo becauſe they appear to me to demonſtrate that he poſſeſſed a mind *above his condition:* and to ſuch of my readers as love to contemplate human nature in all its varieties, and to trace its progreſs from rudeneſs to refinement, I hope the account I have given of this poor African will not be unacceptable.

A Vocabulary of the Mandingo language.

Above, *ſanto.*
Abſent, *inteegee:* (*literally*, "not here.")
Abuſe, *v. anenni.*
Add, *akeejee.*
Afraid, *ſilantee.*
Afternoon, *oora.*
Air, *fonio.*
Alike, *beakillin.*
Alive, *a begee* (is here).
All, *bea.*
Always, *toomotoma.*
And, *ning.*
Angry, *juſu bota:* (*literally*, "the heart comes out.")
Angel, *melika.*
Arm, *boulla:* (the ſame for *hand.*)
Arrived, *footata.*
Arrow, *binni.*
Aſcend, *ſilli.*
Aſleep, *ſinouta.*
Aſſiſt, *maquoi.*
Axe, *terang.*

Back, *ko.*
Bad, *jou.*
Bag, *bota.*
Barter, *v. fallan.*
Baſtard, *jankra dirg:* (*literally*, "nobody's child.")
Beads, *connoo.*
Beard, *bora.*
Beat, *v. agoſſi.*
Bees, *lekiſſi.*
Bed, *larong.*

Beer, *dolo:* (the ſame for ſtrong liquor of any kind.)
Before, *neata:* ("within ſight.")
Behind, *kofi.*
Belly, *konno.*
Big, *awarata.*
Bind or tie, *aſceti.*
Bird, *cono.*
Bite, *v. keeng.*
Black, *ſing.*
Blood, *jollie.*
Blue, *ſingma:* (blackiſh.)
Boil, *v. fagee.*
Bone, *cooloo.*
Book, *kittāba.*
Borrow, *la.*
Bottom, *joo.*
Bow, *kalla.*
Boy, *kea ding;* (*literally*, "male child.")
Brave, *fatte.*
Bread, *munko.*
Break, *v. affara:* (the ſame word ſignifies "to kill," or "to deſtroy.")
Breaſts, *ſonjoo.*
Bring, *inſambo.*
Brother, *ba-ding-kea:* (*literally*, "mother's male child.")
Burn, *v. ageni.*
Buy (or ſell), *ſaun.*

Call, *v. akilli.*
Carry, *aſambo.*
Cat, *neancon.*
Catch, *v. amuta.*

Cheſt

Cheſt or coffer, *koonio.*
Child, *ding:* (if very young, *dingding.*)
Cloth, *fauno.*
Cold, *ninno,*
Come, *na.*
Coming, *abenali.*
Completely, *betiki.*
Cook, *v. tabbee.*
Corn, *neo.*
Country, *doo.*
Cow, *neſſee mooſa.*
Crowd, *n. ſetima.*
Cry, *v. akumbo.*
Cunning, *n. a. kiſſee.*
Cu, *v. tegi.*

Danger, *torro.*
Dark, *dibbie.*
Daughter, *ding mooſa:* (*literally*, "female child.")
Day, *teelee.*
Dead, *aſata.*
Deep, *adoonta.*
Deſiſt, *attoo.*
Dew, *combi.*
Die, *v. ſa.*
Dirt, *no.*
Diſeaſe, *jankra.*
Diſpute, *degama.*
Dog, *woola.*
Door, *da:* (this is a word of very extenſive uſe, being applied to whatever opens and ſhuts.)
Down, *ad. dooma.*
Dream, *v. ſibota.*
Dream, *n. ſ. ſibo.*
Drink, *v. ameen.*
Dry (arid), *ajata.*

Ear, *toola.*
Earth (ſoil), *banko.*
Earth (globe), *banko kang.*
Eaſt, *teelee bo:* ("ſun riſe.")
Eat, *adummo.*
Elephant, *ſamma.*
Empty, *ſing tigee:* ("nothing here.")
Enough, *keyento.*
Entertain (a gueſt), *fanda.*
Expert, *cumering:* ("active, clever, &c.")
Eye, *nea.*

Face, (the ſame as for the eye.)
Fall, *v. bui.*
Far off, *jang ſata.*
Faſt, *v. ſoong.*
Fat, *keng.*
Father, *fa.*
Fear, *v. ſeelan.*
Feather, *tee:* (it ſignifies alſo, *hair*, and *wool.*)
Female, *mooſa.*
Fever, *candea.*
Few, *do.*
Fight, *v. akilli.*
Fill, *afundi.*
Finger, *boulla konding.*
Fire, *deemba.*
Fiſh, *yco.*
Fleſh, *ſooboo.*
Food, *kinnee.*
Fool, *fooring.*
Foot, *ſing:* (ſignifies alſo "the leg.")
Forget, *neanta.*
Free, *horea.*
Freſh, *kinde:* (ſignifies alſo, *healthy.*)
Friend, *barrio.*
Fruit, *eree ding:* ("child of the tree.")
Full, *affata.*

Give, *inſong.*
Glad, *lata.*
Go, *v. ta.*
God, *Alla.*
Gold, *ſanoo.*
Good, *bettie.*
Graſs, *bing.*
Great, *baa.*
Gray, *aqueta.*
Guard, *v. tenkoong.*

Half, *tella.*
Handſome, *aniniata.*
Hang up, *deng.*
Hate, *v. akoong.*
He, *etti.*
Head, *koon.*
Hear, *moi.*
Heart, *juſu.*
Heaven, *ſanto:* (the Mahomedan Negroe commonly ſay, *il jinna.*)

Heavy,

Heavy, *accoliata.*
Hell, *johaniba.*
Hen, *ſooſee mooſa.*
Herb, *jambo.*
Here, *jang.*
Hide, *n. goolo.*
Hill, *konko.*
Hog, *lea.*
Hole, *dinka.*
Honey, *lee.*
Horn, *bini.*
Horſe, *ſoo.*
Hot, *candiata.*
Houſe, *boong.*
Hungry, *konkola.*

I, *inta.*
Idle, *nare.*
Increaſe, *aboonia.*
Induſtrious, *ſayata.*
Interpret, *konno ſor:* (literally, *to pierce the belly.*)
Iron, *nega.*
Iſland, *jouio.*
Jump, *v. ſaun.*

Kill, *affara.*
King, *manſa,*
Knife, *mooro.*
Know, *alla.*

Lamp, *fitina.*
Laugh, *v. jilli.*
Lend, *infoo.*
Lie (down), *v. la jang.*
Lie (falſity), *fonio.*
Lift, *achika.*
Lightning, *ſanfata.*
Lion, *jatta:* (in the interior countries, *wara.*)
Little, *mieſſa.*
Long, *jang.*
Look, *v. affille.*
Loſe, *afeele.*
Loſt, *affeeleeta.*
Love, *v. konie.*

Make, *v. dada.*
Male, *kea.*

Man (homo) *mo.*
Man (vir) *fato.*
Many, *ſitimata.*
Market, *loe.*
Maſter, *marree.*
Mat, *baſſo.*
Meet, *v. beng.*
Middle, *taima.*
Milk, *nunno.*
Milk, *v. beetee.*
Mine, *pr. talem.*
Money, *naphula:* (it ſignifies alſo *merchandize*, or any *effects of value.*)
Month, *korro:* (the ſame word ſignifies the *moon.*)
Morning, *ſomo.*
Mother, *ba.*
Mouth, *da.*

Narrative, *dentigi.*
Name, *atto.*
Near (nigh), *mun jang:* (not far.)
Neck, *kang.*
Never, *abada.*
Night, *ſooton.*
No, *inta:* (literally, *is not.*)
Noon, *teelee kooniata:* (literally, the *ſun over head.*)
North, *ſaheel.*
Noſe, *noong.*
Now, *ſeng.*

Oil, *toulou.*
Obtain, *ſutto.*
Old, *accottata.*
Only, *kinſing.*
Open, *v. yelli.*
Out of, *banta.*

Pain, *deeming.*
Paper, *coitoo.*
Paſs, *v. tambi.*
Paſs, *atambita:* (gone by.)
Pay, *v. jo.*
Pen, *kalla.*
People, *molo.*
Pierce, *ſor.*
Pity, *v. dimi.*
Pleaſure, *di.*

Pleaſant,

Pleaſant, *adiata.*
Plenty, *aſiata.*
Poor, *doiata.*
Preſent (gift), *boonia.*
Promiſe, *v. moindee.*
Proud, *teelingabalia:* (literally, *ſtrait bodied.*)
Pull, *aſabba.*
Puſh, *aneury.*
Put down, *alondi.*

Quarrel, *quiata.*
Quick, *cataba.*
Quiet, *dea.*
Quiver, *n. s. toong.*

Rain, *ſangee:* (literally, *water from above.*)
Rat, *ninee.*
Read, *akarra.*
Red, *woolima.*
Releaſe, *offering:* (untie.)
Reſt, *lo.*
Reſtore, *ſerrat.*
Return, *v. n. aſcita.*
Ripe, *mota.*
Riſe, *v. wooli.*
River, *ba:* (the ſame as for *mother.*)
Road, *ſeelo.*
Rob, *boitaca.*
Rock, *kooro.*
Rope, *julie.*
Rotten, *accorata.*
Row, *v. ajah.*
Run, *boorie.*

Sad, *doi.*
Safe, *torro inteegee:* (literally, *no danger.*)
Salt, *ko.*
Sand, *kini, kini.*
Sandals, *ſamata.*
Say, *affo.*
Sea, *babagee.*
Seat, *ſerong.*
See, *eagee.*
Send, *kee.*
Separate, *attulla.*
Shake, *jiggi, jiggi.*
Shame, *mala.*
Shew, *aita.*
Ship, *caloon.*
Short, *ſutta.*
Shut, *tou.*
Sick, *mun kinde.*
Side, *carra.*
Silent, *dering.*
Silver, *cody.*
Sing, *jilli:* (the ſame *to dance.*)
Siſter, *ba ding mooſa:* (mother's female child.)
Sit, *ſee.*
Sky, *ſang.*
Slave, *jong.*
Sleep, *v. ſinoo.*
Smell, *v. ſoomboola.*
Smoke, *ſeiſee.*
Snake, *ſau.*
Something, *fenke.*
Son, *ding kea:* (male child.)
Soon, *ſang ſang:* (now now.)
Sour, *acoomiata.*
South, *boulla ba:* (literally *the right hand.*)
Speak, *alummo.*
Spear, *tamba.*
Spin, *v. worondi.*
Spoon, *doſa.*
Star, *lolo.*
Steal, *ſoonia.*
Stink, *v. n. kaſſa.*
Stone, *birro.*
Stop, *munia.*
Stranger, *leuntong.*
Strike, *abooti.*
Sun, *teelee.*
Swear, *kolli.*
Sweet, *teemiata.*
Swell, *ſoonoo.*
Swim, *noo.*
Sword, *ſong.*

Tail, *ſinnio.*
Thief, *ſoon.*
Thin, *ſeata:* (ſlender.)
Think, *meira.*
Thirſt, *mindo.*
Thread, *bori.*
Throw, *ſy.*

Thunder, *ſangſata*. In contradiſtinction to lightning, it is *Kallam Alla*. (Arab) "the voice of God.")
Tie, *v. aſeetee*.
To-day, *bee*
To-morrow, *ſinny*.
Tongue, *ning*.
Touch, *v. ma*.
Town, *kunda*.
Trade, *v. feeree*.
Tree, *eree*.
True, *tonia*.
Truſt, *v. la*.
Turn, *aelima*.

Underſtand, *moi*.
Until, *bāning*.

Walk, *tama*.
War, *killi*.
Waſh, *v. coo*.
Water, *gee*.
Weary, *umbatata*.
Weep, *akuſſi*.
Weigh, *ſimang*.
Well, *n. a. awa*.
Well, *n. ſ. cullong*.
Weſt, *teelee gee*.
Wet, *ſinunta*.
What, *mun*.
Where, *minto*.
White, *qui*.
Who, *jema*.
Why, *munkang*.
Wind, *n. funnio*.
Wolf, *ſooloo*.
Woman, *mooſa*.
Wilderneſs, *woolla*.
Yes, *awa*.
Yeſterday, *koona*.
You, *eeta*, when ſimply pronounced: when joined to any other word, it is *ee*.
Young, *juna*.

The following QUESTIONS *and* ANSWERS *may be uſeful in the Weſt Indies.*

Do you underſtand Mandingo? -	*ee Mandingo kunmo moi?*
I underſtand it, - - -	*ya moi.*
I do not underſtand you, - -	*ma moi.*
Come hither, - - - -	*na na ree.*
Is your father or mother living? -	*ee fa, ou ee ba abeagee?*
——— alive, - - - -	*abeegee.*
——— dead, - - - -	*aſata.*
Have you any brothers or ſiſters? -	*ee ba ding abeegee?*
Where are they? - - -	*biminto?*
Are they in Africa? - - -	*abee fato ſing doo?*
Are they on board the ſhip? -	*abbe Tobaubo Calcon ou konno?*
Point them out. - - -	*aitanna.*
What is the matter with you? -	*mun bela?*
Are you in health? - - -	*ko ee kinde?*
I am ſick. - - - -	*mun kinde.*
Shew me your tongue. - -	*ee ning aitanna.*
Give me your hand. - - -	*ee boulla adima.*
Are you hungry? - - -	*konkolabinna?*
I am hungry. - - - -	*konkolabinna.*
Are you thirſty? - - -	*mindolabinna?*

I am

I am thirſty. - - - -	*the ſame word repeated.*
I am not hungry. - - -	*konko inteegee.*
I am not thirſty. - - -	*mindo inteegee.*
Does your head ache? - -	*ee koon bideeminn?*
It does ache. - - - -	*bideemina.*
It does not ache. - - -	*intademing.*
Does your ſtomach pain you? -	*ee konno bideemina.*
Do you ſleep well? - - -	*koo ee ſinoo betika?*
Are you feveriſh? - - -	*acandeata?*
Do not be afraid. - - -	*kanna ſeelan.*
There is no danger. - - -	*torro inteegee.*
Drink this medicine. - - -	*ning borri ameen.*
It will do you good. - - -	*aee kiſſi.*

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