

**A voyage to Senegal; or, historical, philosophical, and political memoirs, relative to the discoveries, establishments and commerce of Europeans in the Atlantic Ocean, from Cape Blanco to the River of Sierra Leone. To which is added an account of a journey from Isle St. Louis to Galam / By J.P. [!] L. Durand ... Translated from the French, & embellished with numerous engravings.**

### **Contributors**

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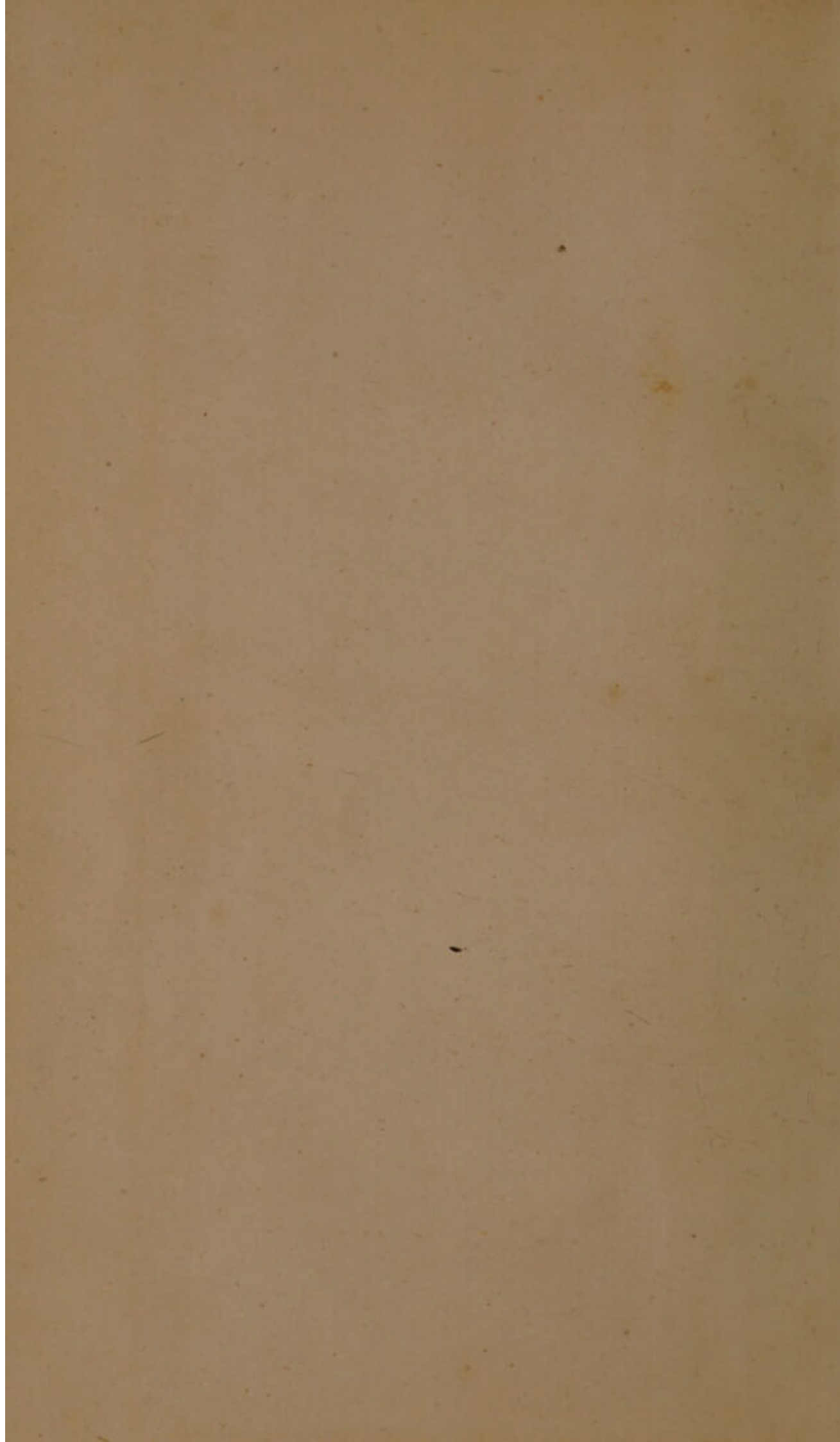
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A  
VOYAGE  
TO  
SENEGAL;  
OR,  
HISTORICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, AND POLITICAL  
MEMOIRS,  
RELATIVE TO  
THE DISCOVERIES, ESTABLISHMENTS, AND COMMERCE  
OF EUROPEANS IN THE ATLANTIC OCEAN,  
FROM  
*Cape Blanco to the River of Sierra Leone.*  
TO WHICH IS ADDED AN  
ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY  
FROM  
ISLE ST. LOUIS TO GALAM.

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BY  
J. P. L. DURAND,  
FORMERLY GOVERNOR OF ISLE ST. LOUIS.

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*Translated from the French, & embellished with numerous Engravings.*

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LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, 6, NEW BRIDGE STREET,  
*By J. G. Barnard, 57, Snow Hill.*

1806.



VOYAGE

SENEGAL

HISTORICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, AND POLITICAL  
MEMOIRS

BY  
THE DISTINGUISHED ESTABLISHMENT, AND COMMISSIONERS  
OF EUROPEANS IN THE ATLANTIC OCEAN

OF THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF SENEGAL



L. F. L. DEBAND

FORMERLY OF THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE SENEGAL COLONY

LONDON

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, 3, NEW ARCADE, LONDON

AND A. G. BARNARD, 21, NEW ARCADE, LONDON

1808

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that presumed to suppose, the countries under the torrid zone to be inhabited, expressed such an opinion, they were looked upon as heretics.

The Spaniards, in more modern times, pretended to have examined all the coasts of Africa, several centuries before the birth of the Messiah; but they said nothing of the interior, and we must give them credit for their reserve. They pretended to have conducted to America the vessels of Solomon and Iliam, when they went in search of the treasures mentioned in scripture; but this pretension was seriously combated by the Portuguese, who insisted on the honour of having made the first discovery of those countries; and with such obstinacy did the latter maintain their opinions, that the subject was brought under legal discussion, and a verdict given in their favour. At this period, some Frenchmen of Dieppe interfered in the famous dispute, and proved, that they were the first navigators who had entered the Senegal, and that they had formed establishments on that part of the coast, long before the Portuguese and other navigators had made their appearance.

These expeditions of the merchants of Dieppe, took place at the commencement of the fourteenth century, and from that time they established themselves on the Senegal, and along the coast as far as Sierra Leone. In September, 1365, they engaged with some merchants of Rouen; and the next year they undertook the strongest maritime expedition which had till then been seen on the African coast. They formed factories at certain distances, which served as an asylum for their merchandise and the persons in their employ, by which the Africans always found a ready market, and the French vessels constant cargoes. From this beginning were produced the establishments of the Senegal, Rufisque, Goree, the river Gambia, Sierra Leone, and two others on the coast of Malaguetto, one of which was called "Little Paris," and the other "Little Dieppe." In 1382, they erected forts at the gold mine on the coast of Guinea,



at Agra, and at Cormentin. The consequences of these discoveries, were immense wealth, and the best profit was probably that afforded by ivory. In 1392, owing to the violent agitation of France, in consequence of the civil war and the illness of Charles VI. the commerce of Africa was entirely abandoned; and the factories for which such great sacrifices had been made, fell into the hands of the Dutch, the Portuguese, the English, and the Spaniards. The Portuguese were the most ardent plunderers, as they were authorised by the Popes, who conceded to them in perpetuity all the territories which they might discover from Cape Bojador to the Indies inclusively; they therefore made several fortunate expeditions, and for a long time enjoyed a decisive superiority.

Pope Martin V. in the plenitude of his divine authority, very liberally granted to Portugal, the right of seizing and confiscating all the property of infidels, in order that they might have the opportunity of becoming converts, to which he added a plenary indulgence for the souls of those who might fall in such pious expeditions. This donation, which was made in 1432, was afterwards confirmed and augmented by Popes Eugene IV. Nicolas V. and Sextus IV.; and the kings of Portugal assumed the title of "Lords of Guinea and the Coast of Africa."

Spain now became anxious to have a share in the acts of temporal authority of the sovereign pontiffs; and in 1492, Alexander VI. divided his liberalities, by investing Spain and Portugal with the territories of the East and West Indies.

The English were slow in their courses, and were restrained by the express orders of their court, which, out of respect for the Popes, and consideration for Portugal, would not permit its subjects to proceed towards the western coast of Africa; nor did they emancipate themselves from this restriction, till the middle of the sixteenth century, when being at war with Portugal, they directed their arms against her establishments, and gradually succeeded in destroying their power.



The French, who were the legitimate proprietors, recovered their rights, and regained several of their ancient possessions; but as these events took place gradually, and at different periods, I shall not here describe them, though I ought to say, that we maintained for a long time by force of arms, the possessions which we had acquired from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope; and that the French have always considered that vast extent of coast, as dependent on their commercial operations.

It will be equally needless to trace the progress of our commercial companies in Africa down to the present period. It is known, that in 1664, the merchants of Dieppe and Rouen sold their establishments to the West India Company, for the sum of 150,000 livres; and that the new owners, by the extent of their speculations, had more than they could manage, and were crushed beneath the weight of their own projects.

The English captured isle St. Louis and Senegal in 1758; the French regained them twenty years afterwards, and had the possession ensured to them by the treaty of peace with England in 1783, which also guaranteed to France, the isle of Goree, all the coast between Cape Verd and the river Gambia, and the factory of Albreda, situated at the mouth of that river; which, however, as well as fort James, is in the possession of England.

From the left bank of the river Gambia, which forms Cape St. Mary, as far as the river of Sierra Leone, the coast belongs exclusively to no foreign nation; but the French share with the English, the Portuguese, and all commercial people, the right of frequenting, and that of forming new establishments on such points as are not occupied.

Soon after the peace of 1783, it was proposed to create a company for the Senegal; when it was granted to the Guiana company the exclusive privilege of the gum trade for nine years; and this company ceded its new privilege in 1785, to a body of



merchants, who assumed the title of the Gum Company. By a decree of the council on the 10th of November, 1786, the king subjected the company to pay the colonial expences, which were fixed at 260,749 livres; and granted them in return, the exclusive right of the slave trade, with an extension of the commerce in gum for three years longer. It then took the name of the Senegal Company; but being badly organised, it met with little success, and was abolished by a decree of the Constituent Assembly in 1791.

Previous to this time, I belonged to the naval department, when the marshal de Castrées appointed me principal director of the company at Isle St. Louis. I therefore left Havre on the 13th of March, 1785, and arrived at my new destination on the 10th of April following; at which time, M. de Repentigny was governor-general, and to whom I was particularly recommended by M. Vergennes, the minister for foreign affairs. This wise and modest officer received me with the greatest kindness; and we lived together in the most perfect harmony, till he was succeeded by M. de Boufflers, whose talents and celebrity were of the greatest advantage to the country.

My memoirs were begun at Senegal, and terminated at Paris. I have shewn them to several persons; and the two great authors, Lalande and La Harpe, have published reflections on my journey to Galam; in consequence of which, and at the urgent desire of many friends, I have submitted my manuscript to the press. I shall only observe, that all the people of Africa are so much alike, that I have found it impossible to give a just and precise idea of them, without making what may be deemed repetitions; and as to the style of my work, I declare that I have no literary pretensions: I have only occupied myself in describing facts with accuracy and truth; while my object is to promote the power and riches of my country, with the hope that the inhabitants of Africa may thereby become more happy.



# VOYAGE

TO

## SENEGAL.

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### CHAP. I.

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CAPE BLANCO AND ITS ENVIRONS.—DANGERS OF THAT PASSAGE.—BARBAROUS AND CRUEL CHARACTER OF THE MOORS WHO INHABIT THE COAST.—SHIPWRECK OF M. DE BRISSON.—CAPTURE OF HIM AND HIS COMPANIONS.—CHARACTER OF A MOORISH CHIEF.—HARDSHIPS OF CAPTIVITY IN THE DESERTS.—LIBERATION OF M. DE BRISSON AND ONE OF HIS COMPANIONS.

ON reaching the western coast of Africa, navigators meet first with Cape Blanco, which is situated in  $20^{\circ} 55$  m. 30 sec. lat. and  $19^{\circ} 30$  m. long. It is a spot almost circular, insomuch that, on account of its far projections, it is more difficult to discover than any other point on the coast: it is surrounded with dangerous banks, which are with difficulty avoided; and it derives its name from the white colour of its burning and arid soil. The next point is Cape St. Anne, which is to the eastward on the same parallel; the distance from one cape to the other, is computed at eight leagues. They form between them a large and deep bay, about twelve leagues north and south, which contains various mouths of torrents or rivers, in which the sea ascends so high as to spoil the fresh water, and thus deprives vessels of the only resource which this part of the coast would otherwise afford them.

From Cape St. Anne to Salt Cape, the coast runs S. E. for about six leagues. This cape received its name from a variety of natural and abundant salt-pits which it contained, and from which, before the rainy season, a quantity of salt used to be collected. The Europeans, however, have abandoned them; but it is probable that the Moors turn them to advantage. About six leagues farther, at the point called Hof, is another bay as large and deep as the former: it contains three isles, the largest of which is to the eastward, and is called Arguin. It is necessary to pass all these capes, in order to arrive at the French posses-



sions. The coast is uncommonly dangerous for navigators, on account of the frequent storms and continually heavy sea; while there are numerous currents which set violently in towards land, and which prove a new Taurida to such vessels as have the misfortune to fall in their tracks. The natives, who are subjects of the emperor of Morocco, are, in every sense of the word, barbarians, with whom it has hitherto, and doubtless always will be impossible to trade. They consider wrecked ships as presents sent them by heaven; enrich themselves by the plunder they afford, and reduce the unfortunate mariners to the most disgusting slavery. From this state of bondage, indeed they have not the least hope of escaping, as they can only regain their liberty by means of a serious demand on the part of their country at the emperor's court; in which case, the monarch compels his subjects to give up the slaves when they can be discovered, but, to which they do not consent, without receiving a considerable ransom. We have several instances of the payment of this ransom, by the emperor of Morocco himself, when he has wished to make his court to the French government. Sometimes these savages, in order to avoid the demands of their emperor, and keep the slaves they have seized on, retire to inaccessible parts of the desert, where I have good reason to know that they amuse themselves by subjecting the unfortunate Europeans to the most shocking torments and cruel death. But navigators may avoid these dangers by sailing to the westward of the Canaries.

I shall give an account of a shipwreck, which happened on this coast while I was at isle St. Louis, which will be the best means of illustrating the dangers I have mentioned, while it will afford some interesting information relative to the desert which borders on the Senegal.

M. de Brisson left France in the month of June, 1785, for isle St. Louis, in a vessel called the St. Catharine, Captain Le Turc. On the 10th of July following, they found themselves at midnight, between the coast of Africa and the Canary islands, in a sort of creek formed by rocks. The captain being alarmed, steered the ship towards the shoal; and the vessel being driven with great force by the currents, struck three times, and then remained motionless. During the whole night, it resisted the attacks of the sea, which seemed ready every instant to swallow it up; but towards morning the storm abated, and M. de Brisson, with all the crew, got to land. But these unfortunate people found themselves on a barren and unknown country; they ascended the highest rocks, and could perceive nothing but an immense plain covered with white sand, on which a few plants were interspersed, similar to branches of coral; they bore a small seed of the same colour, resembling in size and shape that of mustard.



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*Shipwreck at Cape Blanc.*



*Catching Slaves.*



The Moors call it *avezoud*, and make a paste of it, with which they regale themselves. In the distance, they discovered several hillocks, which, being overspread by a kind of wild fern, resembled a vast forest.

They advanced towards the hillocks, and soon perceived a number of camels feeding, from which they had no doubt that the neighbourhood was inhabited. This was a valuable discovery for the poor mariners, who were almost perishing with hunger and thirst. Some men who were watching the camels, as soon as they perceived the Europeans, gave the alarm to a neighbouring encampment, and they soon found themselves surrounded by Moors, who appeared to be overjoyed, and made the most dreadful shouts and cries. The shipwrecked crew not being together, were seized by the collar with a ferocious eagerness, and immediately stripped; while those who attempted resistance, were wounded and thrown almost expiring on the sand.

During this barbarous transaction, M. de Brisson perceived a Moor unarmed, and from his costume, he recognised him to be one of those who had accompanied the king Alikouri on a visit which he paid him at isle St. Louis. He therefore ran and threw himself at his feet, as did M. Devoize, the second officer of the ship, and five of the crew who had not left him: but they soon perceived that they were as unfortunate as their companions; for the Moor received them with contempt. He asked M. de Brisson in a severe tone, who he was, from whence he came, and what brought them all there? This officer answered by drawing on the sand the form of a ship, and by means of expressive gestures, with the assistance of a few Arabic words, which he had learned at isle St. Louis, he made him understand that they had been shipwrecked, and begged his assistance to conduct them to their destination; adding, that he possessed the means of rewarding him for his trouble. This last remark was perfectly understood, and gave great pleasure to the Moor, who immediately composed his features, and placed his fingers between those of M. de Brisson, as a testimony that they were friends, and would be always united. He demanded the effects of which M. de Brisson had spoken, and received two watches, one of them a repeater; two chains, a gold stock-buckle, two pair of silver shoe-buckles, a brilliant ring, a silver goblet and cover, and 220 livres in specie. The money gave him more pleasure than all the other articles; he secreted the treasure very mysteriously in his blue shirt, and promised M. de Brisson that he would never abandon him. The surrender of this property had induced our countryman to think that he should gain the kindness of those into whose hands he had fallen; but it proved to him a source of the greatest misfortune. The Moor then asked M. de Brisson, at what



part he had been shipwrecked; and on being informed, he called several of his fellows, and made a sign to them to follow him. By the manner in which they approached, M. de Brisson perceived that his protector was a man of some consideration; and he afterwards learned that he was one of the priests, whom they called a Talba.

On reaching the sea-shore they shouted with joy; but their eagerness for plunder soon set them at variance. Several of them swam off to the remains of the wreck in order to get what they could, while those who remained behind were afraid that they should not obtain their share: the women, in particular, became quite outrageous.

The news of this shipwreck becoming known in the country, the savages ran towards the shore in great numbers; and their disputes about the plunder attained such a height that several lives were lost. The women, enraged at not being able to get to the ship, fell upon the unfortunate Frenchmen, and partly stripped them naked, disputing all the time who should possess the clothes of M. de Brisson, which were better than the rest.

The talba, who had become the master of the ship-wrecked crew, but who, though a priest, was a warrior by profession, perceiving that the number of savages increased every instant, found himself obliged to join with two friends in order to secure the portion of plunder which he had obtained. The arrangements being made, as well concerning the share of plunder as that of the slaves, the three Moors retired from the crowd for the purpose of hiding their booty. The Frenchmen were conducted to a miserable hut covered with moss, about a league distant from the sea, where they were crowded together and rigorously searched in case they might have concealed some valuables; but nothing being found on them, they were stripped quite naked, and even robbed of their shirts and handkerchiefs. M. de Brisson then learned that his master was called *Sidy Mahamet-del-Zouze*, of the tribe of *Labdesseba*, the most ferocious of any in the desert, and the irreconcilable enemy of the *Wadelims*, who are not much better.

After having buried in the sand the treasure which he had acquired, Sidy-Mahamet returned to the shore to get his share of the plunder of the ship; and during his absence a troop of *Wadelims* attacked the retreat of the Europeans, pulled them out by the throat and the hair of the head, and then began to fight amongst themselves for the few clothes which M. de Brisson had about him; and in their jealous fury they not only stripped him to the skin, but pursued him behind some heaps of sand, where they knocked him down, and almost beat him to death. They were preparing a rope to strangle him, when one of the



men whom the talba had associated with him, came running out of breath, and accused them with having violated the asylum of Sidy-Mahammet, carried off his slave, and trodden under foot the sacred book of their religion. He told them that the priest, indignant at the indecency of their sacrilegious conduct, had demanded that the old men of both parties should meet to try the criminals in full council, and that the only means of appeasing his wrath would be to give up his slave. This menace had a good effect, and M. de Brisson was immediately set at liberty. The person who had interfered in behalf of the French officer was called Nonegem; he conducted M. de Brisson to the place where the council was assembled, and the trial immediately began; when the liberator, as avaricious as he was cunning, pretended that M. de Brisson was a slave of his own, as he had taken him from those who would have carried him off. He also founded his pretensions on having seen this Frenchman give his master several articles which he conceived to be very valuable. These audacious remarks, and particularly the disclosure of the little treasure, rendered Sidy-Mahammet furious: he darted at Nonegem a look of rage and indignation, and exclaimed, "This christian belongs to me; he came of his own accord to throw himself into my arms, and I have promised to protect him and conduct him to king Alikouri. I gave him my word that I would do so; and I hope the tribunal will give a verdict in my favour, instead of declaring for Nonegem, who deserves to be severely punished." To this Nonegem replied, "As thy slave cannot be mine, he shall die by my hand." On which he drew a poignard to kill M. de Brisson, who stood appalled with terror. Sidy-Mahammet, however, without expressing the least emotion, threw over him a kind of chaplet of a considerable length; and then took up a little book which hung at his waist, when in an instant the women rushed towards M. de Brisson, took him from Nonegem, and delivered him over to the enraged priest: for they dreaded lest he should issue an anathema against his adversary. The whole of the council immediately applauded the act of authority of the talba, and approved of the conduct of the women. I should add by the way, that the talbas, or marabous, always wear a long string, which contains one hundred and fifteen little black balls, and which they use as the catholics do chaplets.

M. de Brisson was then taken to his comrades who were in the vicinity, and whom he found in a pitiable state. They were almost starved; for during the three days which they had been in captivity they had had no food but a little wheat-flour spoiled by sea-water, mixed with some barley-flour, which had for a long time been preserved in goats-skins. While they were enjoying this wretched meal, a friend of Sidy-Mahammet came



and told them to hide themselves without delay, as the Wadelims were coming from all parts to carry off the slaves and treasure. The talba profited by this advice, and they all hid themselves behind some hillocks of sand, where they remained till some Moors of the other tribe, who were interested in preserving their plunder, came to reinforce their comrades. A guide went before the Frenchmen, and pointed out to them the road they had to take, by erecting at certain distances little pyramids of stones. This precaution was necessary in order to avoid the outskirts of the enemy, particularly those of the Wadelims. Indeed, these people are so avaricious, that whether friends or enemies they are equally to be dreaded. At break of day all those who possessed christian slaves came with them, and joined the Frenchmen; when the whole body marched off for the interior of the country, at which resided the families of their respective owners.

This journey was to the Europeans toilsome in the extreme: they were dying with hunger and thirst, by which they experienced such pain, on moving the tongue, that they were afraid to ask the simplest question. Being forced to follow the steps of the camels, whose pace was hastened, they were exhausted by fatigue; and to avoid being surprised, they made several counter marches, in consequence of which they were a fortnight in making a journey which was generally performed in five days.

After climbing mountains of a prodigious height, covered with small greyish flints as sharp as those of muskets, they descended into a sandy plain, interspersed with thistles, and here the cavalcade rested. M. de Brisson having walked till his feet were excoriated, could proceed no farther; on which his master made him get up behind him on a camel, whose rough movements caused him to experience insupportable pain. Being naked, and having no means of preventing the friction of the camel's hair, he was soon so chafed, that his blood ran down the camel's sides. This was a sight which afforded much amusement to his master; and the better to enjoy it, he pressed the camel to a quicker pace. At length M. de Brisson, no longer able to endure the torture, threw himself down on the sand, and experienced no other injury than a few scratches from the thorny thistles.

Towards evening they met their guide and halted. M. de Brisson being no longer able to move, and suffering all the horrors of starvation, threw himself behind a bush and implored death; but they soon roughly pulled him from his retreat to make him unload the camels. Being, however, tired of his life, he made some resistance, and knocked down the Moor who disturbed him, on which the latter ran off and fetched his master, who assured his captive that he had nothing to fear. This, and many other instances of a similar nature, prove that the Moors



are not insolent, and that they only shew courage when they meet with no resistance.

The shipwrecked mariners, while sitting beneath the bushes, perceived some arrangements which made them tremble with horror. The Moors put a quantity of stones in a brasier, and made them red hot; they then lifted up a large stone, and dug a hole in the ground, occasionally making shouts of laughter, and repeating the name of *Brisson*. At length they called him to them, and made him approach to the hole which they had dug; but what was his surprise when he saw them draw from the hole which they had just dug, and in which he thought they were going to bury him, a large skin full of water, a sack of barley-flour, and a newly-killed goat. His fear subsided, and the sight of the provisions gave him a new life; he saw them fill a large wooden bowl with water in which they put a quantity of flour, and then, by throwing into it the red-hot stones, they made it boil. By this means they produced a sort of gruel which they kneaded in their hands, and ate without chewing. The slaves had for their repast the same steeped flour, and a very small quantity of brackish water: the goat was reserved for the next day. The guide who went before them had procured those provisions in a neighbouring village, and had concealed them under the stone. *M. de Brisson* observed, that the resentment of the Moor whom he had struck was converted into acts of kindness and complaisance: for this man brought him a larger share of provisions than was allotted to the others. The meal being finished, each man laid himself down to sleep behind the bushes.

The next morning as soon as day appeared, a signal was given for their departure; and *M. de Brisson*, with the other slaves, were ordered to collect the camels and load them; after which the troop set off, and at noon stopped in a plain where there was not a single tree to shade them from the rays of the sun. Having unloaded the camels, the slaves were employed in digging up roots to make a fire; a labour which, in this country, is the more troublesome, as all the trees, roots, and grasses, are thorny. As soon as the fire had imparted a sufficient heat to the sand, they covered the goat entirely with it; and while the slaves were keeping up the fire, their masters regaled themselves with the raw fat of the animal, for which they seemed to have a great relish. When the goat was dressed, the Moors, without taking the trouble to knock off the sand, ate it with a most incredible voracity, gnawing it to the very bones, and pulling off the skin which remained on them with their nails: they then threw the bones to the slaves, telling them to make haste and get their dinner, that they might reload the camels.

Towards evening they perceived some tents on a little eminence,



with a few herds grazing: the inhabitants of this village came in crowds to meet the travellers; but far from expressing towards the unfortunate slaves the mild laws of hospitality, they overwhelmed them with insults, and subjected them to the most inhuman treatment. Two comrades of M. de Brisson were used with extreme rigour, and the women were more ferocious than the men. Their owners made but feeble resistance; for they were very glad that the people occupied themselves more with the slaves than with the burdens of the camels. M. de Brisson, who was at a little distance from his camel, perceived a man who was aiming at his face with a double-barrelled musket, on which he presented his breast to him and told him to fire; when the assassin, struck by his firmness, let the piece fall from his hands. At the same instant he was struck on the head by a stone, and for a moment lost his senses; but on recovering himself he burst into a rage, and loudly demanded vengeance. There needed no more to spread terror through the village, and the savages who had come to see the travellers took to flight; one of them, however, before he ran off, gave M. de Brisson a blow on the breast with his musket, which made him vomit blood, and the unfortunate man was unable to recognise the fellow who had injured him; but by complaining loudly he excited the curiosity of several of those monsters, who asked him a number of questions, and seemed pleased with his answers.

M. de Brisson, to prove that he knew the king Alikouri, and that he had been his *friend* at isle St. Louis, attempted to imitate the *egeums* or buffoons, whom that king had in his suite: by this kind of drollery he so highly pleased his master, that he made him repeat his mimicry several times, and at last employed this stratagem to divert the people, who, he feared, would steal his property. No sooner had he mentioned the talent of his slave for imitating the *egeums*, than M. de Brisson was surrounded by crowds of men, women, and children, who were constantly pressing him to sing, and for which they rewarded him with a little camel's milk.

The travelling party remained one day in this canton; but the inhabitants, though they had received them coldly, supplied them on their departure with provisions for three or four days. They proceeded eastward, and passed over large plains, which were covered with white, flat, and round flints, but not a single plant was to be seen; and the horizon appeared to be loaded with a reddish vapour, which resembled in different parts the flames from volcanoes. The small pebbles pricked the feet of the Frenchmen, and produced a sensation similar to the burning of sparks. The air contained neither birds nor insects; and the silence which prevailed was so profound, as to produce a sort of



terrific effect on the mind. If by chance a breath of air arose, the traveller immediately experienced an extreme lassitude; his lips became chapped, his skin parched, and his whole body covered with painful carbuncles. The Moors, who had retired to live in these countries in order to avoid certain tributes which they did not wish to pay, were afflicted by the atmosphere as much as their slaves; for so inhospitable is the region, that the most ferocious animals dare not penetrate it.

On leaving this plain they entered another, where the wind had raised from space to space the sand into hillocks, and the intervals of which produced a few odoriferous plants, which the almost famished camels devoured with avidity. They afterwards came to a valley surrounded by mountains, the soil of which was white and saponaceous; and here, for the first time, they found some pools of water: it was very brackish, covered with green moss, and had a pestilential smell; but such was their thirst, that they drank it with indescribable pleasure. Towards evening they had the good fortune to meet with an hospitable horde by whom they were well received, and who pointed out to them the road which led to some other villages where they could obtain provisions to last them for the remainder of their journey. This information was very seasonable, as their guide had lost his way.

The brother-in-law of the master of M. de Brisson was one of the chiefs of the burgh, and took particular care of all the slaves: he sent them a meal of ostrich-flesh and camel's milk. He appeared affected at the fate of M. de Brisson, and said to him, with much tenderness, "Unfortunate Christian! my brother has long been my debtor; if you will attach yourself to me, I will make arrangements with him to obtain you." This proposition, though it affected M. de Brisson, nevertheless made him tremble, as it indicated a long captivity, while he flattered himself that his present state would soon be changed; he therefore sought for his master, and intreated him not to consent to such an arrangement. "Be easy," said the Moor; "you shall not leave me except to go to Senegal or Morocco, and that shall soon take place." This assurance gave indescribable joy to the captive.

They rested three days amongst the Moors of the tribe called *Laroussye*, and then continued their journey to the spot at which resided the families of their conductors. It was not till they had travelled sixteen days, and suffered the most dreadful fatigue and misery, that they arrived at the place of their destination, reduced to skeletons.

At break of day they discovered a village which apparently occupied a fertile spot. Several tents were pitched under large shady trees, and innumerable herds were grazing on the hillocks,



which made them conceive the place to be the residence of peace and plenty. But this proved an illusion.

The travellers were soon perceived ascending a hill which led to the residence of the Moors who were approaching; and several black slaves came to meet them, prostrated themselves, and kissed their feet. At a short distance the children made the air resound with shouts of joy; and the women placed themselves erect at the entrance of the tents to give their husbands a respectful reception. As the latter approached, the women came forward, and with a submissive aspect, placed the right hand on the men's heads, which they kissed after prostrating themselves to the ground. This ceremony being over, they looked towards the Christian slaves with much curiosity, and then insulted them in the most odious manner: they spat in their faces, and threw stones at them; while the children, imitating their example, pinched them, pulled their hair, and tore their flesh with their nails, their cruel mothers stimulating them to the commission of such injuries.

A division was now made of the slaves; and Messrs. Devoise, de Brisson, and Beaudré were taken by Sidy-Mahammet. As soon as his family had done carressing him, M. de Brisson asked which of the women who surrounded him was his favourite, on which he pointed her out. The captive then approached her, and presented her with a double handful of cloves, which her husband had carefully kept for her, that he might meet with a favourable reception; for these women are passionately fond of aromatic scents, and that of cloves beyond others. She received the present with an insulting hauteur, and then kicked him from the tent. A minute afterwards this despotic woman commanded the slaves to unload the camels; after which she set one to clean a sort of kettle, and sent another to pull up roots for fuel. While she was giving these orders, her dear husband was fast asleep, with his head on the lap of one of his concubines.

The unfortunate Frenchmen, though thus condemned to an excess of fatigue, misery, and opprobrium, nevertheless occasionally experienced some relaxation, owing to the interference of their master; but the cruelty of his wife was incessant, and at length became unbearable. The Moors never inhabit the same place for a length of time; but when the half-starved herds have devoured all the pasturage, they change their position, and remove to a spot which is more favourable. The care and labour attendant upon such changes were the task imposed upon the French slaves; and from the frequency of these movements they were absolutely exhausted. One day Devoise and Beaudré were beaten almost to death, and left senseless on the sand, because they were unable to perform the required service. For a long



time they were compelled to the dire necessity of seeking their food along with the cattle; and on these occasions their only nutriment was plants and live snails.

M. de Brisson was possessed of sufficient strength and firmness of mind to resist all these hardships; but he was soon subjected to others. He was compelled to harness the camels to the plough, to attend to the tillage and sowing of the lands; and his master, when he had finished his own jobs, would let him out to other Moors for a portion of milk. He would infallibly have fallen under the fatigue, if some hope of liberty had not remained with him, and if he had not been enabled occasionally to steal some barley and mutton in addition to the small quantity of food which they allowed him.

The unfortunate M. Devoise being older, and not so strong in constitution, could not long withstand such hardships. Every day he prayed for death, who at length came to his assistance. This gentleman was the brother of the present French commercial commissioner at Tunis. I was on terms of the strictest intimacy with him; and when I heard of his shipwreck, I sent to the deserts with the most pressing requests that he might be delivered up; but all my endeavours were unsuccessful. M. de Brisson paid him the last duties of humanity. Beaudré also died, and his body was devoured by ravens and serpents.

M. de Brisson at length obtained the permission of his master to write to Mogador, which the Moors call Sovia. He addressed his letter to the French consul, and gave a melancholy account of the hardships he suffered. It was conveyed by a Jew, who travelled through that part of the desert; for the Jews who are born in the desert live on good terms with the Moors, and adopt nearly the same customs; but the Jewish inhabitants of the towns being more rigid observers of their religious maxims, receive far worse treatment.

A second favour more important than the first occurred by chance. Another Sidy-Mahammet, who was sheriff of the tribe of the Trarzas, had occasion to pass through the place where M. de Brisson was enslaved, and they recognised each other. The sheriff spoke so highly of him to the brother-in-law of his master, Sidy-Sellem, that the latter, who was naturally humane and compassionate, made a second attempt to purchase him, and the bargain was at length concluded. The price of his transfer was five camels.

Sidy-Sellem was the first who informed M. de Brisson of the change, which was soon confirmed by his former master, and they separated on the best terms. M. de Brisson, on returning with his new owner, met with a companion of his misfortune, who had been baker to the wrecked ship, and they travelled together



under the protection of Sidy-Sellem. Their master had given them a camel to ride on without a saddle, and they proceeded in this manner for some days; but the motion of the animal was so fatiguing, that they were obliged to quit it and travel the rest of the way on foot.

This journey was difficult, but much less so than the former, as their master took them through villages where water was plentiful, and the people were more feeling. M. de Brisson, however, had a shocking rencontre with some Moors of the tribe of Telkannes. They fired two muskets at him, but which luckily missed him. Two Moors then seized him, and were about to carry him off, when Sidy-Sellem, who was some distance behind, came forward on the report of the guns, and loudly complained of the outrage; but the Moors told him that they had taken the slave for a thief who had run away. Sidy-Sellem pretended to believe them, and the travellers continued their journey.

The Moors of this tribe are the worst off of any in the desert. They live amongst hills which are formed entirely of sand raised by the wind; and it is so difficult to penetrate into their retreats, that it is a common saying, that they endeavour to conceal themselves from the rays of the sun: the plains in the neighbourhood contain great numbers of enormous serpents, which do not permit the cattle to approach them.

At length our travellers reached the town of *Gouadnum*, which is the refuge for all the rebels of the desert: it is divided into two parts, each of which has a governor; but the only superiority between them is that which is given by fortune. All the houses are built alike, and receive their light from the door and the roof, which is uncovered. Four large walls surround the space which contains the houses; and the whole circumference has only one gate, which is guarded by large dogs. Each individual has also a dog for his own security, because they have as much to fear from their neighbours as from strangers. The town, however, carries on a considerable trade, and has several markets which resemble our fairs. They have for sale great quantities of the most beautiful wool, and fine woollen stuffs, of which they make their cloathing. The merchants who carry them into the interior of the country give in exchange camels and gold from the mines of Bambouk: they also receive for those articles wheat, barley, dates, horses, tobacco, salt, gunpowder, combs, mirrors, and other articles of hardware. This commerce is chiefly carried on by Jews, who are exposed to the most outrageous insults, which they nevertheless bear patiently, on account of the great advantages they derive from the traffic, and the pleasure they experience in cheating the Moors.

Our travellers remained eight days at Gouadnum. From



thence to Mogador they met with nothing but villages, and castles built on the summits of high mountains. At a distance these look like superb palaces; but on approaching them, their walls are found to consist of nothing but mud, and are built in the most shapeless and disgusting form. They were now not so well fed; and the nearer they approached to a town, the less hospitality they received.

At length, after a journey of sixty-six days, they arrived at Mogador, where Messrs. Dupras and Cabannes came to them, and without being disgusted at their revolting appearance, assured them that their misfortunes were at an end. They took with them Sidy-Sellem and his son, and their house became the asylum of the whole.

The same day M. de Brisson and the baker were presented to the governor of the place, who informed them that they must proceed to Morocco, as the emperor desired to see all the Christian slaves, and give them their liberty.

Mogador is advantageously built; the batteries are strong, and have a cannon at each embrasure; but the mouth of the cannon rests on the bottom of the aperture, so that the pieces can be of no use but for shew. It is the same at Rabat, Salep, and Tangier; the emperor having neither workmen capable of mounting them, nor timber fit for making the carriages.

Eight days afterwards Sidy-Sellem and the party set off for Morocco: they were furnished with mules, a tent, provisions, and men to wait on them; and after a journey of four days they reached the capital.

The city of Morocco is every thing but handsome; the houses are of clay, and in the style of those of Gouadnum, but lower, more dirty, and close. The streets are covered with filth of every kind, including the bones and offal of the cattle that are killed. The emperor's palace is of the same kind as the other buildings, being of clay, and surrounded by walls: it consists of six vast squares. The mosque is built in the same manner, and the whole of the palace has a disgusting appearance.

The unfortunate captives repaired to the house of the French consul-general, where they were to remain till they could be sent to France; they were afterwards taken before the emperor, whom they found sitting in a sort of coach body. He looked at M. de Brisson for some time, and then told him that he had been wrecked through his own fault, by not keeping far enough from the shore. He then asked for ink and paper, and traced with a reed the four principal points of the compass to indicate that Paris was northwards; after which he scratched about a dozen Roman characters, and gave the paper to M. de Brisson, asking him if he could read it? On repeating a few other questions to shew



how well he was informed, he added, that the rebels of the desert had ill-treated him, and desired to know what they had taken from him. M. de Brisson told him all that had happened; on which he said, "I do not command in the country where you have been taken, that is the people are beyond my authority." He wished to know how M. de Brisson had got to his capital; and on being told, he ordered Sidy-Sellem to be brought before him. He asked him, if he had given a high price for the Frenchmen, and what he intended to do with them. To which Sidy-Sellem replied, that he had no other intentions than to prostrate himself at the feet of his sovereign, and do the homage of a slave. He then enquired, whether the Wadelims and Lebdessebas had any other Christian prisoners. Sidy-Sellem, in the most submissive manner, answered, that there were several whom he could easily collect, if the emperor would give him orders. The emperor; however, dropped the conversation; but he ordered the Frenchmen to be guarded for the present, and supplied with provisions from the royal kitchen.

The next day the consul claimed them, and they were given up. The emperor does not supply the ambassadors or other foreigners in his capital with any household furniture, though he assigns them a residence, and distributes to them a certain number of oxen, sheep, poultry, and a quantity of bread.

The inhabitants of Morocco are almost white, and are not quite so barbarous as those of the desert, which, perhaps, is only owing to the presence of the emperor. One day M. de Brisson rode out on horseback with the French consul and American envoy: they were followed and pressed hard by the mob, till at last they were obliged to dismount, although escorted by a guard; without this precaution their lives would have been in danger. M. de Brisson was struck on the head by a stone, and it was impossible to discover the offender.

A few days afterwards the emperor again ordered the slaves before him in the court where he gives his public audiences. He was sitting on a beautiful charger, caparisoned with blue and scarlet cloth covered with gold fringe. Beside him was a squire or prince holding a long pole, on the top of which was a parasol to shelter his majesty from the solar rays. Behind him stood the body guard in the most profound silence. The looks of the emperor seemed to spread consternation around him: indeed, he is always preceded by terror; for he orders the heads of several of his subjects to be struck off, and beholds the execution with the most perfect apathy. His will is a law, and is executed instantaneously; but when a rich criminal purchases his pardon, he is never put to death, whatever may be his crime. At this audience the Frenchmen were permitted to depart.



M. de Brisson and the baker embarked for France; and Sidy-Sellem retired well satisfied with the generosity of the consul.

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## CHAP. II.

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ISLE OF ARGUIN.—PORTENDICK.—HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT NATIONS WHO HAVE OCCUPIED THOSE PLACES.—EUROPEAN COMMERCE AND FISHERIES.—CAPE VERD.—GOREE, ITS POSSESSION BY EUROPEAN NATIONS.—ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND TRADE OF ITS INHABITANTS.

THE ships which leave Europe for the establishments in the Atlantic ocean, along an extensive coast of about three hundred and fifty leagues, cannot relay more conveniently in Africa than at the isle of Arguin, at which their commercial operations may be said to begin. The most safe anchorage is at the southern point, where vessels that draw only ten or twelve feet water may approach very near to land. Between the isle and the continent is a canal in which vessels of heavy burden, and even frigates, may anchor at the spot on which formerly stood the fort. When the Dutch took the place, they regularly fortified it, and built a fort with four bastions and deep fosses. In short, they neglected nothing that might enable them to keep perpetual possession of the isle, but this fort has disappeared; and of all their works there only remain two cisterns, which seem to have been respected both by time and men. The largest is ten fathoms wide, sixteen long, and about fifteen deep, and is about two hundred fathoms from the part containing the remains of the face of the fort. It appears to have been dug in the rock. In the midst of this spacious vault is a large well fifteen feet deep, in which all the waters unite, whether they proceed from springs or filtrate through the rock from the soil which covers it. It is asserted that the cistern contains five thousand six hundred muids of water. The smaller cistern is to the north of the first, and is an artificial vault dug like the other by the hand of man, with the assistance of explosion. The capacity of the parts which receive the water is estimated at half that of the cistern first mentioned. These two cisterns were formed by the Portuguese between 1445 and 1481, when after the fall of the Norman company they first occupied the isle of Arguin.

### PORTENDICK.

Portendick is a bay about half way between Arguin and isle St. Louis. Its entrance is very difficult, being closed by two sand banks, which have only two or three fathoms of water; but



in the middle between the two banks is a passage from 70 to 80 fathoms wide, and six deep, by the north bank; and from seven to eight on the south. On proceeding some distance you discover another pass, which cuts the northern bank at about one third of its length, and contains about five fathoms of water. The bay is only six fathoms deep; the bottom is uneven, and it is impossible to remain long here during the greater part of the year, on account of the heavy sea and breakers which are driven in by the wind. The Dutch have erected a wooden fort at Portendick, for which all the materials were prepared at Amsterdam.

Arguin and Portendick have been disputed by several European nations with inconceivable rancour. The Portuguese were driven from them, after possessing them two hundred years, by the Dutch, who took the isle and fort of Arguin in 1638; but in 1665 they were captured by the English. The Dutch, however, retook them in the following year, but lost them in 1678, after sustaining an obstinate siege from the French. The French destroyed the fort, carried off the artillery, with every thing else that was worth removing; but the possession of the isle was secured to them by the treaty of Nimeguen, concluded between France and Holland 1678.

The loss of this factory did a serious injury to the Dutch merchants, and they resolved to retake it; but fearing to violate the treaty, they attacked it in 1685, under the mask of the flag of the elector of Brandenburg, who had become king of Prussia. They then restored the fortifications, and kept the isle during the war, which began in 1688 and lasted till 1698, when it was terminated by the treaty of Ryswick. This war enabled the Dutch to renew their alliances with the Moors; and the latter, who were engaged in the negotiations, had their warehouses near the cisterns.

The French company in 1721, fitted out a squadron at L'Orient and Havre, to retake that valuable possession. It consisted of three ships of war, a frigate, and three sloops, with land forces; the squadron was commanded by M. P. de Salvert, who landed, and finding the Dutch disinclined to surrender, erected batteries to attack the fort. He was given to understand, that the Moors, who were then numerous, were determined to assist the Dutch, and perish to a man, rather than surrender the place. After a vigorous bombardment, the Moors finding themselves incapable of farther defence, retired during the night, and passed over to the continent.

The French entered the fort by the same ladder by which the Moors had left it. They found in it only two negroes, an old female Moor, and two children belonging to M. Both, the former French governor of Arguin. The Dutch governor, M. Jan de Wine, voluntarily followed the Moors, who took with them prisoners to the continent, several Frenchmen who resided in the



fort; they also carried along with them all the merchandise. The French repaired the breaches, and M. J. du Bellay, who had been appointed governor of the Settlements, transferred the command to M. Duval, and embarked in the squadron for isle St. Louis. Duval was of all others in the service of the company, the least proper for such a command; he was a violent man, cruel in prosperity, and cowardly and irresolute in adversity. The Moors had been informed that they might come back to Arguin, and would be well received, as it was a matter of much consequence to attach them to the French interest. Duval, however, counteracted these orders, and was guilty of the blackest perfidy.

The Moors returned with confidence, when this infamous governor ordered them all to be massacred. Their bodies were cut in pieces and exposed in different parts, as an example to their countrymen of the treatment they were to expect.

After this horrible execution, no accommodation with the irritated Moors could be hoped for; and the Dutch did not fail to keep up the resentment of those people towards the French. In the mean time, the Moors and pretended Prussians had retired to Portendick. Duval was superceded in his command; and the Moors having landed on the island in concert with the Dutch, they gained possession of the cisterns, and seized on M. Leriche and four other Frenchmen, who had been sent to them with a flag of truce; and after springing a mine, which injured the fortifications, they compelled the French to surrender the fortress on the 11th January, 1722, when the latter were obliged to solicit the protection of the Dutch, to prevent the Moors from cutting their throats. The captors acquired on this occasion an immense quantity of merchandise. Shortly before the surrender, a French vessel was stranded about five leagues from Arguin, and the crew, eight in number, having effected a landing, were seized by the Moorish chief Homar, and instantly put to death. Duval became the victim of his atrocity and imprudence; for Homar meeting with him off Cape Blanco, as he was returning home, boarded his vessel, cut off his head, and put to death the whole of the crew, sixteen in number, Duval not making the least resistance.

This sanguinary warfare lasted for some time; the Moors revenged the outrages they had suffered; and the Dutch obtained a momentary triumph.

It would be useless to trace the various operations which were incessantly carried on against these two possessions. M. de Salvart in 1724, re-acquired possession both of Portendick and Arguin; since which, the Dutch have not appeared as enemies in that quarter.

The result of this statement is, that every nation which has endured.]



deavoured to establish itself at Arguin and Portendick, had no object but to share or monopolize the gum trade, which the French, who were firmly established in the Senegal, wished to concentrate amongst themselves. Indeed the gum trade with the Moors, was the most important of the operations which took place in those roads. The forests of gum trees are at no great distance from the shore; and the trade likewise consisted of gold, elephants' teeth, oxen, sheep, raw hides, and ostrich feathers; besides which, it is asserted that ambergrease was formerly found in considerable quantities. But though I made and caused to be made the most vigorous researches, I could never obtain any. M. Pelletan, my successor, was more fortunate, nevertheless he mentions only a single instance in which he found it; and that was in a different part of the coast; which proves at least that this substance is very scarce.

The fisheries on this part of the coast are very abundant. All the capes, as far as the mouth of St John river, afford shelter to multitudes of fish, which find plenty of nutriment. Indeed these gulphs are like so many vast ponds completely stocked, with the only difference that they cannot be exhausted. The Europeans derive much advantage from these fisheries, which afford them a number of seals: the fish forms the chief subsistence of the garrisons, and are exchanged with the Canary and Azores islands, as well as with the Moors on the coast of Guinea. The green species of turtle also delights in these roads, and the shell is much sought for in commerce.

When the French directed their commercial operations to the Senegal, they abandoned the fisheries.

About 30 or 35 leagues from Portendick, and in 15° 15m. lat. you arrive at the mouth of the Senegal. To reach Goree, either from Europe or from the Senegal, it is necessary to pass Cape Verd, which is the most western point of Africa; its elongation into the sea, makes it a vast peninsula. The soil is good, and covered with fine trees: it is fit for all kinds of cultivation, and is fertilized by several rivulets; all which render it very desirable for the establishment of the colony. Its trees being always green, have given rise to its name, as it is distinguished by its appearance from all the other capes on the coast, which are dry and barren. The bay of Yof forms a considerable space between the point of Barbary and Cape Verd; and the currents set violently into this bay in a S. S. E. direction.

The approach of a ship towards this cape is known by two mountains, which are called the Breasts, from an idea that they resemble those organs in form. As soon as they are perceived, precaution must be taken to avoid a rocky point, which projects about two leagues into the sea, and which causes the ships to



make a considerable offing to the S. W. in order to double it: they are obliged to do so, till the two Breasts appear on the same line, so that one obscures the other. Thus you arrive at Cape Verd, on doubling which, you reach Goree, at a distance of two leagues. This cape, from the two Breasts to Cape Bernard, was ceded to France by two treaties in 1763 and 1765, between the king Danel and the governor of Senegal, as well as the villages of Daccard and Bin, from which the inhabitants of the isle of Goree derive their subsistence.

The passage from the Senegal to Goree is made in about twenty-four hours; but the return is generally longer, from the opposition of the winds and currents. It sometimes even takes a month to return this short distance. The island received its name Goree, which means "*Good Road*," from the Dutch, who obtained it in 1617 by treaty, from Biram, king of Cape Verd. They built a strong fort upon it on a steep mountain to the N. W. and another which commanded the creek, and secured their magazines. The Dutch enjoyed their acquisition till 1663, when it was taken from them by the English, to whom this conquest was the more important, as they had established themselves in the river Gambia: but next year they were expelled from the isle by the Dutch admiral de Ruyter, who attacked them with a powerful squadron. The French took it from the Dutch in 1677, by which time the latter had put it into an excellent state of defence, and mounted the batteries with forty-two pieces of cannon. From that time to the present it has often been contested; and fallen into the possession of the English, French, and Dutch. The English possessed it during the last war. The government of the island when the French retained it, was the same as that of isle St. Louis; and the religion, manners, and customs of the inhabitants of both places are nearly similar.

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### CHAP. III.

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FARTHER REMARKS ON GOREE, AND COMMUNICATION FROM IT TO THE SENEGAL.—KINGDOMS ON THE COAST OF GOREE, VIZ. CAYOR, BAOL, SIN, AND SALEM.—CURIOUS PARTICULARS OF A RACE OF NEGROES.—JOURNEY FROM GOREE TO SENEGAL, &c.

THE commerce of the isle of Goree, extends from Cape Verd to the kingdom of Salem, about seven leagues from the mouth of the Gambia; but there is no establishment on that part of the coast. The three factories of Rufisque, Portudal, and Joal are abandoned, the French administration of Goree merely keeping as residents, while they had the island, an inhabitant and a negro,



who relieved each other alternately, and whose business was to treat for provisions. An establishment was projected at Cahone, a village belonging to the kingdom of Salem, nearly at the part where the river Gambia divides into two branches, the most northerly of which takes the name of Salem. It would have been very advantageous, as the Mandingos, from the kingdoms of Tombuctoo, Bambara, and the other states to the eastward, come to Cahone with their merchandise. It was not carried into execution; but it is evident that such an establishment would at any time be of the greatest advantage, as it might receive the commerce which formerly existed between Goree and the numerous isles formed by the river of Salem. Some inhabitants still go to trade at that river, and always turn their merchandise to the best account. It was on the banks of this river, that the famous lump of ambergrease was found, which M. Pelletan acquired; I will give an account of its discovery.

An inhabitant of Goree, named St. Jean, a well informed man, one day observed his negroes employed in careening their canoe, with a substance which they had melted, and of which they neither knew the nature nor the value. St. Jean discovered it by the smell, and caused what remained of the lump to be carried home. The whole had weighed upwards of a hundred pounds. To shew that this branch of commerce might become very important, I shall only observe that M. St. Jean sold the substance at from nine to ten francs per ounce, and it was resold in France for thirty-six francs.

Besides the means of commerce which Goree might have on this coast, it has opened a communication by land with Senegal. The distance between those two establishments is about forty leagues, but it is commonly made in five or six days; and the journey used to be one of pleasure to the French merchants, who went in parties, carrying with them provisions and tents for encamping on the most agreeable spots. The route is now so well known, that a sort of barracks have been built as an asylum for travellers. The greatest difficulty on the journey is that of procuring water, which it is necessary to carry with one, though wells have been dug at different distances. Milk, however, may always be procured in great quantities and at a cheap rate.

About half way up Cape Verd is a large lake, the water of which is brackish, though formed by a rivulet which is perfectly fresh. It is difficult to explain the cause of this singularity. Some suppose that the bottom of the lake consists of a nitrous earth, which communicates its flavour to the water; while others think, and perhaps with more reason, that the sea water filtrates through the ground, and mixes with that of the lake. But whatever may be the cause, it is remarkable that the water agrees equally well with sea and river fish. The negroes take im-



mense quantities of fish between Capes Verd and Manuel, where the lake empties itself into the sea; and the vast flocks of birds, which live on its banks, also devour quantities of fish. Amongst the birds is a species which seems to belong to the falcon tribe: they have a brown plumage, with some white feathers at the neck and extremities of the wings. Their beak is thick and curved like a sickle, so that the fish which they take cannot escape. They have short thighs and claws; and the latter are armed with strong and sharp nails. They fly easily, and keep themselves for a considerable time on the surface of the water with the head inclined. When a fish appears they dart upon it, and carry it off to devour amongst the reeds. They have been sometimes shot, but they cannot be eaten, as their flesh has such a rank and fishy taste, and is full of oil. Near this lake, and in several parts of the route lately mentioned, are numbers of trumpet birds, whose notes resemble the sound of that instrument. They are black, and of the size of a turkey-cock, to which they are nearly similar in shape. Their lower beak is hollow and sonorous; and it is by this that they produce the sound described.

The lake just mentioned is named after the Cereses or Serays, some tribes of negroes who inhabit its banks: they form, as in every other part where they establish themselves, a sort of democratic republic, without knowing the principles of that kind of government; but following in this case their instinct and wishes, they never choose to acknowledge any master. They live in a complete state of nature, without any other rules than what she inspires: they have no idea of the divinity, and are persuaded that the soul dies with the body. They go almost entirely naked, speak a particular language, which differs from that of all their neighbours, and never intermarry with the other negroes, whom they dislike to such a degree, that they seem to be as averse from trading with them, as they would be from a contagion. One of the principal traits in their character is the resentment which they bear for offences, which they never pardon: and if they do not take vengeance themselves, they transmit their hatred to their children, and it subsists in the family till reparation be made for the real or supposed injury. In other respects they are a good kind of people, mild and simple in their manners, and hospitable even to officiousness. They give a particularly kind reception to the whites who pass through their country, carefully cultivate their lands, and raise a great number of cattle.

They have a great respect for the dead, whom they inter without their villages, in round or square spots, like those which they inhabit. After exposing the body on a bed they plaister the stakes, which form the square of interment, with a kind of clay, and also encompass it with a wall about a foot thick, which ends



in a pointed roof, and incloses the spot. This collection of burying grounds resembles another village, and is often larger than the inhabited one to which it belongs. These people do not know how to write; but to distinguish the bodies which rest in these little huts, they put a bow and arrow on those which contain the men, while the women's sepulchres have at top a pestle and mortar, being the instruments which they use to pound their rice and millet. In other respects, as they marry amongst each other, and thus form only one family: they have no object in transmitting to posterity the names of the dead or their parentage.

The route from Goree to Senegal is in general woody, and the woods contain many banyan and latane or palm trees. The fruit of the former, and the wine of the latter, are too well known to need any description. There are also great numbers of a shrub, whose leaves resemble those of the pear-tree, and have an aromatic flavour combined with the smell of the myrtle: it communicates its delicious flavour to the flesh of the cattle, which feed on it in preference to any other vegetable. There is likewise a tree which is called the soap-tree: its fruit is of the size of a small walnut, and the negroes, who use it to wash the cotton cloths which they wear round their waists, beat it between two stones to separate the nut from the shells; and it is with the latter that they rub what they are about to wash. It dissolves easily, and completely cleanses the cotton, but burns the cloth: this circumstance, however, though serious to the wearers, is of great advantage to our commerce, which supplies them with such articles.

In some parts they cultivate tobacco upon a large scale; for the negroes, though they only use it for smoking, consume vast quantities. They merely bruise it when ripe, and make it into bunches; and notwithstanding this slovenly way of preparing it, the flavour of it is tolerably good.

In the journey to which I have alluded we meet with no dangerous animals, excepting serpents, which are both large and numerous, being sometimes from fifteen to twenty feet long, and a foot and a half in diameter. It is asserted that these are less dangerous than the small ones, which are but two inches thick, and four or five feet long: it is, however, remarkable that the human species are very seldom injured by these reptiles. To observe the *sang froid* with which the negroes let the serpents enter the hovels to creep about, hunt the rats, and sometimes the fowls, without feeling the least alarm at their appearance, one would suppose that there was a reciprocal contract between them to live together in harmony. Nevertheless the negroes are sometimes bitten by these animals, on which occasions the remedy



they apply is the actual cautery. When they happen to possess gunpowder, they cover the puncture with it and explode it, which produces a scar that draws out the venom. These accidents, however, are not frequent, and the negroes in general do not appear to apprehend them. The Cereses, on the contrary, dread the serpents, and keep them from their habitations as much as possible: indeed, they are continually at war with them, lay snares for them with much adroitness, and, on finding them, eat their flesh, which they think very good.

The serpents have other and still more terrible enemies, which are the eagles that abound throughout the country: they are of the same species as those in Europe, but far superior in size and strength.

We also meet in the journey above described numerous hordes of elephants; but they do no injury, nor ever disturb travellers: and likewise with parties of apes, who amuse by their watching and singular antics. There is also an aquatic animal sometimes found which the Cereses call *bourba*. This animal is something between the bear and the hog: its hair is short, thin, and whitish; and its feet have tolerably strong and pointed claws, which it uses to climb up trees like the bear. Its head is more like the bear's than the hog's; and though wild, it has not a terrific aspect. Its eyes are small and half closed, notwithstanding which it is very active. Its mouth is large and furnished with long and sharp strong teeth. It lives almost constantly in the rivers, notwithstanding which it is ascertained to be amphibious: its size is equal to that of a hog about a year old; and its flesh is fat and succulent.

Several persons have published their accounts of this little journey, and they all agree in stating that it is easy and agreeable. Indeed, I never heard of the slightest accident happening to those who performed it. The travellers arrive unfatigued at the village of Gandiollé, which is situated at the mouth of the Senegal, where they embark in canoes, and proceed to isle St. Louis in two or three hours, ascending the river by means of their oars.

The coast on which the commerce with Goree is established, as has been specified in the preceding passages, is divided amongst, and governed by, four negro kings. The most important and considerable of these states is that of Cayor, which is worthy of particular attention on account of the influence which its king, named Damel, has had in the success or disasters of the French establishments in this vicinity.

The kingdom of Cayor begins in the province of Toubè on the continent, and is about six leagues distant eastwards of Senegal, from which it is only separated by some marshes and the isle of Sor. It extends along the sea as far as the village called Grand



Brigny, the frontier of the kingdom of Baol. Its continent is only a short league from Goree, but it stretches nearly sixty leagues in the interior. It was joined to the dominions of the provinces of Baol in 1695; after a sanguinary war, in which the latter were conquerors, and possessed both states to the year 1717. The king gave himself the name of Damel, which is the particular appellation of the king of Cayor; but at the death of Tinmacodon, the inconvenience arising from so great an extent of country being under one governor was seriously felt, and the kingdom was again divided, when Amarizone, brother to the deceased monarch, ascended the throne of Baol.

The royal family of Cayor is called Bisayou-ma-Fatim. The king who at present reigns was not the first in the order of succession, but was elected; but he was elected without any intrigue on his part: he took the title of Damel, and established his common residence at Guiguiss, a village about thirty leagues from Senegal. After his election, the great people came to pay their homage to him, and all the ceremonies usual in such cases were scrupulously attended to: they prostrated themselves at some distance from the king's feet without any other clothing than a simple piece of cloth round the loins; and afterwards, on approaching, they bent the knee three times before him, putting at each declension a handful of sand to their foreheads. The marabouts or priests were exempted from these humiliating ceremonies; and on coming to acknowledge their new sovereign, they merely took the oath of fidelity, which was administered by himself.

The order of succession to the throne is regulated as follows: The brothers of the king succeed him by seniority; and the children of the deceased prince only ascend the throne when there are no brothers to take possession of it, a circumstance which very rarely happens; but when it does, the eldest son takes precedence. The first wife is the queen; the prince marries her publicly, and the festival lasts three days; nearly all his subjects attend it and make him presents. The children by this marriage are the legitimate children, and natural heirs to the throne; and after them the children by the second wife have the right, as well as those of the other women whom the king has simply declared to be his wives. The king may also have other women to whom he gives no qualification; and their children, who are reputed legitimate, may also pretend to the throne according to their age, in case their father should die, and leave no children by his first queen or other acknowledged wives.

This succession to the throne in the collateral lines is not peculiar to the kingdom of Cayor. It is also the case in that of Hoval, which is contiguous, and the king of which takes the title of Brack; but a different method is adopted by the family of



the latter ; as it is always the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased king who succeeds to the throne. These people, who in other respects are neither better informed, nor more polished, than their neighbours, think with good reason that by this manner of succession, there is more certainty as to birth-right. They apply to themselves, without knowing the meaning of it, the maxim of the Roman laws: "*Partus matrem demonstrat, pater vero semper est incertus*"; and it is doubtless this persuasion which causes the law to be religiously observed in the country of Hoval. In the kingdom of Cayor, on the contrary, it is sometimes violated, as is proved by the election of the last sovereign. Indeed it often happens that the great men combine together, convoke the people, and appoint to the throne another prince of a different family from him who has the right to ascend it, though they are always cautious to take him from the royal family.

The king of Cayor reigns despotically over his subjects, who are rather his slaves, as they tacitly obey and serve him: in other respects he is neither richer nor better off than themselves; and they pay him for his subsistence, a tribute which varies according to his pleasure. He is not distinguished either by the number of his houses, by that of his women, or by his guards. The military service near his person, that which takes place in time of war, and, in general, all the jobs or escorts, are performed by the subjects at their own expence, and they are obliged to execute his orders, and follow him wherever he chooses to lead them.

Damel and his subjects profess the Mahometan religion; but they render it scarcely recognisable by a multitude of retrenchments or additions. The same occurs amongst all the African hordes, who only agree together on three points, namely, a plurality of women, circumcision, and the respect which is due to the prophet Mahomet: on the other hand, each village has its particular practices, and turns those of the others into ridicule.

Damel, and the other kings and princes of the Negroes or Moors, have the privilege of never being made slaves. When they are taken in battle, they are either killed, or they destroy themselves.

A superstition peculiar to the kingdom of Cayor is, that both the people and the king think that the latter will die in the year in which he may cross any river or branch of the sea: hence he never goes to Goree, or to isle St. Louis in the Senegal, but remains always in his own territories on the continent.

While I was at Senegal, M. de Boufflers, governor-general of the colony, wished to have an interview with Damel, and it took place on the 24th April, 1786. The place fixed on was a large plain on the continent, called Guyarabop, and which lay on the banks of the Senegal; it was inclosed by a fosse, and its entrance



was defended by an entrenchment; a tent was prepared in the middle. M. de Boufflers proceeded thither in the morning with a detachment of fifty men; and Damel, who was then at Gandiolle, a village in the southern part of his states, set off to meet the French general. This prince had in his suite a corps of cavalry, and a numerous body of infantry: on reaching the gate, he entered on horseback alone, and was received at the tent by the French general. The troops of this sovereign then took their station in the plain, and remained under arms the whole day in the most perfect order and discipline.

The productions and objects of commerce furnished by this country, are, slaves, who are generally rendered numerous by war; millet, of which such quantities are produced, that during my administration, being charged with the supply of provisions, &c., I derived enough from it for our whole consumption, which is immense; and lastly salt, which is furnished by the inexhaustible pits at Gandiolle.

These pits form the dowry of the wife of Damel, who is the acknowledged queen of Cayor. Each vessel which comes to trade for the salt, pays her a sort of duty, which is not always the same, but is agreed on with a delegate whom she sends to the spot during the period of the trade. It is however, in general, a piece of Guinea, four piastres, and twenty bottles of brandy, for a hundred barrels of salt; which number of barrels every year receives an addition of three or four. The purchasers give besides to the queen's envoy a present in merchandise to the value of three or four piastres.

On the payment of these duties, and a few others of a subordinate nature, the women of Gandiolle undertake to carry the salt on board the ships at the rate of half a bar per barrel. By giving them something more they are induced to smuggle an additional quantity on board, a plan which is always adopted, and which it is impossible for the queen to prevent. These expences of portage are paid in iron, coral, beads, and other trifling articles, on which the merchants gain so much profit, that the half bar, which is valued at two livres, eight sous (about two shillings sterling) is not worth to them more than ten sous, or five pence English.

During the time that M. Brue was at Senegal, a serious dispute arose between him and Damel, during which the former was seized by the negro king, and was in great danger of his life; but after many stratagems and much threatening on the part of the French, he regained his liberty; and though by the stipulations in the last treaty of peace with Damel, the French were to pay no kind of duty for their commerce, it was found necessary on this occasion to make the king a present amounting to 20,779 livres, which was taken in merchandize, valued according



to the price which is given for negroes. This reduced the ransom to about 7,000 livres in actual value, without reckoning the private loss of the general, who was robbed of his money, jewels, and clothes, which were estimated at 6,000 livres; besides which he was kept for twelve days in close captivity, without being allowed to speak to any one. Since this period, Damel has never failed to insist on a very considerable duty every year, as the price of his good-will towards our nation. The king, however, did not escape with impunity on account of the outrage; for M. Brue on his liberation formed a coalition with the neighbouring sovereigns of Brack, Siratick, Burba-yolof, Bur-sin, and Bur-salum, and watched the coasts of Damel so closely, that no foreign vessels could approach them. He likewise seized and destroyed all the fishing-boats that came out, burned several villages, and obliged many others to supply Goree with all the wood which it required.

This war lasted eight months, and the states of Damel suffered by it severely, but still no reconciliation took place; and a plan was laid for seizing the negro king, and sending him as a slave to the West Indies; but at this crisis M. Brue was recalled to France, to give his advice on the deranged affairs of the African company. A negociation was afterwards entered into with M. Lemaitre, who submitted to the most humiliating terms, and undertook to pay annually to the king of Cayor 100 bars of iron for permission to get wood and water from his territory, and to purchase provision. This duty has successively increased, and it is now very high, so that it would be dangerous, if not impossible, to suppress it.

What I am now about to say relative to the Moors, and the customs in the kingdom of Cayor, will apply to all the other states on this coast, the difference between each being too trivial to merit distinction. I shall therefore confine myself chiefly to topographical details.

The kingdom of Baol, which is the first after Cayor, begins at the village of Little Brigny, and ends at the river of Serena: it is seven leagues from Goree, and has only about twelve leagues of coast from north to south. The king bears the name of Tin.

The kingdom of Sin, whose sovereign takes the name of Bur, is still smaller; as it has only eleven leagues of coast in the same direction.

The same title of Bur belongs to the king of Salum, whose dominions begin at the river of Palmera, and end at two or three leagues from the point of Barra. They run inwards as far as where the Gambia separates into two branches, the northern of which takes the name of the river of Salum. This



river divides itself into six arms, each of which contains islands, which are inhabited and cultivated; but they are said to be unhealthy, particularly for foreigners.

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### CHAP. IV.

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OF THE RIVER GAMBIA.—ESTABLISHMENTS OF EUROPEANS ON ITS BANKS.—KINGDOMS WHICH DIVIDE THEM.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS.—PRODUCTIONS OF THE COUNTRY, &c. &c.

**A**FTER traversing the country which I have just described, and about thirty leagues from Goree, you arrive at the mouth of the Gambia, which empties itself into the sea at cape St. Mary on the south, and at the Isle of Birds on the north. Its width at this part is very great, being estimated at least at two leagues between the points of Barra and Bagnon. The strait between those points is ten or twelve fathoms deep, so that all sorts of vessels can go up it. On the left bank of the river is a point which contains a large group of trees, amongst which is one much higher and larger than the rest: it is called the flag of the king of Barra; and the English have introduced the custom of saluting it with several guns, a ceremony which would subject a ship, that might dispense with it, to the greatest insults.

The river Gambia is, throughout its whole course, of considerable width, and its bed is deep and muddy; while its banks are covered with thick mango-trees. It abounds in fish; and sharks are very common at its mouth. In the upper parts it is frequented by crocodiles and hippopotami: its depth is so great that a ship of forty guns, and three hundred tons, may ascend it as far as Genachor, situated about sixty leagues from the sea; while a vessel of one hundred and fifty tons, can go as far as Barraconda, which is about two hundred and fifty leagues distant. The tide flows as high as this spot in the dry season, that is, from November to June or July; but the rest of the year the river is impassable, on account of the inundations caused by the rains, and on account of the violence of currents, which overflow the banks in every direction, and carry away large trees.

Europeans have not proceeded higher than Barraconda: it appears that hereabouts the course of the river is interrupted by a bank of rocks, and farther up, it loses itself for several days in an impenetrable lake, covered by high grass and reeds. From the account of the Mandingo merchants and other negroes, who are in the habit of travelling the whole length of



this river, as well as from the opinion of several celebrated writers, there is reason to believe that it takes its source below a considerable fall made by the Senegal, which there divides into two branches, one of which to the south has been mistaken for the Gambia; but this error has been controverted by several authors, and particularly by Mungo Park, who has examined the place in question, and who asserts that the river Gambia takes its rise from the same chain of mountains from which issue the Senegal and the Niger. The Gambia begins to run one hundred miles to the westward of the Senegal, and continues its course in the same direction till it enters the sea.

The part of the coast near this river was, like all the rest, discovered by the Normans, who probably formed establishments along it, which they abandoned for the more rich and permanent situations of the Senegal and the Gold-coast. The Portuguese then occupied those spots which the Normans had left; and it may be seen by the ruins of their factories, and the forts which they erected, that they had penetrated very far into the interior. The wars in which they were involved with the other nations of Europe, at length rendered them incapable of supporting their power in that part of the world: yet several Portuguese families remained there, were naturalised amongst the inhabitants; while their descendants gradually becoming Africans, have spread into the interior, and live on good terms with the natives. The latter are the subjects of a multitude of petty princes, who all take the title of king, though the territories of many of them are very small. There are no less than eight of these kingdoms on each bank of the Gambia, in a space of about two hundred and fifty leagues from its mouth.

The kingdoms situated on the northern bank are, 1. that of Barra, which extends eighteen leagues along the coast; 2. Guio-canda, which follows it, and occupies five leagues of coast; 3. Baddison, which fills twenty leagues; 4. Salum, which surrounds the first three mentioned to the north and west, by following a course of the river to the extent of ten leagues; 5. Gniania, which comprises only two leagues of coast; 6. Couhan, which occupies four; 7. Gniani, extending thirty leagues along the river; and 8. Ouli, which terminates between Barraconda and the rocky bank, and occupies ninety leagues.

These different distances calculated in a right line, form a total of one hundred and seventy-nine leagues; to which may be added seventy-two leagues for the windings of the river in this space, which makes the whole extent from the point of Barra to the kingdom of Ouli, two hundred and fifty leagues.

The eight kingdoms on the southern bank are that of Combe or Combo, which runs eighteen leagues along the coast, from



St. Mary's Point to the river Combo, from which it takes its name. 2. The kingdom or empire of Foigny, which begins at the river Combo and terminates at that of Bintan, having eleven leagues of coast. 3. Gereges, whose limits are the river of Bintan, and the village from which the kingdom takes its name; it possesses seven leagues of coast. 4. Kiam, which comprises twenty. 5. Geagra, which has only ten. 6. Gnamena, whose extent is fifteen. 7. Kiaconda, which occupies forty. 8. Toumana, of the same extent, and the kingdom of Cantor, the limits of which are not perfectly known, but which must be at least twenty leagues of coast.

The whole of these different parts of the coast, calculated in a right line, forms a total of one hundred and sixty-five leagues, to which may be added for capes and contours of the river, at least eighty-five more; so that, from the mouth of the Gambia to the known extremity of the kingdom of Cantor, the extent of territory on ascending the south bank of the Gambia, is two hundred and fifty leagues.

We possess no very circumstantial account of these Negro states, which, however, are nearly alike. Those most worthy of notice are the empire of Foigny, on the south bank, and the kingdom of Barra on the north. The former is watered by four rivers, and extremely fertile: it produces rice, pulse of all kinds, potatoes, and abundance of fruits. Its palm wine is excellent, and the people breed oxen, sheep, goats, and poultry. The country is uncommonly populous: the inhabitants are industrious and of a commercial turn; they are open, tractable, and particularly faithful. The king assumes the title of emperor, and his neighbours not only acknowledge this distinction, but pay him a tribute. He bestows great attention on the conduct of the English and French, who carry on the commerce of the river; and when the two nations are at war in Europe, he takes care that they shall not fight in his states; but in cases of hostility he takes the part of the weakest, or of those who are attacked.

The kingdom of Barra is almost entirely peopled by strangers, as the natives of the country are there only few in number. The greatest population is that of the Mandingos or Mandings, so called from the name of their native country Mandin or Mandingue, which is situated about four hundred leagues to the east, and is prodigiously peopled, as is evident from the vast number of slaves which it furnishes every year, as well as from the colonies, which frequently proceed from it to extend their active industry to other quarters. It was thus that there arrived in the kingdom of Barra those who are considered as natives and who have possessed themselves of the supreme power, and the whole



of the commerce; the king and his great men being Mandingos. They are the only well informed persons in the state; for they know almost every thing, and can read and write. They have public schools, in which the Marabous, who are the masters, teach the children the Arabic tongue; their lessons are written on small pieces of white wood; but they give the preference to the paper which we have introduced amongst them. When they know the alcoran, they obtain the title of doctors.

It is remarkable that the Mandingos, who have all come from a republican state, have formed nothing but monarchies wherever they have established themselves; but they have not invested their kings with unlimited authority. On all important occasions these princes are obliged to convoke a meeting of the wisest old men, by whose advice they act, and without which they can neither declare war nor make peace.

In all the large towns the people have a chief magistrate who bears the name of alcaide, and whose place is hereditary: his duty is to preserve order, to receive the tribute imposed upon travellers, and to preside at the sittings of the tribunal of justice. The jurisdiction is composed of old men who are free; and their meeting is called a palaver; it holds its sittings in the open air, and with much solemnity. The affairs which are brought for discussion, are investigated with much candour; the witnesses are publicly heard; and the decisions generally excite the approbation of both parties.

They have no written laws, but decide on the cases according to their ancient customs; nevertheless they sometimes have recourse to the civil institutes of Mahomet, and when the koran does not appear to them sufficiently perspicuous, they consult a commentary entitled *Al Scharra*, which contains a complete exposition of the civil and criminal laws of Islamism. They have amongst them people who exercise the profession of counsellors, or interpreters of the laws, and who are allowed to plead either for the accuser or the accused, as at European tribunals: these negro-lawyers are Mahometans, and have, or pretend to have, studied, with particular attention, the institutions of the prophet. In the art of chicanery they equal the most acute pleaders of civilized countries.

These people follow the laws of Mahomet, of which they are rigid observers: most of them neither drink wine nor spirits; and all fast with the utmost rigour during the *maradan* or lent. They breed no hogs, because their laws forbid the eating of their flesh; though they might sell them to great advantage. They are very affectionate amongst themselves, and always assist each other. It is not understood that they make slaves, as this punishment is only decreed by the king, and chiefly against the



great people who are guilty of crimes. In other respects they are more polished than the rest of the negroes; are of a mild character, sensible, and benevolent: all which qualities may be attributed to their love for commerce, and to the extensive travels in which they are continually engaged. The ease with which they cultivate their lands proves their industry; they are covered with palm, banyan, fig, and other useful trees. The people have but few horses, though the country is well adapted to breeding them; but they have a number of asses, which they use for travelling, and their territory abounds with wild buffalos.

The Mandingos are particularly industrious in making salt, which they do in a peculiar manner. They put river water in the halves of calabashes, or in shallow earthen pots, and expose it to the sun, the heat of which produces crystals of salt, the same as in ordinary pits: for the water is always much impregnated with the saline principle, as the sea mixes with it a considerable way up the river. In a short time after the calabashes have been exposed, a cream of fine white salt is formed on the surface, and this is taken off three or four times; after which the vessels are filled again. They have also very abundant salt-pits at Joal and Faquiou, and their produce forms an important branch of trade: they load their canoes with it; and ascending the river as far as Barraconda, they exchange it for maize, cotton stuffs, ivory, gold dust, &c.

The great number of canoes and men employed in this commerce gives great influence and respect to the king of Barra. Indeed, he is the most powerful and terrible of all the kings of the Gambia; he has imposed considerable duties on the ships of all nations, each of which, whatever may be its size, is obliged to pay on entering the river, a duty equal to about five hundred livres, or nearly 211. sterling. The governor of Gillifrie is charged with the receipt of these duties, and he is always attended by a number of persons who are very importunate: they are incessantly asking for whatever pleases their fancy, and pursue their demands with such ardour and perseverance, that to get rid of them the navigators are almost always obliged to satisfy their desires.

The Mandingos are above the middle size, are well made, robust, and capable of bearing great fatigue. The women are stout, active, and pretty. The clothes of both sexes are of cotton, which they manufacture themselves. The men wear drawers, which hang half way down the thigh, and an open tunic, similar to our surplice. They have sandals on their feet, and cotton caps on their heads. The women's dress consists of two pieces of linen six feet long and about three wide; the one is plaited round the loins, and falls down to the ankle, forming a



kind of petticoat; while the other negligently covers their bosom and shoulders.

Their habitations like those of all the other negroes, are small and inconvenient huts. A mud wall about four feet high, over which is a conical opening made of bamboos and straw, serves for the residence of the rich man, as well as of the humblest slave. The furniture is equally uncouth: their beds are made of a bundle of reeds placed on pickets two feet high, and covered with a mat or an ox's skin; a jar for water, a few earthen vessels for boiling their meat, with some wooden bowls, calabashes, and one or two stools, form the whole of their household goods.

All the Mandingos in a free state have several women; but they cannot marry two sisters. These women have each a hut; while all the hovels belonging to one master are surrounded by a lattice-work of bamboo made with much art: an assemblage of this kind is called *Sirk*, or *Sourk*. Several of these enclosures, separated by narrow paths, compose a town; but the huts are placed with much irregularity, and according to the caprice of the person to whom they belong. The only point to which they attend is to have the door in a south-westerly direction, that it may admit the sea-breezes.

In each town a spot is set apart for the assemblies of the old men; it is enclosed by interlaced reeds, and generally covered by trees which protect it from the sun. Here they discuss public affairs and try causes; the idle and profligate also resort hither to smoke their pipes and hear the news.

In several parts they have missourates or mosques, where they meet to say the prayers prescribed by the Koran.

The population of the free Mandingos forms at the utmost, about one fourth of the inhabitants of the country which they occupy. The remaining three fourths are born in slavery, and have no hope of escaping from it: they are employed in all servile labours; but the free Mandingo has no right to take the life of his slave, nor to sell him to a foreigner, unless he has been publicly tried, and decreed to deserve such a punishment. The prisoners of war, those imprisoned for crimes or debt, and those who are taken from the centre of Africa and brought to the coast for sale, have no right to appeal, as their masters may treat and dispose of them according to their fancy.

Another part of the population of the kingdom of Barra, is composed of the descendants of the Portuguese families who remain in the country, and of whom we have already spoken. Such persons, or rather those who take the title of Portuguese (for all the Mulattos, and even men who are almost black, call themselves Portuguese, and to doubt their origin is an affront they do not pardon), profess the catholic religion, and have



churches and priests in different parts. They are recognized by their costume; they wear a great chaplet suspended from the neck, a very long sword by their side, a shirt, a cloak, a hat, and a poignard.

Some of these people devote themselves to commerce and agriculture, and are generally adroit, brave, and enterprising. They acquire property, live happily, and are much esteemed; but by far the greatest part live in the most complete state of idleness, and in consequence of being poor, addict themselves to thieving; they also pass their time in the most disgusting state of libertinism, and are equally despised by the Mahometans and the Christians.

The industrious part of these people proceed to the top of the river in the canoes or boats of the country, and generally perform such voyages on account of the French, who entrust them with merchandise, and pay them liberally. They have sometimes been attacked in their voyage, but they always proved that they knew how to defend their liberty and property. They have also learnt from their ancestors never to pardon wrongs nor injuries; and if this be not a precept of their religion, it is a command of their fathers which necessity justifies. I am of opinion that it is possible to employ with great advantage these men so inured to the climate, to travel over, and make discoveries in the interior of Africa.

The Portuguese build their habitations according to the plan of their ancestors, by which they are more solid and commodious than those of the Negroes: they raise them two or three feet above the soil to secure them from the damp, and give them a considerable length so as to divide each house into several chambers. The windows they make are very small, in order to keep out the excessive heat of the climate; and they never fail to build an vestibule open on all sides, in which they receive visits, take their meals, and transact their business. The walls are seven or eight feet high, and, as well as the roof, are of reeds covered on both sides with a mixture of clay and chopped straw: the whole is coated with plaister. They take care to plant latane or other trees before their houses, or to build them on a spot where such trees are growing, in order to enjoy the refreshing shade which they produce. The king of Barra and the greatest people of his kingdom have similar places of residence.

On the banks of the river Gambia may also be found three nations of Africans, namely, the Felups, Yoloofs, and Foulahs. All these people are Mahometans, but they have retained the stupid, though innocent superstitions of their ancestors. The real Mahometans they call *Kafirs*, which means infidels.

The Felups are of an indolent, melancholy, and slovenly cha-



racter: they never pardon an injury, but transfer their hatred to their children as a sacred inheritance, so that a son must necessarily avenge the offence received by his father. At their festivals they drink a quantity of mead, and their drunkenness almost always produces quarrels: if on these occasions a man lose his life, his eldest son takes his sandals and wears them every year on the anniversary of his death, till he have had an opportunity to avenge it; and the murderer seldom escapes this determined resentment. The Felups, however, notwithstanding this ferocious and unruly disposition, have several good qualities; they are very grateful, have the greatest affection for their benefactors, and restore whatever is entrusted to their care, with the most scrupulous fidelity.

The Yolofs are active, powerful, and warlike; they inhabit a part of the vast territory which extends between the Senegal and that occupied by the Mandingos on the banks of the Gambia. I shall speak of them more fully in the description which I shall give of the Senegal, and in which I shall include some account of the different people who inhabit its banks.

The Foulahs have a complexion of a rather deep black colour, silky hair, and small and agreeable features; their manners are mild, and they love a pastoral and agricultural life. They are dispersed through several kingdoms on the coast of the river Gambia as shepherds and farmers; and they pay a tribute to the sovereign of the country which they cultivate. They are natives of the kingdom of Bondou, situated between the Gambia and the Senegal, near Bambouk: they leave their country in large bodies in search of distant territories, where they can extend their industry; and after making, what they conceive, a fortune, they return to enjoy the result of their labours.

To recur to the establishments which have been formed by Europeans on the river Gambia, it should be stated that the Portuguese replaced the French on that river, and that the former were succeeded by the English. They established themselves at a distance of fourteen leagues from its mouth, on a little isle not more than seventy or eighty fathoms in length, by forty or fifty in width. They built a tolerably strong fort flanked by three bastions, and constructed several redoubts on different parts of the isle; but in the war from 1688 to 1695, several attacks were made on this settlement by the French with various success, and which ended in a convention for a permanent neutrality between France and England in that part of the world. The possessions of the French were confirmed by the treaty of 1783; and at present the only post which the French possess in the Gambia, is Albreda on the territories of the king of Barra, to whom they pay a duty of 810 livres. It is a possession at the



mouth of the river which will never be of any great importance, as nothing can be procured by it but what escapes the activity of the English, and that of course is little. The English have no fort in this quarter, nor does it appear that they have any intention of building one; they have, however, four factories without fortifications, one at Gillifrie, a little town on the northern bank, opposite St. Jaques; another at Vintain, on the southern bank, and about two leagues from Gillifrie; and two more, which will be subsequently mentioned.

The Felups, a savage and unsocial nation of whom I have spoken, carry to Vintain a great quantity of wax, which they collect in the woods: the honey is consumed amongst them, as they make it into an intoxicating drink, which bears a great resemblance to the mead of the Europeans. The country which they inhabit is very extensive, and produces a quantity of rice, with which they supply the persons who trade on the rivers Gambia and Casamança; they also sell them goats and poultry at a moderate price.

The third English factory is at Joukakonda, about six days' navigation from Vintain. This is a very mercantile town, and is entirely inhabited by Negroes and English.

The fourth is at Pisania, about sixteen miles above Joukakonda. It is a village built by the English in the states of the king of Guiagnia; it serves them for a factory, and is only inhabited by themselves and a few domestic Negroes; they here carry on a trade in slaves, ivory, and gold. This village is situated in an immense and peculiarly fertile plain, and is covered with wood. The cattle get very fat from the richness of the pasture, and the inhabitants raise them in great numbers; they also employ themselves in fishing, from which they derive much advantage, and have a number of well regulated gardens, in which they grow onions, potatoes, manioc, pistachios, pumpions, and other useful pulse. Near the towns they cultivate on a large scale, tobacco, indigo, and cotton. Their domestic animals are the same as in Europe: they have hogs which live in the woods, but whose flesh is by no means good; poultry of every kind, with the exception of turkies; and red partridges and Guinea-hens are abundant. The forests are filled with a small species of gazelle, whose flesh is perfectly good. The most common wild animals are the hyæna, the panther, the elephant, the tiger, and the lion. The ass is the only beast of burden which is used in this part of Africa. The art of employing animals in labours of the field is unknown, for every thing is done by hand. The principal aratory instrument is the hoe, whose form is different in every district. The free Negroes do not till the ground, as this labour is performed exclusively by the slaves.

The commerce is carried on by the Negro courtiers, who are



known by the name of the Slatées; these are free Negroes who possess considerable influence in the country, and whose principal employment consists in selling the slaves they procure from the centre of Africa. They likewise furnish the Negroes on the coast with native iron, odoriferous gums, incense, and schetoulou, or vegetable butter, which I shall afterwards have occasion to speak of; and take in exchange salt, which is a rare and valuable commodity in the interior.

The English are not established on the river Gambia farther up than Pisania; and here their trade is not very extensive, as their exports do not amount to more than 500,000 French francs, (about 20,000*l.*) The Americans have attempted to send some vessels to this quarter on commercial speculations.

The objects of trade here are the same as on the other parts of the coast, namely, gold, elephants' teeth, slaves, wax, millet, oxen, sheep, poultry, and other articles of subsistence. Slaves, however, form the principal object; but at present not above 1000 are annually purchased: they cost from 450 to 500 francs each, which is the ordinary price of a man of a healthy constitution, from sixteen to twenty-five years of age. The European merchandises given in exchange are, fire-arms, ammunition, iron work, spirituous liquors, tobacco, cotton caps, a small quantity of broad cloth, trinkets, India goods, glass-work, and other trifles.

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## CHAP. V.

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COMMUNICATION BY LAND BETWEEN ALBREDIA AND CACHAUX.—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.—MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND RELIGION OF ITS INHABITANTS.—ARTS.—EXTRAORDINARY SPANIARD.—DIFFERENT VILLAGES, &c.

NOTWITHSTANDING the difficulties which the factory of Albredia had to encounter from the operations of the English established up the river, it nevertheless acquired a degree of importance from the industry of the persons employed in it. They formed connections with the villages situated along the rivers that emptied themselves into the Gambia, and extended their views as far as Cachaux, the principal establishment of the Portuguese at the river of St. Domingo, with which they opened a communication by land.

They first arrived at the river of Bintan, the mouth of which is on the left bank of the Gambia, about a league above the old fort of the English. Vessels enter it without fear of grounding, at any season of the year, though they generally profit by spring



tides ; and when these fail, they use the oar or are towed. The banks of this river are very agreeable, as they are to the right lined with hills that are covered with large trees, while the left contains extensive and beautiful meadows.

The village of Bintan, which is the ordinary residence of the emperor of Foigny, was formerly of more importance than it is at present ; it is situated to the right of the river, on the declivity of a hill, and covered with fine trees, which protect it from the sun. Almost all its houses are built in the Portuguese style. The French have a factory in it, as have the English ; and both parties live in an amicable manner under the protection of the emperor. When, however, any difficulties arise between them, this prince never fails to assist the side that is the weakest.

The population of the Portuguese at Bintan is considerable ; they live at their ease ; their houses are large, good, and well-furnished, and they have a decent church. The Negro inhabitants of this part are the Felups ; they speak a language peculiar to themselves, and are idolaters. Those who live up the country or at a distance from the Europeans, are almost savages : they hunt other Negroes that pass through their territories ; but they respect the Whites, and make it a rule never to offer them the slightest insult. Those of Bintan or its environs who are occupied in commerce, are gentle, frank, and civilized ; they like strangers, are always ready to render them service, and are candid and honest in their commercial dealings.

About seven leagues from Bintan is the village of Gereges. The French and English formerly had factories here, but they are now abandoned : the Portuguese have, however, established themselves in this village in great numbers. The country is intersected by a number of little rivers ; and journeys as well as commerce are here performed by water. The king of this little state resides about a quarter of a league from Gereges ; his houses, and those of his women, officers, and slaves, form a large village, which is built without order or regularity on a level soil well covered with trees. The houses are surrounded by several palisades formed of large piles, ten or twelve feet high, and each door is, according to custom, very low and narrow.

The subjects of this prince are reputed brave, and adroit in the use of arms. The English have more than once experienced the effects of their skill, particularly on an occasion which I shall describe. They had some misunderstanding with the alquier of Gereges and the officers of the king. The English complained to the prince and asserted, that as he had not done them justice, they would do it to themselves. With this view they armed and manned the largest vessel which had entered the river, and seemed by their preparations as if they intended to land and ravage the



country, as they came to anchor opposite the village. The prince, far from being alarmed at this expedition, assembled his troops, and dispersed them in ambush along the river; when, as soon as the English begun the attack, the Negroes opened, and kept up for several hours such a rapid fire of musquetry, that several of the enemy were killed and wounded, and their intentions rendered abortive.

The king commanded in person, and when he saw that the English could no longer appear above deck, he ordered his troops to cease firing, and ranged them towards the shore in a threatening position. The result was, that the English were obliged to weigh anchor and let their vessel drop down with the tide. An accommodation was then set on foot, which the English purchased dearly.

Besides the Portuguese, two nations, who differ in their manner and language, inhabit this state: they are the Felups and the Bagnons, or Banions. The character of the former I have already explained; for they are the same here as in the empire of Foigni. The Bagnons are of a mild and gentle disposition, and are attached to a commercial intercourse with foreigners; they are also brave and industrious. The women are mild, economical, and much attached to their husbands and children; perhaps indeed, the world does not contain more industrious females, as they voluntarily devote themselves to labour from their youth.

The king of Gereges and his negro subjects are idolaters.

Pasqua, a large village of the Bagnons is next to, and about ten leagues distant from Gereges. This journey is commonly performed by land and without danger. The country is well cultivated, and those lands which are capable of inundation produce rice, while the other parts afford millet and all kinds of peas: they also grow immense quantities of gourds and water-melons.

The oxen of this country are excellent and uncommonly large, probably in consequence of the pastures being abundantly rich in fine and tender grass; the sheep, however, are not so good, as they are very fat, and their flesh has a strong taste. Poultry, on the contrary, succeeds well, and is very fine.

All the houses are sheltered from the excessive heat of the sun by large trees called cheese trees, which are always in leaf while their branches are susceptible of any direction.

This country abounds in bats, which are generally as large as pigeons: their wings are very long, and are furnished with five or six pointed hooks, by means of which they fix themselves together from the branches of trees, and hang down like large parcels of any thing thrown over the boughs. Of all volant animals, this is the only one which has milk to nourish its young; it is eaten by the Negroes. On the road to this village there



may be observed a kind of round pyramids of earth, some of which are about seven feet high: they resemble the monuments raised to the memory of the great men of the country; but they are in fact the buildings of ants, and are as firm and compact as if they were formed of mortar. On breaking them, a multitude of ants fiercely issue out, and endeavour to punish the disturbers of their repose. These ants are whitish, and about the size of a barley-corn: their nests have only a single aperture at about one third of its height; and the ants attain it by means of a path, which runs round the pyramid from the bottom to the entrance.

Pasqua, which means the tree or pavilion of the king, is a village not remarkable for the number of its inhabitants, as its population does not exceed 500 persons, including the Portuguese, who are about one fourth of the number; but it is important on account of its political distinction. The king keeps in it a garrison of 100 infantry to awe the neighbouring states, and protect the Bagnons from the enterprizes of the savage Felups. This garrison is charged with exacting the tribute imposed by the kings, and with punishing the vagabonds. The village is surrounded by six rows of pallsades, comparatively fastened together by six traverse beams, and they are kept in good repair: it is situated on the bank of a little river called St. Grigou, but which is in several maps called Pasqua. This river is not wide, but is very deep, and contains plenty of fish, though crocodiles abound in it, and destroy immense numbers: its banks are fertile and agreeable.

About a league from Pasqua, and on the bank of the same river, a Spaniard from the isle of Cuba, called Don Juan Maldonado, had taken up his residence in a charming house, all the environs of which were delightful. The land which was not in tillage, formed vast meadows interspersed with bowers of palm and other trees, which presented a most charming appearance.

The house of this Spaniard was large and convenient, was surrounded by eight or ten huts occupied by his slaves, and the whole was enclosed by a quadruple wall of piles, the innermost of which was ten feet high, well terraced, and supported by two raised ways, with four platforms, each of which contained two pieces of cannon. Don Juan lived peaceably in his fortress, and was esteemed and respected by his neighbours: he was rich and did much good, but he had no wife.

At this residence travellers were cordially received and feasted. The people of the country do not agree with respect to this extraordinary man; some say that he left several children, heirs to his virtues and solitude. He lived in the most intimate way with several Negresses, without being attached to any one of them by the ties of marriage. Others assert, that he had no children; that the king inherited his property, and that he left his ordinary residence to return to Spain.



The Negroes of this country are husbandmen, and they perform their operations in cadence with the sound of drums: the spades which they use, are made of wood, shod with a small rib of iron; this serves them to root up weeds, open the ground, and cover the seeds which they sow.

From the residence of Maldonado to James's village, is about three days journey, a distance which is greeably performed by land. At this village, a greater quantity of wax is procured than at any other part of the province: the Portuguese alone buy here more than 500 cwt. every year. A market is held in it twice a week, whither the Negroes of the environs bring the wax for sale; the Portuguese buy it by wholesale, melt, and purify it, form it into cakes, and send it to Cachaux, where the magazines are established; from hence they ship it on their own account, or sell it to European merchants who send in quest of it.

The native inhabitants of James are Feloups and idolaters: they are adroit and civilized; and their manners are softened by their commerce and connections with foreigners. They acknowledge no sovereign, but live under the pacific republican government of their elders; their lands are rich and well cultivated, though they have no other agricultural implements than wooden spades, shod with iron, and having long handles.

With respect to the country, it is impossible for one to be more agreeable; it abounds in palm and other large trees. The Portuguese live here in easy circumstances, and have handsome and convenient houses. It is remarkable that the musquitoes are more numerous here than in any other part of Africa; they consequently are a great inconvenience to the inhabitants.

The river of Casamança is about a league distant from this village; it empties itself into the sea, to the north of the river St. Domingo; its water is deep enough to bear large ships; but there is a bar at its mouth which is very difficult and dangerous to pass, as it can only be cleared by canoes or small craft, and never without danger. Both banks of this river are inhabited by savage and cruel Felups, who will not hold any communication with the whites, and are always at war with their neighbours. Their country is interspersed with rivers, or rather with torrents, which proceed from a lake that is formed by the heavy rains, but which is dry in the fine season. At the rainy period the whole country resembles a vast marsh.

A few leagues up this river, is the village of Guinguin: it is inhabited by the Portuguese, who carry on a considerable commerce in wax; for this privilege they pay a duty to the king, and are as much masters in his states as he is himself. This prince and all his subjects are idolaters, and speak a peculiar language. The soil of this district is flat and very rich. Apes are uncommonly



numerous in this part, and commit shocking ravages; but they are themselves grievously tormented by the bees, with which the country is covered.

The next Portuguese colony is Cachaux; it lies near the river of St. Domingo, about twenty leagues from its mouth. This establishment is in the territory of the tribe called Papels, an idolatrous people, whose principal god is a little statue, which they call *Chine*, and to which they sacrifice dogs. These Negroes are of an intrepid character, but they are treacherous, cruel, and vindictive; they are almost always at war with their neighbours, and even with the Portuguese, who, to secure themselves against their incursions, have surrounded their town on the land side with a strong pallisade, supported by some batteries, at which they always mount guard to prevent being surprised. Their houses consist only of a ground floor, but they are large and convenient; they are covered during the rainy season with the leaves of the latane tree, and the rest of the year with sail-cloth, which secures them from the operation of the sun, or of moisture. This change of covering is indispensable, because in the dry season the leaves would take fire, while the sail-cloth would not keep out the rain. They have a church, the duty of which is performed by a curate and a few priests; and there is likewise a convent inhabited by two or three Capuchins. All the Portuguese catholics and their priests are spiritually dependent on the bishop of St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands. The Papels or natives have a part of the town to themselves, which they exclusively occupy: though they remain idolaters, they have adopted nearly all the customs of the Portuguese. Outside of the pallisades nothing is to be seen but swamps and fields of rice, the produce of which is not equal to the consumption. Oxen and cows are very scarce and dear in this part, and there are neither sheep, hogs, goats, nor poultry, though they might be bred with great facility. The town is not supplied with water, so that the inhabitants are obliged to fetch it from the distance of a musquet-shot from the pallisades, and almost always with an escort, to prevent their slaves from being killed or carried off.

The political, civil, and military government, rests with a governor, who is called a captain-major; he has under him a lieutenant, an ensign, and an aid-de-camp, as well as a receiver of the duties, a notary, and a few serjeants who act as clerks. The garrison contains thirty European soldiers, who are changed every three years; it is generally composed of men who are sentenced to banishment, and who are absolved on their return; they are obliged to work for their subsistence, as they have scarcely any allowance. The inhabitants form a sort of militia,



who do the duty of the place and maintain order: nevertheless it is dangerous to go out at night; and the players on the guitar are often the victims of their nocturnal perambulations.

Nearly all the Portuguese in Africa are of mixed blood, that is, mulattoes; but they are so black, that it requires a good knowledge of colours to distinguish them from Negroes.

These people take credit to themselves for being jealous, and carrying that passion to excess: they keep their women extremely close, and the white ones in particular are never allowed to go out in the day time, not even to mass. The women of colour have rather more liberty; they go out in the day time, but they are wrapt up in such a manner, that nothing can be seen but their toes and one of their eyes. At visits, the women are never seen nor even spoken of; for to enquire after a lady's health, is the greatest injury that can be done to the Portuguese in Africa.

The daughters of the Papels, and indeed all the girls who are slaves, are more lucky; they are not watched so closely, but are allowed to work in the houses, and go out to market, or wherever their business calls them: they go almost naked, having only before them a little apron about a foot long, and six or seven inches wide, with belts of different coloured beads, earrings, and fringe round their loins. When they are married, they wear a piece of cotton cloth, which covers them from the waist to the calf of the leg.

The Portuguese of Cachaux, and all those of Africa, eat meat only once a day, which is at dinner time; in the evening they eat fish and vegetables, both of which they procure in abundance, and almost for nothing. They begin every meal with fruit, of which they have plenty which grows naturally, as well as of the kinds which require a little care to cultivate.

Their commerce is carried on by barter; for gold and silver are not current. The articles of exportation are, slaves, wax, ivory, and gold from the mines of the interior; those of importation consist of wine, brandy, wheat, flour, iron, glass, copper utensils, arms, powder, lead, gun-flints, cottons, shoes, hats, silks, combs, hardware, mirrors, &c. In this traffic the Portuguese employ three or four vessels per year, which come to them from Lisbon; but the principal part of the commerce is carried on by foreigners.

At this settlements are the finest trees in Africa, whether for their size, height, or the value of their timber. It is not rare to find a single tree, which will make a canoe large enough to carry ten tons burthen, and twenty or thirty men.

The Papels naturally like the sea, and are good sailors; the Portuguese employ them in all their expeditions. Although some change may have taken place in the Portuguese settlements



since I resided in Africa, yet that naturalized nation exists on the same spot, and has lost none of its customs,

## CHAP. VI.

OF THE ISLES OF THE BISSAGOS AND THEIR INHABITANTS.  
—RECEPTION OF M. BRUE ON THE ISE OF CAZEGUT.—  
ACCOUNT OF A PIRATICAL EXPEDITION.—COSTUME OF  
THE PEOPLE OF CAZEGUT.—PRECAUTIONS TO BE TAKEN  
ON TRADING WITH SEVERAL OF THE ISLANDS.—SAN-  
GUINARY AND TREACHEROUS CHARACTER OF THE  
PEOPLE.

ON passing the mouth of the rivers of Casamanga and St. Domingo, you meet between Capes Rouge and Verga, with a large deep gulph, in which are several isles of various sizes, and inhabited by different tribes. You first observe the archipelago of the Bissagos, which takes its name from the people who inhabit its islands.

The French after discovering these spots, abandoned them on account of their wars in Europe. The Portuguese who inhabited the isles of Cape Verd, succeeded them, but were too weak to maintain the possession. The descendants of the first colonists, who are confounded with the aborigines, still live there in a humiliating and precarious condition; notwithstanding which, they pretend to be sovereigns of those isles, and have at different periods built several villages and forts; but the French have paid little respect to their pretended rights, and have established factories wherever they pleased.

The Bissago isles are about eighteen or twenty in number; the most considerable are Casnabac, Galline, Cazégut, Carache, Aranguena, Papaguaye or Parrots' isle, Formosa, Babachoca, Bisague, Onarangue, Jatte, Bussi, Bourbon, Bissaux, Bulam, and a few others which are less known, because they are less frequented. Of those which I have specified, the last two are the most important.

The archipelago of the Bissagos is nearly fifty leagues in length, by an unequal width. The isles are enclosed by a large chain of rocks, between which and the isles of Jatte, Bussi, Bissaux, and Bulam, which are near to the continent, is a canal three or four leagues wide, and in no part less than one league: it generally contains from eight to twelve fathoms of water, with a muddy bottom. There are several natural harbours in these islands, which contain all the materials necessary for forming establishments.

Each of these isles is governed by a chief, who assumes the title and authority of a king; these petty princes are independent



of each other, and sometimes make war amongst themselves, but they more frequently unite against the Biafares, who are their greatest enemies, and whom they have expelled from Bulam. They have canoes large enough to carry from twenty-five to thirty men with their arms, which are sabres and darts.

The Bissagos are large, strong, and robust people, though they feed only upon shell and other fish, palm-oil, and the nuts of the palm-tree; they sell to Europeans the millet, rice, and other vegetables which they produce. They have an extreme liking for brandy, which they drink in great quantities, and which is sold to them at a high price; indeed their propensity for this liquor is so great, that it renders them furious and unnatural. As soon as a vessel appears for the purpose of selling that article, they always quarrel amongst themselves about who shall obtain the greatest quantity, and be first served. The weakest on these occasions become the prey of the most powerful. The father sells his children; and if the son can seize his father and mother, he conducts them to the Europeans, and barter them for brandy; he then gets drunk, and continues so as long as the quantity will last, at which his relatives have been valued.

All these people are idolaters, and naturally cruel. They cut off the heads of the men they kill, drag their bodies through the streets, scalp them, dry the skins with the hair on, and ornament their houses with them as a proof of their bravery and victories. Their envious character renders suicide very frequent amongst them; the least chagrin induces them to turn their rage against their own persons. They hang themselves, jump from precipices, and throw themselves into the sea, while the most brave amongst them terminate their existence with the poniard.

Besides these general characters, there are distinctive traits amongst the inhabitants of the different isles: that of Formosa, the most eastern of the whole, is planted with the finest trees, which they consider as the residence of gods. They give a delightful aspect to the island, which, however, is uninhabited.

The isle of Galline and that of Casnabac, are at the head of the bank: they are populous and fertile; their shores abound in fish, and they contain plenty of fresh water. Nothing is wanting amongst the inhabitants, but an industrious disposition, to render them a social race. The isles in general are very fertile, and capable of supporting large colonies.

The isle of Cazégut is one of the most extensive, being six leagues long by two wide: it is surrounded by banks and shoals, except at its N. E. and S. W. points, where vessels can anchor in perfect safety. It abounds in fruit and timber trees, as well as in rice, pumpkins, peas, and every species of culinary vegetables. The Negroes are idolaters, and sacrifice cocks to their



divinity; in other respects, they are very sociable and honest in their dealings. The trade which they carry on with the Europeans has refined their manners; and they have learned from the Portuguese the manner of building large and convenient houses.

M. Brue visited this island, and received on board his ship the greatest person belonging to it, except the king, to whom he was a near relation: this prince, accompanied by only two Negroes, came with great confidence on board the French frigate: he had only a piece of cotton round his loins, and a hat on his head; while his hair, which was almost red, was greased with palm oil. He saluted M. Brue very civilly, took off his hat to him, and said, through his interpreter, that the island was at his disposal. While they were in conversation with this prince, and were making him drink brandy, a canoe arrived from the island, having on board five men. One of the Negroes came on board holding a cock in his left hand and a knife in his right: he fell on his knees before M. Brue, then rose, and turning to the east, cut his cock's throat; he then went upon his knees again, and scattered a few drops of the animal's blood at M. Brue's feet. He performed the same ceremony at the masts and at the pump, and then presented the cock to the French general: the latter wished to inform himself of the object of these ceremonies, and was told by the Negro, that the wise men of his country considered the whites as the gods of the sea, and that the mast was a divinity which caused the vessel to walk; while the pump was a miracle which made water rise, whose nature it was to fall down. These Negroes retired on the approach of night; and M. Brue promised the prince that he would visit him next morning.

He went according to his appointment, when the Negro prince received him on the shore, gave him his hand, and led him to his house, which was about 300 paces from the sea: it was large, built in the Portuguese style, and white-washed within and without; it had an open vestibule at the entrance, was surrounded with large palm-trees, and had convenient articles of furniture, including very neat chairs and stools of black wood. After offering M. Brue refreshments and palm wine, he led him to another building, about fifty paces farther: this was a chapel, with an altar and benches, and a bell was attached to a tree before the door. The prince ordered it to be rung, and said to M. Brue, who was singularly astonished at what he saw, that he had built this church himself for the use of the Christians who might wish to settle near him; that he was no Christian, but that he loved them; and that if some priest would come and live with him, he would let him want for nothing. M. Brue promised that he



would send him a priest and some Frenchmen to live on the isle under his protection.

The king resided about a quarter of a league from this spot, and M. Brue was presented to him by the Negro prince, who received him in a gracious manner. He was a good looking old man, with a grey beard and white hair; he had lively eyes, a handsome mouth, and a majestic air. His cloathing consisted only of a piece of cotton and a hat, which he took off to salute M. Brue; he then offered him the land which he desired, to form an establishment, and promised to protect him against all enemies. He added, "I have forgotten all that has passed between one of my predecessors and a French pirate; because faults are personal, and vengeance should not be extended to those who are innocent."

The following were the circumstances to which the Negro king alluded. In 1687, a Frenchman named Delafond, stopped at the island to barter some goods, and had reason to complain of the inhabitants, who stole some of his property. While he was thinking how he should revenge himself, a French ship of war arrived; and he proposed to the commander to conquer and pillage the island of Cazégut. The attack was resolved on, and 200 men were landed, who carried every thing before them. The king of the island at that time was invested and burnt in his huts; while his subjects flew to the woods and mountains; so that only ten or twelve were taken out of 2000 or 3000, who formed the pulation of the island.

This unfortunate and cruel expedition did not, however, interrupt the commerce of the French. Delafond had recourse to so many artifices, that he persuaded the principal people of the island, that he had taken no part in the attack, but that the death of the king, and the desolation with which it had been attended, were caused by a chief of pirates, on whom all the crime of the expedition was at length thrown.

The king having promised to forget this outrage, M. Brue felt inclined to accept his offers, and made him presents, which he much admired; amongst which were two casks of brandy.

The king's house was neither so fine nor so well furnished as that of his relative; but it had some chairs and tables. The king invited M. Brue and his suite to dinner, and gave them venison, beef, and mutton, tolerably well prepared. They drank very good palm wine; and after dinner they smoaked and drank brandy, on which occasion the king caused M. Brue to smoke out of his own pipe. This was really a royal instrument, both with respect to its length and capacity; the tunnel was five feet long, and the bowl large enough to hold a quarter of a pound of tobacco: it was well ornamented outside.



The king presented two cocks to M. Brue. In this country, such a present is the most distinguished that can be made; as it is a sort of sacrifice in favour of the person who receives it. Soon afterwards the French officer left the island to visit Bussi, of which I shall have occasion to speak.

The women and girls of Cazégut wear no covering, but a sort of belt in the form of fringe, which is extremely thick, and made of rushes; it surrounds their loins, and reaches down to their knees. The rest of the body is generally naked, except when the wind blows from the N. E. at which time the cold, to which they are very sensible, obliges them to put a similar covering round their neck; this defends their arms, and falls down to the belt, in the shape of a cone. Some of them wear a third belt round the head, and which falls over their shoulders. They ornament themselves with bracelets of copper and tin, which they put on their arms and legs; and they always rub their hair with palm-oil, to make it red, fat, and soft, which with them is the highest degree of elegance.

In general, both the men and women are of a good size, and well shaped; their skin is of so fine a black, that it seems like polished marble. The features of their face are agreeable; they have neither the thick lips, nor pug nose, which seems the characteristic of the Africans; and they possess a degree of wit and address which would render them skilful in the arts, if they were less idle, and if their happy disposition could be cultivated. Their character, which is naturally proud, renders slavery insupportable to them, particularly out of their own country; and there is nothing which they will not undertake to rid themselves of it; when therefore they are embarked as slaves, too much precaution cannot be taken to prevent them from revolting; for when that happens, the women are as terrible as the men. If the Whites neglect the slightest means of security, they know how to profit by it: they murder them, seize the vessel, and make towards the coast, where they generally run the ship aground, and then save themselves by swimming.

The isle of Jatte is not more than ten leagues long. Its reduction would not be difficult; and it is asserted to be one of the most agreeable of the Bissagos.

The isle of Bussi is to the west of that of the Bissaux, from which it is separated by a large and deep channel. The entrance on the south side is dangerous, on account of shoals which cover a good part of its width. It is almost as large as that of the Bissaux, abounds in fine trees, and contains many rivulets, which run into the sea. The inhabitants are Papels; but, as they have not been civilized by commerce, they are wicked, treacherous, and addicted to thieving. The interior of the island is unknown,









1 A Moorish Soldier. | 3 A Moorish Prince.  
 2 A Moorish Prince. | 4 A Woman of ordinary Rank.



1 & 2 Female Slaves. | 4 Priest of the Country.  
 3 Lady of the Isle St. Louis. | 5 An Armed Negro.



because voyagers have not a sufficient opinion of the inhabitants to expose themselves in going over it; and even in procuring from them provisions and refreshments, it is necessary to secure oneself from insult. This isle has two ports or roadsteads, in which ships can anchor and be secure from the sea winds. The old port is to the north, and the new one is to the south.

To the north of the isle of Bussi, and on the other side of the canal on the main land, is a tract of country ten or twelve leagues long, which is inhabited by Negroes, who are called *Balantes*, and who are remarkable for holding no intercourse whatever with their neighbours, either on the continent or the isles. They allow no one to enter their country, never give their daughters in marriage to the other Negroes, and very seldom allow their sons to unite themselves to foreign women. They are idolators; their government is a sort of republic, administered by the elders of each canton, who form a council. They have slaves; but the free Negroes never attempt each other's liberty. In other respects they are wicked, cruel, and all of them thieves. Their arms are saguayes, arrows, and sabres.

In their battles these negroes are daring, rash, and furious: they respect no flag; and all nations have occasionally been insulted by them. Notwithstanding they are often victorious, yet they are more frequently defeated; but their natural ferocity is always the same. They never abandon their piracies; and thus the navigation, near their territories, is always attended with danger.

These people are tolerably industrious; at least we judge so from the appearance of their country, as we pass along the coast. They traffic by carrying to their neighbours, and even to foreigners who enter their roads, rice, millet, culinary vegetables, oxen, goats, poultry, and particularly gold. The quantity of these different articles which they annually bring from their country, is a sufficient proof of its fertility. It is a generally received opinion, that the gold which the *Balantes* sell, is obtained from mines in the interior of the country which they occupy; and that this is the reason why they refuse to let any person enter it: they are aware that this precious metal excites the envy of the Europeans, and that they would expose themselves to expulsion or slavery, if they were to admit those nations amongst them. They pay a tribute in gold to the king of Casamanga, and sometimes give this metal for such merchandise as pleases them, or for which they have great occasion. An analysis has been made of this gold, and of that from Galam, the result of which has proved the former far superior to the latter, and even to that of all the countries to the eastward. Several circumstances contribute to strengthen the opinion, that the country of the *Balantes* contains



gold-mines ; and it is not impossible for an European nation to possess them by the means of address or of force ; but the former should be employed in preference.

The Portuguese, in 1696, united to their forces 300 Bissaux Negroes, and undertook an expedition against the Balantes : they effected a landing without opposition, but the time was not propitious, as they began their operations in the rainy season ; and at the time of the action their arms and ammunition got wet, and were rendered unserviceable. In this disaster, which they ought to have foreseen, they were attacked by the Balantes, and pursued with a fury peculiar to people who fight for every thing which they hold dear : they were, therefore, completely defeated and obliged precipitately to re-embark, leaving the field strewed with their Negroes and their own people ; while all their ammunition and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy, who have ever since been far more insolent.

Several Europeans who have since had the imprudence to land amongst these Negroes for commercial purposes, have been plundered and assassinated : it is, therefore, found to be more wise to trade with them without quitting one's boats, and to be cautious that the tide does not leave them aground ; for, on such occasions, which have often happened, these people without caring for the numbers which they may lose, attack the Europeans with singular fury, so that it is impossible to resist them.

When such accidents as have just been alluded to are foreseen and provided against, the merchants inform the Negroes of their arrival by the discharge of a cannon, on which they come down to the shore, and the king is almost always at their head. The interpreter then lands with specimens of the merchandise, and a bottle of brandy for the king, or the greatest personage present ; the canoe which conveys him ought to be well armed ; and immediately after landing him, it should return to the vessel. These people always receive a master of languages with proper respect. Presents follow their mutual compliments, and they then agree about the slaves, ivory, &c. He at length returns to the shore ; a signal is made for the canoe, and he re-embarks, observing the same precautions as on landing.

The slaves and other merchandise, are conveyed on board the European ships by the canoes of the country. As soon as they approach, the whole crews of the vessels take up arms, the guns are primed, and the matches lighted ; the canoes come along side one at a time, and only a very few Negroes are suffered to board at the same time : if they disobey these orders, they are fired on without hesitation ; otherwise they would not fail to possess themselves of the ship, and murder all the people it might contain. On such an occasion, the Europeans cannot be too alert ;



for if they shew either weakness or pity, they are lost. Not only the captain, but none of the crew ought ever to go on shore, for they would thereby rashly expose themselves to slavery or loss of life ; and in the former case their ransom would cost more than the entire cargo of the ship.

About twenty-eight years ago, a French vessel arrived at the Bissagos for the purpose of trading ; but running aground off one of the isles, part of the crew were massacred, and the rest made slaves. Amongst the latter, was a man named Constantine, whom M. de Lajaille, who was employed to reconnoitre this archipelago, found at the Bissaux in 1785, and from whom he received some particulars of the country.

On the 31st December, in that year, M. de Lajaille cast anchor before the isle of Jatte, and disembarked in his canoe, followed by four armed boats ; he first met with five or six negroes who were watching cattle on the strand. Soon afterwards about 100 unarmed inhabitants came forward, and advancing to M. de Lajaille, several of them took hold of his hand as a token of friendship. They were followed by a much greater number of the islanders who were not perceived by the crew, and who issued out from the bushes. They suddenly attacked him, seized him by the body and limbs, and endeavoured to confine him ; but being a powerful man, he disengaged himself, and the boats, by firing amongst the assailants, favoured his re-embarkation. M. de Carbonneau, however, who came to his assistance, was wounded by a musket and a sabre ; in consequence of which he died six days after. These events afford a recent proof of the ferocious character of the people who inhabit several of the islands in this archipelago, and of the contempt in which they ought to be held. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, and the risks with which they are attended, we do not hesitate to trade with them ; and in exchange for slaves, ivory, wax, gold, and other articles, which they procure for us, we bring them yellow amber, baize, and serges made to imitate cloth, or dyed of two different colours, one on each side. We also convey to them a quantity of brandy, bells, red and yellow woollens, linen, glass work, fowling-pieces, powder, &c. This commerce, however, is very confined ; but it might be carried on to a great extent if a number of ships were to proceed together on such a speculation.



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 CHAP. VII.
 

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OF THE BISSAUX ISLAND, ITS DISCOVERY, ESTABLISHMENTS, PRODUCTIONS, &c.—RELIGION, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS.—OF THE PEOPLE OF THE BISSAGOS.—THEIR TREACHERY TOWARDS EUROPEANS WHO TRADE WITH THEM; AND CAUTIONS TO NAVIGATORS, WHO ATTEMPT ANY INTERCOURSE WITH THEM.—FERTILITY OF THE BISSAUX.—PRIVILEGES OF THE KING OF THAT ISLAND.—HIS CURIOUS METHOD OF PUBLISHING HIS ORDERS.—MANNER OF TAKING CAPTIVES.—CEREMONY AT THE DEATH OF THE SOVEREIGN.

THE isle of the Bissaux, which is situated E. and W. of cape Rouge, between 17 deg. 28 min. long., and 11 deg. 16 min. lat. at its south point, was discovered by the Normans in their early expeditions, who establish themselves upon it and traded with the natives. The decline of their affairs at length obliged them to abandon this establishment, and the Portuguese took possession of it; they derived great advantages from this island, though they had but a few ships which traded with it, and these only came at long intervals. But the advantageous position of this establishment in the centre of the great number of fertile and populous islands, containing large navigable rivers, which were capable of affording an easy communication with the interior parts of them, and a knowledge of what it had formerly produced, and which was annually at least four hundred negroes, five hundred quintals of wax, and three or four hundred quintals of ivory, induced M. Brue, who in 1697 was governor-general at Senegal, to re-establish the French factory.

M. Castaing, who was employed under him, was selected to execute this project: he repaired to the island with a good assortment of merchandise, and was well received by the king of the country, who granted him some huts in which he took up his residence with his escort. He succeeded to great advantage in the trade which he carried on; but having lost many of his people, and those who remained with him being dangerously ill, he returned to Senegal in 1699, and complained to the governor, that the Portuguese, who remained in the island, had compelled him to pay them ten per cent on his articles of trade.



M. Brue in consequence resolved to go himself to the island with forces capable of overawing both the Portuguese and the negroes; and in March 1700, he came to anchor before the Portuguese fort, at the point of Bernafel with seven ships of war. The Portuguese governor wished to prevent the French from landing; but the menacing attitudes of the French vessels, soon induced him to come to an understanding with them; and M. Brue demanded an audience of the king of the island, which was granted him. The king received him in the most humble manner, and sacrificed an ox to him, dipping his fingers in the blood, and touching with them the hand of M. Brue, a ceremony, which amongst these people is considered as a mark of eternal alliance. The result was, that he gave him leave to establish a factory or houses in any part of his dominions, and even offered to accommodate him with his own places of residence till the French establishments should be built.

Thus the French regained their footing upon the Bissaux; and M. Brue, after leaving a guard, a factor, and other officers on the island, returned to Goree and Senegal in April 1700.

The isle of the Bissaux is from thirty-five to forty leagues in circumference: its appearance is agreeable, and its soil rises insensibly as far as the centre, where summits of mountains are found which are level, and from which issue several springs that fertilize the country. The ground is throughout planted with trees which form the most delightful and refreshing arbours; and we everywhere meet with orange-trees of a size and height, which are truly astonishing, as well as lemon-trees, cheese-trees, and banians. The soil is deep, fat, and extremely fertile; it produces abundance of rice, and two kinds of millet, the straw of which receives so much nutriment, that it resembles young trees. They also have good harvests of a small grain similar to the millet, which is uncommonly white, and with the flower of which they make a thick soup or porridge, which the negroes eat, after dissolving in it a quantity of butter or fat. The Portuguese have planted manioc in these parts, which grows well and affords excellent flour. The Negroes, who are naturally idle, eat it after roasting it on their embers. Palm-wine is the general drink in this country. Oxen here are of an uncommonly large size, and the cows as well as short-legged goats are very fat, and give abundance of milk. There are, however, neither sheep, hogs, nor horses: the labours of the last mentioned animals are performed by the cows, who carry easily, and naturally go at a jog-trot. A hole is made in the cartilage of the nostrils, through which a cord is passed, and this serves for a bridle, by which they are governed without trouble.



With the exception of the European establishments, we nowhere see a collection of houses so considerable as to deserve the name of a town, burgh or village, though the last appellation might be given to the palace of the king, which M. Brue saw when he visited that prince, and which was about three quarters of a league from the Portuguese fort.

This palace is formed within a wall made of straw so compact, that it appears at a distance like an enclosure of stone; at the door is a guard of twenty-five or thirty soldiers armed with sabres, bows and arrows. On entering, you first observe a kind of labyrinth of banian-trees with tolerably neat huts, which form the residence of the king's women, children, domestics and slaves. In the centre is a large court entirely shaded by a single orange-tree, which is so thick, and its foliage so compact and extensive, that it forms a sort of roof-work. The huts which belong exclusively to the king surround this court, and their number, together with those which are in the parts already mentioned, and the extent of the ground on which they are built, present the appearance of a village enclosed within a wall.

When this king has an interview with Europeans, he is generally clothed in the dresses which he has obtained from them; but on other occasions he, as well as his subjects, appears in no other dress than a piece of cotton which goes round his loins and hangs down to his knees. The costume of the women consists of a simple piece of cotton which covers them from the waist downwards, and they wear ornaments, such as collars and bracelets of beads and coral. The girls go entirely naked, and several of them have their bodies tattooed with flowers and different figures; but as soon as they are married they take to the cotton. The king's daughters appear in the same manner as those of his subjects.

The king of the Bissaux and all his people are idolators; but so extravagant is their religion, that it is impossible to give an idea of it. Their principal idol is a small figure, which they call Chime; but it is difficult to know who he is, whence he comes, or what he is good for? This deity however is not exclusively adored: for every individual adopts for his god whatever his imagination presents to him. They have consecrated trees to which they make sacrifices, and which they consider either as gods of, or as the residence of divinities: the animals sacrificed are dogs, cocks, and oxen, which they take great care in fattening. After these sacrifices, they cut the victim to pieces, and the king with his attendants, as well as others who are present, take a portion and eat it, leaving the gods nothing but



the horns, which are hung on the branches of the trees, and left there till they drop by corruption or decay. They never undertake any important affair without consulting these deities.

The isle of the Bissaux is divided into nine provinces, eight of which are governed by officers who are appointed by the king, and who themselves afterwards take this title in order to give that of emperor to their sovereign. This prince when he issues orders or makes known his will, uses a wooden instrument which is called *bombalon*, and which is much like a ship's trumpet, only longer and bigger: by striking it outside with a mallet of hard wood, it produces a sound which is heard at a tolerable distance; and men being stationed with similar instruments, at intervals repeat the number of strokes as fast as the sounds are conveyed to them, and thus transmit the orders of their sovereign; for every one knows what is meant by any number of strokes and the comparative force with which they are given.

By means of this instrument, which may be considered similar to our telegraph, the will of the prince is made known and promptly executed throughout the island; and those who refuse to obey the orders which they receive, are immediately made slaves. This political punishment serves to keep the subjects to their duty, and to form a part of the revenues of the king, who sells the slaves for his own emolument.

This prince has a singular method of acquiring property; it is only necessary for him to accept the gift which any individual may make him of his neighbour's house, though the donor may have no right to it whatever; and though the king knows this, he nevertheless takes possession of the tenement, while the owner is obliged either to repurchase it or build another. It must, however, be admitted, that the sufferer has immediate means of retaliation, as he can at the same instant give the king the house of the person who has deprived him of his own; and then both are ruined, as two houses are disposed of, and the king is the only gainer. This custom is not indeed so dangerous in a country where every one is his own landlord, so that the donor always fears that his own property may be given away; a circumstance which causes such presents very rarely to be made.

This king contrives to preserve peace within his own states; but though he has no intestine war, he is continually in hostilities with his neighbours: for when he wants slaves, he makes an irruption amongst the Biafares, the Bissagots, the Balautes, and the Nalons, who live contiguous to his territories, either on the main land, or in the numerous isles, which form the archipelago of the Bissagos.



On such occasions the preparations and the expedition itself do not occupy more than five or six days. The bombalon announces that the king wishes to make war, and points out the place of rendezvous; on which the great men with the officers and armed soldiery never fail to repair thither, and are embarked in the canoes of the prince, which are twenty or thirty in number. Each canoe holds about twenty men, for whom the commandant is responsible to the king; and they are obliged to row under pain of death or slavery. The king seldom goes upon these kinds of expeditions, but employs himself in consulting the gods, who always gave an opinion favourable to his undertakings. On such an occasion he makes them a great sacrifice, and himself with the warriors and priests are the only persons who eat the flesh of the animals that are killed. The embarkation then takes place, and every one is inspired with the greatest hopes: they always contrive to land on the enemy's shore in the night, and come by surprise upon a few scattered and defenceless huts, the inhabitants of which they carry off together with whatever they possess. Oftentimes these warriors lie in ambush in the bye-paths which lead to the rivers and springs, and endeavour to seize those who pass, or come for water. When they make a capture they return to their canoes singing, as if they had gained a glorious victory.

The king, as his right of sovereignty, possesses one half of the slaves who are taken, and the rest are divided amongst the men who have so bravely exposed their lives. These slaves are sold to the Europeans, excepting those who are princes, or persons of some distinction, whom their friends ransom by giving for each of them two slaves, or five or six oxen.

When the conquering warriors return to their island, they are received with praise and congratulation; but woe be to the prisoners if the expeditions have not been completely successful; if a warrior have been taken or killed, they run the risk of being murdered, particularly if the person who has been killed be a man of distinction, or if his relatives be rich.

These warlike people are, however, often attacked in their turn by their neighbours. The Balantes and Biafares make frequent incursions in the Bissaux isle, and wage war with the greatest cruelty: for though they set apart a certain number of their prisoners to be sold to the whites, they reserve the rest to be sacrificed to their god, in honour of their victory.

They celebrate the obsequies of their dead by rude songs and dances to the sound of the drum, in which their motions and postures exhibit in a frightful manner the passions of rage, melancholy, and despair. The women are the principal actresses in this scene: they appear with their heads loaded with mire and



blood, the latter of which they have drawn from themselves by scratching; and they continue to howl like persons deranged till the body is put in the ground.

The same ceremonies are observed at the death of the king; and on this occasion the women of whom he has been most fond, and the slaves for whom he had occasion either to serve or divert him, are murdered and buried in his grave. It is, however, asserted, that this custom is now almost abolished, that is, that a smaller number of those miserable people are buried with the body of their king.

The order of succession to the throne is regulated in a manner truly extraordinary. Four of the strongest noblemen carry the body of the deceased king as far as the sepulchre; on reaching which they toss the bier up in the air and keep it from falling to the ground. After giving the corpse several propulsions of this kind, they let it fall upon the grandees who have prostrated themselves around the grave; and the person on whom the royal body rests, is immediately proclaimed king.

Hence royalty is elective in the Bissaux island; though from the arrangements that are made, the election cannot *fall* upon any but a prince of the royal family, namely the sons, brothers, or nephews of the deceased. It may easily be supposed that those who aspire to the throne, neglect no means to gain the favour of the electors; and happy is he who is rich enough to acquire their good opinion, and obtain their royal burden: such an one on being proclaimed king, has the diadem encircled on his head, that is, they twist round his cap two folds of rope, which is the mark of his sovereign power.

I shall terminate this chapter by mentioning a phenomenon observed by M. Brue. He declares, that he saw on this island a white woman who had a black father and mother: she was married to a black man, and all their children were of his colour. Several travellers have mentioned similar occurrences; but none of them attempt to point out the cause.



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## CHAP. VIII.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLE OF BULAM.—ITS ADVANTAGES AND PRODUCTIONS.—ORIGIN AND FAILURE OF THE ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENT.—RIVERS WHICH FORM THE ARCHIPELAGOS OF THE BISSAGOS, WITH SOME PARTICULARS OF THE PEOPLE WHO RESIDE ON THEIR BANKS.—PARTICULARS OF THE KINGDOM OF CABO, AND ITS SOVEREIGN.—COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES OF THE VILLAGE OF GESVES, AND THE KINGDOM OF GUE-NALA.

THE isle of Bulam is situated in  $11^{\circ} 18' 6''$  lat. and  $17^{\circ} 19'$  long. It was discovered by the French, who frequented it for a long time, and examined it in every direction, without forming any establishment upon it, though they always intended the contrary. Some of the plans, however, were badly conceived, having originated with men who possessed no knowledge of the country; while others indicated objects of the greatest advantage: amongst the latter were those of M. Brue at the beginning of the last century; of the Abbe Desmance, towards the middle; and of Barber, an Englishman, who resided at Havre, in 1787. All these schemes, however, came to nothing, and are now forgotten.

The island of Bulam is eight or nine leagues long from east to west, about five leagues in breadth from north to south; and between twenty-five and thirty in circumference: it is only separated from the main land by a channel, which forms the harbour at the east end. It is contiguous to many navigable rivers, which ascend to a vast distance in the continent and offer the greatest commercial advantages. The climate is better than that of most of the West India Islands, and is only unhealthy where the rough state of nature is predominant: by cultivation and industry it might be rendered very salubrious.

The shore, which affords an easy landing, is bordered with large and fine trees; the soil rises insensibly during the space of two leagues from the sea to a few hills, serving as the bases of some considerable mountains, which are in the centre of the island. These mountains are neither steep nor barren; they are



easy of access, and might be cultivated without much trouble; their summits are covered with trees; and rivers, which always contain plenty of water, issue from them, and fertilize the whole of the country. It is doubtless to this irrigation that the soil is indebted for its fecundity. Palm-trees of every kind, as well as all those which are indigenous in hot climates, are most abundant. The southern quarter is a natural meadow, in which are herds of oxen and wild horses; the former of a very large size, but the latter smaller than ordinary.

In every part of the island may be found a prodigious number of stags, hinds, goats, buffaloes, and elephants; while tigers, lions, and wolves do not infest this charming retreat. Game and smaller birds breed undisturbed, and are seen in vast flocks all over the island. The shores afford plenty of fish, and amongst them great numbers of turtle; in short, it produces in abundance all the necessaries of life: it is, however, uninhabited, and has been so ever since the Bissagos expelled the Biafares, to whom it belonged, and banished them to the continent. This was the termination of a sanguinary war, in which the Biafares being overcome, were either dispersed, or made slaves, or sold.

The conquerors did not think proper to establish themselves on the territory which they had acquired; but they repair thither every year, to the number of three or four hundred, in the months of February, March, April, and May, and plant fields of rice, millet, and other pulse. After their harvest, which is always plentiful, they return to their own country.

From the known richness of the soil it would doubtlessly produce, without much trouble, sugar, coffee, cocoa, indigo, cotton, tobacco, and in general all the productions of America. The labour might be performed by slaves purchased on the spot, or hired at the rate of three or four bars for each man per month: the bar is a nominal coin of Africa, valued at four livres sixteen sous, about 3s. 8d. English, and costs in Europe little more than half that sum. These slaves would in time have a liking for the island, might become free, purchase land, and finally be civilized. The navy of that country which might first form the establishment would also derive great advantages: the expeditions of Europeans in this part of the world have had commerce exclusively for their object, and the cultivation of land or the building of ships has never been thought of; though in the isle of Bulam almost every thing requisite for this important object might be obtained. The Portuguese who are naturalized in this part of Africa, employ the large trees which grow at Bulam and the neighbouring islands, for making their boats. There is one species, called *micheiry*, of which they construct their decks; it is easy to work, and is never perforated



by worms: specimens of this wood have been sent to Europe and America, where it is deemed preferable to those kinds that are generally used: it must, however, be admitted, that mast-timber is not to be procured; the micheiry is too short, and the palm and most of the other trees are too heavy and brittle. The Portuguese, however, are obliged to make their masts of palm-trees; but on account of their weight they form them very short, and dispense with top-masts.

The marshy spots produce some peculiar trees, the leaves of which are large and thin, the wood is spongy, and the bark thick and supple, insomuch that it is made into tow. To effect this object they peel the inner from the outer rind, and the former makes a kind of tow, which never rots. With respect to cordage, the country furnishes abundance of materials for this purpose, as it is made from a species of reed which abounds in all the marshy spots. This vegetable is cut and left to macerate in water, when, after beating it to deprive it of the outer rind, it is spun and made into good ropes. The cocoa-trees also afford a supply for this purpose; the fibrous substance which covers the shell makes excellent tow; and the ropes which are spun from it, are cheaper and more in use there than those of hemp. The natives understand this sort of manufacture, and the well-informed Negroes convert it to their own use.

We continue to send insignificant expeditions to this part of the world, and trade in slaves, wax, ivory, hides, cotton, ostrich-feathers, and gold; but fortunate will that nation be, which shall establish a powerful colony in the isle of Bulam.

The English, in 1792, were the first who made an attempt at an establishment of this description: they formed an association, and raised by subscription a sum of 9,000*l.* sterling; each subscriber giving 50*l.* for 300 acres of arable land in the island. They sent off three ships, which carried nearly 300 colonists, and a variety of articles necessary for their establishment.

The principal objects to this association was the abolition of the slave-trade; the civilization of the Negroes; and the opening of a humane and social intercourse between Europe and Africa, founded on the exchange of useful goods and on pecuniary speculations.

The new colonists were well received by the natives, and particularly by the naturalized Portuguese on the continent, who had long been in the habit of trading for slaves. After their arrival they elected a chief; and their choice fell on Lieutenant Beaver, who proved himself worthy of their confidence\*. He

\* The spirit and motives of M. Durand are throughout his work suffi-



agreed with Captain Dalrymple, who commanded the expedition, to buy in the name of the colonists the whole of the isle of Bulam, as well as a great tract of territory on the neighbouring continent.

This project was carried into execution, and the sale was made to them by three negroes, who seemed to have an equal right to the property which they sold; the price of this acquisition was 478 bars.

This transaction put a stop to one of the causes of dissension which had always prevailed amongst the Europeans; it terminated those incessant quarrels which took place amongst the Negro kings about the possession of the island, and which always caused the shedding of blood. The English were wise enough to renounce all ideas of usurpation; they bought and became masters of the island by a written and voluntary convention.

The directors of this benevolent association, however, wanted practical knowledge in such kinds of enterprise. The colonists arrived in the rainy season, which is the most unhealthy period. Several individuals became terrified at the insalubrity of the climate; they supposed that a more extensive degree of cultivation would be necessary to support them in the colony: hence they returned to England with their wives and children.

Another cause of failure was, that they did not pay a sufficient regard to the choice of their colonists: for amongst those whom they took out were several men of bad principles and immoral conduct, who excited divisions in this infant establishment. On the other hand, the leaders neglected to bring with them carcasses and other materials necessary for building houses, which were indispensable to secure them from the rain and sun.

At length the late war was one of the principal causes of the want of success to this undertaking, as it cut off all communication between the colony and Europe. Captain Beaver in his Report on the 19th of January, 1794, said, that the enterprise had not failed, but that it had been unfortunate through unforeseen circumstances: he, however, made the greatest efforts, and his good conduct and perseverance from the 5th of May, 1792, to the 29th of November, 1793, afford the highest idea of his courage and abilities.

ciently evident: his object is to promote the ambitious views of his countrymen at the expence of every other nation. His account of Bulam is partial and unsatisfactory; but as he has mentioned the name of Captain Beaver, we will refer our readers for a full and interesting history of the establishment at Bulam, to a work which he lately published, intitled "*African Memoranda, &c.*"—Ed.



Mr. Beaver and the valiant colonists who would not abandon him, braved the climate, and resisted the repeated attacks of the inhabitants of the Bissagos, by whom they were often disturbed, though they always repelled them with loss. These Negroes consider the island of Bulam as a part of their domain. It would be difficult to persuade them to the contrary; but their forbearance might be purchased at a trifling rate; and this mode is preferable to a state of war, which otherwise would always disturb the colony.

The first months were employed in cultivating a considerable tract of the island, and in building a large house in the form of a barricade, which was the general magazine, the residence of the colonists, and their citadel. The gardens which they formed, were handsome and agreeable; and different botanical experiments were successfully made, with tropical and European seeds and plants: all the vegetable productions answered their expectations, and arrived at maturity with astonishing quickness. The colonists, however, informed of the declaration of war, while their separation from Europe deprived them of clothes, medicines, and implements of agriculture, induced Captain Beaver to retire to Sierra Leone, to pass the rainy season. He therefore left Bulam under the protection of the neighbouring Negro kings, whose confidence and esteem he had acquired and who promised to keep the island in trust for the colonists till the termination of the war.

These princes, who were sincerely attached to Captain Beaver, had discovered, that commerce and agriculture, which increase mankind and the products of nature, are preferable to speculations which have for their object the depopulation of Africa.

On the 29th November, 1793, Captain Beaver left the island of Bulam, with the extreme regret of not having been seconded in proportion to his zeal and perseverance. It appears, however, that the labours which were begun, were not entirely suspended till after the war. The English will certainly appear again on that island; and I have no doubt, that their generous efforts will be crowned with success.

To return to the archipelago of the Bissagos; it must be stated, that it is formed by a multitude of rivers, which empty themselves into the sea. I have already spoken of the Casamansa and Saint Domingo, as well as of the Portuguese establishments, their commerce, and connections with the various tribes of natives who inhabit the banks of those rivers. I have, however, yet to offer some remarks on the kingdom of Cabo, which deserves particular notice.

About one hundred and fifty leagues from the mouth of the



river Casamanga is a vast and deep bend of land, which has given the name of Cabo or Cape to a considerable kingdom that occupies it. It is said that this territory was governed at the beginning of the last century by a Negro king named Bizam Mansaré, who lived in greater splendour and magnificence than any of the other Negro sovereigns. He had a numerous court, and more than four thousand marks in table plate; he also kept six or seven thousand soldiers well armed and disciplined. This king knew how to make himself respected by the labouring people, and to maintain good order in his states: he subjected to military punishment such of his subjects as refused to pay him tribute, or who were asked for it twice before they produced it; and he had established such a vigilant police throughout his kingdom, that merchants might leave their goods out on the highway, without any danger of losing them. He enacted severe laws against robbery, which were so rigorously executed that no one dared to break them. His slaves were not chained together; and as soon as the buyers had fixed upon them, they had no fear of their escaping or being carried off, as the guards on the frontiers were inexorable and faithful.

This prince generally supplied the Portuguese in the course of each year with six hundred slaves, besides gold and ivory, in exchange for European merchandize; he used to prefer the fennel-water from the isle of Rhé; cinnamon-water, rosolis, sabres with ornamented hilts, French saddles, easy chairs covered with velvet, and various articles of household furniture.

When a white person came to visit him, he had him conducted to and from his residence, and paid all his expences from the moment he entered till he had left his states: his subjects dared not receive any perquisites from the stranger under penalty of being made slaves. The king always gave him an audience the moment he demanded it; and it was customary on such occasions for the European to make a present to the king equal in value to three slaves. The visits and presents were continued upon the same footing till the merchant perceived some diminution in the generosity of the king; when he treated with him for what remained, and the merchant received payment. When he was about to have his audience of leave, he would ask the king to make him a present for his wife, and the sovereign in general used to give him a slave or a piece of gold.

The prince of whom I have been speaking, died in 1705, generally regretted. But from many private accounts which I received during my government at Senegal, I have reason to know that his successors have continued to imitate his just and equitable conduct.



To the N. N. W. of the Bissaux isle is the river of Gesves, which takes its name from a village sixty-six leagues from its mouth. At the part where it disembogues itself into the sea is another village called the Boat, the inhabitants of which cultivate rice in abundance, and exchange it for merchandize. It is asserted that these people are particularly famous for their talents in taming the most ferocious animals.

The Gesves is extremely rapid, which is attributed to the natural and considerable descent of its bed, as well as to an eddy or irregularity of the tide which is very dangerous, and is known by the name of *mascaret*: it arises from the tide being six hours in running down, and only three or less in coming up; while it ascends with such rapidity that the waves seem like mountains of water rolling over one another, and their impulse is so great that they carry off whatever comes in their way. Hence vessels moor in these roads in such a manner as to keep always afloat, or to move on, when they see the *mascaret* approaching.

The trade of Gesves consists annually of about two hundred slaves, five tons of wax, as much ivory, and four or five hundred common pagnes, or pieces of common Negro-cloth. This last article could not be dispensed with in the trade carried on with the Negro kings and the Bissagos: there are also other kinds of cotton, which are bartered, and are of a superior quality. The most certain method of carrying on trade with advantage, and giving it all the extent of which it is susceptible, is to have a number of boats, which should frequent all the rivers and creeks of the country, for the purpose of procuring merchandize; which might thus be obtained at first hand, and would deprive the Portuguese of the great benefits which they derive from their interference.

On penetrating up the mouth of this river, that is to say, up the curve which it makes to the north-west, we arrive at a village named Gonfode; it is inhabited by the Biafares Negroes, who are tolerably civilized, and attached to commerce. To the south of the Gesves is another, to which they give the name of Goli, which is likewise inhabited by the Biafares, who trade to some extent with the Portuguese. The river in question leads to one of the ordinary residences of the king of Guenala: the trade carried on along its banks is very considerable, but its navigation is very difficult, on account of the numerous shoals and rocks with which it is filled. This obstacle, however, does not prevent the Negroes employed by the Portuguese from trading continually along it with their canoes, though the *mascaret* attacks them in a very violent manner.

On the shores of this river the Portuguese, and those who pre-



tend to be so, have established themselves in great numbers: they live in the most disgusting idleness, passing the whole day on mats in the vestibule of their houses, smoking and gossiping. They very seldom take a walk, and never hunt; indeed they take no sort of exercise, every thing being done for them by their domestics: the latter are constantly employed in trading for their masters; and the profits which they derive, are sufficient for the subsistence of the Portuguese, many of whom even obtain a small fortune from the industry of their servants. But notwithstanding this, most of them are so indolent, that they live in the manner of the Negroes, and even worse; insomuch that they often want the necessaries of life: they have neither the foresight nor the courage to procure themselves vegetables in such a fertile country, the industry to breed domestic animals, nor the strength to hunt game, with which the whole territory abounds.

One may judge of the apathy of these people by the state of the village of Goli, which contains about four thousand inhabitants, who call themselves Portuguese, though there are not amongst them more than ten or twelve families; all the rest being Mulattoes or Negroes. It is situated on an eminence and in an advantageous position; but it has no wall. The houses are built of wood; and the environs, which were formerly cultivated, are now fallows. The inhabitants get their provisions from the Negroes of the surrounding villages.

About ten or twelve leagues to the south of the river of Gesves, is that to which the Portuguese have given the name of Rio Grande, on account of its extent compared with the others which are near it. From this river they derive ivory, wax, gold, and slaves; the quantity or number of which varies according to the wars which the people make among themselves. On ascending this river to the height of eighty leagues or thereabouts from its mouth, you meet with a nation of Negroes called *Anabous*: they are good merchants, and supply much ivory and rice, as well as some slaves.

On proceeding along the coast to the southward, and about sixteen leagues from Rio Grande, you come to the river of *Nongne*; it is considerable, and extends very far up the country: it furnishes about three hundred quintals of ivory, some slaves, and rice at a very cheap rate. Sugar-canes and indigo grow spontaneously in that quarter, and are very good.

From these districts a salt is derived which is held in much estimation by the Portuguese, who consider it an excellent antidote. The history of the discovery of such a great virtue in this salt is worthy of relation. It appears to have been owing to an elephant, who when wounded by a poisoned arrow, a weapon which the Negroes shoot at those monstrous animals, continued,



to the great astonishment of the hunters, to walk and graze without shewing any sign of pain. One of the Negroes asserted that he saw the elephant go to the side of a stream, and convey some sand to its mouth by means of its trunk: he and his companions then went to look at what they supposed to be sand, when they found that it was a white salt, having a slight taste of alum. They then attacked another elephant, which did the same; on which the Negroes communicated their discovery to the Portuguese, who are dreadfully alarmed at poisoned weapons: they made various experiments with this salt, and discovered it to be the best antidote hitherto known. To cure one-self radically of any poison absorbed, it is only necessary to drink a drachm of this salt dissolved in water.

In the river of Nongne, a trade is carried on from the month of March till August, at which time ships must take the advantage of returning with the south winds. Between this river and that of Sierra Leone there are four others, namely those of *Pongue*, *Tafali*, *Samos*, and *Cassores*; they are all navigable, and present great commercial advantages. The people who inhabit the countries through which they run, are the *Zapes*, the *Foules*, the *Cocolis*, and the *Nalez*.

The *Zapes* divide themselves into hordes, who go by different names; there are for instance, the vagabond *Zapes*, who have no settled habitations; the athletic *Zapes*; the thin *Zapes*, &c. All these people are idolaters, though they acknowledge a Supreme Being, but do not worship him, though they consider him as the master of all other gods. They are extremely clever in the art of poisoning arrows, and make use of poison in various ways: they also know the antidote lately mentioned, and sell it; so that they circulate both the poison and the cure; their greatest trade, however, is in elephants' teeth. There is likewise a certain fruit which they dispose of, called *Colles*, which the Portuguese are very fond of: it has a bitter taste, and imparts an excellent flavour to water.

It is not impossible to spread civilization amongst people who are still savage, nor to render highly valuable those extensive lands which are fertile, and so favourably treated by nature. Our interest, humanity, and love for the arts and sciences, all conspire to render such attempts a duty of morality.



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 CHAP. IX.
 

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OF THE ISLES OF LOS OR IDOLES.—ACCOUNTS OF CERTAIN ANIMALS.—THE CROCODILE OR CAYMAN.—THE ELEPHANT.—THE RIVER-HORSE.—TAMED CROCODILES.—SINGULAR ANECDOTE OF AN ELEPHANT.—A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE HIPPOPOTAMUS.

ABOUT forty leagues to the south of Bissagos, in lat.  $9^{\circ} 27'$  long.  $15^{\circ} 40'$  you arrive at the islands of De Los or Idoles: they are seven in number, but only three of them are inhabited. The four others are properly nothing but rocks. On the easternmost of these isles is an English factory. Their isolation from the continent, and the elevation of their soil, render them as healthy as they are agreeable; the natives call them *Sarotima*, that is, the "land of the white man:" we knew them formerly under the name of Tamara.

About sixty years ago these islands were only inhabited by a single family, called Bagos; at present they are overloaded with a mixture of Bagos, and the fugitive slaves of the Suzees and the Mandingos.

The three isles which are inhabited, are called Tamara, Los, and Crafford. Tamara, the greatest and most westerly, is almost semicircular; its shore rises in an amphitheatrical form to such a height, as to be seen twelve leagues at sea. It produces fine trees, which are fit for building: its surface is not properly known, and ships prefer anchoring at the isle of Los. The chief of this isle is called William; he has his village on the low point, which forms a plain about a quarter of a league long, by half a quarter wide. He has always wished for the French to establish themselves there; but the anchorage is not sufficiently convenient, as all goods, &c. are obliged to be landed in canoes or by similar means.

Los is the most eastern island: it is a league long, and it is necessary to pass the south end in order to anchor off it. All dangers can be foreseen in this part; which is not the case at the north-east point, as it runs under water to the extent of a quarter of a league.



Crafford is exactly between the two great isles, and stands amidst two large rocks, about a league in circumference. The surf and breakers reach a league from its northern point: they are occasioned by a large sand-bank below high-water-mark; but this danger is of little consequence, as ships always pass to the south of the isles.

From April to September the storms are frequent, and the winds impetuous; but all accidents may be prevented by coming to an anchor about half a league from the English factory. In case of the breaking of cables, the ships are ready to set sail and make for the offing.

The English establishment prospers, and carries on its trade in a peaceable manner; it always keeps in the road four or five large ships, six coasters, and several shalloops for navigating the river.

The French may be found on these islands, as well as on every part of the coast. About twenty years ago, a sailor from Havre, whose name I regret I do not know, had the courage to establish himself on his own account at the isle of Los; his enterprize was attended with the best success, and afforded a great resource to the French ships which frequented those roads. I do not know whether this establishment still exists, but it would be of great advantage either to support or renew it.

From the isle of Los may be seen Cape Tagrin. The mountains of the interior are very high, and appear to be three or four leagues from the sea-shore. Cape Tagrin is low and covered with trees, as are all the points of the coast.

In this part of Africa may be found, in greater numbers than elsewhere, crocodiles or caymans, elephants, and sea-horses. The first are too well known to need any description; but in these countries they have certain customs which are worth mentioning.

At the lower end of the river of St. Domingo, and at the mouth of that of Gesves, is a village which, as I have already said, is called the Boat, and I have been assured that the inhabitants of this place have succeeded in training crocodiles. These carnivorous animals, which are dreaded in every other part of the world, walk about in the village just mentioned, without doing the least injury to any one. The natives indeed give them food, which renders them mild and tractable; and children may be seen riding on their backs, and even beating them, without any resentment being visible on the part of the crocodiles. This is doubtless, a great proof of what may be effected by patience and benevolence: for in other parts these creatures pursue and destroy men and beasts without distinction. There are nevertheless Negroes rash enough to attack them with poniards, and who



generally kill them. At Senegal there was a servant who took pleasure in going to fight them; but he often returned severely bitten and lacerated. He was once on the point of falling a prey to an animal of this description, which had rendered him *hors de combat*; but he was assisted just in time by his comrades.

The elephants are less dangerous towards man, but do equal injury to his property. When they lie down in the mud to cool themselves, they pay no attention to people who pass near them; and it is rare that they seek a quarrel: but when they are fired on and wounded, they begin to be enraged, and it is difficult to escape them. Excepting in this case, and when people wish to frighten them, they retire gravely as soon as they think proper. They look for a long time at those who disturb them; then give two or three roars, and go away. When injured they are very ingenious in their means of vengeance, and uncommonly clever in executing them. It is asserted that the crew of a French vessel, which had arrived in the river of St. Domingo, observed an elephant sticking in the mud in such a manner that he could not disengage himself: the sailors thought that it would be easy to take him, and accordingly fired muskets at him, which did not kill him, but put him in a rage. They could not get near enough to spear him; and being little accustomed to this kind of hunting, they did not know the parts at which he might be wounded with the greatest effect. The elephant could neither run away from, nor get towards his assailants; he therefore in despair took up the mud with his trunk, and threw it in such quantities into the ship, that it was ready to sink, and the sailors were obliged to tow it off. As the tide set in, they observed the elephant disengage himself and swim to shore.

The sea-horses or hippopotami which are found in all the waters of Africa, abound more particularly in the rivers which I have just mentioned: they are easier dispersed than elephants. On seeing men or hearing a noise, they quickly retire to the river from which they issued, and plunge in head-foremost; the next minute they re-appear at the surface, and neigh two or three times so loudly that they may be heard at a very great distance.

This animal, which the ancients called hippopotamus, and of which they have transmitted to us several inaccurate descriptions, is not to be found in any other part of the world. I shall therefore give a complete description of it. It resembles in several respects both the ox and the horse; and its tail is like that of a hog, except that it has no hair at the end. When it has attained its full size, it is higher, longer, and bigger, by about one third, than the largest of the French oxen; and it is not uncommon to find hippopotami which weigh from 12 to 15 cwt: its body is thick, compact, and closely covered with short brown hair, which



grows grey, and, as the animal gets old, resembles that of a mouse. When in the water, this hair always shines: the head is large and stout, but it appears short or diminutive in proportion to the rest of the body, and it is quite flat. The neck is thick and short, and bears no hair till the animal gets old. This part possesses great strength, as do also the loins. The ears, though large, are small with respect to the size of the head: they are pointed, and the animal can erect or backen them like the common horse. It has a fine sense of hearing, and a penetrating sight. Its eyes are large and particularly projecting; and when it is ever so little enraged, they become red, and glare in a terrible manner. The nose is thick and turned up, and the nostrils are wide. Besides the incisors and grinders, which are very large and rather hollow in the center, the animal has four very large teeth, which serve it for weapons of defence; two being on each side like those of the boar; they are about seven or eight inches long, and nearly five inches in circumference at the root: those of the lower jaw are rather more bent than the others, and the substance of which they are composed, is whiter and infinitely harder than ivory. When the animal is enraged and gnashes its teeth, which emit sparks: this circumstance doubtless gave rise to the opinion amongst the ancients that the sea-horse vomited fire. It is certain that these teeth when struck against a bit of steel, produce sparks, as readily as a flint.

The hippopotamus has no horns, its feet and teeth being the only weapons with which nature has provided it; its legs are thick, fleshy, and of a tolerable size; the foot is cleft like that of oxen; but the pasterns or knees are too weak to support the weight of the body: nature, however, has provided against this defect by supplying the fetlock with two little horny substances, which tend to support the animal while walking; it thus leaves upon the ground, at every step, the impression of the four horns, which must have made the ancients think that its claws were similar to those of the crocodile, as they have depicted it to us. The hippopotamus walks tolerably quick when it is pressed, and if it find a level and rather hard soil; but it can never overtake a horse, nor even a light-made man, as are all the Negroes who hunt it for amusement.

The skin of the river-horse is uncommonly hard, particularly that which covers the neck, the back, the hind part of the thighs, and the rump, insomuch that balls only slip along it, and arrows recoil. It is, however, much thinner, and consequently more easy to perforate, under the belly and between the thighs; in these parts, therefore, the hunters attempt to wound it.

The river-horse is amphibious: it is frequently seen in the sea; but we know that it does not proceed far from the coast or fresh



water, as it requires for its existence to be near meadows and cultivated lands. It has been observed to walk much faster in the water than on land, as the former supports it, and assists the progress of its heavy body; nevertheless, it cannot stay in the fluid for a length of time, or as long as it can remain on land. The time which it has been ascertained to keep under water, is about half or three quarters of an hour; after which it is obliged to come to land for the purpose of free respiration.

It sleeps ashore amongst the rushes and thickets with which the banks of the river are covered; and in such parts the females drop their young, and give them suck. As soon as they see any object or hear the least noise, they throw themselves into the water, and the young ones follow the dam. The female generally bears four at a time, and breeds once a year; so that the number of these animals in the Bissagos and the neighbouring rivers, is not astonishing.

The hippopotamus feeds both on fish and on such land animals as it can take by surprise; because the weight of its body does not enable it to run them down. It has been asserted that it eats human flesh; but all the accounts which I have received, tend to refute this opinion. Besides animals and fish, we know that it eats the grass of the fields, and particularly rice, millet, peas, melons, and other vegetables, as its voracity is not easily satiated. The Negroes keep it away from their grounds by the means of noises and fires: for it makes more devastation with its feet in a piece of cultivated ground than by what it eats; and if it take a fancy to sleep in such a spot, the harvest is thereby entirely destroyed.

It is while the animal thus reposes that the natives most easily destroy it by approaching in a gentle manner; and it betrays itself by its loud snoring. The Negroes take a pleasure in attacking it, on account of their agility; but they take care not to hunt it, except it be at a distance from a river to which they can prevent its return; but if it be wounded and cannot reach the water, which it searches for with more eagerness than it defends itself against the hunters, it becomes furious, and then it would be imprudent to approach it. It is very tenacious of life, and never yields it without much struggle. The hunters endeavour to break its legs with musket-balls; and if they once cause it to fall, they kill it with ease. If, however, on such an occasion, it succeed in gaining a river, it plunges headlong in; and after remaining for an instant at the bottom, it appears again at the surface, pricks up its ears, and looks about in every direction, as if in search of those who had forced it to quit the pasture; it then neighs, and plunges again to the bottom, which it reaches, whatever may be



its depth, where it doubtless remains more safe, and perhaps more at its ease than it would be between two bodies of water. There is some danger in attacking it on the rivers: for if the hunters miss their aim, it tries to avenge itself, and often does great injury to the boats which are in pursuit of it.

This animal indeed does not want a certain degree of instinct: for example, it evacuates much blood, and it is asserted that it often bleeds itself; for this purpose it looks out for a sharp point of rock, which is not rare on the banks of rivers, and against this it rubs itself quickly till the friction produces an aperture capable of admitting the passage of the blood; and it is said to observe the discharge with attention and pleasure, and even to agitate itself when the stream is not sufficiently copious; but when it thinks that enough has been emitted, it goes to lie down in the mud, and thus closes up the wound.

The Negroes of Angola, Congo, and the eastern coasts of Africa, consider the river-horse, which they call *Fetiso*, as a diminutive of some divinity, notwithstanding which they eat it. The other Negroes also think the flesh excellent. The Portuguese, who are rigid observers of Lent and fast days, pretend that it is a fish, and as such they eat it. They are doubtless in the right, as they find it very palatable. Europeans, on the contrary, have much difficulty in accommodating themselves to such a repast, as they find it to possess a gross taste and strong smell.

The skin and teeth of the river-horse are objects of commerce: of the former, when dried and stretched, they make shields and bucklers, which are proof against arrows and bullets; while the teeth fetch a greater price than those of elephants. The dentists buy them up with avidity, as they have found that teeth made of this substance do not turn yellow like those of ivory; besides which they are much harder. It is also asserted that little plates made of these bones, and fixed by a riband round such parts of the limbs as are attacked by cramp and sciatica, prevent the exacerbation of those disorders, as long as they remain on the skin. This is a recipe which I do not guarantee; but it may be easily tried.



## CHAP. X.

RIVER OF SIERRA LEONE, ITS DISCOVERY &c.--EXPEDITIONS OF THE EUROPEANS, THEIR PARTIAL ESTABLISHMENTS, AND PROJECTS OF COLONIZATION.—REVIEW OF THEIR RESOURCES AND PROJECTS.—GENERAL REMARKS ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS WHICH MIGHT BE FORMED, AND THE MEASURES TO BE TAKEN FOR PROMOTING THE PROSPERITY OF COMMERCE IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD.

THE last French establishment on the western coast of Africa is on the river of Sierra Leone, so named on account of the mountains and lions which are found in the country. The river is situated in  $8^{\circ} 30'$  lat. and  $15^{\circ} 7'$  long.; it was first discovered by the French, who were succeeded by the Portuguese; and these people formed several factories upon it, of which there now remain only the ruins, though a great number of their descendants may be found on both their banks, where they are naturalised, and are scarcely distinguishable from the natives.

The other Europeans have confined themselves for a length of time to the making of separate expeditions for the trade of slaves, and this is the market to which the Americans still resort for the same traffic.

Several individuals have established themselves in this quarter, and have resided here for various periods; they all succeeded more or less, and have left striking traits of their industry as well as of their crimes; amongst the rest was an Englishman, named Ormond, who was employed as a cabin-boy about thirty years ago in a ship engaged in the trade, and contrived to remain as an assistant in the factory on the river of Sierra Leone: here he afterwards formed an establishment on his own account in a district more to the northward; and though he could neither read nor write, he became so clever in his own way, that he amassed a fortune of about £30,000 sterling.

This example clearly proves the consequences of private industry; but the history of the man in question shews how dangerous it is to abandon it to itself: for the cruelties which he committed exceed all belief. It is asserted, that to get rid of his slaves for whom he could not find a sale, he tied stones to their necks, and threw them at night into the river. At another time he caused one of his servants to be tied, and gave him with his own

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hand four hundred lashes, of which the unfortunate creature died a few days after. He also, on detecting a criminal intercourse between one of his slaves and a Negress, fastened them to a barrel of pitch and set it on fire.

Ormond was as superstitious as he was cruel: he believed, like the Africans, in sorcery. But nothing could prevent the blows with which Providence, after permitting him to continue in his career of wickedness, attacked him. His health declined, and he retired to the isles of Los, leaving the management of his affairs to a mulatto, who was his son. A horde of the Bagos, with whom he had had a quarrel, took that opportunity to avenge themselves, and plundered his factory, in which they were assisted by his slaves. All the buildings were burnt, and twelve or fifteen hundred slaves, worth 30,000*l.* were set at liberty. Young Ormond was put to death on this occasion, and the father was so afflicted at the news, that he survived only a month.

The French received their possessions on the river of Sierra Leone in consequence of a treaty with Panabouri, proprietor of Gambia, which was signed between the Negro king and M. de Lajaille on the 14th January, 1785. The king gave his son, named Pedro, as a hostage for his performance of the contract; and the youth was conveyed to France, where he received a pension of 1200 livres per annum for two years. On returning to Africa, his father sent him back to France to finish his education. The king himself not being able to read or write, made a cross as his signature to the treaty.

M. de Lajaille has not given us a description of the island in the Gambia which was ceded to the French by this treaty, nor has he said any thing of the manners and religion of the people. From the accounts, however, which I procured, it appears that the island is very small and unhealthy: there are scarcely six acres of soil capable of cultivation; all the rest is a vast swamp. The trade which we carry on consists in slaves and wax. The position of the port was badly chosen; and though water abounds in the place, the garrison have to go a considerable distance to obtain it; in short, the establishment is of trivial advantage. The French who were left on the isle of Gambia, were neglected and abandoned by their countrymen; and after experiencing all the horrors of want, they almost all perished in the month of August, 1793. Two or three individuals only returned, in a state of irritation against the government which ought to have protected them, and so ill in health, that they did not long survive. Notwithstanding this failure, the river of Sierra Leone abounds in favourable spots both for culture and commerce, on which the French or any other nation might establish powerful colonies. The English, who about fifteen years ago had fixed them in vari-



ous parts near this river, have since formed settlements far greater and important than those of the French. The latter in their attempts were too parsimonious; while the former were prodigal in their gold.

In the month of May, 1788, Mr. Granville Sharp sent off a vessel laden with provisions, different materials, and about thirty-nine artificers, to establish a colony at Sierra Leone. This colony, whose principal settlement was afterwards at Free-town, had for its basis principles entirely philanthropic. The colonists were to employ themselves in the cultivation of the lands and the civilization of the Africans, while the slave trade was to be totally renounced amongst them.

The fortune of an individual was of course insufficient for such an undertaking. Mr. Sharp, therefore, in 1790 formed a society of twenty-one persons, which in a few months became still more numerous; and an act of parliament was passed, authorising them to make a company, and to enjoy for thirty-one years the privileges granted to them by the act. Messrs. Thornton and Wilberforce were then the directors, and the members who had most influence over the company. The first regulation which it made, excluded every individual who was interested in the slave trade; and it was not only agreed that they should for ever abandon that traffic, but that there should never be slaves in the colony.

In the month of March, 1791, the company caused 1131 Blacks to be brought from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone: they were engaged for a certain time, and were to be free when their period of servitude expired. Portions of soil were given to them to cultivate for their own advantage; but it was impossible to keep them to the spots which had been assigned to them. Being influenced by a commercial spirit, and wishing to obtain a portion of the money which the company had imprudently introduced into the colony, these new settlers abandoned their fields, and all came to reside in the chief place, called Free-town.

The subscription was closed on the 1st of June, 1792; and the capital of the company then amounted to the vast sum of 242,899l. sterling. This sum was employed in the following manner:

The first expences of the establishment amounted to		£82,620
The dead stock, that is to say, the ships, soil, and articles relative to the defence of the colony, to		— 24,685
Capital employed in commerce		— 27,400
Capital placed at interest in the public funds		108,194
		<hr/>
		£242,899
		<hr/>



These expences, however, greatly exceeded the idea which had been formed by the company; they were occasioned by a concurrence of circumstances which it was impossible to foresee, but which are all properly explained in the different statements that have been published by the directors.

The colonists arrived in the rainy season, which occasioned a general sickness and many deaths. Several of the principal officers were taken ill, and obliged to return to England; and a great many of the subordinate agents fell sacrifices to the additional labour which they in consequence had to perform. It appeared that the air of Free-town, like that of all the positions on the coast, is bad, and even dangerous during the rainy and stormy season; but that it is good and agreeable for the rest of the year.

The cultivation went on slowly, and experienced many difficulties; nevertheless the directors were of opinion that the soil of Africa might be managed by its native inhabitants. They were of this opinion from the apparent success of the plantations, which they had undertaken; but they adhered to their system of making the future progress of such plantations depend on the abolition of the slave trade.

Under the article of civilization, the directors comprised a form of government for the colony; it is founded on the principles of the English constitution. The trial by jury perfectly succeeded; and the Africans appeared to incline to the measures adopted in the colony to introduce Christianity and civil regulations. But the success of the enterprize was a subordinate consideration compared with the grand object, the abolition of the slave trade. Yet to overcome the first difficulties was far more easy, than what they had afterwards to encounter: for they had some severe misfortunes to try their constancy.

On the 27th of November, 1794, a French squadron entered the river of Sierre Leone, and fired on Free-town. The inhabitants conceiving all resistance useless, begged to capitulate, but in vain: the French landed, plundered the houses and magazines, and conducted themselves with extreme rigour. They were encouraged in their excesses by the captains of two American ships employed in the slave trade. It was impossible to check the animosity of Arnaud, the commander of the expedition: he protested that he would burn all the houses belonging to the English; and he kept his word. The books of the company were seized and destroyed, and all the bibles and prayer-books were trampled under foot. The collection of the botanist Afzelius was ravaged; his plants, seeds, birds, insects, drawings, and memoranda were dispersed and spoiled, and his mathematical instruments and machines broken to pieces. Even the church was



plundered, and the sacred books consumed; nor did the invaders spare the drugs and medicines for the use of the colony. The loss to the company on this occasion was estimated at 40,000*l.* sterling.

This expedition was condemned by all rational Frenchmen, and was disowned by the government, who caused the commander of the squadron to be thrown into prison. His punishment would have been exemplary, if it had not clearly appeared that he was ignorant of the injury he had committed. It was proved from his journal, that he had been led into the error by two American Negroes, and that he thought he was doing a patriotic action by destroying an *establishment of Pitt, for furnishing slaves*. It was evident that he had no other motives for his conduct; but this did not diminish the evil, and the company immediately employed themselves in repairing the injuries which the colony had sustained, with the resources that remained amongst them. It is remarkable that the turbulent colonists were the very Negroes who had been transported from Nova Scotia to Africa, and whom no inducement could attach to the establishment. Although they were free, they complained that they were oppressed; and it is probable that if these refractory beings had found the planters and the remainder of the inhabitants inclined to take part in their project, they would have infallibly attained their object, which was that of a revolution: for the chief officers of the society had neither power nor other means sufficient to keep them in subjection.

To obviate this inconvenience, the directors of the company obtained in 1799 from the British government a letter of licence, on the plan of those which had been granted to the India company at the time of its institution; to which was added a corps of fifty men taken from the garrison of Goree; and the sum of 7,000*l.* which parliament allowed for the construction of a fort.

In the month of February, 1800, a quarrel broke out between king Tom, who lived in the vicinity of Free-town, and the captain of a slave-ship belonging to Liverpool, relative to certain rights of anchorage which this king had received, from vessels that entered St. George's bay, and which the English captain refused to pay. The affair was laid before the governor and council; but the discontented persons, and such of the colonists as were in the interest of Tom, would not abide by the decision of the tribunal; but demanded, on the contrary, that the captain should be delivered up to them, or pay a heavy sum as a ransom. The governor and council endeavouring to oppose the violence of the discontented, who appeared determined to support their pretensions, condemned the captain to pay the sum required; promising him, however, a reimbursement from the company.

The affair was thus determined: but the condescension of the council seemed to pave the way for the ruin of the colony;



for from this instant the discontented, led by the chiefs of their districts, who were called *Hundreders*, committed the greatest excesses, refused to submit to any authority, and on the 25th of September, 1800, issued a formal proclamation, in which they forbade the inhabitants, under a penalty of 20l. sterling, from obeying any orders of the governor and council. They then published a new constitution, which vested all the authority in the hands of the hundreders, and established a maximum for the sale of articles of sustenance. Certain crimes, such as the stealing of cattle, adultery, defamation, disobedience towards parents, the destruction of fences, &c. were punished by fines; and the debts contracted by the inhabitants towards the company, were left to the decision of the hundreders, who interdicted not only every kind of reimbursement, but even the paying of the interest, under pain of banishment from the colony.

The revolvers, whose numbers amounted to about fifty, were headed by three fellows named Robinson, Anderson, and Zirier. The colony then had at its disposal eighty Negroes and twelve Europeans, who were determined to defend it. Nevertheless, though their force was so much superior, they made no attempts to subdue the insurgents; but chance threw in their way a great assistance: for at this very time a large English ship arrived from Nova Scotia, having on board, under the command of Lieutenants Smith and Tolley, forty-five soldiers, and five hundred and fifty Maroons, besides a number of other men, women, and children. The revolvers were therefore attacked on the 2d of October, and easily overcome; thirty-five were made prisoners, three of whom were found guilty of various crimes, and condemned to death; and seven were sent as malefactors to Goree: the remainder were transported to Bulam, on the northern coast of Sierra Leone.

The Maroons who came from Nova Scotia, have assigned to them the town of Granville, where the government watches attentively over them. This measure, however, is unnecessary: for as late as the month of May, 1801, they had not shewn any disposition to offend the laws; and it is expected that great advantages may be derived from their industry.

Hitherto the commerce of the company has not been attended with much success; it has lost one after another, four large ships, the cargoes of which were worth upwards of 30,000l. The French have also taken two other vessels belonging to this establishment, worth about 7,000l. The company has received from the British government a grant of 21,000l.; and at the end of 1799, its capital consisted of about 82,332l. while in December, 1800, it amounted to 122,563l.; and its debts at the last mentioned period were 26,995l. It therefore possessed at that time a capital of 95,567l.



This company sustained a great loss by the death of an alderman of Free-town, named Thomas Cooper, who was of the African race: the Blacks considered him as their common father, and still weep after him.

Every means is adopted to enlarge and accomplish the expectations of the colonists; and with this view different kinds of instruction are given. Amongst other efforts towards civilization, may be mentioned a printing-office, at which is published once a fortnight a newspaper, called the *Sierra Leone Gazette*.

The principal productions of this colony are sugar-canes, Cayenne pepper, cotton, ginger, and coffee; the last of which is as good as that from the Levant. The animals which they endeavour principally to breed are asses and cows; but there is much difficulty to extend the race of those useful quadrupeds.

Such is the present state of the English company: it has experienced misfortunes foreign and domestic, which have threatened its existence; and it has encountered enormous losses, which have consumed great parts of its fund. From a comparison of the sums already mentioned, it will appear that the money which has been employed or lost amounts to 175,352*l*. The company, nevertheless, is powerful; its means are more proportionate than its wants, and its enterprise is too great to be ruined by a few injuries; while by gradually proceeding with firmness, it will attain its objects.

All the institutions of this company, and its great exertions to promote the happiness of the Africans, are founded on the abolition of the slave trade. It is evident that without this praiseworthy resource, it promises itself nothing from all the undertakings and sacrifices which it makes to support them; but notwithstanding its wishes, it is surrounded with several establishments entirely devoted to the slave trade, and vessels are continually arriving for the same purpose: so that this trade is carried on under the very eyes of the company, with the same ardour as ever. Yet this society is equally as sanguine as it was at first, respecting the abolition of the slave trade, which it hopes to see accomplished; and therefore continues its labours with unshaken fortitude, and the resolution to do nothing but what it pledged itself to perform. It has, however, shewn us that it cannot attach to the soil the Negroes which have been brought from Nova Scotia, and they have retired to Free-town for the purposes of traffic. Hence the question naturally presents itself—by whom can the company have its grounds cultivated? On this subject it is silent; but I think I can give an answer.

I have said that the population of Africa is composed of one-fourth free men and three-fourths slaves. It is an admitted fact, that the free Negroes never work; it is therefore necessary to em-



ploy slaves, and to pay their masters for their hire. If, however, the company were to employ them, it would depart from its primitive regulations, which positively stipulate that there shall never be any slaves in the colony. If it were to buy them in order to render them free, and employ them in cultivation, I would ask if it could then be satisfied with their labour, or could hope to attach them to the soil? I should wish that this important question were ascertained beyond all doubt; but I must confess my doubts of its success; and I fear that the Negroes whom the company may render free, will imitate all other Negroes that are their own masters, and who will do nothing, or in other words, that they will prefer slavery to labour. This apprehension is founded on the knowledge which I possess of their natural and invincible indolence. I must, therefore, repeat with freedom my opinion of the rigorous conditions which the company has imposed on itself; and I really think that there will always be an obstacle to the accomplishment of its views. But to attain its wishes, I would propose an opposite mode, which I will point out in a few words.

I would make use of the Africans in their present state, that is to say, slaves, and would pay their masters the price of their labour; I would render them subservient to mild, humane, and benevolent laws; and I would incite them to work, and to like the place of their residence, by the inducement of property and land. Having thus prepared them for the charms of liberty, I should hasten to purchase them and make them free, that they might enjoy it. This method would, in my opinion, produce many cultivators: for even those who have been of no advantage during several years, might be thus dismissed and sent home. In short, I would leave off exactly where the company began; and I should thus hope to see my colony composed of industrious and experienced men. Hence, like the company, I should not only renounce the slave trade, but should deliver the Africans from bondage. I should buy them as formerly, only under the sacred condition of having them for a certain time to cultivate our American colonies, which it is impolitic to abandon; and under a condition equally sacred of making them proprietors at the expiration of their servitude, provided they would reside on the spot. Should they, however, be disinclined to stay in the colonies, I would comply with their wishes, and convey them back to Africa. Those who might turn out bad, or be guilty of crimes, ought to be banished from the colonies, but scrupulously restored to their own countries.

With respect to laws, I think that the colonies ought to be governed not only by a particular code, but that certain regulations should be adopted by each of them; as it appears impossible to me, that general laws can insure the prosperity of all such establishments.



I shall add another reflection, of public utility. The Blacks are a kind of men destined by Nature to inhabit Africa and America; she has created them for burning regions: let us, therefore, take care not to oppose her views, or overthrow the barriers which she has established; but let us preserve their races in their natural purity, and not permit the Negroes to inhabit Europe. This mixture of black and white is dangerous to our population, and in time it may change, corrupt, and even destroy it.

## CHAP. XI.

PRODUCTIONS OF THE BANKS OF SIERRA LEONE.—ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR FORMS OF GOVERNMENT, WITH SOME PARTICULARS OF THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS BOTH CIVIL AND MILITARY.—CEREMONIES ATTENDING CIRCUMCISION.—LAWS OF THE DIFFERENT TRIBES.—PRIVILEGES OF THE KINGS, WITH RESPECT TO THEIR SUCCESSORS.—ACCOUNT OF THE PURRAH, A SORT OF SECRET TRIBUNAL.—EFFECT OF COMMERCE UPON THE NEGROES.—CHARACTER OF THEIR WOMEN.

THE English in their choice of Sierra Leone, on which to form permanent establishments, acted wisely, particularly as to their object of civilizing the Africans: for every thing in this quarter concurs to favour such an undertaking. Nature has here produced in such profusion every thing which is necessary, useful, or agreeable to man, and the most perfect state of refinement could scarcely add any thing to such kinds of riches.

The natives cultivate both rice and manioc, with the utmost attention; and the former, which is the principal article of commerce, succeeds wonderfully in humid parts; while it grows to considerable perfection upon the heights, only that on the latter it is not so strong, though the grain is better. The second plant only thrives in sandy or open spots; and here the inhabitants sow it in vast quantities, as it forms their ordinary food. They likewise cultivate for themselves and their cattle, Jerusalem artichokes, turnips, and a species of potatoe peculiar to the country, as well as cabbages and peas: they likewise sow maize, of which they obtain several harvests in a year, for it always comes to maturity in three months. They have two species of millet, both of which are very common in these parts, and are used for feeding poultry. The stalk of the larger kind contains a very refreshing juice.

Banian, orange, and lemon-trees grow in great abundance, and bear fruit the whole year. The oranges are of an exquisite



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To all the natural advantages of the soil in question may be added, that of its being proper for the cultivation of every thing which contributes to the riches of our American colonies. Sugar-canes would succeed perfectly well upon it; and the coffee-tree already grows there, of two different species; both of which, however, are unknown in Europe. Nevertheless, that of the West India islands is also cultivated; and its fruit is said to be of as a good quality as that in the Levant. Tobacco of the common kind likewise thrives amazingly; but the natives do not cultivate it; and the cotton-tree is to be met with in every part of this country in the greatest abundance, as well as the kind of the tree which affords silk.

This country is also enriched by peculiar kinds of spices. There are several species of pepper, nutmeg, and thyme, as well as others of uncommon fine flavour, which the natives use for different physical purposes, notwithstanding there is a variety of physical plants. There has been discovered at Sierra Leone a new kind of Peruvian bark; and commerce may hereafter make it of much importance, as its virtue has been ascertained not only by the use which the natives make of it, but from the experiments to which it has been submitted at London. The *cola* is a fruit celebrated in the country both by the natives and the Portuguese, as a substitute for the Peruvian bark. The latter people even send ships along the coast to collect it in great quantities. The nut that contains castor-oil, grows in every part of these districts.

Nature, indeed, has not confined herself to this variety of productions, but has placed at the disposition of man those objects which afford him the greatest pleasure. At Sierra Leone the substances used for dying are found in abundance. A yellow colour is extracted from the butter-tree; and the indigo, which grows spontaneously in every part, affords the finest blue. From many other vegetables may be obtained black and red colours.

The different species of the mineral kingdom, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, are as yet but little known; a search, however, will soon be made, and we shall know the result. This country is equally rich in animals. Cattle of all kinds succeed in it and fatten, though not so easily as in Europe. The wool of sheep undergoes a change in consequence of the heat, and becomes thin; but goats and hogs breed amazingly, and prove as fat as in other countries. The wild hogs, squirrels, and antelopes may likewise be reckoned amongst the animals at Sierra Leone, which are proper for the food of man. They raise there all kinds of poultry known in Europe, which breed uncommonly fast. There is a species of heron, which is easily tamed,



<sup>a</sup>nd is very good to eat. The wild ducks and pigeons are delicious; but geese and turkeys become emaciated.

There is likewise a vast quantity of sea and river fish: the spermaceti whale is sometimes found at Sierra Leone, but more frequently on the northern coasts. There are also sharks, thorn-backs, porpoises, eels, mackarel, and mullet, all of which are eaten, except the eels. Oysters and the other kinds of shell-fish are likewise very plentiful, and serve as food for the natives.

Green turtle are very common here, and are often of an inconceivable size. Land and river tortoises are also to be met with; the former in great numbers: they are used by the people, and might be sent to Europe with advantage.

Amongst the zoophytes, none deserve greater attention than the common sponge, which covers the sandy shores, and with which a considerable trade might be carried on.

The beasts of prey are lions, leopards, hyenas, civet cats, and several species of weazles. The last mentioned animals are great enemies of poultry. There are likewise apes of various species. The chimpanzee is common on the mountains of Sierra Leone, and resembles a man more than the ourang-outang: its greatest height is nearly five feet, and it is covered with long and thick hair down the back, but short and light on the breast and belly. Its face is without hair, and the hands and head are similar to those of an old Negro, except that the hair of the head is not curly. It eats, drinks, sleeps, and sits at table like a human being. When young, it walks on all fours; but treads on the back of its hands: when grown up, it moves erect by the aid of a stick. This animal is alway gentle and good natured.

A species of crocodiles and caymans is to be seen here, which has never been described by naturalists: they are ten or twelve feet long.

There are six known species of lizards, amongst which are the guarra and the cameleon. Serpents are innumerable: they enter the houses during the night for the purpose of catching the poultry: the largest which was ever known here, was eighteen feet long; but it was found not to be venomous.

Insects are innumerable in this part of the world. The most remarkable are the *termites*, or white ants, which eat and even destroy hedges and houses that are built of wood; while the common ants only devour provisions. The grasshoppers and crickets consume clothes, linen, and leather; and there are musquitoes, flies, scorpions, and centipedes, as well as wild bees, the last of which furnish wax and honey in abundance. Worms are little known; but the barnacles are large, and do much injury to the ships that are not covered with copper.



The same advantages for the commercial or philanthropic spirit of Europeans prevails amongst the population of the shores of Sierra Leone, whether the inhabitants are considered with respect to their natural state, or the imperfect degree of sociability in which they exist. Amongst these people may particularly be distinguished the Suzees, the Bulams, the Bagos, the Tommanies, and the Mandingos. The Mandingos are Mahometans, as I have already observed more than once. Here, as elsewhere, they strictly observe, to outward appearance, the precepts of the alcoran, which they propagate with the utmost zeal. Being strongly impressed with the importance of governing the conscience, there is no means which they do not employ to make proselytes. If they be powerful, they resort to force; on the other hand, they call to their aid all the resources of address. They teach any one gratis to read and write the Arabian language. When they meet with clever men, they affect and imitate the weaknesses and follies of other people, though they pretend to the austere manners and authority of servants of God: in particular they attribute to themselves a supremacy over all sorcerers, and sell talismans. In short, they know so well how to acquire the confidence of the principal persons and chiefs of hordes, that they reign almost every where, and govern the estates under the title of the supreme ministers of the *Bookman*: their advice is always resorted to.

The circumcision of male subjects is generally practised by the Mahometans throughout Africa. At Sierra Leone the girls are not exempted from this religious and political institution. Amongst the Mandingos and the Suzees, it is performed upon them by the excision of the external end of the clitoris. The ceremonies which accompany this operation deserve to be known.

Every year in the fine season, and with a new moon, all the young girls of the village, who are marriageable, are assembled. The night preceding the day of the ceremony, they are conducted by the women of the place to the most secret part of a wood, at each avenue to which amulets are scattered, the object of which is to keep off every curious person, who might profane with his presence the scene of action. The seclusion of the girls lasts for upwards of a month, during which time no human being perceives them, except the old woman who performs the solemn rite, and who every morning brings them their food. If from decease or any other obstacle, her return should be prevented, the person who succeeds her, as she approaches the spot, calls with a loud voice, deposits the victuals at a certain place, and then hastens back without either seeing or being observed by the patients: for whether by chance or inclination, whoever violates this sanctuary, is punished with death.



It is at this period only, when the body is subdued by the austerities which it has suffered, and the mind prepared by the religious obscurity and silence of the forest, that these girls are taught the customs and superstitions of their country: for till that grand period, they are not considered capable of understanding or practising them. At length the period of their retreat expires, and by this time the wound caused by the operation is nearly healed. They are taken back to the village at night, with the same secrecy as they were brought out: they are received by the young and old women entirely naked. In this state, forming an irregular kind of procession, and followed by persons with musical instruments, they parade through the streets by day-light. If during this ceremony a man be found looking at them, he is immediately put to death, unless he can furnish a slave. Their return from the wood is succeeded by a month of probation, during which time they are each day conducted in procession, accompanied by music and covered from head to foot, to the houses of the principal people, before which they sing and dance till the owner of each makes them a trifling present. When the month has expired they are liberated from all these ceremonies, and handed over to the men intended for their husbands.

Neither the origin nor the motives of this ludicrous ceremony are known: but the women have such a veneration for it, that the most shocking of all insults is to reproach them for not having done it honour; and this reproach is even lavished on strangers, who may not have arrived amongst the tribe till after the period appointed for the operation.

The other people, namely the Suzees, Bulams, Bagos, and Tommanies, are idolaters. It is impossible to form an accurate idea of their religion: they have no fixed object of adoration to which a religion that may be called natural, may be applied. Every man forms gods according to his inclination; and the ridiculous, rude, and numerous figures which they worship, are beyond all conception.

The principal articles of their faith are, that there is a god who lives over their heads, governs all, and through whom every thing exists. Whatever happens to them, whether good or bad, is ordained by the deity, unless they attribute the events to magic; but this idea of an omnipresent providence is not accompanied by any return on their part, either of gratitude for its benefits, or of submission to allay its wrath by prayer.

They consider devils to be the ministers of God, and make them offerings: these devils, the most powerful sovereigns of the earth, are represented by little statues of clay, which are often renewed, and made nearly to resemble man. They place them



at the root of a tree in a niche covered with dry leaves, and decorate their altars with pieces of linen, cups, plates, pots, or bottles, copper-rings, necklace beads, or other trifles, none of them of any value. When the Negroes wish to gain favour in the sight of these idols, they provide themselves with a quantity of brandy, of which they pour out a small portion for the devil, and drink the rest before him in large quantities.

Their favourite idols are made of wood, are from eight to ten inches high, and painted black: they are considered as the *Penates* of the hut; but the people pay them little attention, because they suppose them not to want their assistance.

On any event which may happen, these Negroes make an offering to their genii, whom they suppose to have the same power in the air, as the devils have on earth. The offering is always of little value; but they have the most implicit reliance on its efficacy. It is a crime to carry away one of these idols, even unknowingly: the offender is always brought to justice, and woe to him, if he be poor, or his prosecutor powerful; for it is sure to cost him the loss of his liberty. Such are the peculiarities of a religion in which it is difficult to distinguish, whether superstition or absurdity be more predominant.

I have already spoken of the government of the Mandingos. They have proceeded from a republican state, and have every where formed monarchies; but in this part of Africa they are elective and very limited. In all of them the authority of the chief greatly resembles that of the father of a family, and each district of this nation has a regulating king or chief of its own.

The Mandingos and the Suzees, the most powerful and populous nations of the coast, acknowledge the supremacy of the king of the Foulhas, though they never see nor consult him: they speak of him, however, with respect, and consider him as the potentate of the great empire which extends from Gambia to Cape Monte. The Bulams, the Tommanies, and the Bagos admit of no other authority than that of the chief of their tribe.

Excepting amongst the Mandingos and the Suzees, few of the kings belong to the countries which they govern, but are almost always foreigners, that is, from different nations of the continent. The reigning prince may chuse himself a lieutenant, who at his death succeeds to his honours and governs in his name, as long as he may be suffered to retain his situation; and if he be clever and powerful he never fails to get possession of the hereditary property of the deceased, which he keeps till the election of a new king; and it is not rare to see the lieutenant either invested with the royal dignity, or continue to exercise it all his life, under the modest title with which he assumed it.



In 1787 the chief of Sierra Leone had no other title than the one last mentioned. He, however, reigned more than ten years: his subjects, who loved him, wished to proclaim him king; but the wise Negro refused that honour, and contented himself with power without ostentation.

The revenues of such a king consist in certain duties and in presents, which he receives from all who apply to him on subjects that come under his authority. These presents are proportionate to the means of the supplicant and the importance of the affair: the poor man gives but little; when, however, the subject is serious, a rich individual must not offer less than the value of a slave. His income also consists in the customs which foreigners pay for permission to trade, and these are often considerable.

The marks and attributes of royalty are elephants' tails, carried before the sovereigns, who generally walk with gold or silver-headed canes, and gold-laced hats, which they procure from the Europeans.

The executive power and the right of passing a final judgment are vested in the king; nevertheless the chief of each village considers himself as its master and only magistrate. The king merely invites these chiefs together, and decides in full council on such points as have been separately determined.

The parents of a deceased king or chief do not enjoy the privilege of being distinguished from their countrymen. Each of them exercises his own profession; and it is not rare to see the son of a king reduced, after the death of his father, to hire himself to Europeans as a common sailor, in order to procure the means of subsistence.

The Negroes have no other claim to the lands than present possession. When a cultivator quits any spot, the first comer establishes himself upon it; his only qualification being, that he belongs to the same tribe. This is a point of which they are extremely jealous, as they will not suffer a stranger to settle amongst them without their consent. Their laws, which are transmitted merely by tradition, are nothing but the ancient customs of the country, and differ slightly in various states. The king, assisted by the chiefs, decides on every thing in a *Burree*, or public audience, which is attended by people called *palaver-talkers*, who act as counsellors, and discuss the claims of the parties.

Their debates are in general determined equitably, according to the proofs which are brought forward; particularly when the case is between persons of equal station. But here, as elsewhere, the weaker is often the victim of the stronger party; and



he who loses the cause pays the expences, for which he gives security before leaving the council.

Their rules of justice are not, however, so particularly observed in their intercourse with the Whites. It is of no use for the latter to gain the cause, as they never derive any advantage from their success; for they never grant them their expences whether they be in the right or wrong. On asking them their motives for such conduct, they answer, "the white men gain plenty of money, and therefore cannot want it."

A capital crime is punished either by death or slavery, though the former mode is scarcely at all resorted to, except by the Mandingos, who follow the Mussulman laws, and whose proceedings are very short. Murder, however, is an exception.—The punishment for sorcery is slavery; but for adultery or any other crime, a pecuniary recompence is sufficient.

The manner of causing debts to be paid, is founded on the earliest notions of equity. Debts are ordinarily contracted for a certain time; if, when it has expired, the debtor hesitate or refuse to pay it, the creditor has recourse to the king or chief, who tells the defaulter to perform his promise; but if the advice be not followed, the king permits the creditor to seize the debtor or some of his slaves; and if he live in another town, so that this measure cannot be resorted to, then the creditor arrests the first countryman of the debtor with whom he meets, and detains him till the debt is discharged; an act which the debtor is soon obliged to perform by the inhabitants of the town. The person who has been so detained never fails to obtain damages for his imprisonment.

A law peculiar to Sherbro, and known through all the country by the name of *Purrah*, is the most singular of all the laws established in Africa: this wise and politic institution took its origin from a view to terminate the incessant wars which arose amongst the inhabitants, from their pride, jealousy, and irritability. Every free man thirty years of age, may become a member of the purrah: at the time of his admission he undergoes various ceremonies, conformably to the secret law; and on this point they are as scrupulous as are the Free-masons of Europe, with regard to their mysteries. Both these institutions have indeed many instances of resemblance, such in particular, as the ordination of a grand master, and the exclusion of women. It is only at the last extremity that this institution is resorted to; but it has the right of punishing murderers and magicians.

When two nations, which are at war, become tired of hostilities and wish for peace, though each party be too proud to ask it of the other, they apply to a neighbouring king to get him to act as



mediator. When he consents, and he seldom refuses, he informs the two parties that he is about to become their arbiter; that he cannot longer see friends destroy one another; and that if they refuse his interference, he will send the purrah to them. If the combatants do not accept this invitation, the dreadful purrah is solemnly ordained.

As soon as the institution is assembled, and until it has broken up, there must be no more blood spilt, and all the enemies may return, without alarm, to their ordinary occupations. If it should happen that, notwithstanding this decree of terror, the Negro, thirsting for vengeance, avails himself of an opportunity to take it, the purrah, on the news of this event, breaks up, and a body of forty or fifty warriors, armed and disguised, go in search of the aggressors. Every man, whatever may be his station, flees from their presence; and if any one be rash enough to look at them outside his house, they cut him to pieces, and disperse the fragments in every direction. The same fate is reserved for those who have transgressed the decrees of the purrahs, wherever they are met with.

It is impossible to describe the alarm with which this institution inspires the great mass of the people, who believe that its members are influenced by devils, and that they can do all the ill they wish, without receiving any injury in return. They carry off provisions or whatever takes their fancy, without meeting the least resistance. In every part, and amongst all nations, terror is known to produce the same effect. Amongst the Africans it is justified by powerful motives, namely, the re-establishment of peace, and the preservation of man. When the former takes place, the institution breaks up, and each man retires to his home.

A thirst after vengeance, that sovereign passion of the Africans, is the principal cause of their frequent wars. When the nation decrees them, they are general, and each member of a horde sees an enemy in every individual of the other. When they are private, the quarrel only prevails between the two towns, and the expeditions of each are confined to plunder; the highest of their ambition being to surprise and burn a few villages, and take some prisoners.

The inhabitants of the coast have abandoned their national arms for the sabre and musket; but those of the inland parts make use of lances, darts, and poisoned arrows. It is evident the commerce with the Europeans has had a great influence on the morals of the Negroes; it has given them a relish for society, industry, the arts, and domestic virtues. Those who live far inland, are still savages. It is remarked that the inhabitants of the



coast or neighbouring isles, are much more vigorous, better shaped, braver, more active, and less superstitious than those of the country parts: this difference must be attributed to their connection with Europeans, to their food, and the salubrious air which they respire.

The Bulams, Tommanies, and Bagos are strong, of a good countenance, and of a fine black colour; their limbs are strait and muscular, their features agreeable, and they are above the middle size. The Tommanies in particular have an open and ingenuous physiognomy, and the women are generally handsome. The Suzees have a yellow complexion; their shape and height are inferior to those of the Tommanies, and they have thick lips and pug noses. The Mandingos seem to be, and in fact are, a separate race: they are tall, but thin, and of a dull black colour; their eyes are small, and they wear their beards like the Jews of Europe. The Bulams, Suzees, and several others shave themselves when they are young; and when they begin to turn grey, they let their beards grow, as they consider white hair to be indicative of wisdom.

The difference of features between the free Blacks and the slaves is so striking, that an eye of the least penetration immediately distinguishes their condition. The former exhibits a noble dignity and pride in his whole person, and his looks are confident and commanding. The slave, on the contrary, depressed by his unfortunate situation, has a servile gait, and neither speaks nor walks without casting down his eyes. The slaves which are brought from the interior, are smaller, less robust, and worse shaped than the free Negroes. Those who live near the sea, are of the same size as their masters.

The language of the Suzees appears to be the mother tongue of the idioms of the other tribes: it is mild and agreeable. That of the Mandingos, like the people who speak it, is very different from the others; it is a corrupted kind of Arabic, and totally different from that which they teach in their schools, and which they call the language of prayer.

The character of the Blacks is nearly the same every where: they are indolent, except when animated by the desire of vengeance; implacable, perfidious, and dissimulating when they have received an injury, in order that they may find an opportunity of avenging it with impunity: on the other hand, they are gentle and hospitable to every one, but inclined to larceny, and remarkable for an extreme inconstancy of taste and conduct. The women behave with great propriety, and fulfil all domestic duties with the utmost attention. They never wean their children till they are capable of walking, and can bring to their mother a calabash filled with water: they lose no time in teach-



ing them to go alone ; for during the whole period of their suckling, the husbands scrupulously respect the laws of chastity to their utmost extent, and would regard an infraction of them as a crime the more serious, as it would be hurtful to the nurse and the health of the child. Barrenness is the greatest ignominy a woman can suffer. Nature has not excluded them from the pains of child-birth, but they support them with much courage, and without making any complaints. A short time after, they return to their ordinary occupations.

Their domestic amusements are every where alike, and are similar to those of our country people. In the evening the principal wife, surrounded by the other women of her husband, and the servants of the house, employs herself in spinning or carding cotton ; while one of the company amuses the rest by reciting pleasant stories. The old ones tell of witches and ghosts, the young ones of their amours. There are likewise games of chance, at which the men and women play separately ; but both sexes like dancing in preference to every thing, and to this exercise they devote themselves every moon-light evening, from an hour after sun-set till midnight. Besides these evenings, the birth of a child, or the visit of a friend, likewise supplies them with frequent opportunities for enjoying *Cullungées*, by which name they distinguish their meetings for singing and dancing. When they give a cullungée in honour of any event, the dancers appear dressed in a grotesque manner. They wear a high cap of rushes, surrounded by feathers, have the eyes, mouth, and nose painted white, and wear round their waists a small petticoat of rushes, which they display in every possible shape. On beginning to dance they take in their hands small pieces of wood, which they strike together, and by which they mark time, as do the Spaniards with the castanets.

The death of one of the family, or of a relation or friend, is a new opportunity for a dance. They celebrate the *Wha*, or mourning ; and the ceremony of lamentation is of such a nature, that a stranger would suppose them to be making festivities.

On the evening of an appointed day, the relations, friends, and acquaintances of the deceased assemble before his house, where they sing in his praise, and dance to the sound of a drum : they incessantly vary the figures of their dance ; sometimes they form a large circle round the music, and clap their hands on each stanza of the song ; at others a single person dances in the midst of the rest, who alternately sit down and stand up ; or three or four only are in action at once, and continue to move about till they are fatigued, when they are replaced by others. The company all the while sing and clap their hands. This



ceremony and discharges of musquetry continue without interruption from morning to evening for three successive nights. On these occasions neither tobacco nor brandy is spared.

When the person deceased is a man of importance, and his parents or friends are rich, this mourning ceremony is repeated two or three times a year for several years together. On the death of a member of a poor family, his relatives are a long time before they can procure a sufficient quantity of brandy and tobacco for the solemnity; but, whatever difficulties they may experience in amassing it, the ceremony takes place sooner or later.

This assembly, in which both sexes join, may be called a public mourning; but there is another of a domestic kind, practised principally by the women, and which is peculiar to the Bulam and the Tommanies. The performers on this occasion wear a linen or white cotton cap, which comes down as low as their eyes, so that they can see nothing but the ground. They have several rows of the grain of the country round their neck and waist. If they be married women, they wear no other clothes than the simple tuntungée. They are not permitted to eat or drink with other persons, nor even prepare their own food; but at the time of the repast, a drum is beaten, and dancing takes place before the door of the house in which the mourning is celebrated. None, except the guests, must use the vessels which are employed at this repast.

The duration of such a mourning is not fixed, but is regulated by the will or caprice of those who make it; and the chief person is generally the mother, aunt, or some other aged relative. They generally cause it to be celebrated by young girls who are of a marriageable age, as a means of securing their virtue: for while it lasts, if any connection be discovered between the two sexes, the woman would be dishonoured, and the man punished.

A woman, if she conceive herself neglected by her husband, may put the house of the latter into mourning; but, after she has made use of this privilege for a short time, the husband pacifies her by a present: it consists of a goat, some poultry, tobacco, and a bottle of brandy, towards her expences. The woman then becomes tractable, and the people reconcile her with her husband. This custom is very judicious on the part of the women, who like to avenge themselves and shew their authority: for while the mourning lasts, the husband cannot enjoy the society of his mistress.

The drum is their principal instrument of music; they have three sorts of it, which differ in size according to the purposes for which they are used. One kind is made of hard wood, hol-



lowed within: the two ends are stopped up, and a longitudinal hole is cut in the side. They strike it with two sticks, and the strong and acute sound which it sends forth, is heard in calm weather at a great distance, and is considered as the signal of alarm. Another kind is made of light wood, hollowed like the former, but the ends of which are covered with goat or sheepskins, dried and lightly stretched by cords. Some of these drums are six or eight feet high, by two or three in diameter; and they occasionally have at their ends rows of sharks' teeth or pieces of copper, which produce a tolerably loud tinkling.

These people have likewise two kinds of stringed instruments, one of which is a sort of guitar, and the other resembles in shape a Welsh harp, but is only two feet high. The strings are made of the fibres of a plant combined with the hair of elephants' tails. The women and children in their amusements produce a sound from gourds, in which they inclose some dry seeds. At Sherbro the natives reckon amongst their musical instruments a reed pipe pierced with four holes, and a trumpet made of an elephant's tooth.

The chief food of the people is rice, which they boil after it is dried, and season it with palm-oil, or with a strong sauce made from fish or meat, or from poultry or vegetables simmered together, and to which they add spices, pepper, and palm-oil. They eat very little meat, but what they do consume, they prefer smoked or boiled: they are, however, good cooks, and prepare their aliments in a very delicate manner. The men and women do not eat together, and they drink only water; they make but two meals a day, one at ten in the morning, and the other at sunset. The men, however, who are in easy circumstances, generally add another meal very early in the morning, which has been prepared over night by their favourite woman.

There are no other professions known amongst them than those of carpenters, smiths, and makers of musical instruments. They are very active and clever in their labour, particularly so considering the imperfection of their tools. In each family they spin and weave their linen, and make their own clothes; the women spin and card the cotton, and the men weave and sew.

Their dress is both simple and convenient: the boys and girls wear nothing but the *tuntungée*, which is a thin band of linen passed between the thighs. The females are distinguished by the manner in which they wear it, as they have a cord round their waist, in which they tuck the *tuntungée*, and leave the ends hanging down before and behind; they likewise carry round the loins a belt composed of several rows of seeds. The boys bring one of the ends of the *tuntungée* in front; they twist the rest round them, and let the other end hang down behind. The



Women quit this dress on their marriage, and then appear in a piece of cotton cloth, which hangs below the calf of the leg.

The women are passionately fond of ornaments; they wear ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, finger-rings, chains, strings of coral, &c., and paint their faces with different colours. In short, an African lady, on coming from her toilet, is an object well worth observance. Over the ordinary dress, which is nothing but the small and short petticoat, they put another of red taffety; a silk handkerchief thrown loosely round their neck, falls down them like a child's bib: another of the same colour is put over the head; and the ears, neck, &c. are loaded with the ornaments already mentioned. They dress their hair in curious folds, so as to form crescents or circles, paint the forehead white, and generally have five or six silver rings on each finger. A lady of this description on going out has her servants walking behind her: they are generally girls from ten to fifteen years of age, who are the handsomest that can be found, and who ornament themselves with coral and seeds; they wear a piece of taffety or fine India stuff thrown over the left shoulder.

The men's dress is a large shirt without either collar or waistband, but with wide sleeves, trowsers, which reach below the calf of the leg; and a hat or small cap, which sits tight on the head, and is made of the linen of the country. In other respects they generally go with the head and feet bare, the chiefs excepted, who always endeavour to imitate the Whites. The Mandingos, however, are distinguishable from the rest by always wearing red sandals and bonnets, and ornamenting their shirts and trowsers with embroidery, at which they are very clever.

The men never walk without their *belmos*, which is a large and straight knife hung in a belt at the right thigh; they in fact carry two instruments, one to eat with, and the other to defend themselves.

The Negroes build their villages generally on the banks of a river or creek, that they may follow fishing; and such a place may always be recognised by the pullams with which it is surrounded: these are large trees, whose presence always announces an uncultivated country: for the natives never give themselves the trouble to clear more soil than they want to build on; they are not even aware, that the felling of the trees that surround them, would render their dwellings more wholesome. Their streets are never built in a straight line, because each person chooses the spot which he likes best; he then builds as many little houses as he has women or people to accommodate, and the whole of these huts describe a circle, which is surrounded by stakes, as has already been mentioned; while such is the activity of vegetation, that these stakes in a few months become a com-



plete hedge. The junction of several of these habitations forms a town, which often covers a quantity of ground, and is generally inclosed with a mud-wall. When the people are at war, they have several barriers, which they close always at sunset, and never open them on any occasion whatever till morning: they are guarded all the night by vigilant sentinels. The shape of their huts has already been described. I have only to add, that their doors are not like ours, except amongst those who pique themselves on imitating the Whites: the others consist of a mat fixed to the roof; and when this mat is let down, no one must be so indifferent as to enter without giving notice, though this precaution is unnecessary when the mat is raised. The edges of the roof project seven or eight feet over the wall, and rest upon poles: this shed is thus converted into a sort of portico, which secures the wall from rain, and, with certain additions, serves as a place for their stores.

In the more distant parts of the country, the natives build large houses of bricks baked in the sun, and these houses may last many years if care be taken to secure them from the injuries of the weather. No chimnies are constructed in their habitations, though they make a fire in them every evening to drive away the musquitos, and prepare their food.

The common people, slaves, and children sleep on mats or dried skins, spread upon the ground; but the free Negroes, and those in easy circumstances, have a kind of alcove formed of four stakes driven into the earth, on which they hang mats in the manner of curtains. In the men's apartments is a box to contain their clothes and treasure, which is covered with a mat or a skin, whereon they place their weapons. The women's chamber contains the domestic utensils, mats, stools, and always a looking-glass.

In the Mandingo countries there is a mosque in every town, from the steeple of which the people are called to prayers, the same as in Turkey.

Polygamy in these regions is practised in its utmost latitude. The women are frequently hostages for alliance and peace; and the chiefs of two tribes who have been at war, cement their treaties by an exchange of their daughters: private individuals do the same; and this circumstance may be the reason why the chiefs in particular have such a great number of women.

A girl is frequently betrothed to a man as soon as she is born. Among the Suzees the child remains with the mother till a proper age; which, however, is determined more by the progress of nature than by the revolution of a certain time: they are then definitively delivered over to the husband. On the day agreed



This belongs to Lewis's Library  
3 Chapel Street  
Northwell





*Black Marriage at Goree.*



*The Cullengce of the Negroes.*



on for the marriage, the bridegroom places on the road which the bride has to pass, several of his people at different distances, with brandy and other refreshments: for if these articles be not furnished in abundance, the conductors of the bride will not advance a step farther, though they may have got three parts of the way on their journey. On approaching the town, they stop, and are joined by the friends of the bridegroom, who testify their joy by shouting, drinking, and letting off their pieces.

At this period an old woman takes the girl on her shoulders, and the attendants cover her with a fine veil: for from that moment till the consummation of the marriage, no man must see her face. Mats are now spread before the old woman, who must not on any account touch the ground with her feet. In this manner the bride is conveyed to the house of her husband, followed by the friends of both families, singing, dancing, and firing off their muskets. Towards evening the husband comes into the apartment of his young wife. If he have reason to suspect that some mortal has been more happy than he is likely to be, he leaves her immediately; and this circumstance is no sooner known amongst the friends who have conducted her to him, than they all hasten from the sight of the observers, crying and howling with shame and confusion. If, on the other hand, things are found as they ought to be, he remains with her the whole night: the friends then rejoice, and next day carry in procession the proofs of her virginity, according to the laws of Moses. In both cases, however, the husband may keep the young girl; but if he should send her back, he is obliged to give up all that she has brought him.

The Bulams, the Bagos, and the Tommanies receive into their houses their betrothed brides during their infancy, and make the relations of the child a present proportionate to their means. If afterwards the girl should not be well treated, the parents have a right to take her back on giving up the present; while, on the other hand, the husband always has the privilege of sending her home, without re-demanding any thing.

From these details it will be seen, that chastity is a virtue highly esteemed amongst the Africans, at least till marriage; but from that moment it is a trait of unpoliteness and want of education in the woman to resist the solicitations of a lover: she would indeed be punished, if discovered, but her reputation would remain unsullied. In the black savages of Africa we find the customs which are prevalent in Italy and Spain: for each Negro lady has a *cicisbeo* or *cortéjo*, whom she makes choice of and takes with her on all occasions. The husband is obliged to tolerate this intercourse in silence: nevertheless, the laws are not wanting in severity towards the adulterer; but they are of little effect,



unless the complainant is a man of great power; and even then he dares not make a stir in the business, on account of the ridicule which would afterwards attend him. It is particularly amongst the great men who keep a number of women, that the above-mentioned practice is most in vogue. The rest of the people are contented with one or two women, and by this means they are less exposed.

A remarkable and truly extraordinary circumstance is, that the women never abuse their husbands by introducing into their families illegitimate children: for before their *accouchement* they always name the father. If, however, the husband should wish to have a child of his own by a woman he loves, he obliges her to swear that she will remain continent for a certain time: she takes the oath, and generally keeps it; but if, in the interval, either by violence or the persuasion of her lover, she yields to his wishes, and thus breaks her promise, she confesses her fault immediately to her husband; and this avowal is the more striking, because the criminal pair do not on that account suffer a less shameful punishment: they are ever afterwards devoted to contempt and infamy.

These people have the greatest veneration for the dead; and they pay them the last duties with profound and melancholy respect. As in Europe, they bury them either in the morning or evening, as suits their convenience. The place of interment is sacred, and is always a wood beyond the town. One of their dogmas is, that none die without having a presentiment of their end, unless they be victims of magic or poison; or when the charms of an enemy have been more powerful than the talismans which they carry about them.

The body that is to be interred is wrapped in a piece of white linen, and placed on a bier, which is carried on the heads of six boys or six girls, according to the sex of the deceased: the corpse is preceded by a friend, who holds a green bough in his hand, and asks the body several questions as to the cause of its death. His principal interrogatories are, "Did you foresee it? is it natural? is it in consequence of poison or magic?" The bearers interpret the answers of the deceased according to the movements of the body, which they pretend to feel. A simple rotation indicates that the death was natural, in which case the body is asked, what could induce it to die and leave its friends? whether it was from chagrin at not being able to procure such good clothes, or such a fine musket as a certain person? or whether it was through despair at not having taken vengeance upon any one who had offended it? But whatever may be the answer to these last questions, the friends must not injure those of whom the dead body is said to complain.



A movement forwards is a proof of poison or magic, and then they attempt to discover the guilty individual. They mention to the deceased the names of several persons, not even excepting those of his own family. If the body be silent, it is supposed to be irritated at the suspicion against its relatives, and they beg it to tell them who is the guilty person. To ascertain this fact, they invite it to turn the bier towards the person who carries the branch. If the body should then push the bier forwards, and strike the bough with it, the guilty person is thus named, and the spectators are convinced. Three motions forwards indicate magic, and two poison. The criminal is then suddenly seized; and if the accusation be for magic, he is sold without formality. It often happens, when the deceased is a person of distinction, and the one whom he accuses is poor, they sell his whole family with him; but if he be accused of poisoning, they reserve him for a subsequent trial, from which, however, he rarely escapes.

After depositing the dead man in his grave, in which, according to their custom, they throw his best clothes, and whatever else they conceive he may want, they return to the accused who is confined, but in such a manner that he might escape if he please; and he is informed, that the laws which he has transgressed, require the privation of his liberty. As soon as night approaches, the criminal makes his escape to the nearest town, where he invokes the protection of the chief, who is supposed to be impartial. He protests his innocence of the crime, and demands the ordeal of red water. This request is generally complied with, and the friends of the deceased are invited to assist at the ceremony.

On the appointed day they place the criminal on a high seat, strip off all his clothes, and leave him nothing but an apron of plantain leaves round his waist. He then, in presence of the whole town, who assemble on these occasions, eats rue or cola, and drinks poisoned water. If he die, which almost always happens, he is declared guilty; but if he should live twenty-four hours after the ceremony, he is adjudged innocent. During this time he dares not relieve nature by any secretions; and if he have not strength to retain them, his impotence is considered as strong a proof of his crime, as if he had fallen dead on first taking the fatal drink. Nay, in order to prevent all surprise, they force him to join in the songs and dances, with which during the night they celebrate his innocence.

A person once acquitted by this judgment of God acquires a general confidence, and has a right to bring an action against the parents and friends of the deceased for defamation and false poisoning. The latter in such cases are always condemned, and pay a fine equal to the injury.



When the accusation of magic falls on a person whom they cannot sell, either on account of his age, or the rank of his family, he is conducted to a field out of the town, where he is obliged to dig his own grave; while the people, who surround and guard him, load him with insults, and say as a common phrase, "You kill others, and do not wish that death should strike you in return." During these injuries he continues his doleful work with an apparent insensibility, and merely answers, "It is true that I have killed such a one, and many others; and if I were to live I should kill many more." From time to time he takes measure of the grave with his own body; and when he thinks it deep enough, they place him at one end with his face towards it: in this position one of the assistants gives him a violent blow on the nape of the neck, which causes him to fall into the grave on his face; they then cover him with mould, and finish him by running him through with a sharp pike, which they strike several times into his body. The grave is then filled up, and the name of the criminal is condemned to oblivion.

These ceremonies, in which slight differences prevail amongst the various tribes, are so absurd, and their injustice is so palpable, that it is astonishing that the people have not abolished so barbarous a custom, notwithstanding its antiquity.

All savage or ignorant nations have believed in spells and magic; but nothing can equal the furious people of whom I am speaking. If a crocodile devour a man, a leopard destroy a sheep, a person fall ill, or die suddenly; or if any reverses be experienced, it is always through the sorcerer; and when he is discovered, he never escapes the cruel punishment which the law pronounces against him.

They place implicit faith in the efficacy of a talisman, which they call *gris-gris*: they wear it round their neck, at their waist, and on their legs and arms. Each has its particular virtue: one preserves them from bullets; another from poison; and when a man has been killed, burnt, or drowned, they say, that his *gris-gris* was not so efficacious as that of his enemy. They are, however, persuaded that the *gris-gris* can do nothing against cannon.

These talismans are made of goat skins, with the hair on, or of morocco leather; and they are of different sizes, from one to three inches; they are filled with a kind of powder, and with scraps of certain sentences of the alkoran in the Arabic. The priests, or marabouts, have the exclusive privilege of preparing and selling them. These people all follow the trade of divines or augurs: their testimony is, in the eyes of the people, evidence itself; they pry into futurity, discover thieves and adul-



terers, perform miracles; in short, all the actions of the credulous people are submitted to their influence.

Amongst savage nations the practice of physic is generally added to that of divination or sorcery. In these countries, however, it is otherwise; for the old women here cure diseases, and fulfil their task with great zeal and astonishing success, particularly in cases of wounds: they employ simple herbs, which abound in the fields and woods.

The most common diseases are hydrocele and intermittent fevers: the latter they infallibly cure by simple remedies; the former is supposed to arise from the excessive use of palm wine amongst the natives, whose constitution is particularly voluptuous. Venereal diseases are also very common; but they are never attended with those dreadful symptoms which appear in Europe. The natives will not believe that they can acquire this disease by a connection with an unclean individual: it is easily cured by simples and sudorifics. The small-pox is endemic, but is more rare on the coasts than in the country.

Foreigners who come here are subject to other diseases, the most fatal of which is dysentery. They have remedies for these attacks; but the method of preventing them is, to preserve a medium between excess and privation.

I shall terminate this chapter with a reflection which I conceive important. The French government has admitted the necessity of protecting the commerce of the western coast of Africa, of forming new establishments on points most favourable for trade, and of sending expeditions to procure accurate information. These measures are the more necessary, as the slave-trade has been renewed on our part. The decree which suppressed it, and which precipitately gave liberty to all our Negro slaves, was made in the delirium of tumultuous passions, and has caused the greatest misfortunes, which time and wisdom alone can repair. I shall repeat here, what I have already said relative to the philanthropic principles of the English company;—that its success must depend upon the concurrence of all nations, and on a perfect understanding amongst them for the abolition of the trade. But if they flatter themselves with such an union, it is a question whether they will ever obtain it. It is at least doubtful, whether any government would authorise a convention which would proclaim at once the ruin and entire loss of the American colonies. I declare it with pain, that if the company above-mentioned do not give another direction to its views, it will have indulged in a fine dream, and expended enormous sums to no purpose.



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 CHAP. XII.
 

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DESCRIPTION OF THE BAR OF THE SENEGAL, AND OF THE BANKS OF THAT RIVER, AS FAR AS ISLE ST. LOUIS.—PRECAUTIONS TO BE TAKEN FOR PASSING THE BAR.—REMARKS ON THE CANOES OF THE NEGROES.—DESCRIPTION OF ISLE ST. LOUIS, ITS ADMINISTRATION AND INHABITANTS.

AFTER the rapid sketch which I have given of our establishments from Cape Blanco to the river of Sierra Leone, it is necessary to return to the bar of the Senegal, and say something of the passage of that river, as far as Isle St. Louis, which deserves a particular description.

The bar of the Senegal is situated in about  $15^{\circ} 53'$  lat. and  $18^{\circ} 51' 30''$  lon.: it is a bank of moving sand, formed at the mouth of the river by the mud and sand which it conveys in its course to the sea, and which the latter repels incessantly towards the coast. The river, in consequence of its mass of water, and the violence of its current, has made two outlets here, which are called the passes of the bar, and are distinguished by the appellation of Great and Small. To enter them is very difficult, and even dangerous.

The great pass is generally about a hundred fathoms wide, and eight or nine feet deep; and at all times the only ships which can pass it, are those that draw seven or eight feet of water. The waves are so short and strong, that they break with a terrible violence; and this passage often proves an end to the most favourable navigation. The small pass is so narrow and shallow, that none but canoes or small boats can get through it.

The large opening cannot be passed without an expert pilot, who is in the habit of visiting it every day, to know exactly its state and depth; both of which are uncertain, as they vary according to circumstances. All, therefore, that is known, is the extent and rapidity of the floods; but the sudden variations in question must doubtless be attributed to the double action of the river and the sea.

The pilot who is engaged to conduct ships over the bar, has a large boat with a deck, and a crew of Negroes, who have no cloathing but a band of linen about six inches broad, which passes between their thighs: they are all strongly-made people, and excellent swimmers. But notwithstanding their knowledge and



activity, the boat and its crew often perish: they, however, more frequently escape the destruction which threatens them, and often exert themselves for the safety of strangers. But woe be to the rash seamen who might dare to attempt without their assistance the passage of the bar, as they would infallibly perish. Fortunately this passage does not last longer than a quarter of an hour; but it inspires so much dread, that the length of time seems insupportable. The first persons who passed this bar must have been intrepid sailors.

When this passage is effected, its horrors are succeeded by a calm, as the course of the river then becomes as smooth and gentle as its entrance was shocking and difficult.

It is from twenty to twenty-five feet deep, and of a considerable width. The exhausted rowers then take breath, drink brandy, and dance and rejoice at their success: they of course always receive a recompence. When I entered, I gave them a louis d'or, with which they were so highly satisfied that they were a long time singing my generosity, and afterwards did me great honour in the colony.

The Negroes go through the little passage with much adroitness, in the canoes which they use either for fishing or to go on board the vessels that arrive. These canoes are sometimes made of nothing but the trunk of a tree hollowed out; but more frequently the bottom is of a single piece, while the sides are fastened together by small cords made of the bark of a tree, caulked with beaten straw and clay; those of the Senegal in general are caulked in the French manner. The crew of these little narrow canoes, which are seldom more than twelve feet long, is generally composed of five men. One of them sits at the poop, and steers with one hand, while with the other he bales out the water that has leaked into the canoe. The other four Negroes, keep erect with their faces towards the prow. They use paddles, which they plunge quickly into the water, and strike behind them; the paddles are in the shape of a baker's peel, and they cause the boat to move and veer with quickness. These canoes have no seats, and are liable to overturn; but at this crew are little concerned; they fix to the bottom or sides articles as they intend to convey to the ships, and when they reach them, they upset the canoe, which remains so till they return; when one of them gets in, and bales out the water, while the rest swim alongside, and keep the canoe from sinking, till it is ready for them to enter, and continue their voyage. When at sea, these boats seem as if they would be lost every instant, as the least wave seems to raise them to the clouds; while on descending with it, they disappear, as if they were ingulphed by that which follows.



The boat with a deck, which has already been mentioned, serves not only to perform the passage of the bar, but also to unlade the vessels that are about to enter the river; by which means, those from 100 to 150 tons generally ascend it, while such as are of a greater burden remain in the road. The process of unlading, on account of the roughness of the water, is difficult and expensive; and during the delay which it occasions, the crews of the European ships often fall sick.

It is perhaps to the inconveniences of the bar of the Senegal, that we are indebted for the safety of our establishments in that quarter; as one or two armed boats, within the bar, would be sufficient to sink all the vessels that might attempt to pass it; because only one ship can make the passage at the time. The best months for entering the river, are April, May, June, and July; and the most dangerous, those of September, October, November, and December, when the winds blow impetuously, and increase the course of the current so much as to render the passage almost impracticable.

On arriving in the road, you see to the right a spot called Barbary Point, which separates the river from the sea: it is flat and barren, being principally a moving sand, which being fine and dry, is blown about by the wind. It is about a hundred fathoms in length, and is frequented only by pelicans, which are not worth the trouble of hunting, and by small crabs, which are not eaten. The right bank is called Guinea-land, and is much better than Barbary Point. Its name signifies, in the language of the country, the Devil's land: it is level and covered with large trees and beautiful grass; and is dependant on the kingdom of Cayor, which finishes at the isle of Bifeche, about six leagues from the bar.

Within two leagues of the bar is a natural canal, formed by the river which leads to the village of Bieurt: on it are two little isles; one of them, called Bocos, on which the French had a factory; and the other Mogue, which is neither inhabited nor cultivated, though it contains very abundant salt-pits. At this place is also an inexhaustible quarry of oyster-shells, from which lime is made. Such prodigious heaps of oyster-shells have been found in other parts; but it is remarkable that they are shells only: for, notwithstanding the assertions of several philosophers and historians, the oyster is unknown at Senegal.

Isle St. Louis lies in  $16^{\circ} 4' 10''$  lat. and  $18^{\circ} 48' 15''$  long. It is in the middle of the river, and only four leagues from the bar: it has an anchorage for vessels of a certain burden, the width of the river being in this part 380 fathoms, and the depth from 20 to 30 feet. The isle itself is only 1150 toises in length from north to south, and its width



not every where alike, it being at the southern point eighty toises, and at the western, the part where the fort is built, a hundred and thirty. From north to south, it forms a sort of elongated bank; the soil is level and sandy, a few mango or other trees being found only at the northern point: amongst them is the famous banyan tree, whose root is always in water, and from whose straight pliant, and knotless branches, shoots strike out, which take root almost as soon as they touch the ground, and thus form natural bowers. The number thus increases to an inconceivable extent, insomuch that a single banyan tree may in time produce a prodigious quantity of other trees of the same species, which give rise to a whole forest of bowers, under which one may conveniently walk and be sheltered from the sun. Nothing is more curious or agreeable than these promenades, which are frequently found on the banks of the river. There are likewise on the isle a few lonely palm-trees, some of which grow in the gardens.

The climate of Isle St. Louis is mild, wholesome, and agreeable during eight months of the year. From the beginning of December to the end of July, the temperature may be compared to that of our finest summer days; though cold is often felt there. All the houses have chimnies, which shews, that it is necessary to have fire in them during certain days in the year; but they are kindled only in the morning and evening, as the rays of the sun heat the atmosphere sufficiently. This brilliant orb shines in these countries in all its splendour during the eight months already mentioned. The sky is pure and cloudless; fresh winds purify the atmosphere; and the cold which occurs at intervals is a real benefit bestowed by nature for the health of the inhabitants.

Diseases are as rare at this period as they are frequent in the months of August, September, October, and November, which are comprised under the name of the sickly season, and during which time rain falls in abundance. The winds are at this epoch easterly; they cross the burning sands of Africa, and, corrupted by the fetid exhalations from the marshes, carry contagion to the island. Hence dysenteries, with putrid and inflammatory fevers, become frequent, and often make great havoc. To secure oneself against their malign influence, it is necessary to avoid all excesses, and particularly to guard against sleeping in the day-time: it is also of great advantage to drink fasting a little brandy in which bark has been infused; to take wholesome food in small quantities; and to bathe every day. The air is purified by burning gum, which the country furnishes in abundance. I passed two such seasons at Isle St. Louis without experiencing the least inconvenience; and others have lived there twenty,



thirty, and forty years, and were equally fortunate as myself.

When, however, a person is attacked, he has no occasion to despair of a cure: for the doctors use several good remedies; but the best specific is an emetic, by the taking of which in proper time, I have known several persons completely restored to health. I admit that such attacks are dangerous: but it is an error to suppose them incurable; as it likewise is to believe that the climate is always unhealthy: indeed I do not know a better one during two thirds of the year; and the dangers of the other portion have been exaggerated by travellers and historians. The latter have never been in Africa; and the former have accustomed themselves to assert falsehoods.

There have never been any physicians at Isle St. Louis; but surgeons are established there by government, which has not always been fortunate in its choice. To well informed men the country would present remedies in its own productions: for the natives prevent disease, or cure themselves when afflicted, by simples which are unknown to us at present; and here it is probable that by attentive observation very useful discoveries might be made.

When the unhealthy season is past, and the easterly winds have been succeeded by the fresh and salutary breezes which constantly blow for the remainder of the year, health and hilarity again prevail; and a cannon-shot is then fired towards the sea. This ceremony is a notification that the danger has subsided, and it dissipates the fears of the inhabitants.

There are, however, two inconveniences, against which they have much difficulty to guard. The first is the bites of thousands of musquitos and locusts, which, though more troublesome and numerous in the rainy season, yet remain to injure the inhabitants after it has passed. I discovered the means of preserving myself from their attacks, at least during the night. I caused Spanish curtains to be made for my bed, which are formed of Italian gauze, sewed together all over, and closing round by means of grooves, which prevented these insects from getting in; and thus I slept in peace.

The other inconvenience, which is doubtlessly far more serious, is the absolute want of water during eight months in the year: for there is neither spring nor fountain in the island; and the river is saline from December to the end of July. The rest of the year being the time when the waters swell, the rapidity of their course prevents the tide from coming up high enough to spoil that part of the river in which the island is situated, and the inhabitants then use it, as it is pleasant and potable. At other times, expedients must be resorted to: they therefore



make small holes in the sand, from which they acquire a brackish water, and use it for want of better. They, however, filter it in different ways, which makes it tolerably good. But as these portions would not be sufficient for a supply of the colony, they send boats to the top of the river, whither the sea does not penetrate, and fill them with water, which they bring back. These voyages are repeated at different times in the month, according to the necessities of the colony.

It may not be unserviceable to give some explanations of the holes which they make in the sand, for the purpose of procuring water: they are not deep, and only give out their water for an instant; in consequence of which it is necessary to renew them in other positions, as often as a fresh supply is requisite. They expose it to the wind in earthen vases, which are not glazed. This water presents a phenomenon of a curious nature: it becomes saline in proportion as that of the river gets fresh; and as soon as the latter resumes its brackish taste, that taken from the holes in the sands is perceptibly sweeter. This double effect of the tide upon the water which is no longer in contact with it, is doubtless worthy of the attention of chemists.

On the other hand, one cannot but be astonished to learn that the principal establishment of the French on the African coast, is without water during the greater part of the year, particularly when it is known that they are able to build cisterns with ease; as lime, sand, and bricks are to be found or made on the spot.

Isle St. Louis, and those in its neighbourhood, are not proper for cultivation: their soil is flat, sandy, and barren, but little above the level of the river, and consequently exposed to inundations; that of Babagué excepted. Those which lie higher up possess, on the contrary, the greatest fertility, and produce cotton, indigo, and tobacco spontaneously. But it is an erroneous assertion that they contain orange and lemon trees, as these salutary fruits are totally unknown on the banks of the Senegal.

In the small circumference of Isle St. Louis, there are a fort, a powder-magazine, a hospital, a church, and about twenty brick houses. The Negroes, whether slaves or freemen, inhabit wooden huts covered with thatch, and of a conical form. All the streets are large and perfectly straight, which produces an agreeable effect. A large burying-ground is also at the southern point.

The inhabitants are very religious, though they are not all Catholics; I even think that the greater portion are Mahomedans: nevertheless, they all live together in peace and harmony. Each sect believes in God, and adores him after its own



manner, so that no one is disturbed on account of his religious opinions.

In my time, the population of the colony amounted to six or seven thousand souls, among whom were about three hundred white inhabitants, Mulattos, or free Negroes. It appears that since they have increased considerably, the census of 1801, having estimated them at ten thousand. This augmentation is owing to the successive arrival of slaves purchased at Galam, and who have remained on the island; so that the increase has now become too great in relation to the extent of the place and the means of procuring subsistence. Another island has therefore been acquired, to which the superflux of the population will be sent, with the view of forming a new colony. That of Isle St. Louis contains a civilized, humane, gentle, and economical people, who are consequently happy. The men are tall, well made, ardent, courageous, sober, and indefatigable; they possess a robust constitution, are uncommonly faithful; and have a noble gait and physiognomy. Indeed it is impossible to find more attentive or sincere domestics; as they carry to extremities their affection for those who have done them any service.

The women are sensible, modest, tender, faithful, and particularly handsome; their charms being increased by an air of innocence and a mildness of language. They have, however, an invincible inclination for love and voluptuousness; while they express the sentiments of those passions with an accent and tone of voice, which our organs cannot imitate either in point of feeling or softness. They have a skin as black as ebony; a well-formed nose, generally aquiline; eyes large and lively; thin, vermilion lips; and the finest teeth in the world. In short, their shape is enchanting; and they may be said to combine all the perfections of beauty.

The marriages of the Black or Mulatto catholics take place at the church, as in France; those of the Mahometans are celebrated according to the law of the prophet. The union of a white man with a black or mulatto girl is a compact quite peculiar.

It is not indissoluble, but lasts as long as the parties have no reason to complain of each other; or till they are obliged to separate for ever; but if the absence of the man be only for a certain time, the woman remains single, waits with patience for the return of her husband, and she does not make choice of another, except in case of death, or the assurance that he will not return. This second union affixes no stigma on the honour or reputation of the woman.



When a black man wishes to marry, and has made his choice, he finds the parents of the girl, and asks their consent: if he obtain it, the day is fixed for the ceremony. The girl then, veiled from head to foot, is conducted by her parents and nearest friends to the house of the bridegroom: here they find every thing disposed for a feast, and a table copiously served. The guests eat, drink, sing, and dance to the sound of instruments during the whole night, and make a shocking riot. The married couple are then conducted to a chamber, and the musicians, buffoons, and mountebanks attend at the door, till the marriage be consummated, in order to publish the success of the bridegroom and the virtue of the bride. They carry the testimony through the streets, written in letters of blood on a piece of white cotton; but the blood is generally that of a fowl. If the new married woman be a widow, this ridiculous farce does not take place.

The girl thus married takes the name of the husband, and does the honours of his house; the children who proceed from such an union, bear the name of their father. Whence it happens that at Isle St. Louis and Goree we meet with several mulatto families which have French and English names. A woman thinks herself honoured by partaking of the couch of a white man, and is true, submissive, and grateful to the utmost extent; in short, she uses every art to merit his kindness and love.

If the husband embark to cross the sea, the disconsolate wife accompanies him to the shore, and sometimes follows him by swimming after the ship as far as her strength will allow; when obliged to return, she gathers up the sand on which the impression of his last footsteps remain, and wrapping it in a piece of cotton, places it at the foot of her bed.

Music and dancing have the most powerful attractions for the Negroes, insomuch, that they walk and work in cadence; they sing as they go to battle; and though the sound of their instruments is monotonous and melancholy, yet this music is the greatest pleasure which they experience, and they follow it with a sort of frenzy.

Both sexes are clothed with cotton, which they manufacture themselves. The men wear trowsers, which come half way down their legs, and a loose tunic resembling a surplice. The head and feet are naked. The dress of the women consists of two pieces of cotton, six feet long by three wide; one of which goes round their loins, and falls to the ankle, as a sort of petticoat; the other negligently covers the breast and shoulders. The dresses of the slaves, both male and female, are the same as have been already described: indeed, there is little difference in the



clothing of any of the inhabitants in this part of Africa. There is no variety of fashion, except in the head-dresses of the women; and the only alterations which I have observed in these, are in their height.

All the inhabitants of both sexes, whether Mulattos, Whites, or free Negroes, speak French tolerably well. Their common and natural language is that of the Yolofo. The first things which strangers learn, are their numbers.

Rice and millet are the principal food of the inhabitants; but foreigners who come to the island, import Bourdeaux flour, coffee, sugar, and liquors: they find there oxen, sheep, poultry, game, and fish; so that they live the same as they do in their own country; except that they want fruits, which are not cultivated.

The governor of the island is the supreme head of the civil, military, and judicial administration: the last, though dependant on the governor, is not entirely military; the laws are not positive, but have been established from custom. It is seldom that either free Mulattos or Negro slaves are condemned to death. Before the revolution, Negroes who were found guilty, were sold and sent to the American colonies. If they happened to be slaves, the produce of the sale served to indemnify the injured party, and the surplus was given to the master, after the expences were discharged; but if the condemned Negroes were free, a part of the produce of the sale likewise went to the prosecutor, and the rest was vested in the king's treasury. In both cases the governor gave an account of the prosecution to the minister of the marine. At present, I am assured that no other sentences are passed than that of imprisonment in irons, either for a limited time, or for life.

The Whites are tried by the same tribunal, and under the same forms. When any one disturbs the tranquillity of the inhabitants, he is arrested, banished from the colony, and embarked for France. If he have committed murder, burglary, or any capital crime, he is seized, and sent to France, to be tried according to the instructions sent from the Senegal. All disputes relative to commerce are decided before the governor, who endeavours to reconcile the parties; and if he cannot succeed, they appoint three arbitrators, who, with the governor at their head, give a final decision. If the parties be Europeans, the arbiters are Whites; and when they are Africans, their case is decided by Blacks: while a dispute between an European and an African is submitted to a person of each colour. The decisions thus elicited are strictly adhered to; and there is not an instance in which a subsequent contest has arisen. The same forms of proceeding took place at Goree, while it was in our possession,



as well as at all our establishments in this part of the world. Since then several reductions have been made in the forces and branches of civil administration, which have done no good to the colony.

The governor or commandant is the chief of the military department and of the police; he is also intrusted with the political arrangements that are made with the native princes, and he occasionally visits or receives them at his own residence: these visits, however, form the most disagreeable part of his office; for they seldom last less than a week at a time, and nothing can be more tedious than the ceremonies observed on the occasion.

The prince is always followed by a numerous body of attendants and musicians, who never leave him. He neither speaks, walks, eats, nor indeed moves, except by the sound of instruments, which his *guirots*, or band, play without interruption. The article most in use is the half of a calabash, to which is fixed a long handle; it has three strings of horse and camel hair, and resembles a guitar. Its sound is heavy and monotonous. The prince smokes continually; and the chief employment of his attendants is to fill and hand him the pipes in succession, and take care that he never is without one. The governor is obliged to feed and lodge all these fellows; and to get rid of them, he at last loads them with presents: but, however liberal he may be in this respect, they are never satisfied; and in order to obtain something more, they pretend to set no value upon what he has given them.

When companies assemble to regulate the commerce of the Senegal, the director-general is particularly incommoded by their visits; as he has to put up with the trouble, and defray the expence of the whole. This last appears to me to be just, as they have no other motive than commercial affairs; but I never suffered any thing more disgusting in the whole course of my administration.

Isle St. Louis produces only pulse and culinary vegetables, which are obtained in abundance by those who possess gardens. The neighbouring isles supply amply, quantities of rice and millet.

Hitherto the only importance which we attached to the possession of the Senegal, was in consequence of the trade carried on for slaves, gum, gold, elephants' teeth, and ostrich feathers. Many years ago we used to derive from it wax and hides; but these articles are no longer comprised in our speculations. We give in exchange, brandy, silks, cottons, iron, and all the articles which have been previously mentioned, as forming the barter at other parts of the coast.



When the Negroes first began to trade with Europeans, the article on which they set most value was iron; because it served them to make agricultural and warlike instruments. Hence iron soon became the commodity from which they appreciated all other articles. Thus a certain quantity of merchandize of any other kind was estimated to be worth so many bars of iron, which gave rise to the commercial expression of a bar of merchandize: for example, twenty plants of tobacco were considered as a bar of tobacco; and a gallon was called a bar of brandy; while a bar of any merchandize whatever was considered equal in value to a bar of any other kind.

The bar therefore is an ideal sort of money; but it necessarily happened that the abundance or scarcity of merchandize was in preportion to the number of foreign ships which arrived; and hence as their relative value was in continual fluctuation, it was necessary to be more decisive. At present the Whites value a bar of any sort of merchandize at four livres sixteen sous (about 3s. 10d. sterling); thus a slave who is valued at 100 bars, costs 490 livres Tournois.

In exchanges of this nature, the White merchant has a great advantage over the Negro: for the bar which he gives at the value abovementioned, seldom costs him more than half that price. The African who suspects this, is very difficult to satisfy, and is petulant and tiresome, on account of his ignorance.

Isle St. Louis is the general rendezvous for the trade of the Senegal; and the average number of slaves sent there is about 12 or 1500 per annum; though it is asserted to have formerly amounted to 3000. The price of slaves has varied at different periods, on account of the competition and jealousy of different European traders. The Negroes of the Senegal are preferred to all the Blacks of the African coast, as their race is handsomer than the others. But it has been found that they are more fit for domestic services, and for the arts and trades, than for working in the fields, a labour too severe for their constitution.

They value at, a *piece of India*, a Negro from 15 to 25 years old, who is vigorous, well formed, and has no defect. Three Negro boys or girls, well made and about 10 or 12 years old, are worth two pieces of India; and two children, between 5 and 10, are given and received for one piece.

A pound of ivory generally sells on the spot for 1 livre 16 sous; and a drachm of gold, for 10 livres: these articles are paid for in merchandize, according to the value of the bars. Ostrich feathers have no determinate price, but are sometimes given as presents, and at others sold to a good account.

When speaking of the Moors, I shall give a description of the gum trade, which they exclusively carry on.



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 CHAP. XIII.
 

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COURSE OF THE SENEGAL, AND DISTINCTION BETWEEN IT AND THE NIGER.—ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE WHO OCCUPY ITS BANKS.—KINGDOMS AND INHABITANTS ON THE LEFT SIDE.—ACCOUNT OF KING BRACK, AND HIS LUDICROUS CONDUCT AT AN INTERVIEW WITH THE GOVERNOR.—DEFEAT OF A MOORISH PRINCE.—BATTLE BETWEEN THE VICTOR AND THE KING OF CAYOR, WITH ITS RESULTS.—ANIMALS OF THE BANKS OF THE SENEGAL:

THE Senegal, on the banks of which almost all the commerce of western Africa is carried on, and which has given its name to the French establishment in this part of the world, runs from its source for forty leagues or thereabout N. N. W. and then turns due N. as far as the cataracts of Govina: thence it runs to the N. W. till it reaches the cataracts of Felou; W. as far as Galam; N. W. to Faribé; and W. to Serimpalé. From this part it turns abruptly to the S.; and after several curvations it continues the same direction to the sea. In its course it divides itself into several branches, and forms two large lakes and some isles, of which I shall have occasion to speak.

It has long been thought that the Senegal and the Niger were the same river; and they were indifferently called by each name. Several ancient and modern authors have maintained this opinion; and others have controverted it. But the discoveries of Mungo Park have irrevocably decided the point; as this traveller has found, that the Senegal and the Niger are two different rivers whose course is opposite; the former running in a western, and the latter in an eastern direction.

In all seasons, the Senegal is navigable for small vessels and large boats, from its mouth as far as Podor, and even to Domus, which is twelve leagues higher. It cannot be ascended higher so as to reach Galam, except in the rainy season, when there is sufficient water to navigate vessels from 120 to 150 tons burthen.

There are two lakes formed by this river, one called the Basket-lake; and the other taking its name from Cayor. The banks of the former are fertile, and well peopled; but the inhabitants being intolerably lazy, often suffer the greatest misery, particularly



larly when the harvest happens to fail. They are likewise exposed to the ravages of locusts and other calamities; and yet they have never had the presence of mind to guard against such disasters.

The grass-hopper or locusts come from the deserts that lie to the S. W. in bodies so numerous, that they obscure the light of the sun. They follow the direction of the wind, which seems to drive them forwards; and wherever they stop, they spread desolation; they devour all the fruit, grain, herbage and the leaves, and shoots of trees, so as to leave nothing but the bark. They are about as thick as one's finger, or rather longer; and have sharp and cutting teeth, the attacks of which nothing can resist.

The Moors are sometimes victims of these terrible animals; but they avenge themselves by eating them: they carefully collect them, put them into leather bags, skin them, and boil them in milk. When thus prepared, they afford a very delicate and wholesome food.

Near the abovementioned lake there is a forest of the finest black ebony in the world, the wood of which may be had for the trouble of cutting it, and conveying it to boats; the expence of which does not make it come to more than forty sous the cwt. Large supplies might be obtained every year when the waters have risen.

The other is situated to the right of the river, about fifty leagues from its mouth, is much larger than the one just described, and is inhabited by Moors and Negroes, who live in easy circumstances.

The Senegal in its course forms forty-one isles. Those in the neighbourhood of isle St. Louis have been already described; and the others are not of sufficient importance to deserve particular notice.

The banks of the Senegal are occupied by various tribes; the right is inhabited, to the north, by the Moors; and the left, to the south, by the Negroes. But this demarcation is not rigorously observed, as some hordes of Moors have long established themselves in the Negro country, where they follow the occupation of shepherds and farmers, and live on good terms with their neighbours.

The left bank comprises several kingdoms and various nations. The Yolofo, who inhabit a vast tract of country between the Senegal and Gambia, are a powerful, active, and warlike native people, who differ from the other Negroes not only in their language, but in their features and colour. Their noses are not so flat, nor their lips so thick as those of most other Africans; their skin is of a fine black; and the Europeans, who carry on the



slave trade, consider them as the handsomest Negroes on that part of the continent. These people are divided into several kingdoms or independent states, which are frequently at war with each other, or with their neighbours. Their religion is that of Mahomet; and their manners, superstitions, and forms of government, bear a perfect resemblance to those of the Mandingos already described. They excel the latter in the art of manufacturing cotton, and they also spin the finest wool, which they card and weave into broad cloths. I have spoken of their dress and language in an early part of the present work.

King Brack, the sovereign of Hoval, has an absolute power over his subjects, and can reduce them to slavery, or sell them with impunity. He is the owner of all the lands; and those which he has chosen for himself, are cultivated by any of the subjects whom he may fix on. During the journies which he makes, he is kept, and his expences are defrayed by his people. His revenues certainly are not considerable; but he wants for nothing. This prince receives annually from France, a duty in money, to the amount of 4915 livres.

In time of war all his subjects are obliged to take up arms at their own expence; the chiefs of each village conduct their troops, and unite round the prince. The greatest portion of this undisciplined military force is the cavalry. They march without provisions, and have no other advantage than what they derive from spoliation, of which the king has the greatest share. The princes and chiefs have nearly an equal portion, and they all profit more or less by the spoils of the vanquished party. The value and importance of such booty depend on the number of men taken and made slaves at the time of the engagement; and a single battle decides the fate of the country. The vanquished side capitulates in the field of action, and the conquerors return home; but the conditions being rarely observed, they cause a new war to break out, which leads to the same result.

I shall give a few particulars of the manners and customs of king Brack, which I observed during an interview that I had with him at his express desire.

In the beginning of April 1788, I made a journey to Podor, with the intention of reconnoitering the coast, ascertaining the course of the river, and making some regulations in the gum-trade. A few leagues before I arrived at the isle of Toddee, I perceived on the left bank, a numerous body of cavalry, and was informed, that king Brack wished for boats to be sent to bring him on board my vessel. I therefore sent two canoes, which returned with the king, five of his ministers, and four of his musicians. As soon as the prince embarked, I saluted him with



nine pieces of cannon; and on reaching the ship, I paid him every attention which could flatter and please him.

His majesty was dressed in a white shirt, which hung down to his knees and was tied round him by a red swash; he had over it a large open tunic of a yellow colour; and his head and feet were naked, except that he wore a pair of yellow slippers. His suite were dressed according to the custom of the country.

I conducted the king under an awning placed on the deck, where we sat down together, and passed reciprocal protestations of friendship. I offered him some refreshments which he accepted; and was presented with Bourdeaux wine, but would not drink it. He asked me for brandy; on which I immediately ordered several flagons of that liquor to be placed before him: in a very short time he drank four large glasses full, and ate scarcely any thing. On taking a fifth he lost his speech; and the sixth set him fast asleep. His ministers and musicians were very sober, as they had drunk but little.

The king while in this state of inebriety was surrounded by his suite: some of them endeavoured to purify the air by agitating over his head, and in every direction with great violence, a pagne or cotton cloth; which manner of renewing the air is in general use in that country. The rest were occupied in keeping off the flies from his person, lest they should disturb his sleep.

I amused myself with this ridiculous farce, till my people informed me that dinner was on table, when I invited the ministers to accompany me; but they refused to quit their master: I therefore sat down to table alone. Shortly after his majesty awoke, and asked to see me, when they told him I was at dinner. "What," observed he, "without letting me know? This white man is very unkind." He then got up, came into the cabin, where the cloth was laid, stepped upon a chair, jumped on the other side; and at last seating himself at one of the windows, placed his feet upon the table.

In this posture, which caused me to laugh heartily, his majesty was supplied with what he wished to eat, but he would drink nothing but brandy. I therefore ordered the attendants to present him with as much he chose, on which he drank the same quantity as at first, and soon afterwards he fell dead drunk upon the floor.

His ministers raised him up, and attempted to carry him upon deck, by lifting him over the table; but his majesty was sufficiently awake to express his regret at leaving it: he therefore suddenly seized hold of a hare by the head, and carried it with him. I think I still see him holding the hare like a sceptre.



After my dinner, which I had much difficulty to finish for laughing, I went upon deck, to inquire after his majesty; and found him a little refreshed. We then talked for a few minutes on commercial affairs. Nothing worth notice afterwards occurred till it was time to separate; when I made him the customary presents, with which he appeared satisfied; and I did not forget to repeat the dose of brandy, nor to give the ministers and musicians what they had a right to expect. All the company then returned me thanks, and we parted on the best terms imaginable. While he was proceeding to the shore, I again saluted him with nine guns; and on landing, I saw him mount his horse, put himself at the head of his troops, and proceed towards his village.

In the evening he entered into conversation with his ministers, and wished to know what I had given them. Each of them told him what he had received; and they all acknowledged that they had been favoured with a tolerable portion of brandy. This his majesty insisted on abridging, in order to increase his own stock; and one person only refused to obey his orders, for which he was immediately seized. The negro made some resistance, and was wounded severely in the shoulder by a sabre. The next morning this ex-minister, a man of fine figure, tall and robust, was brought on board my ship, loaded with irons, and sold for a hundred bars.

I was much affected at the fate of this unfortunate man, and had him conducted to isle St. Louis, where his wounds were dressed and speedily cured. In the end his friends came to beg him off, and I restored him to his family.

The kingdom of the Foulahs, which is next to that of Hoval, begins at Ivory island, near Podor, and is governed by a prince named Siratick. This is likewise a name of dignity, which the king adds to that of his family: his states are much greater than those of Brack, as they extend along the banks of the river, as far as the kingdom of Galam, a distance of 200 leagues; their width is unknown. The country is well peopled, and the lands are good and rich.

The Foulahs have a deep black skin, and are neither so large, nor so handsome as the Yolofo. Siratick is more powerful than Brack, and has a more numerous cavalry. His states are divided into several provinces, each of which is governed by a lieutenant who commands its army, and whose power is absolute.

The religion, constitution, manners, &c. are like those of Brack, nearly similar to the Mandingo regulations; but the language differs. We pay to Siratick and his princes, an annual duty of 4333 livres. The crown amongst the Foulahs is here-



ditary, and descends to the eldest son of the king, if he be married to a princess of the blood royal: in the contrary case, it devolves to the eldest brother of the king or his nephew. In case of any disputes, which may afterwards happen, the great people unite, and elect a king; but they can only take him from amongst the reigning family.

In my time this country was governed by a Marabou negro, named *Almamy Abdulkader*: This prince had a very high character for his sanctity and valour, and had the absolute confidence of his own subjects, as well as of the neighbouring states; insomuch that people came from all parts to buy his *gris-gris*, and kiss his feet. He had reason to complain of Alikoury, a Moorish king of the Trarzas tribe, and marched against him with a numerous army: in his way he passed through the states of Hamet Mocktar, another Moorish prince, who was king of the Bracknas, formed an alliance with him, and at length arrived on the territories of Alikoury. This Moorish prince met his enemies, fought valiantly, and was killed; on which Almamy returned more powerful and revered than ever.

Alikoury was with me at isle St. Louis, when he was informed of the march of Almamy: he immediately set off with the utmost calmness, though without dissimulating as to the danger with which he was threatened; and took of me his last farewell. This brave man foresaw his destiny, and might have avoided it by retreating to the desert; but flight with him would have been cowardice, and he preferred death.

After this event Damel, king of Cayor, who was jealous of the power of Almamy, and of his influence over other states, was invaded by him and personally insulted. The following is the manner in which this event has been related. Almamy set no bounds to the authority which he had usurped, till his successes and the flatterers to whom he listened, had nearly cost him his head. One day he sent an ambassador to Damel, accompanied by two men, each of which carried a large sabre fixed to the end of a pole. On obtaining an audience, the ambassador stated the intention of his master, and on laying the two blades before him said, "with this weapon Almamy will shave the head of Damel, if he, like a true Mussulman, refuses to acknowledge himself his vassal; and with this Almamy will cut the throat of Damel, if he refuse to subscribe to those conditions." Damel answered coldly, that he had no choice to make; and that he would neither have his head shaved, nor his throat cut. He then politely dismissed the ambassador.

Almamy was irritated at this unexpected resistance; and putting himself at the head of a powerful army, he entered the states of Damel. On his approach, the inhabitants of the towns



and villages stopped up their wells, destroyed their stores, and abandoned their houses; he therefore marched from place to place, without meeting with any opposition. Nevertheless his army suffered greatly for want of water, and many soldiers dropped dead on the road. At length he conducted his forces to a wood where he found water: the soldiers then allayed their thirst, and overcome with fatigue, laid down, and fell asleep. In this situation they were attacked by Damel, and completely defeated; many were trodden to death by the horses; others who attempted to escape were killed, and the remainder made prisoners. Almamy himself was made a slave, and taken before Damel, whom he had dared to threaten: he prostrated himself upon the ground before this generous king, who, instead of running him through with his lance, as is the custom in such cases, regarded him with pity, and said, "if I were in your place, what would you do to me?" "I would kill you," replied Almamy, with much firmness, "and I know that is the fate which I am to expect." "No," replied Damel, "my lance is tinged with the blood of your subjects killed in battle; and I will not stain it deeper. The dipping of it in your's would not restore my towns, or give life to the men who died in the wood. You shall not therefore die by my hand; but I shall keep you, till I am certain that your presence in your own states will no more be dangerous to your neighbours." Almamy after this remained prisoner at the court of Damel for about three months; and instead of being reduced to the condition of a slave, was treated with the greatest distinction. At the end of that period, Damel yielded to the solicitations of the subjects of Almamy, and gave them back their king.

Almamy profited by this lesson: he governed with more prudence and wisdom; never disturbed his neighbours, but rendered his own people happy.

From the details which I have given, it will be seen, that the soil on all this side of the Senegal is of the richest kind, and gives food to a vast number of wild animals. There are besides abundance of oxen, sheep, poultry, and fish. Amongst the domestic animals is the camel: it carries great burdens, and is patient and submissive. They cause it to undergo great fatigues, and to travel several months together over burning sands, with very little food or water; its milk furnishes excellent drink; the Moors even drink its urine, and its flesh is their principal food.

The horses of this country are generally smaller than those of Europe; but they are well made, strong, active, and cunning.

The most remarkable of the wild animals, are the elephant, lion, and tiger: the wild boar, buffalo, tiger-cat, civet, gazelle,



panther, leopard, stag, hind, and common deer are equally numerous.

The elephant is celebrated for its sagacity, docility, courage, strength, and size, and particularly for its attachment to its owner. The Africans have been mistaken in, or they despise the benevolent disposition of this animal; and instead of endeavouring to tame it, and apply it to useful purposes, they hunt it, kill it, eat its flesh, and sell its teeth.

The country also contains a vast number of apes of a small species: those of Galam are larger; the people often go into the woods to amuse themselves with their tricks. When they wish for young ones in order to tame them, they hunt the dams, which always carry their young in their arms: they fire at them; and the dam generally falls either dead or mortally wounded, pressing her young to her bosom. The hunter then takes it from the mother, which, if not dead, expires through despair.

After the accounts of Buffon and Daubenton, nothing remains for me to say of the lion, tiger, &c. The river horse which I have already described, is common in the Senegal.

The birds of Africa have likewise been described by several naturalists. The paroquets of the Senegal are not esteemed: they speak with difficulty, and pronounce badly; in fact this is a heavy, melancholy, and stupid bird. A species, however, unknown either at Senegal or in Europe, was discovered by chance during my governorship, in the isle of Sor: it was a young bird, and as yellow as a lemon. A Negro made me a present of it; I reared it with care, and in a short time it began to speak, but its voice was broken and harsh. As it grew up, it acquired a few green feathers; but the yellow colour was always predominant. In the course of time it spoke much better than at first. This extraordinary bird which I wished to present to our naturalists, came to an unfortunate end. Being saved with me at the time of my shipwreck on the coast of Wales, it was seized and eaten by a cat on the very night of my landing.



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 CHAP. XIV.
 

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OF THE MOORS WHO OCCUPY THE RIGHT BANK OF THE SENEGAL, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR ORIGIN, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, RELIGION, AND LANGUAGE.—OF THE GUM TRADE, WHICH THEY EXCLUSIVELY CARRY ON.—NATURE AND RESULT OF THAT TRAFFIC.—DESCRIPTION OF THE TREE WHICH PRODUCES THE GUM.

THE right bank of the Senegal is under the dominion of the Negro kings, Brack and Siratick, who, as we have already stated, reside on the left bank; but their sovereignty on the right side is almost nugatory: for there begins the immense desert which runs from east to west, from the sea as far as Galam; and from south to north, from the Senegal to the kingdom of Morocco. This sea of sand is known by the name of the *Great Desert of Sahara*, and is inhabited by the Moors, who, instead of acknowledging the authority of the Negro kings, are their irreconcilable enemies.

The name of *Moors*, which is given to all the tribes of the desert, seems to indicate that they are formed of the aborigenes; that is to say, that they have all descended unmixed from the Numidians, who, in the earliest times of which history informs us, inhabited the coasts of Africa, and the whole of the countries called Numidia and Mauritania; but their manners, customs, religion, and particularly their language, invincibly prove that the primitive race has been intermixed with other people, who brought them those ideas and that idiom which prevailed in another part of the world. They are at present distributed into tribes of greater or less extent, which are independent of each other, and each of which has its chief. Every tribe is divided into hordes; and each horde encamps on such a spot as will afford pasturage for their cattle; so that a whole tribe is never united in the same quarter.

In the interior of the desert reside the tribes of the Wadelims, of Labdesseba, Laroussye, Chelus, Tucanois, Ouadelis, Gedingouma, Jafanon, Ludamar, and several others. The first two are the most formidable, and extend their predatory system as far as the environs of Morocco, whose emperor is in constant



alarm at their excesses. They are composed of large, strong, and well-made men; have generally a stiff hair, a long beard, a furious look, large pendent ears, and nails like talons: they even convert these into a formidable kind of weapon, in the quarrels which they have with their neighbours. The Wadelims in particular are the most arrogant and warlike race, and spread terror wherever they pass; though, like all the other Moors, their courage fails them, unless they have a decided superiority of numbers in their favour.

These people live under tents, which they move about at will: they are of a round form, terminating in a cone, and are covered with a thatch made of camel's hair, so compact, that rain never penetrates through it. This covering is made by the women, who also prepare the leather of which the saddles, bridles, and various other articles, are manufactured.

The furniture of these dwellings consists of two large leather sacks, which hold a few rags and scraps of iron-work: sometimes they have a box or two, which become the object of cupidity amongst a whole horde. Three or four goat-skins, in which they keep their milk and water, several wooden platters, two large stones for pounding barley, a lesser one for driving in the pickets of the tents, some osier mats, which serve them for beds and covering, and a small copper kettle, are the whole of the goods which distinguish the rich from the poor.

It is also the business of the women to prepare the provisions, fetch water, and attend to the horses and cattle, which always lodge in the same tent. Those who are in easy circumstances keep Negro slaves to do the principal part of the labour; but they are always obliged to wait upon their husbands themselves. In short, nothing can exceed the arrogance of a Moor to his wife, nor the humility of the woman in presence of her husband.

The women, when a horde changes its situation, strike the tents, load and unburden the camels; and when the husband mounts his horse, his wife holds the stirrup: they are not even admitted to eat with the men, but when dinner is ready, they retire, and wait till they are called on, to take what is left.

These women are in some degree the property of their husbands: for a Moor does not marry till he is able to buy himself a wife. The fathers sell their daughters; and he who has most of them, is considered the richest man. The price agreed on is always paid in advance; and the husband may afterwards put away his wife, but what he has given for her is never returned. Nevertheless a Moor cannot turn away his wife without obtaining permission from the oldest people of the horde, but which they never refuse to give; so that the demand is a simple matter of form.



The women are treated by the Moors with the most sovereign contempt; they never take the names of their husbands, nor do the children even bear the names of their fathers. Amongst almost all the hordes they admit only of four or five different names. The men are distinguished by that of their tribe, and have some kind of surname.

Although the women in question are so badly used, and though they are very indecent in their manners and gestures, they are faithful to their husbands. An instance to the contrary seldom occurs; but when it does, the offender is driven from the house of her lord, and his relations generally revenge themselves by her blood, for the disgrace which she has brought upon their family.

The Moors consider the women as an inferior race of beings, created solely for their pleasure and caprice. With respect to female beauty they have singular ideas. An elegant shape, majestic walk, a mild and expressive physiognomy; in short, all the charms which delight our eyes, are to them without attraction. They must have women particularly fat; for with them corpulence seems to be every thing. Hence those women who only require the assistance of two slaves to help them to walk, can have but moderate pretensions; but those who cannot stir, and who are obliged to be conveyed upon camels, are considered perfect beauties, particularly if they have long teeth projecting out of the mouth.

This taste of the Moors for massive beauties induces the women to take the greatest care to make themselves fat. Every morning they eat an enormous quantity of cuscus, and drink several jugs of camel's milk. The girls are obliged to take this food, whether they have an appetite or not; and when they refuse they are beaten to compliance. This forced diet does not occasion indigestion or any other disease; on the contrary, it induces that degree of fatness which passes for perfection in the eyes of the Moors. The Moorish girls are in other respects little attended to; and their education is totally neglected. These people think nothing of moral qualifications: for voluptuousness, submission, and corpulence are all that the Moors admire.

The boys are better treated; they are generally taught to read and write the Arabic language; and as soon as they begin to grow up, they are respected by the Moorish women, and even by their mothers, who no longer eat with them. At an early period they are accustomed to use the poniard adroitly, and to tear out with their nails the bowels of their adversaries: they are taught to give a lye the semblance of truth; are, in short,



familiarized with wickedness, and are instructed to commit a crime with as much pleasure as they would do a good action.

A plurality of wives being permitted amongst the Moors, a hut is seldom seen with less than eight or ten children. The women live together under the same tent, and are witnesses of the partial attachment of the husband, without betraying any marks of jealousy.

The tent destined to receive a new married couple is ornamented with a little white flag, and the bridegroom has a band round his forehead of the same colour; and whether he be young or old, or be married for the first or sixth time, he is always decorated with the symbol of virginity.

On the day of the ceremony the bridegroom causes a camel to be killed, for the purpose of regaling the guests. The bride, with the women and young girls of her acquaintance, dance all day round a kettle-drum, and their motions are of a most indecent kind. They dance singly, and one after the other. She who begins the performance stretches out her neck, and makes the most shocking grimaces, which are repeated by the spectators with astonishing precision. They beat time with their hands; and at length all the company put themselves in motion.

The day after the wedding the bride is separated from her husband, and her friends wash her from head to foot; they afterwards comb her, plait her hair, redden her nails, and clothe her in a new drapery. She then pays visits through the camp, and in the evening is taken back to her spouse.

The Moors are extremely fond of their women and children, by whom they in return are tenderly loved. It is difficult to reconcile these sentiments of affection with the obdurate and barbarous conduct which they display in their families. For the slightest fault the offender is corrected with a revolting degree of severity; and the girls are always ill used, as they are indifferent both to the father and to the mother.

Nothing can exceed the joy of the parents on the birth of a son. The mother has neither doctor nor midwife to assist her; and she is most frequently alone and extended on the sand at the time of her *accouchement*. She immediately lays down her infant, takes some milk to refresh herself, and then goes to bed for the night. The mother who gives birth to a son, in order to testify her joy, blackens her face for forty days. On the birth of a daughter, she only daubs it half over, and keeps it so no longer than twenty days. A woman so disguised is a horrid and disgusting spectacle.

It is difficult to form an idea of the pride and ignorance of the Moors; they think themselves the finest people in the world,



and suppose that the sun rises for them alone. "Contemplate that planet," said a Moor to a Christian slave; "it is unknown in thy country: during the night you are not enlightened like us, by that orb which rules on our days and our fasts, or by those luminaries which fill the celestial arch, and indicate the hours for our prayers;—(he alluded to the stars.) You have no trees, nor camels, nor sheep, nor sand, nor goats," continued he; "nor are your women made like ours. You do not inhabit the earth, but are born, live, and die in your houses that float on the sea."

The greatest luxury of a Moor is to see his wives and daughters richly dressed, and on them he exhibits all his opulence by ornamenting their ears, arms, and legs with rings of gold and silver.

They have no knowledge of the arts and trade, though they make in a rude manner, pikes, knives, and even kettles, from the native iron which is furnished to them by the Negroes. Everything else for which they have occasion comes to them either directly or indirectly from the Europeans. They are a pastoral kind of people; and when at peace, rear great numbers of oxen, cows, sheep, goats, and horses. They make their oxen carry burdens, and cross rivers, on which occasions they ride them like horses.

They have no knowledge of cultivating land. The person who is charged with the labour, repairs to a spot which appears most moistened by rain, and scatters indifferently the seeds of millet, barley, and wheat, which he covers by drawing over them a plough harnessed to a camel. This implement, without breaking the ground, makes a simple furrow at its surface. If the subsequent rains promote the growth of the seed, each person takes the portion that belongs to him, and retires to his camp. Sometimes, instead of waiting till the grain comes to maturity, they cut it down and dry it on hot ashes, by which they deprive themselves of an abundant harvest, as well as of the straw that would feed their horses. But the Moors have no regard for futurity; they think only of the present.

Their common course of provisions is millet, barley, wheat, milk, honey, locusts, and wild animals. They make no use of poultry or domestic animals, except at the last extremity, or on solemn occasions, such as the visits of princes or distinguished friends, the birth of sons, marriages, or deaths. They pass alternately from abstinence to voracity. Their religion subjects them to frequent and rigorous fasts: in their travels they endure hunger and thirst; but when they find an opportunity of satisfying their appetite, they eat at a single meal more than three Europeans, and drink in proportion. Several of them, parti-



cularly the kings and great people, deprive themselves of wine, either from a religious principle or by way of example. But those who have connections with the Europeans are less scrupulous, and drink inordinate quantities of wine and brandy.

These people are almost always at war; frequently among themselves, but oftener with the Negroes. In battle, those who are mounted on horses are hidden in clouds of dust; but the camel, whose pace is heavy, though it takes long steps, is scarcely less useful than the horse: for, animated by the shouting of its rider, it dashes amongst the crowd, and produces more carnage by its bites than is effected by the musquetry. The Moors never make their attack in order of battle; but as many men as there happen to be, so many separate combats take place; and he who throws his adversary to the ground, seizes on his arms, and retires precipitately with the fruit of his conquest; but if the person conquered be a Negro, he is detained and made a slave. On some occasions two combatants of equal strength will give each other several stabs with their poniards, and then reciprocally tear out their entrails with their nails.

Such incursions generally ruin one party or the other. Those who possessed a considerable stock of cattle, are reduced in one day to the most dreadful misery, and despoiled by others, who, the evening before, had no property at all. The weaker tribes are of course the most exposed, and therefore take care to live at a distance from the others, especially from the Wadelims and Labdessebas.

Their ordinary arms are sabres, sagayes, and arrows, the last two of which they throw with great strength and accuracy. Some of them procure from the Europeans or Negroes musquets or pistols; but they cannot make use of them for any length of time, because those which are brought to them from Europe are of a very bad kind; besides which, the humidity of the climate causes them to be speedily covered with rust, while the heat spoils the temper of the metal: they therefore become good for nothing, and there are no workmen clever enough to repair them.

The Moors are very hospitable: every stranger, of whatever country or tribe he may be, or whether known to them or not, is kindly received. If several travellers arrive at any place together, the inhabitants defray amongst them the expences of their reception. They all, without distinction, go before a new comer, congratulate him upon his arrival, assist him in taking off his luggage, and convey it to a place of security. He is then conducted behind a bush to pass the night: for it is an invariable custom amongst these people never to admit a stranger into their



tents. When this ceremony is over, the people sit down around him, and enquire the news of the country from which he comes; they ask, for example, whether such a horde have evacuated the spot on which they last encamped, whether he have met with others on his passage, &c. They then enquire the motives for and extent of his journey, and ask about the tribe to which he belongs. They never put any questions about his health till he has satisfied them on all the other points of their curiosity.

If the stranger do not know any person amongst the horde which he visits, it is the richest of them who is obliged to shew him the rights of hospitality; but this is not the case when the travellers do not come alone. They give to each a large porringer of milk, and barley flour steeped in milk porridge or in water, when they happen to have any. If the visiter be able to read, they confer on him the honour of saying prayers; and on this occasion the table, or subordinate priest of the horde, places himself by his side as master of the ceremonies.

If the stranger have friends amongst the horde, and be distinguished either by his rank or property, they kill a goat or sheep, and sometimes an ox, for the purpose of regaling him. One of their wives prepares the feast. Before cooking the meat, she separates the suet, and serves it up to the guests in its raw state. As soon as the meat is dressed, she sets the share of her husband before his friends and neighbours; as it would be an irreparable error not to offer them this portion. She then puts the share of the stranger upon a layer of straw; and the Arabian who gives the treat, causing either a Christian or a negro slave to carry it, goes and offers it himself. This repast is never served up till ten o'clock at night, even though the stranger should have arrived in the morning. The Moors offer nothing except at night by the light of the moon, or round a large fire, which they generally kindle in all seasons. The traveller never fails to invite the person who treats him to do him the honour of eating with him; but the latter always beg to be excused, and his reason is, the respect which he bears for and ought to shew to strangers.

The next day the traveller continues his route, and goes off without taking leave of any one: if he happen to remain longer, it is considered an infringement upon their hospitality, and they let him know it by giving him a smaller allowance, which they continue to diminish as long as he stays, and thus politely force him to depart.

Amongst the Moors justice is prompt and decisive. Civil rights are little respected; but they know the necessity of checking men from committing crimes by the example of punishment. On these occasions, and in ordinary cases, the guilty individuals



are conducted before the king of the tribe, who judges them alone and according to his caprice. When a man is accused of a capital offence, the prince calls in the most ancient people of the horde, and pronounces his judgment according to their opinion, which is instantly carried into execution. Capital punishments, however, are only inflicted upon Negroes: those of the Moors are merely fine, restitution, or banishment.

The most common diseases of the Moors are intermittent fevers and dysenteries, which are speedily cured by sudorifics, a few simple syrups, and a mild diet. Indeed, the patients often abandon themselves to the sole aid of nature, and quickly recover. The Moors have no physicians, and the old women are employed in taking care of the sick. There may be seen amongst them a great number of old men, who enjoy full health and vigour, though their whole time has been passed in continual exertions, and under all the fatigues and privations inseparable from their mode of life. It has, however, been remarked, that the less they have been connected with Europeans, the less have they been liable to infirmity and disease; because while they remained in their frugal and simple mode of life, their constitution was not affected by strong drinks or high-seasoned food.

The small-pox makes from time to time great ravages amongst the Moors, from whom it passes amongst the southern Negroes: those of the Senegal and the Gambia practise inoculation. At length the Moors, after a long career, come, like other men, to the end of their existence, and receive the last duties of their family and the whole of their horde. Amongst them a death is announced by terrible cries, and the women are employed to make the notification. On this occasion, all those belonging to an encampment repair to the tent of the deceased, where some cry, and others sing his praises. Very often they change parts; so that the women cry, laugh, and sing alternately. Afterwards the body is washed, dressed, and carried to an elevated spot, where it is placed in a grave with the face turned towards the east, and the head rather raised. They cover the grave with stones, to secure the corpse from the attacks of certain carnivorous animals.

Their dress is very simple. The rich wear trowsers and pagnes, or pieces of cotton, which hang down to the ground: the latter forms a sort of great-coat without buttons, which they pass over the breast, and fasten with a belt; in this belt they place a poniard or large knife, sometimes two; and as they have no pockets, they put in their bosom whatever they have occasion to carry about them. A handkerchief is attached to the belt, but they use it more for wiping their hands and face than any





*Dresses of the Negroes of Senegal at Cape Verd .*



*Dresses of the Women of Kazegut .*



This belongs to Lewis' Library  
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other purpose: those who are of some respectability carry two. The common people have their head, legs, and feet naked; but the others wear, when they can get them, Morocco slippers, or sometimes half-boots, and always round the head a roll of white linen, which forms a turban. The latter likewise wear a woollen cloak, which is of a white colour, very finely made, and is brought to them from Morocco or Tunis: this cloak is very simple, and has at top a pointed cape, with which they cover their heads; at the end of this hood is a long string with a tassel. They never wear sabres except in the army; and then they either carry them in the hand, or pass them between the belt and their body. They do not know the use of regular belts; and though some richly embroidered ones have been sent to them as presents, they disdain to use them in battle, but make a parade of them when they go on visits. When they ride on horseback, the princes wear a sort of jockey boots of Morocco, and a mass of arms, which are fastened to the saddle bow; and they carry a lance or sagay in their hands. The others ride almost naked, but are always armed either with muskets, bows and arrows, or sagays.

The kings are always dressed in finer stuffs than the other Moors; they have likewise larger tents, and are remarkable for being covered with white linen or cotton.

The head-dress of the Moorish women is generally composed of a bandeau of white cotton, a part of which is larger than the rest, and serves as a veil for the face when they go in the sun: they often go veiled from head to foot. They have fine and long hair, which they plait, and leave flowing on their shoulders.

The Moors purchase from the Europeans or Negroes all the articles necessary for their clothing, and they pay for them in slaves or gum. The women often appear with their faces uncovered: this is a positive fact, at least with respect to the hordes in the vicinity of the Senegal. I have seen a great number of them, and even queens and their daughters, in their camps, as well as on board our vessels at Isle St. Louis, and they never appeared veiled. Some of these females were very handsome, and many of them were pretty; in general they have a pleasing appearance; they are of the ordinary height, but are well made; their eyes are large, black, and very animated; their complexion, which is browned both by nature and art, does not want for vivacity. They put a blue tint on their eye-lids, and redden their nails. They are but slightly clothed: they wear long trowsers, shifts with very wide sleeves, and a girdle under the bosom; and round the neck a piece of linen, generally blue, which hangs down to the heels; they walk with their legs and feet naked; but the princesses, when they pay visits, or on the days of ceremonies, use European slippers.



The language and religion of these people are those which the Arabians brought into Africa. Mahometanism was preached by the conquerors, and was adopted by the Africans who submitted to them: the others were exterminated. Soon the conquerors and the vanquished became one people, professed the same religion, and spoke the same language.

Of all known languages, the Arabic is the most extensive. It is spoken in the three Arabias, in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, on the coasts of Abex and Darien, in the kingdoms of Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Fez, Morocco, and Talifez; in the immense countries which are in the environs and to the south of the Atlas; on the banks of the Nile, the Niger, the Senegal, and the Gambia; in short, it is the prevailing tongue wherever Mahometanism is established, but it is often disfigured by the dialects of the different nations who have adopted it.

It is the same with the religion of Mahomet, which was founded by valour, and extended by force: it has yielded in many parts to the manners and customs of the people on whom it has been imposed. The Moors, for example, are circumcised; but they have no fixed time for that ceremony, and they never perform it till after the age of thirteen years. The girls of these people are exempted from it, though there are some who make this operation by inflicting a slight wound. In the desert they have no mosques, but they meet in the open air: for the duty which they most scrupulously observe, is that of prayer, of which there are several repetitions in a day, and the first of which begins before sun-rise.

The talbe, or priest, is remarkable for his long beard; and is dressed in a piece of woollen cloth, half white and half crimson, which floats loosely about his body. His figure is emaciated by fasting and the continual wearing a kind of chaplet of an enormous size; and his voice is melancholy and lamentable. He begins his office by ordering the people to come and range themselves under his banner, to hear and sing the praises of the prophet; they all run towards him with the most holy respect. The talbe first inclines himself towards the earth, scatters with his hands that on which his feet have rested, and then taking a handful of that which has not been sullied by his steps, he, for want of water, rubs it over his face, hands, and arms, in order to purify himself, in which action the people all imitate him.

After the prayers they remain for some time squat on the ground, trace with the fingers different figures on the sand, and move their hands round their heads, as if they were anointing themselves with a holy unction. In their prayers the Moors preserve the most profound respect: the women, who only



assist at those of the morning and at ten in the evening, place themselves at the entrance of their tents, and remain with their faces turned towards the rising sun. It does not appear that these people know the obligation of pilgrimages to Mecca; but they observe with the utmost scrupulousness the rhamadan, or lent.

The talbe is both the priest and schoolmaster: his scholars assemble every evening before the tent, and by the light of a large fire he teaches them some sentences of the koran, and initiates them in the principles of their religion. His greatest anxiety, however, seems to be to inspire them with an insurmountable aversion from strangers, and extreme horror at the name of a Christian. These principles, when once imbibed, are never effaced from their minds, and throughout the whole of their life they think the murder of an European no greater crime than that of a dog. The scholars write their lessons on small tablets, as paper is too scarce for common use. While they are at their daily occupations, the boys carry these tablets at their backs; and when they have learnt to read and write, and have acquired a few prayers by heart, they are considered sufficiently informed, and above the rank of children: they then look with contempt upon the unlettered Negroes, and even upon their own countrymen who have not made such progress in science as themselves.

All the Moors of the desert acknowledge the supremacy of the King of Morocco, but they pay him no tribute, and live in the greatest independence. Some of these people have abandoned the deserts, and taken up their residence in the towns, where they employ themselves in commerce, and carry on different trades; but they are looked upon by the others with contempt, and as having degenerated from the nobleness of their ancestors: others have established spots in the *oases*, or fields, where they devote themselves to agriculture; and even these are stigmatised as degenerate, and unworthy of the name of Arabs.

The real Arabs, indeed, are those who encamp in the desert, who live in complete liberty, and only acknowledge as their superiors the chiefs of their tribes. Those likewise are real Arabs, who live habitually in a state of war, who kill for the sake of robbing their victims, and who steal whatever comes in their way; so that the epithets of Arab and thief are synonymous.

There is in the desert and on the banks of the Senegal a race named *Azounas*, to whom the name of Arab properly belongs: they are neither herdsmen, merchants, nor cultivators; but are vagrants, thieves by profession, and consequently Moors or Arabs by acknowledged title. Their trade, which renders them dreaded by and odious to all their neighbours, keeps them in



continual alarm at being surprised and punished by those whom they have plundered; they are therefore always on the alert, and continually changing their encampments; in consequence of which they have their tents more convenient and portable, while themselves are lightly armed and clothed, in order that they may carry off booty with greater swiftness. It is, however, the Negroes only whom they plunder; for an instance seldom occurs of other Moors being the objects of their outrage. They make frequent excursions on the other side of the river, and carry off whatever they find, whether men, women, cattle, provisions, or poultry, so that they are the greatest plague with which the Negroes are afflicted.

The Moors in general like long journies. I have observed that those of the desert do not go to Mecca; but the reason is, that this pilgrimage would be too long and unprofitable: they, however, frequently go to Galam and the more eastern kingdoms; or, in fact, to every part where they expect to find an advantageous change.

All the people of the interior want salt; the Moors therefore bring it them, as well as the linen and iron-work which they receive from the Europeans, and they get in exchange gold, elephants' teeth, civet, and slaves. They set off in parties, like a caravan, and on their way they use the privilege which they have assumed of appropriating to themselves whatever they can find, whether belonging to their enemies or friends; who, however, cease to be the latter, if they possess what suits the purpose of the banditti. Their journey has, therefore, a double object, and they seldom fail to attain it.

On returning from the interior they generally divide, and some of them go home, while others repair to the banks of the Senegal, and several go even to Fez and Morocco. To these last-mentioned places they convey their gold, elephants' teeth, and slaves in particular, as, from a religious principle, they are forbidden to sell the children of Mahomet to infidels. This precept, however, is not always scrupulously observed: the tribe of Azounas in particular despise it, and sell to us at Isle St. Louis a considerable number of slaves.

There is certainly a communication between the Senegal and Morocco. I knew several Moors who had performed this journey, and one of whom who came to reside at Isle at St. Louis, more than once offered to conduct to Morocco any white person with whom I might entrust him, and bring him back by the same route. This project would have been carried into execution, had my affairs allowed me to reside longer on the island. I know that these journies are difficult; but I think that their dangers are exaggerated. It is possible to open routes in









*The Moors gathering Gums.*



*Conveying the Gums to Senegal.*



Africa, even through the desert, to travel over the interior, and to procure all the information that may be required relative to this interesting part of the globe.

It is in this same desert, between the banks of the Senegal and the Isle of Arguin, that there are to the northward, three forests of that species of tree which produces the gum, and which on that account is called the gum-tree. They are all situated at nearly an equal distance from the river, and which is supposed to be about forty leagues: the forests are ten leagues distant from each other. The first is called *Sahel*; the second, which is the largest, *Lebiar*; and the third is known by the name of *Alfatack*. Several small clusters of gum-trees, independent of these forests, are to be found at many other points of the Senegal.

The tree which produces the gum is a small species of *Acacia*: it is thorny, branched, and loaded with leaves, which are rough, always green, very narrow, and of a middling length: its flowers are white, and have but five petals, which form a calix, filled with stamina of the same colour, surrounding a pistillum which, changes into a cod or husk from three to four inches long: this at the beginning is round and green; but at its maturity acquires the colour of a dead leaf. It is filled with small, round, hard, and blackish seeds, which serve for the reproduction of the tree.

The gum is nothing else than the superabundant parts of the sap of this tree, which sap being too small in quantity, and drawn rapidly up by the heat of the sun, swells the fibres of the tree, bursts the imperceptible coats which surround it, and make a passage through the pores of the bark. This never happens when the tree only has the necessary quantity of sap for its preservation and growth; and then, if gum be wished for, it is necessary to use violence, and gain it from the nutriment of the tree by means of incision. This practice affords some produce, but cannot be executed without the loss of a large portion of the gum that escapes through these incisions, which the sap always endeavours to heal.

Two gum harvests are made every year: the first, which is the most abundant, takes place in December: the knobs are then larger, cleaner, and drier. This harvest is the best, because the rains, which have just ceased, have moistened the earth, which has, in consequence, afforded a more abundant sap to the trees; and this the heat of the sun has had time to consolidate, though without drying it. The second harvest is made in March; but this affords less, and the produce is of an inferior quality, because the heat is then too violent, and it is necessary to make incisions before the gum can be obtained.

Before the Senegal gum was known, that from Arabia fur-



nished the whole consumption of Europe; but since this discovery the former has superseded the latter, and the Arabian gum is no longer to be seen: the little, however, which does come to us is derived from the Levant by the Provençals. They are in the habit of boasting of its properties as far beyond those of the Senegal gum; but several experiments have proved, that one is as good as the other, and may be employed for the same purposes. Besides the usual application of it in manufactures and medicine, we have a way of depriving it of its natural faintness; and, in several towns in France, they make it into excellent preserves. The Moors and Negroes are very fond of eating it in its crude state.

The regular consumption of this gum in Europe is estimated at 1000 tons of 2000 lbs. each. The India Company formerly imported, every year, 1200 Moorish quintals (the quintal is reckoned equal to 900 lbs. French.) At present our trade is about 1,500,000 lbs.; and we might extend it to 2,000,000, without the concurrence of the English at Portendick.

The price of gum is always regulated by the number of pieces of Guinea which it costs at first hand, and this price varies every year in consequence of the difference in the harvests, but chiefly from a combination amongst the purchasers. This combination was, a year or two since, carried to such an extent, that the ship-owners lost fifty per cent. by the expedition. In my time, 1785 and 1786, the price of the quantar, which weighed 2400 lbs. was fixed at ten pieces of Guinea: it has since been raised to fifty, and even sixty pieces; it will, probably, soon get above an hundred: in short, the Moors will ruin the French, if government do not interfere, and check the effects of their combination. According to the relative value of merchandize, the gum, in time of peace, ought to cost, on the spot, from fifteen to twenty sous per pound, and be worth in France from forty to forty-five sous.

Three races or tribes of Moors, each of whom have their chief, frequent the desert which borders on the Senegal, collect the gum, and carry on the trade exclusively. The first is called *Trarzas*, and occupies all the country comprised between Arguin, St. John's river, and the Senegal. This country extends from the shores of the sea to forty leagues in-land; and the chief of the tribe is a descendant of Alikandora, whose name is celebrated in the festivals of the country: his name is Alikouri. The state is hereditary; and the eldest son of the king succeeds the father. In default of children, the crown descends to the nearest relation of the reigning family.

Alikouri being almost always encamped near Portendick, causes the gum which is collected by his tribe, to be conveyed



either, and only sends to Isle St. Louis what he cannot find room for at Portendick. Our government pays him annually a duty of 11,347 francs; and he likewise receives considerable fees from our merchant ships.

The second tribe is known by the name of Marabous of Armancour. The chief of this race is named Chems, and is also named *Aulad-el-Hagi*: these collect the gum from the forests of Lebiar, and bring it to the French in the Senegal, at about forty leagues only from Isle St. Louis. It does not appear that government pays any duty to the Marabous of Armancour, though they get much by trading with us, and the merchant vessels pay them nearly the same fees as to king Alikouri. All the members of this tribe are Marabous, that is, doctors or preachers of the law of Mahomet: they are hypocritical and superstitious; but they have good memories, are artful in their commercial dealings, and reason well on the course of the stars, which they are in the habit of observing.

The Bracknazians are the third tribe of Moors: they have a king named Hamet Mocktar, whose dignity is hereditary. They collect their gum from the forest of Alfatack, and sell it to the French near Podor.

This kind of fair or market is held in the open air: it begins in April, and ends in June or early in July; the rains then set in, and give the signal for retreat. They do not weigh the gum, but serve it in a cubic measure called *quantar*, which should be of a size that was long ago agreed on between the Moors and the French, but which the latter have taken care to augment, as often as they have found an opportunity. The measure is fixed on deck; it has a sliding bottom, which lets the contents fall into the hold as soon as the measure is full. At first it contained about 220 lbs. of eight ounces to the pound; but its size has so much increased, that at the time of my residence in the Senegal it held 2400 such pounds: I believe it has not been thought prudent to increase the size of the measure beyond this point. The Moors, however, are too cunning to be imposed on by such a gross artifice; and have therefore increased the price in the proportion already mentioned, which is about equal to the frauds practised in the measure.

During my stay at Isle St. Louis, I entered into some treaties with these tribes relative to the gum trade; and in April 1785, I went to the fort of Podor, where the trade was going on. I there found king Hamet Mocktar, his brother, the queen, their daughter, and suite. The Moors received me kindly, and I passed the day with them. The next day the king, his brother, the queen, and the daughter, made me ask them to dinner: they came betimes; and it is a fact, that during the two months



while I remained in the environs of Podor, this family constantly *honoured* me with their company.

I received them with distinction, and under discharge of cannon. We dined under a tent, which I had caused to be erected upon deck. Hamet Mocktar was a fine figure, large, and well made; he was covered with a scarlet cloak, embroidered with yellow tinsel; his hat was laced in the same manner, and he wore green half-boots. After the first compliments, he began to put himself at his ease by taking off his clothes; and he, as well as the rest of his people, remained only in their shirts. His brother had no mark of distinction, but was dressed like the other Moors. The queen, who appeared to be about thirty-five years old, was of an ordinary size, but so prodigiously fat, that she could not walk without the support of two men, who never quitted her. The daughter was about sixteen or seventeen years old, and had a pleasant physiognomy: her figure was perfectly handsome. Both mother and daughter were dressed according to the custom of the country, but they were covered with gold and corals.

The dinner was very convivial, and the guests conducted themselves with the utmost decency and discretion, not the smallest excess or disturbance taking place. During the whole time of dinner we were regaled by music of the king's band.

In the evening the guests retired within the fort; and every succeeding morning they not only returned the visit, but remained with me the whole day. We often went to walk on the banks of the river, and the king's daughter was always of the party. She taught me a few Arabic words, and I in return instructed her in French; in which she made such progress, that before we separated, she could express her wishes, and ask for whatever she wanted. The king and queen testified no uneasiness at the familiarities that passed between us.

One day this young princess conceived she had a complaint against one of my clerks, named Bourdonnois, she having taken offence at a proposition which she did not rightly understand. She appealed to me, and relieved her mind by shedding tears. The king coming in unexpectedly, and observing the state of his daughter, flew into a dreadful rage. I ordered the clerk to be brought forward, and without wishing to hear what he had to say, gave orders, that he should be embarked, and sent to Isle St. Louis: I was immediately obeyed. As he was going away, the king and his daughter relented, and intreated me to pardon him. I pretended that I would not excuse him; but they pressed me to forgive him, and finding that I still refused, the princess fell at my feet. I raised her immediately, and granted her request. As soon as she was sure that the man would be libe-





*Durand entertaining King Hamlet & Family.*



This belongs to Lewis  
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rated, her face was overspread with smiles, and I recognised by this trait the goodness of her heart. The king himself went to fetch back Bourdonnois; he brought him before me, and the pretended injury was forgotten. On this occasion my conduct was politic, and was attended with success. I suddenly terminated a discussion which might have become serious, if I had seemed to doubt of the offence, or hesitated to repair it.

I have mentioned this anecdote by way of opposition to the naturally obdurate, barbarous, and cruel character of the Moors in general. It is a light upon the dark picture which I have already given of their savage manners; and it affords a proof, that our connections with these people render them more communicative, sensible, and humane.

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## CHAP. XV.

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ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY BY LAND FROM ISLE ST. LOUIS, ALONG THE SENEGAL, TO GALAM, IN WHICH ARE GIVEN THE PARTICULARS OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, INHABITANTS, AND PRODUCTS ON THE ROUTE.—OF THE KINGDOMS OF CAHOR, JOLOF, BARRA OR MANDING, BAMBOUK, JOULY, MERINA, BONDOU, &c. &c.

ON setting off for Isle St. Louis, I promised that I would penetrate into the interior of Africa, and decide our doubts as to the state of that part of the world. The same project had excited the attention of the English; and I must declare that I was eager to imitate, or even to anticipate, them in such an undertaking. Nevertheless I did not wish to venture upon one of those journies which, transporting a single man, without any fixed object, amidst savage hordes, exposes him to all sorts of privations and risques, without affording him proper means of information: but, on the other hand, I was well aware that those dangers, which often occur, are provoked by imprudence, or exaggerated by misfortune and a wish to excite interest.

It was, however, my wish to visit an unknown soil, but which I thought less liable to difficulty and labour; and I resolved to execute what had, till then, appeared impracticable—a journey by land from Isle St. Louis to Galam. My intention was, should I succeed, to travel afterwards over land to Morocco and Tunis\*.

My choice of this journey for a trial likewise had another motive. I wished to know if the inconveniencies of the route which I was about to trace through the interior of the country,

\* The author, doubtless, meant that he would cause these journies to be executed; for it does not appear that he had any intention of performing them himself.—Ed,



would not be much less than those of the voyage hitherto performed along the coast of the Senegal, to arrive at fort St. Joseph, the most distant of our factories.

This attempt met with the most complete success. I shall proceed to give an account of it, in which it will be seen that the Negroes, though avaricious and needy, received my traveller with affection of the most hospitable and generous kind; that they appeared with all their natural good qualities, and the simplicity of the early ages; and that they every where professed a desire to gain information with all the efforts of a rude people approaching towards civilization; while they eagerly expressed their wish, that we would establish ourselves amongst them.

I must first make known what means were in my power for executing my project, and what measures I thought would insure it success. I had no compass in my possession, and was therefore obliged to regulate the journey by the course of the stars, and the indications of the natives.

I could not hope for any great accuracy in the observations which might be made during the journey; but I imposed an obligation on the person, whom I employed to perform it, to mark the number of days' march by the rising and setting of the sun, so as to point out, as nearly as possible, the hour of his arrival at, and departure from, each station. I also pressed him to note in his journal, the changes he might experience in the soil, the hills, mountains, forests, trees, lakes, rivulets, animals, and kinds of cultivation. He was likewise to observe the different tribes which he might meet with in his route, and to give an account of their manners, customs, religion, language, and the reception which he met with amongst them. My ulterior object was, that, after making all these remarks on the country, he should prepare the people for a general intercourse with the French, discover the exact situation of their gold mines, and continue his route as far as the isthmus of Suez, after which he might return to France from some of the ports in the Mediterranean.

I have to regret, that the noble enterprize which I had planned, though equal to my expectations, was far from affording the results which might have been expected; as, since my departure, it has never been followed up, and because the principal agent in it became the victim of an unpardonable negligence.

M. Rubault, the person employed under my orders in this expedition, left Isle St. Louis on the 11th January, 1786, in company with a Marabou Moor, named Sidy Carachi: this Moor, from his quality as priest and doctor of laws, enjoyed, like all his cast, the greatest veneration from all the hordes in Africa. I gave Rubault two domestic Negroes, three camels to carry the baggage and convey the travellers, and ordered him



such a supply of provisions, merchandize, and arms, as I conceived adequate to the undertaking. The party set off from Gandiollé, whither I accompanied them, on the 13th, at break of day. After a march of seven hours, over a flat soil covered with palm-trees, they arrived at a village called Camessou, the master of whom received them with great kindness, and gave them a preparation of flour and milk.

Each village, in this part of Africa, has a chief known by the title of master. In some parts of the country the name does not correspond with that of master; but the prerogatives and attributes of the chief are the same. He receives a tribute from all the inhabitants for his expenses, and is charged with executing the orders of the king in whatever relates to the police or general justice, except that recourse is had to the sovereign in cases of condemnation to death or slavery. This establishment is nearly the same as the feudality which is said to have prevailed in the earliest times of the creation. The master is the lord of the village.

On setting out after his repast, at three in the afternoon, Rubault arrived by seven at another village, named Bety, where he passed the night: this he left at ten next morning, and at seven in the evening came to a third village, called Meriné-Giob.

The inhabitants of this village were celebrating the Gammon, which is an annual festival in honour of the birth of Mahomet; it lasts three days. Here Rubault was well treated, and proceeded onwards the next morning at six o'clock. The country over which he travelled this day was covered with little hamlets. Amongst the trees he observed a white tamarind, or ape's bread-tree, of so extraordinary a size that he stopped to measure it, and found it to be eighty-four feet in circumference. He next reached Gure, a village governed by a prince of the royal family; and afterwards that of Hyam-Hyren, where he arrived at noon, and stopped for three hours till the intense heat had subsided. The chief here refreshed him, and had him taken to a couch, where he ordered one of his women to stand and fan him.

On the 16th, after passing through several small Negro villages, he arrived at that of Meriné, where the inhabitants received him with acclamations, which testified their great pleasure. The master and the principal inhabitants came in bodies to salute him, and kept off their people, who pressed on him through curiosity. At the same time a prince named Yousoufat, the governor of a neighbouring village, having heard of the arrival of a white man, came with a numerous suite of cavalry, and offered his services. This prince urged him to stop a few days in his village, which he declined, but was obliged to promise that he would accept the offer on his return. On the 17th,



when he was about to leave the village of Meriné, the master came with great ceremony to wish him a good journey: he prostrated himself at his feet, kissed his hands, and refused to accept of any present whatever.

He next reached the village of Beteldiabi, where the people came out and danced before him to the sounds of the instruments of their country, which are the rude kind of drum already described, and one which resembles our mandolines. It is remarkable, that the Negroes of the Senegal can never accustom themselves to European drums, with which they have been acquainted for a length of time.

The village of Beteldiabi is the last in this direction which belongs to the kingdom of Cayor. Rubault left it at three in the afternoon, and travelled the rest of the day, and a great part of the night, through a forest which is near this place. He saw in it a great number of tigers, lions, wolves, and other ferocious animals, which came very near to his party at different times, and whose roarings were dreadful. This forest was composed of palm, tamarind, gum, and other large trees, of which Rubault did not know the species.

The kingdom is a dismemberment of the Yolofo. The extent of the latter was so great, that its king, Burba-Yolof, not being able to govern it himself, was obliged to divide it into several provinces, and entrust them to lieutenant-generals. The one who governed the country now called the kingdom of Cayor, soon revolted, and caused himself to be declared king of the country in which he was stationed. Some others followed his example; and thus were composed the states of Brack and Siratick, which formed parts of the above-mentioned empire, but which are now independent kingdoms. At length the legitimate sovereign had only the smallest part of his territories left him, and this was the worst and the most distant from commercial intercourse. Notwithstanding this almost general defection, Burba-Yolof always maintained his pretensions to the countries which he had lost. He found a favourable opportunity for attacking the kingdom of Cayor, and hastened to turn it to advantage.

The people, irritated at the tyranny of Damel, were disgusted with his government, and wished to shake off the yoke. Burba-Yolof fomented this dissension, and speedily raising an army, attacked Damel, who was killed in the first battle, and his forces were defeated and dispersed. On this occasion Burba-Yolof gave many proofs of valour, but he wanted prudence. He entered, it is true, on an usurped domain; but the people wished him to make his conquest legitimate by a new election, which could not fail to be in his favour. Far, however, from adopting



this simple formality, he treated those proud people like revolted subjects; on which the great men withdrew to Tin, king of Baol, and intreated his protection against their sovereign, whom they now stigmatized as an usurper. Latir-Fat-Soucabé, king of Baol, entered immediately into the views of the refugees, and fearing that he would himself be driven from his territories, if he gave Burba-Yolof time to strengthen himself in Cayor, he raised a body of troops, whose number was rapidly augmented by the discontented hordes who quitted the kingdom of Cayor. He then conducted them with so much skill and courage, that he beat Burba-Yolof in several skirmishes, and killed him in a general engagement; on which such of his army as were not cut in pieces took flight, so that, in a short time, the kingdom of Cayor had neither enemies to fear, nor a sovereign to govern it.

Hitherto king Tin had only acted as an auxiliary: he had played the part of a man who, seeing his neighbour's house on fire, runs and uses all his efforts to extinguish the flames in order that he may preserve his own. He had only taken part in this quarrel to maintain an equilibrium amongst his neighbours, and to prevent the most powerful from overrunning the others; but now finding himself at the head of a numerous army, he wished to possess himself of the kingdom of Cayor, and to keep it by covering his usurpation with the veil of a legitimate election. With this view he convoked all the notables of the kingdom, and, on the appointed day, the people repaired to a vast plain, on which the army of Tin was encamped. He addressed them on the necessity of having a king who would govern them with equity, and protect them from invasion; declared that he knew no person better qualified for such duties than himself; and without waiting for their opinions, he added, that whoever did not immediately approve of his proposition he should consider as his capital enemy. He even went farther, and pronounced the *Desoulé Sabai*, which is the most terrible oath in use amongst the Negroes: it is a violent imprecation; and he thundered it as a solemn defiance against whoever might oppose his election.

All the electors acutely felt this injury, which was the greatest that could be done to them. The Negroes never pardon it, and nothing can efface it but the poniard: they were, however, in the midst of a conquering army, which would have cut them in pieces if they had presumed to oppose the wishes of its chief; they therefore looked at one another for some time in melancholy silence, and seeing that they had no alternative, they acknowledged him as king, to the prejudice of the heirs of the sovereign whom he had killed, and whom they already began to regret.

As soon as he was proclaimed king he distributed honorary ti-



ties to some of the electors, promised rewards to others, and assumed the functions of royalty without waiting to be bathed in a spring consecrated to the coronation of the kings of Cayor. He took the name of Damel, and abandoned that of Tin; he then received the homage of the great people, who took the oath of fidelity, and appointed two lieutenant-generals to govern the kingdoms of Cayor and Baol.

At length his usurpation being evident, and his cruelties having rendered him odious to the whole state, he began to fear that the principal people might raise the rest against him; to prevent which he cut off the heads of those whom he suspected, and sought to gain the affection of his subjects by opposing the demands which the notables had upon their vassals, and which they had a right to receive. This measure ruined them, and obliged them to retire to the neighbouring states. But the people, though relieved from the tribute, were neither richer nor happier; as Damel soon appropriated to himself what the great men used to receive. He made himself rich at the expense of all, and by ruining them all without distinction, he deprived them of the means of rebellion.

By such conduct this prince maintained himself upon the throne of Damel until his death. The two states of Cayor and Baol, which he had united to his dominion, were afterwards divided, but they remained with his family: that of Burba-Yolof has never been able to recover its rights, and appears to have renounced them.

The descendants of Latir-Fat-Soucabé still reign at Cayor and Baol. This family, elevated by crime, has gradually acquired wisdom and moderation. It has had much influence on our commercial and political operations, which it still preserves, and nothing indicates that it will lose its present power and consideration.

I have already touched on the subject of this revolution; but I have now added some circumstances that were omitted, and which I think relate essentially to the history of the country.

On the 18th January, after travelling part of the night, Rubault arrived at four in the morning at Lequekié, the first village in the kingdom of Yolof, which he left on the 19th; and, after passing two or three others, he was met, on the 20th, by an envoy from the king of Yolof, who came to congratulate him, and escort him to the village in which the king resided: it is called Hicarkor, and our traveller was conducted to a large square in front of the king's hut. Immediately the sovereign approached, followed by his whole court, and having on his left a great number of those buffoons whom the Negroes call griottes: there are both men and women who devote themselves to this



profession, for which they are reckoned infamous, and deprived of burial. Their actions are highly gross and indecent: there is a party of them for each village; and as they have a right to insult and injure those against whom they have a complaint, they are very well treated during their life, and even enjoy a sort of respect; but at their death the people avenge themselves by offering the greatest insults to their remains, and generally suspend their bodies on a tree. At Senegal, however, where the people are more civilized and humane, they are interred like the rest.

Those who accompanied the king of Yolof sung songs in praise of his goodness, and celebrated the arrival of a white man. One of them carried a mat for the king to seat himself on the instant he might wish to rest. On coming up to Rubault, the king received him with open arms, and taking him affectionately by the hand, held it a long time; he then caused a mat to be spread, and placing himself upon it, made the stranger sit on his right-hand. Then, after a silence of some time, he asked him what had brought a white man into his states, where one had never arrived before? Rubault explained that he had been sent to Galam by M. Durand, and was ordered to salute his Yolof majesty, and to express the desire of the French government to form an establishment in his kingdom. This answer pleased the king, who immediately ordered a hut to be prepared for him, to which he was conducted to repose. About noon, a prince belonging to the royal family came with great ceremony, to invite him to dinner at the hut of the king; on reaching which he observed a young Negress washing the sovereign's feet; she left off as soon as the stranger appeared, and the king then taking him into another apartment, they sat down together on the same mat. They parted with great ceremony, and the next day the king expressed the high satisfaction he felt at the proposition of M. Durand; and assured Rubault that he would do every thing in his power to favour the French. He then requested the envoy to accept an axe, and pressed him to remain some days longer in the village, in order that his subjects might see him, and consign the fact to their history, that, during his reign, they had had the happiness to know that a white man had arrived in their country.

On the 23d, the king had a long conversation with Rubault, with the aid of two interpreters, and informed him, that an escort would be ready on the 25th to accompany him to Galam. After the conference, the ladies of the court, with their attendants, came to visit him; they approached very near to him, seeming to examine him with great curiosity, and described their sensations to each other in a very low voice. They all seemed satisfied with the sight, and expressing their wishes for his health and happi-



ness, retired; amongst the number were four of the king's wives.

On the 25th, at two in the afternoon, M. Rubault was ready for his departure; when he received a most affectionate and pompous farewell from the royal family, the king declaring that he would himself write a letter to M. Durand. He then accompanied him to the spot where his camels were waiting, and taking him kindly by the hand, said, "I pray the Lord to preserve thee on thy journey."

The king gave Rubault three men to accompany him to Galam; and on leaving the village of Hicarkor, they travelled over a large plain planted with gum-trees, of which the Negroes appeared to know neither the use nor value. On quitting this plain on the 27th, he was informed, that for the next four days' journey, he would meet with no habitation, but would have to pass through a vast and difficult forest, all the trees of which were of a thorny nature, and very close together. Arrangements were in consequence made: they reached the wood at noon, and travelled in the midst for the remainder of the day and part of the night. They then waited for the return of the sun, and reposed, together with their camels, in a space surrounded by a large fire. They heard, and occasionally saw several lions; but these animals made off on hearing the slightest noise. M. Rubault travelled through this large forest from the 28th to the 31st; and he asserts, that half of it is filled with gum-trees.

At five in the evening he left the kingdom of Yolof, and entered that of Barra. I have observed that the king promised to write me a letter, and send it by three of his subjects: this expedition shortly afterwards took place. I received the three Negroes with much distinction, and kept them a fortnight at Isle St. Louis; after which I sent them home with a proper answer, and presents for the king and his family.

The letter of King Babakoury expressed the delight he experienced at the sight of a white man, and the superior happiness he should derive from my acquaintance. It concluded with inviting me to come and see him. In my answer I regretted that I could not have that pleasure, in consequence of being obliged to return to France, but that I expected soon to come back again, and should take the first opportunity of paying him a visit.

From the dismemberment of the kingdom of Yolof, have not only been formed several powerful kingdoms, particularly those of Cayor, Walos, and Foules, which reach along the Senegal, from Galam to its mouth, but they cut off all communication between the Yolofo and that river. Hence these people being confined in the interior, have lost much of their power and commercial influence; but even as it now is, the Yolof king-



dom, on account of its great fertility, presents striking advantages.

Rubault, after five hours journey through a wood, arrived at ten at night at the first village in the kingdom of Barra or Manding. All the inhabitants were asleep; and the arrival of this little caravan amongst them threw them into such alarm that they took up arms; they were, however, soon appeased by the people of the King of Yolof; and the master of the village conducted Rubault to a hut, served him with supper, and presented him with a goat.

On the 1st of February he left this village, which was called Passe, at two in the afternoon. He travelled over a vast plain, which was well cultivated, and planted with fine trees. It is inhabited by laborious and more civilized Negroes than the generality of that race. The houses were well built, and cleanliness seemed as general amongst them as with the whites. These people are observers of the laws of Mahomet, have public schools, and almost all of them can read and write. The children go to school in the middle of the night, or a few hours before break of day. The men in this part drink neither wine nor brandy; they all keep the rhamadan with strictness, and have a great partiality for agriculture. They live under a sort of republic, which is wisely administered by a council of elders; they are faithful, good-natured, and humane; mutually assist each other, and take slaves from the other hordes, but never make them amongst themselves. When their fellow-citizens have been guilty of crimes, they are condemned to slavery and sold; but it is the law which pronounces the punishment.

With respect to their women, they are less rigorous than Mahomet; as they think, that if the prophet could place in paradise his camel, cat, and many other animals, they may also expect their women to enter it. To give them hopes of this event, they cause them to undergo circumcision; and in order that their natural modesty may not be hurt, the operation is performed by women. They teach the females to expect beatitude, but only on condition that they are chaste, faithful, and obedient to their husbands.

In this plain, which is covered with trees, Rubault observed several of the wild fig kind, which had grown to the vast girth of upwards of thirty feet. The trunk, after reaching the height of thirty-five or forty feet, divides itself into several large branches, which produce an infinity of smaller ones, that are loaded with fruit and leaves; the latter resemble those of the walnut-tree are of a light green, and grow so thick that they form an impenetrable obstacle to the sun. The fruit of this tree is of the shape and size of pigeons' eggs; it has a faint taste,



and is filled with maggots. Animals feed on it; but the Negroes do not use it. The timber is not fit to burn, is difficult to saw in planks, and is used by the Negroes for bowls, platters, &c. The Negroes repose and receive visits under its shade.

There are found in this part of the country all the animals peculiar to Africa, as well as an abundance of elephants, lions, tigers, wild hogs, gazelles, civets, tiger-cats, and ounces. The gazelles partake of the camel, the goat, the deer, and the hare; their hair is like that of the camel; and, as well as that animal, they have a black circle above the eyes; their body is like that of the hind; their bleat imitates that of the goats; and their legs, like those of the hare, are shorter before than behind. They ascend with rapidity, but they lose much in coming down a hill, and when the declivity is steep they often roll down instead of running. In a flat country they are at their ease, and go well, extending themselves to such a degree that their bellies almost touch the ground; they prick their ears at the least noise. Their horns grow straight till within an inch of the extremity, when they curve inwards, as if nature wished to prevent them from doing any harm. They are extremely gentle, and easy to tame. They pass over Africa alternately, from the northern to the southern part.

The Negroes salt or pickle the flesh of the gazelles; but when thus prepared, it is not very good; though it is extremely delicate when eaten fresh. They have a singular manner of hunting these animals. When the grass is dry, they set it on fire, and place themselves at the passage which the gazelles must take to escape, where they watch for them, and when they appear attack them with arrows, sagayes, and clubs, making prodigious slaughter.

The civet is an animal as large and thick as a tolerably great dog; it has a pointed muzzle; the eyes and ears are small; the whiskers like those of a cat; the skin spotted with white, black, and yellow; while its tail is as thick and long as that of a fox. It is a wild, cruel, and carnivorous animal, whose bite is dangerous. The Negroes take them by snares; and those who buy them keep them in iron cages, and feed them on raw flesh.

This animal is merely an object of curiosity with the Africans, as they do not eat it. The Europeans derive from it an unctuous liquid, similar to an ointment, which collects in the males in a bag placed between the testicles and the penis; and in the females between the pubes and the anus. This bag is about three inches deep, by two and a half wide: it contains a number of little glands filled with odorous matter, which is obtained by compression. The operation is thus performed:—They seize the tail of the animal while confined in the cage, and draw it be-



tween the bars; they then bring the hind legs in the same manner, and hold them tight; they then pass a plank before the animal to prevent him from going forwards; and in this position they introduce into the sac a small iron spoon, with which they lightly scrape the internal emissaries. This motion compresses the glands, and obliges them to evacuate the matter they contain, which is then removed with a spoon.

This process cannot, however, be performed daily; as the animal does not produce a sufficient supply of matter; it therefore takes place every third day, and in certain seasons, once in two days. Each time affords about a drachm and half, or at the utmost two drachms. When the substance is first taken it is white, rather bordering upon grey, but changes imperceptibly to a brown. Its smell at a distance is sweet and agreeable; but when near, is too strong, and affects the head. The perfumers prepare it by mixing with it other drugs, which interrupt the violent volatility of its particles, and thus render the smell not merely supportable, but to many people delightful.

The Dutch breed a number of civets, and send to Paris all the musk which they obtain. They feed the animals on nothing but milk and the yolks of eggs; and it is asserted that this food renders the Dutch musk whiter than which comes from Africa, or the East and West Indies, where they feed them promiscuously and abundantly on different kinds of raw flesh: in other respects, the colour excepted, all musk has the same qualities. It is, however, almost impossible to procure pure musk, as the Jews of Holland and Cairo, and indeed all those who trade in this article, almost always adulterate it. They gain much by this practice, and we lose nothing: in the way we receive it, it is equal to our wants, and even to our luxuries.

A great number of civets might be raised in the European factories in Africa; but it is evident that the rage for musk is past, as our nerves are become so delicate that we can scarcely think of it; it is therefore only used in medicine, in which it is administered for the cholic in children, by applying it to the navel, as well as in certain female complaints; and, however small may be the quantity that we receive, we find it sufficient for our consumption.

The ounces are a species of the leopard, and their skin is extremely beautiful. This animal is very active, runs in a leaping or cantering manner, and darts like lightning upon its prey. It is said, that the Persians used them for hunting gazelles, and the following is the manner in which their chase has been described: they carried the ounces on horseback, either before or behind them; and when they perceived a gazelle, they shewed it to one, and let him loose. The ounce made after it, seized it by the neck,



and strangled it; but if he missed his leap, and the gazelle escaped, he remained in the greatest apparent confusion. The huntsman then caressed him, took him again on horseback, and continued the sport, when the ounce became so eager to retrieve his credit, that the next animal that appeared was sure to be taken.

The Africans do nothing towards taming ounces, but leave them in a pure state of nature, so that they are less docile, amusing, and useful.

This animal is about the size of a greyhound: it has a round head, a wide mouth, and very sharp teeth. There is nothing ferocious in its appearance, but it is naturally savage. It never approaches villages or farms, except at night, and does not attack either men, women, or children; but every thing else suits its purpose. There is nothing good about it but its skin.

The tiger-cat in Africa is merely a degenerate species of the tiger, with which we are acquainted; and though it be smaller and less strong, it possesses all the untameable ferocity peculiar to its prototype.

There is also very common in this country, a curious species of lizard or cameleon; this animal is generally two feet long, from the muzzle to the root of the tail; and the tail itself is not less than three feet in length. It lives on fruit and roots; its skin is covered with little yellow, green, black, and white scales, which appear as if varnished, so bright are the colours. Its large red eyes, which are even with the top of the head, seem to sparkle when you come too near it, or irritate it. When in a state of anger, its bag, which is under its throat, suddenly swells, and the animal becomes agitated and furious. Its bite, without being venomous, is severe; and it never lets go the part which it has seized. If it be not quickly killed, it carries away the part which it has caught, and it is not easy to deprive it of life. Blows do it no harm; but the only part at which it can be mortally wounded is the nostrils, on which it sheds a few drops of blood, opens its mouth, and expires. Its feet have five toes, armed with long, strong, and sharp claws, which serve to climb trees, as well as to attack and defend itself. Its tail is also a weapon of defence with which it does much injury. The Negroes eat these animals, and find the flesh excellent; they hunt them with their ordinary arms, and often take them with a slip-knot when they find them on the branch of a tree.

The vast plain which Rubault now quitted, is partly under the dominion of the King of Bambouk. He arrived at seven o'clock in the evening in the village of Maleme, the ordinary residence of the king. This kingdom, however, which Rubault calls Bam-



bouk, is not that which contains the gold mines, which I shall afterwards speak of.

The prince received him with marked attention, and waited on him at his hut, accompanied by all his court; he told him he was the protector of travellers, and desired him to inform his countrymen, that he wished them often to visit him. The next day, the 2d, he proceeded on his journey, when the king gave him an ox, and Rubault returned the compliment by a piece of Guinea. On that day and the third, he passed through the villages of Caffime, Cambalot, and Caldenne, at which he stopped to procure a supply of provisions. He observed that the inhabitants of this village were all dyers, and that they made a quantity of indigo; their lands were highly cultivated, and were covered in many parts with gum-trees, as well as with the species which produces incense, aloes, and mastic. The Negroes are but little acquainted with the value of these productions; but Rubault considers them if properly collected, as an inexhaustible source of riches.

The incense is a kind of gum. These two substances, though of a different nature, are obtained at the same period, by different processes, from the trees which produce them: the latter also are very much alike. That which gives the incense is very full of branches, which are slender, flexible, and covered with prickles; they have a thin adherent bark, of a grey colour; their leaves are long and narrow, always green, and coupled, though each shoot is terminated by a single leaf. The pedicle is red and tolerably strong. On rubbing them between the hands, they give out an unctuous liquid of a strong and aromatic smell, and rather an acrid taste. A great quantity of these shrubs are found near the gum-trees in the desert, as well as on most spots in this part of Africa. The greatest consumption of incense takes place in our churches; it is also used in medicine. The substance called aloes is also sought for in the isles of the Red Sea, though it may be more readily obtained on the coasts, and in the interior of Western Africa. The Indians make much use of this resin as a powerful cathartic. Mastic is also obtained in great quantities, and the apothecaries employ the pulverised wood of the trees which produce it, in their compositions.

The people of the state of Bambouk are rigid Mahometans, and their government is hereditary and absolute.

On the 5th of February, at four in the morning, after a journey of two hours, Rubault entered the kingdom of Youly, and arrived at noon at the village of Cambia, the whole of which was surrounded with a palisadoe ten feet in height. Here the master gave him a good dinner, and in two hours afterwards, he reached the village of Lamcemo, where he passed the night. The next



day at dawn, as he was about to proceed on his journey, an envoy arrived from the king of Youly, requesting he would visit his majesty at Medine, the place of his residence. Rubault answered that, although he had the greatest desire to see his majesty, circumstances would not permit him, as he was in haste to get to Galam; besides which, he had no merchandize left worthy of the acceptance of so great a personage.

The envoy, who seemed to attach more importance to the present than the visit, answered shortly, that this was an unsatisfactory excuse, as the camels which he saw were loaded with property. It was in vain that our traveller assured him of his mistake, and he insisted on inspecting our baggage. Being then convinced, he said, that his master had been imposed upon by false reports, and he would set him right. He then suffered the party to proceed, and accepted the blade of a sabre.

The kingdom of Youly is very mountainous, and the hills are covered with fine trees. The villages are situated in the vallies, and the soil is very fertile. The inhabitants cultivate great quantities of grain, indigo, tobacco, and cotton.

The town of Medine, which is the capital of the kingdom, is of a considerable size, and contains about a thousand houses. Its fortifications are the same as those of the other towns in Africa. These people, like all the rest, are superstitious; and though most of them are pagans, they place implicit confidence in the grisgris or amulets of the Mahometans: the reason is, that they consider the art of writing as magic; and therefore place more faith in the talent of a magician, than in the sentences of the prophet.

Mungo Park observed at Kolor, an institution which is worthy of being known, particularly because Rubault speaks of it in more succinct terms. They both saw suspended to a tree a kind of masked habit, which they were told belonged to Monbo-Jombo, a name which they give to a magistrate peculiar to themselves, and whose office is very singular. It is formed for the purpose of frightening the women, and is established in almost all the Mandingo towns. When a husband thinks he has reason to complain of the conduct of his wife, he disguises himself, or dresses one of his friends, in this masked dress; then, armed with a rod, as the sign of his authority, Monbo Jombo announces his arrival by making terrible cries in the wood near the towns: these cries are always heard in the evening or night; and the figure on entering the town repairs to the bentang, or spot, at which all the inhabitants make a point of assembling.

This apparition terrifies all the women; because as the person who acts the part of Monbo Jombo, is totally unknown to them, each of them fears that the visit is made to herself. The ceremony



commences by songs and dancing, which continue till midnight, and then the guilty female is singled out by the mask. Instantly she is seized by the company, stripped naked, tied to a post, and cruelly scourged by the rod of the magistrate, amidst the cries and shouts of all the spectators. It is remarkable, that on these occasions the women most loudly ridicule the unfortunate person who is punished. At break of day the mask makes himself known; and the poor woman, who has almost sunk beneath the stripes, retires confused and dishonoured. Thus terminates this indecent and barbarous farce.

On the 8th of February, after a journey of two hours, Rubault entered the kingdom of Merine. He had set off at five in the morning, and at noon reached the village of Gambia, which belongs to this sovereignty. He was here informed by the master that he would have to travel for two days through the desert of Sinbani, where he would find no habitation; he received refreshments in the village, but was obliged to pass the night in the wood.

The inhabitants of Gambia informed Rubault of a very singular custom which prevails amongst them, as well as the whole kingdom of Merine. These Negroes are travellers; and when one of them is on a journey, his neighbour takes possession of his wife: the woman is obliged to receive him, feed him, comply with his wishes, and take the greatest care of his person. This custom is reciprocally observed, and the Negroes never fail to conform to it: hence, as it is general, it does no harm to any one.

Rubault set off from this village in the morning, continued his journey till ten in the evening, and, as was predicted to him, passed the night in the forest. This forest appeared astonishing to Rubault; he spoke with surprise of the numbers, height, and beauty of the trees, amongst which were all those of the gum kind. He did not feel the want of water; but all his provisions being exhausted, he suffered much from hunger, and was obliged to eat the fruit of a tree called *yonne*: he compared it to potatoes, with this difference, that it was less compact; he observed that it was the ordinary and favourite food of wild hogs, of which animals he met with great numbers, as well as with wolves, apes, tigers, and lions, but received no harm from them, though they approached tolerably near to him. He even saw a lioness and her cubs walking at a very short way from him, while the lion remained at the distance of musket-shot. Besides these animals, which are very common in Africa, the country of Merine contains several others which are found no where except in that state and its environs.

The most remarkable of these is *guiamala*, which is nearly



as high as the elephant, but much less stout: it is a kind of camel; it has a long neck; the same sort of head; and two protuberances, which form a kind of natural saddle on its back; it has also extraordinarily long legs. The horny substance of its foot is black and cleft like that of an ox; it walks fast, and runs well during a great distance. It eats little, and is not delicate, but feeds on thistles, reeds, leaves, and shoots of trees. It is always in a half-starved state; but the Negroes eat its flesh, which they find very good.

The natives have never attempted to tame this animal, or to make use of it for carrying burdens; they do not therefore know whether it is docile, or capable of bearing a load. They do not approach it without difficulty, and never without alarm. Nature has furnished it with seven horns, which are straight, black, strong, and pointed; and in those which are of full age, they are above two feet in length, but when the animal is young, they are not more than six inches: they are then enveloped in a rough kind of hair to within two or three inches of their extremity; but this hair drops off when the horn has attained a certain length. It resides in the woods and on the highest mountains.

There is also in this part of the country a species of white apes, whose colour is as beautiful as that of our finest white rabbits. They have fine red eyes, are of a small stature, and are very gentle and docile when young; but as they grow up, their natural cunning and malignity are developed. They are so delicate, and so much attached to their native country, that they refuse food, and starve themselves to death when taken out of it. The French residents at Galam had several of them; but they were never able to bring any alive to Isle St. Louis. It cannot surely be said that it is the loss of liberty which causes them to pine to death: for they care little about being chained in their own country; and while in this state, they eat and thrive abundantly; but they will not leave the territory. This is a great pity, as they are the most beautiful animals in the world; and setting aside their malice, nothing is more agreeable or diverting.

The weazle of this country is not larger than that of Europe; but it is totally white, and so brilliant is the colour, that it seems to be covered with silver. It is fierce, and naturally untamable: it bites in a strange manner; and when it gets any thing between its teeth, it is easier to kill it, than make it let go its hold. It is long, strong, and slender; and its continual motion gives it such an extraordinary appetite, that it is obliged to be continually in search of food. It preys upon birds, fowls, rats, and serpents; indeed, nothing comes amiss to it; and when it meets with an animal for which it has a liking, consulting less its strength



than its courage, it springs upon the victim, forces in its sharp and long claws, and in the end always overcomes it.

The Negroes continually hunt this animal, though with great precaution, for they have a singular dread of its bite; and to secure themselves against it, they catch the weazle by snares, and kill it before they take it from the trap; they then eat the flesh, and sell the skin to the French at the factory of Galam, or to the English, by the means of caravans which convey the slaves.

The pigeons of this country are large, and in shape like our own; but they have this peculiarity, that their plumage is quite green, there not being a feather of any other colour. At a distance they look like parroquets. They breed fast, and are very good to eat.

The kingdom of Mériné is not very large: Rubault passed through its narrowest part. The people are Mandingos, and possess an active and mercantile spirit. They consist of Mahometans and idolaters, but the latter are most numerous; they, however, live in harmony together, and never suffer religious differences to disturb their peace.

On the 10th of February, Rubault set off early in the morning, and arrived at noon at the village of Talliko, a frontier of the kingdom of Bondou: this is probably the same village which Mungo Park calls Tallika, and by which he also entered the kingdom. The major part of the inhabitants of this village are Foulahs, who profess the Mahometan religion: they are merchants, who enrich themselves either by supplying the caravans which pass through their country with provisions, or by the sale of ivory, which they procure by hunting elephants, to which they are accustomed from their infancy.

By the 14th Rubault had reached the village of Coursan, the ordinary residence of the king of the country, whose name is Almami. It is worthy of remark, that Mr. Park no longer followed the track of my traveller: for he indicates the residence of the king of Bondou to be at the village of Fatteconda, on the right bank of the river Féléme, and at a great distance from Coursan. Both gentlemen saw the king, and have given a description of the palace which he inhabited, which exactly correspond; hence we can only reconcile the difference in the places to arise from the king having palaces at each of them.

His majesty being at a country seat, the stranger was received by his prime minister, who supplied him with provisions, and told him that the king would arrive the next day. On the 14th the queen saw him, and intreated him to stop a little longer, as she had sent an express to her husband, who shortly returned with intelligence that he was coming. An ox was therefore killed; and the king, on arriving, sent for our traveller.



asking him the usual questions, as to what had brought him into his country, he wished to know, if I had not sent him some present? Rubault answered that I intended to do so, but that he had distributed all the merchandise which I had given him. He, however, promised to send the king whatever he might wish for, as soon as he arrived at Galam. His majesty appeared surprised, and replied, that his father used to receive great presents from the factory at Galam; but he had had nothing from them. He concluded by adding that, as Rubault had brought him no present, he would not suffer him to depart. The next day, however, he became more tractable, told him that no harm should happen to him; but insisted on receiving a present, it being an ancient privilege which he would not forego. It was at length agreed, that Rubault should send him a compliment from Galam, which was fixed at two pieces of guinea, a fine musket, four pounds of powder, one hundred flints, one hundred bullets, and a pair of double-barrelled pistols. This demand from so powerful a king was considered as very moderate; nevertheless, by way of making sure of the articles, he ordered three men to go with Rubault as far as Galam, under pretence of escorting him, where they faithfully received the promised allowance, as well as several magnificent presents for the king's women.

The queen having reported her opinion to the other women, they all wished to see the traveller, and he was in consequence conducted to the square where they resided. Immediately on his entrance, they all rushed out, surrounded him, and expressed their astonishment by laughing and shouting. Several of them would touch his eyes, and others, his hands, nose, &c. at which they expressed surprise and curiosity: they then asked him a number of questions, as to the origin of the colour of his skin, as well as about the white women, their amorous propensities, and the conduct of their husbands towards them. Rubault satisfied them as well as he could, and did not fail to flatter them. Indeed, he asserts, that there were many of them that were handsome and well shaped. Most of them were young: he endeavoured to count them, but could not, as they were continually running about him; he, however, supposes, that there were at least fifty.

The village of Coursan is surrounded with palisades, and contains about 1200 inhabitants. Rubault then continued his journey; and on the 17th quitted the kingdom of Bondou. The duties or customs are very rigorous in this state; and in many of its towns, the value of a bar in European merchandise is paid for the passage of a loaded ass. In the part where the king resides, they demand a musket and a barrel of powder. I lately spoke of the preparations for war, which this sovereign was making



against the king of Bambouk: the expedition was successful, and the conquered party was obliged to cede all the countries and villages on the eastern bank of the Félémé.

If it were not for the uncharitable maxims of the Koran, the Foulahs of Bondou, who are naturally good, would be kinder to strangers, and less reserved in their conduct towards the Mandingos: my traveller, however, had nothing to complain of, as he was very well treated.

The government is under the influence of the Mahometan laws, with the exception of the king and his family; but though the great people of the state be Mussulmans, they are wise enough not to sanction religious persecution; and Pagans and Mussulmans consequently live in peace together.

The Foulahs have a particular language; but almost all of them speak Arabic: they are graziers, farmers, and merchants, and every where live in abundance; but at Bondou they enjoy in profusion all the necessaries of life.

## CHAP. XVI.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF SIDI-CARACHI ON HIS RETURN FROM GALAM TO ISLE ST. LOUIS.—FARTHER PARTICULARS OF THE COUNTRY IN THE ENVIRONS OF GALAM.

**S**IDI-CARACHI, the Marabou Moor, who accompanied my traveller to Galam, set off to return to Isle St. Louis on the 29th of March, 1786. As he did not exactly come by the same route which he went, I shall give an extract from his journal, which will shew the distance of the journey by hours, from Isle St. Louis to Galam†.

* From Tombaboukané . . . . .	to Golombo,	6 hours.
* Golombo . . . . .	— Médiné	5 ditto.
Médiné . . . . .	— Kainoura,	7 ditto.
* Kainoura . . . . .	— Gougourou,	5 ditto.
Gougourou . . . . .	— Sambacolo,	5 ditto.
Sambacolo . . . . .	— Buggil,	6 ditto.
** Buggil . . . . .	— Coussan,	5 ditto.
* Coussan . . . . .	— Coudi,	4 ditto.
** Coudi . . . . .	— Granado,	6 ditto.
** Granado . . . . .	— Tellika,	5 ditto.
** Tellika . . . . .	— Gambia,	8 ditto.

† The places marked with an asterisk, were visited by Rubault and Sidi-Carachi, when they travelled together. Two asterisks indicate the place which Mungo Park passed through as well as our travellers.



* From Gambia . . . . .	to Kolor,	6 hours.
** Kolor . . . . .	— Lamén,	8 ditto.
Lamén . . . . .	— Caldenne,	4 ditto.
* Caldenne . . . . .	— Cafime,	6 ditto.
* Cafime . . . . .	— Maleme,	5 ditto.
* Maleme . . . . .	— Passe,	6 ditto.
* Passe, four days travelling in the woods to arrive at Kiamen, eight hours march per day,		32 ditto.
* Kiamen . . . . .	— Caka,	6 ditto.
* Caka . . . . .	— Gury,	5 ditto.
* Gury . . . . .	— Hicarkor,	6 ditto.
* Hicarkor . . . . .	— Douai,	4 ditto.
Douai . . . . .	— Gasama,	6 ditto.
Gasama . . . . .	— Kibi,	5 ditto.
* Kibi . . . . .	— Coqui,	7 ditto.
Coqui . . . . .	— Betel-Diabi,	5 ditto.
* Betel-Diabi . . . . .	— Mériné	6 ditto.
* Mériné . . . . .	— Keaïnderain,	4 ditto.
Keaïnderain . . . . .	— Mériné-Giob,	5 ditto.
* Mériné-Giob . . . . .	— Maricamp,	5 ditto.
Maricamp . . . . .	— Gandiollé	7 ditto.
* Gandiollé . . . . .	— Isle St. Louis,	6 ditto.

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Total 206 hours.

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These 206 hours journey are calculated at the rate of three-fourths of a league per hour, a progress which appears reasonable, and which gives the distance of  $154\frac{1}{2}$  leagues. By the river, it is estimated at not less than 300 leagues; which makes an enormous difference; while it is evident that the abridgment of the journey nearly two months, in consequence of performing it by land, is the least advantage which Europeans will derive from the discovery.

I have said that Sidi-Carachi left Galam on the 29th of March; he arrived at Isle St. Louis on the 22d of April following. He performed his journey homewards without experiencing the least obstacle, and was every where received with the most generous hospitality. He returned upon one of the camels which had gone with the party to Galam. At the village of Sambacolo he was treated with great distinction. The place is remarkable for being inhabited entirely by farmers and hardware-manufacturers: the latter comprise sword-cutlers, smiths, farriers, and copper and gold-smiths, but they have neither forges nor shops. They work outside their houses, under the shade of trees, and convey the whole apparatus of their trades wherever they wish to move to; their working materials, however, consist only of a very small anvil, a goat's-skin which serves them for bellows, a few hammers, a vice, and two or three files.

These workmen are naturally so indolent, that they always sit at their employment, and are incessantly talking and smoking,



They never work alone; for the smallest job requires at least three assistants: one blows the bellows, and uses all sorts of wood for fuel; while the other two sit with the anvil between them; and in this posture they beat the metal carelessly, and with as little strength as if they were afraid of hurting it. Nevertheless, they manufacture articles of gold and silver, which appear by no means common; and if they were less idle and better informed, they would become excellent workmen.

In the articles which they make from iron, they are equally adroit; and the temper which they give to their cutting instruments is perfect. They have iron mines, but they prefer iron from ours, which we convey to them in bars. I have already observed, that these bars are considerably reduced, and serve for money, in the bargains which we make with them. Our iron ought to be nine feet long, two inches wide, and four lines thick: it is divided into fifteen parts, of seven inches and a half in length, which are called flaps, four of which form the bar.

Sidi-Carachi speaks, in his journal, of a tree which is found in these environs, where it is called Sanare: it is about the size of a large pear-tree; and its leaves, which resemble those of the rose, are always green. Its wood and flowers are odoriferous, and the Negroes use them to perfume their huts. They carefully preserve this species of tree, because the bees delight in it, and they sell their wax and honey to the English.

At Kiamen, Sidi-Carachi lodged with a Marabou-Negro, who was the richest and most respectable of the inhabitants. This man enjoyed the highest reputation, on account of his holy character; and people came from very distant parts to make him offerings, and buy his gris-gris. He behaved extremely kind to his brother in Mahomet; and after talking on the object of his journey, he spoke about the desert which our traveller had just passed through. "It is there," said the Marabou Negro, "in a vast place surrounded by trees, that I perform the august ceremony of circumcision."

This ceremony takes place in the following order:—The procession is led by the Guiriots, who beat their drums, and march with a solemn step, without singing: they are followed by the Marabous of all the neighbouring villages, who are dressed in white, and walk in pairs. At some distance onwards, are placed the young Negroes who are to undergo the operation: they wear no breeches, and march one after the other, holding a large sagaye in the left hand: they are accompanied by their relations, who not only witness their profession of faith, but excite their courage to support the pain they are about to suffer, which, though very acute, the patients must not seem to feel.

The principal Marabou, or he from Kiamen, walks after the



candidates, and the procession is closed by a body of armed men. On reaching the spot, the Marabouts place themselves on each side of a plank, which is raised on two benches in the midst of the circle. The candidates and their relatives stand opposite to the platform, at the distance of about fifty feet, in the same order in which they arrived; and the armed men surround the place of sacrifice.

The Marabou operator then turns himself towards the east, says a sala or prayer, which all the assistants repeat with much gravity. This ended, the first candidate, followed by his friends, approaches the plank and bestrides it, taking off the pagne which covers his shoulders and body. The Marabou takes the prepuce, draws it as far as possible over the gland, holds it between his fingers, and quickly separates it with a knife. The Negro then gets from the board, retires laughing, and does not seem to mind the bleeding of the wound. The other candidates submit to the same ceremony, and all remain in sight till it is over.

When the wound has bled for some time, it is repeatedly washed, and this is continued every day with fresh water till it be healed, which generally takes place in ten days or a fortnight. This cure must be performed without any drug; and all the patients, when descending from the plank, are obliged to assume a cheerful aspect, though many of them are so much overcome as to require the help of their friends to conduct them away.

When the wounds are healed the patients make a tour through all the villages, and raise contributions for a public festival.

These people are rigid observers of all the laws of Mahomet; and one of their duties, which they exercise to the utmost extent, is to rob and cheat the Christians as often as possible. They say prayers five times a day, and on Friday, which is their sabbath, seven times. The Mahometans of Senegal only pray three times daily, viz. at the dawn, at noon, and at sun-set: for want of mosques, they meet in the place appropriated for public business, and join in prayer with much devotion and gravity. The ceremony lasts about half an hour each time, and no excuse is admitted for non-attendance. On praying they always turn their faces towards the east; but on the contrary, when they wish to satisfy the wants of nature, they turn towards the west, and crouch down like women.

All Mahometans are obliged to fast once a year for an entire moon, and this fast is called the ramadan. The period at which it takes place, changes annually, in consequence of their year being a lunar one, which makes it ten days shorter than the solar calculations; but the less informed Negroes, fix their fast on the appearance of the September moon, or the autumnal equinox. As soon as it appears, they salute it by offering it their right hand,



This belongs to Lewis's  
Library 3 Chapel Street  
Stockwell





*Negroes Swarming Trees.*



which they previously spit in; they then bow their heads towards it, and walk two or three times in a circular direction.

All the Mahometans have a great veneration for the moon, inasmuch that they never fail to salute it as soon as it rises. They present it their open purses, and pray that it will cause their money to increase, as it grows. They call their months by the name of moons.

Sidi-Carachi stopped at Gasama, a large village situated in a valley, which contains a prodigious number of palm-trees of every kind, and with the wine from which the inhabitants carry on a considerable trade. It is a liquor which runs from the top of the tree by means of an incision, and is of the consistence and colour of skimmed milk; it ferments like champagne: it is sweet when it issues from the tree, but becomes sour in a few days, and speedily changes to vinegar; notwithstanding which the Negroes frequently make it their common drink. This wine is very spirituous, and the intoxication which it produces often gives rise to fatal effects. One branch of these trees will frequently yield, from a single incision, two quarts of wine in twenty-four hours, and continue running for thirty or forty days; after which the Negroes, who interest themselves to preserve the trees, stop up the hole with clay, in order to give the sap another direction. Each branch will bear an incision, with the same result.

One manner of drawing off the wine is, to make a hole at the top of the tree, in which they fix a cane, to conduct the liquor down into their pots. The Negroes do not know why this method is preferable, but they say, that they pursue the means adopted by their forefathers: the reason, however, is obvious; for if the tree were perforated towards the bottom, the sap would run off before it had imparted any nourishment to the tree; and it is likewise ascertained, that the higher the tree, the more sweet and rich is the wine.

The Negroes do not use ladders to ascend these trees, but climb by means of a strong rope of cotton, or of palm leaves twisted together: this rope is long enough to embrace the trunk of the tree and the body of a man, leaving about two feet between them. The Negro encloses the rope by means of a button and loop, and then, by a circular motion, ascends the tree with the greatest confidence, having his arms at liberty to perform any operation.

Besides the wine, the Negroes derive from a certain species of the palm-tree, a kind of oil, which they eat, and use for anointing their bodies; it renders their skin glossy, and their joints supple. This oil has the taste and consistence of butter. The Europeans employ it in their cookery, and find it very good when



when fresh; but if kept for a time, it becomes rank, and loses its colour, taste, and smell. It is said to possess some medicinal virtues, particularly in the gout, the pain of which it relieves.

There are several species of palm-trees, all of which are produced in Africa in great abundance. Those which are found on the banks of the Senegal, afford no fruit; nor did I ever find any dates amongst them, though I made a particular search. Why these trees are barren in the positions just mentioned, I cannot perceive, as they bear fruit in the interior and on the coast of Barbary.

I have now said enough to shew the utility of the journey that I have described. I received through Rubault a letter from Sirlan, prince of Galam, stating that soon after my envoy's arrival, he had procured for the company upwards of 200 slaves, and a quantity of gold and ivory.

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## CHAP. XVII.

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ACCOUNT OF THE SITUATION OF RUBAULT AT GALAM, AT THE TIME OF MY DEPARTURE FROM ISLE ST. LOUIS.—PERIOD OF MY EMBARKATION.—ARRANGEMENTS WHICH I MADE FOR THE SAILING OF A FLEET TO GALAM, AND FAILURE OF ITS OBJECT.—MELANCHOLY END OF RUBAULT.—GENERAL REFLECTIONS ON THE VOYAGE TO GALAM.—REMARKS ON THE KINGDOM OF BAMBOUK AND ITS GOLD MINES.

**I**T was evident that Rubault was treated with the highest respect at Galam; the governor and the inhabitants were all eager to serve him, while the neighbouring princes sought his alliance, and kept up an amicable correspondence with him, to induce him to form establishments in their states; to effect which, negociations were actually opened, that would have answered our most sanguine wishes. The report of the re-establishment of the French factory at Galam was soon spread through the country, and every day produced important changes in our favour; while the routes from the interior were covered with people, who conveyed their slaves and merchandize to Galam. In short, the influx was so great, that Rubault had no merchandize to give in exchange. Nevertheless the Negro merchants or Moors gave credit to Rubault for all their articles at a price agreed on, and which was to be defrayed on the arrival of the fleet.

Rubault had purchased upwards of 1000 slaves of different nations, and had collected a quantity of gold, 800 quintals of ivory, and a number of precious stones and objects of natural history; while the trade, which had already become so important,



would have been considerably augmented during the stay of the fleet, as that was the period of the fair, and the general rendezvous of all the African merchants; in short, he had fully acquitted himself of his mission, as he had procured the company immense benefits, and had disposed the neighbouring princes to receive us on their territory.

Such was the situation of Rubault at Galam, when I left Isle St. Louis on the 21st of July, 1786. I had made arrangements for the sailing of the fleet, which repaired to its destination, but too late, as Rubault no longer existed. He found it impossible to maintain, through nothing but the respect which was shewn to him, the great number of slaves which he had procured, and they became refractory and set themselves at liberty. He had for some time foreseen the fate which would befall him, and was making arrangements to avoid it, by returning over land to Isle St. Louis; but while he hesitated, the others acted. One fatal night, the slaves revolted and pursued him with fury; the house which he inhabited, was a feeble structure, and they easily forced the doors. Rubault jumped out of the window, but was immediately seized and massacred; the house and magazines were pillaged, and all the property disappeared with its collector. This event arose from the discredit which our commerce experienced: for it is not enough with the half-civilized nations in Africa, to pay in merchandise, but there must be a rigorous punctuality in the times of payment. The most afflicting result, however, of this catastrophe, was the abandonment of the discoveries which I had attempted to make in a country still unknown, as the documents which Rubault had collected were destroyed; while in consequence of his unfortunate end, I could find no one who would attempt the journey again. Thus all my hopes were defeated.

During this horrible night, the prince of Galam, and the inhabitants reposed in peace. When they were informed of the insurrection, it was too late to stop its course, which was so rapid, that they had scarcely time to take measures for their own security. The inhabitants were so much afflicted at the event, that they sent a deputation to Isle St. Louis, to express their regret at what had happened; but the evil was without a remedy, and it was agreed to think no more of it.

The great inconvenience of the voyage to Galam is, that then is the only period at which a fleet can sail, as the river cannot be ascended, except after the first rains, which are during the sickly season. The vessels generally leave Isle St. Louis at the end of July, or the beginning of August, when the current of the river has an incredible force, and the wind is almost always contrary, so that it is necessary to tow the ships by ropes over a difficult and uncut



road. Indeed, every circumstance is combined to protract the voyage and render it disagreeable.

The diseases also which prevail in this season, are more frequent and active on the river. The burning air does not circulate, nor is it ever tempered by the sea-winds. The banks of the river are covered with trees, whose leaves and offal, which seem to have been collecting ever since the creation, corrupt and infect the atmosphere, and render poisonous the air which is inhaled. Besides this, the voyagers are devoured by insects, drenched by almost continual rains, and singed by lightning, which incessantly threatens their lives.

The ships are obliged to pay duties to several princes, in order to obtain a free passage; and as these are not regulated beforehand, the navigators are compelled to stop every year, and enter into a fresh negotiation on the subject; by which they lose the most valuable part of their time, and sacrifice the health of their crews. The princes are also sometimes so exorbitant in their demands, that the ships attempt to pass without yielding to them, and this petty warfare seldom turns to our advantage. In short, these and numerous obstacles, render two months requisite to go by water from Isle St. Louis to Galam; and even such Europeans as have performed it, return in a dying state, and seldom perfectly recover their health. These were the considerations which induced the English to abandon the post at Galam, when they were masters of the Senegal; but they did wrong, and it becomes us to improve by their error.

The route by land does away all these difficulties, as it is safe, convenient, occupies only twenty days, and may be undertaken during eight months of the year. The most favourable time for setting out, is the month of March, at which period the season is fresh, the sky pure, and the winds blow constantly from the north. Travellers by land might also carry on a considerable trade with the inhabitants on their way, as the country abounds with gum-trees and gold mines. The passage which I caused to be traced, was made by a single man; but it might be performed by caravans of any number, though they should always be under the guidance of a Marabou, as these priests possess the greatest influence over the Negroes. By such means we might obtain a proper knowledge of the interior of Africa, and by extending our political and commercial relations, make ourselves rich, and the people happy.

The kingdom of Bambouk is a large country, celebrated for its gold mines. The Moors acquire this metal by repairing to the spot, while the French and English receive it from the Mandingo Negroes, who bring it to the Gambia. This kingdom is bounded on the N. by that of Galam; on the N. E. by the Ka-



jaaga; on the E. by the river Senegal; on the S. by the districts of Kulla and Konkadou; on the W. by the Satadou; and on the N. W. by the kingdom of Bondou.

It is a mistake which has prevailed, that the kingdom is not governed by any king; it has its sovereigns like the other neighbouring kingdoms; and each village has a master. Towards the river of Félémé, these chiefs are called *Farims*, with the addition of their residence. In the interior of the country, they are called *Aleuranni*: they are all independent of each other, but acknowledge the supreme head of the kingdom; and they are obliged to unite for the defence of the country in time of danger.

The Mandingos have possessed themselves of this state, in addition to their other conquests; and the natives of the country, who are called Malincops, have received them, and formed alliances with them, so that they are now only one nation, in which the religion, customs, and manners of the Mandingos, are absolute.

There is no country with which we are acquainted, that is so rich in gold mines as Bambouk. The experiments that have been made, prove that their ore is far superior to that of the mines of the Brazils and Peru; besides which, from the nature of the soil, ten men would extract more gold from Bambouk, than a hundred would in the rich mines of Spain and Portugal. In short, the country is so filled with gold mines, that the metal is found in every direction; but the richest of those that have been discovered, are in the centre of the kingdom, between the villages of Kelimani and Natacou, about thirty leagues to the east of the river Félémé. The gold is very pure, and appears in a surprising abundance.

The country is intersected by high and barren mountains; and the inhabitants having no means of subsistence but what they procure with their gold, are obliged to work sedulously in the mines; but they must first obtain the permission of the chiefs of their villages, who only grant it for a certain time, and on condition, that they retain not only half the produce, but likewise all the lumps which are above a certain size.

The Negroes of Bambouk have no notion of the different species of earth, nor the least rule for distinguishing that which produces gold. They know generally that their country contains much of the precious metal, and that the more steril the soil is, the more may be found in it. They watch indifferently in various parts, and when they by chance meet with a small quantity of the ore, they continue to work in the same spot till they see it diminish, on which they move somewhere else. They are of opinion, that the gold is an evil spirit, which delights in tormenting those who love it; on which account it often changes its



place. When the mine happens to be rich, and they are satisfied with its produce without much trouble, they stop on the spot, and dig to the depth of six, seven, or eight feet; but they never go farther, being totally ignorant of the art of working by strata; nor are they sufficiently industrious to prevent the ground from falling in upon them.

By this manner of proceeding, they never come to the principal veins; while the ramifications are so rich, and the gold which they contain is so pure, that no mixture of marcassite or other mineral substances prevails in it: it is, indeed, so pure, that there is no occasion to melt it; but just as it comes from the mines it may be worked.

When the lumps are covered by mould, the Negroes put them into water, which detaches the terraqueous parts, and the gold sinks to the bottom.

It may be conceived, that with such little industry they not only obtain but a small part of the gold which is in the mine, but that they only imperfectly collect what they have extracted, because, on pouring off the water and mould, an infinity of particles pass with them.

Besides the gold which is so abundant in the country of Bambouk, there is found in many parts a quantity of blue stones, which are considered as certain tokens of other valuable mines. There have been discovered copper, silver, lead, iron, and tin, as well as excellent loadstones and salt-petre.

Iron is found at Bambouk as well as in all the contiguous states; and the mines are not only abundant, but the ore is of the best quality. The Negroes make it into pots and kettles, without any other aid than the hammer and a fire; they therefore will not buy our iron unless it be wrought.

They have somehow or other learned the art of making gunpowder, which they use when they are not in possession of our's; but the latter always fetches a certain value, on account of its superiority.

Almost all the commandants at the fort of Galam have made attempts to acquire a perfect knowledge of the kingdom of Bambouk and its gold mines. In 1716 M. Compagnon undertook this perilous journey, and surmounted all its difficulties. He resided in the country nearly eighteen months, travelled all over it, visited the mines, and described them in the most satisfactory manner; he even so far gained the good opinion of the inhabitants, that they not only allowed him to visit all their mines, but they even permitted him to take as much earth as he pleased and to send it to isle St. Louis. In 1720, he published an account of the principal mines which he discovered, and states them to be at *Fourquaronne*, *Sambanoura*, *Segalla*, *Guinguifarama*,



*Niausabana, Tambacoura, Netteco, Naye, and at Tomane Niacanet.* Since then new discoveries have been made, and those of the two mines of Kelimani and Natacou, are supposed to be the richest in the whole kingdom.

Several projects have been presented for forming establishments in this kingdom, but to me none of them appear feasible. One person has proposed the conquest of this vast country, and has only demanded for that purpose 1200 men; without reflecting that the most numerous army, even supposing that it were to arrive on the spot, and experience no resistance on the part of the natives, which is not likely, would be destroyed in a short time by the privations it would undergo, and the heat of the climate. Another project was, to build a movable fort of wood, in order, under the protection of such machinery, to examine the mines.

I consider both these projects as illusory dreams, because they are impracticable. I shall now state my own:—I think the most simple, least expensive, and the easiest of execution would be, to establish, under modest pretensions, a factory at Galam, and to rebuild the forts of St. Joseph on the Senegal, and St. Peter on the Félémé. Our intercourse is desired in these countries, and we should be received with open arms. Hence we might become the masters of their commerce and the whole of their gold mines, and might afterwards arrive at Tombut, which is still farther, and by which we might complete the grand tour of the interior, which I have already alluded to.

I shall now say a few words on the different hordes of Africa, and the relative advantages they derive from their connection with the Europeans.

All those countries are inhabited, either by Moors or by men whose complexion is of different shades of black, and were called Negroes. There is no race of men more perfidious and cruel than the Moors; they do not possess any of the virtues of the Arabs; they oppress the Negroes, and consider the persecution of strangers as a religious duty.

The Negroes, on the contrary, are naturally good, humane, and hospitable. Those who inhabit the environs of the Senegal are large, muscular, and well-formed men; their countenance is noble; their feelings sensitive and grateful; and their spirit is courageous and indefatigable. There are no domestics more attentive or capable of sincerer attachment; their activity and information render them fit for all the arts and trades; but, as I have already said, they are not adapted for agricultural labours, their bodies not being accustomed to stoop.

The women of these countries are generally handsome, gentle, modest, tender, and faithful; they have in their looks a certain degree of innocence, and in their language a timidity which



adds to their charms. They have an invincible inclination for love and voluptuousness, and they express their wishes in this respect with such an attractive voice, as their organs alone seem capable of uttering. Their skin is as black as ebony. Nothing can be more agreeable than their physiognomy; their nose is well formed, and generally aquiline; their eyebrows are finely arched; their lips thin, and of a beautiful vermilion red; they have the finest teeth in the world; the shape of their body is uncommonly elegant; in short, they combine every perfection which constitutes beauty.

At Goree the men and women are also handsome; but there the Mulattoes of both sexes, who have descended from Europeans, are distinguishable in point of appearance, as they possess the grace of their fathers, and dress in the European manner. I may add, that the people of Goree are uncommonly cheerful; and a love of pleasure and gaiety prevails amongst them to a greater extent, than in any other part of the coast of Africa.

To the south and east of the Senegal, the Africans degenerate in a wonderful manner. Their colour is no longer the fine black just described, but an olive. Their form is indeed still robust, but awkward; their limbs are stiff, and the lineaments of their face are so gross, as to defy the judgment of the physiognomist. The figures which they paint on their foreheads and cheeks add to their ugliness. They are useful in all labour which requires exertion, but they possess no ingenuity. Their women are ugly and sallow; and they are, to those who were lately described, what the most barbarous ignorance is to a polished education. Their vivacity is so violent as to resemble anger.

All the governments of Africa are more or less absolute and despotic. Whether the kings be entitled to the throne by birth, or be called to it by voluntary election, the people are equally subjected to the arbitrary will of the prince, who disposes of their liberty and even of their lives, according to his pleasure; but he cannot destroy more than one at a time: he may do any thing to an individual, but nothing to a body of people.

There are a few small states or rather families in this part of Africa, who live together and are governed by elders whom they deem worthy of confidence; these are not the masters who have been described; and the people who live in perfect liberty, would be happy, were they not disturbed by their neighbours. They are often, however, attacked, and being too weak to defend themselves, are taken and sold as slaves; so that even the most peaceable inhabitants of this unfortunate country seem destined to wear chains.

These people in general have no knowledge of the art which is so revered amongst us, under the name of politics. Though



they observe state formalities, and the custom of sending ambassadors is familiar to them, either to solicit assistance against a powerful enemy, or to obtain a mediation on points of difference. These ambassadors, however, do not occupy themselves with complicated subjects, but speak only on affairs of the moment; they are every where honoured and respected, their persons are held sacred, and they generally go in bodies of five or six together, preceded by a drum, which announces them at a distance.

Their wars are not better arranged than their politics. Every free man is a soldier; but no government has troops in its pay. On the first signal, the army collects and marches; and often, hostilities which began in the morning, are finished before night. They never yield a portion of territory, but take or keep all or none. Sometimes they dethrone a king, and another takes his place; but the territory always belongs to the people at large. Thus neither the great nor small states are dismembered, as the commonalty would oppose such a proceeding, and the chiefs are too wise thus to aggrandise themselves. Besides, these people do not attach any idea of glory to their conquests. Their prisoners are slaves, except the princes, who, as has already been stated, always enjoy their liberty by unanimous consent: they are given up immediately on certain conditions, or put to death; the rest are either exchanged or sold.

The ordinary occasions for the wars which almost always prevail in these countries, are, an insult at the time of a ceremony; a violent robbery; the injury of a girl, or the attack of a banditti.

In the course of my work I have explained the religion of all these hordes, as well as their laws relative to polygamy, marriage, and burial. Polygamy is not only even permitted, but honoured amongst them, whether Mussulmans or idolaters. The Christians here, as in Europe, have only one wife. I believe that the custom which formerly prevailed, of interring several persons alive with the dead body of a man of quality, is totally abolished.

One of the distinctive characteristics of these people, except such as reside on the coasts, and for whom commerce has created artificial wants, is a total indifference towards riches; in consequence of which hospitality is a common virtue amongst them. Their houses are open at meal-times, and travellers, whether rich or poor, may enter, and eat and drink with the family: they may even reside with them, if they wish so to do, and all their suite is well treated during their stay, without any recompence being expected. Amongst themselves, the Negro, who would refuse to divide with his relations, friends, and neigh-



hours, the produce of his hunting or fishing, would be held up to public contempt.

Agriculture, that necessary art, is considered amongst them to be the occupation of slaves or women; and in some parts, the only advantage which the latter have over the slaves, is, that they are allowed to rest every third day, from what may be considered excessive labour.

The nature of their food, clothing, and dwellings, has been already described. Hence, it is evident, that the Africans have lost nothing, nor can they sustain any loss from their intercourse with Europeans; but they have acquired information, property, and a practice of virtue; advantages which have contributed to their happiness. Let us therefore hope, that all the hordes of Africa may one day resemble the inhabitants of St. Louis and Goree; they will then be happy, and owe their improvement to their connection with the whites.

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## CHAP. XVIII.

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### ACCOUNT OF MY RETURN TO EUROPE, WITH THE PARTICULARS OF MY SHIPWRECK.

I LEFT the Senegal for Havre on the 24th July, 1786, on board the brigantine *l'Aimable Marthe*; the crew consisted of the captain, whose name was Doré, a lieutenant, a carpenter, a mate, and three sailors. The passengers were Messrs. Gourg, naval commissioners at Senegal, Longer, captain of a frigate, Bernard my cook, a young Negro and myself.

After an uncommonly long and dangerous passage, we were of opinion, on the 12th September, in the morning, that we should arrive in the course of the night at Havre; and we in consequence gave ourselves up to that pleasure which travellers always experience at the end of a long voyage; when I perceived that the captain was out in his reckoning, and that we were in the Bristol channel. I informed him of this circumstance, and his surprise was equal to my own. The weather was stormy, the sea ran high, and the rapid gusts of wind indicated an approaching tempest.

At three o'clock we were in sight of Landy island, and attempted to take refuge at it; but our efforts were unavailing; and we then directed our course for the bay of Tumby, which we entered, though here our hopes of finding a shelter also proved abortive; and we could not withstand the violence of the wind and tide. We were, however, near enough to the shore to observe the inhabitants collecting upon it, and expressing their regret that they could not afford us any assistance. We had



dropped our bower anchor, but we were under the necessity of cutting the cable, and then our loss seemed inevitable. We nevertheless attempted to reach the isle of Caldy; and for this purpose we kept tacking the whole night, during which the weather was dreadful. The wind was W.S.W. and blew so strong, that we could only let out the main and mizen-sail. We were then in three fathoms water; but after tacking on different points, we found ourselves at two o'clock in Laugharn Bay, in only two fathoms water: the sea was furious, and every instant covered the vessel, while the rain was violent in the extreme, so that it soon became impossible to work the ship: she therefore ran aground, with three violent shocks, which laid her open, unshipped the rudder, and decided our fate.

We now found ourselves completely wrecked; and, in order to lighten the vessel, we cut away the masts, when we found that she remained fixed in six feet water, but was every instant covered with waves of an enormous size, which seemed ready to swallow her up. In this dreadful crisis some fell to making rafts, others seized on pieces of wood, and all endeavoured to avoid that death which seemed to be prepared for them. At this period it was remarkable that some of our little crew were concerned about futurity; and one of them being very anxious respecting the fate of the Negro boy, who had never been christened, baptized him in my presence with some fresh water, and then held him fast in his arms, with a view that they might die and arrive together in the other world.

About three o'clock the storm began to subside, and the waves broke with less violence against our vessel. We then perceived that it was low water; but the darkness of the night prevented us from distinguishing where we were, or ascertaining the place of our shipwreck; nevertheless, without knowing what distance we were from land, we thought it probable that we might get to it, and resolved to make the attempt. A small canoe was therefore let down, and I was the first who got into it: Longer and the lieutenant followed me, but we did not find sufficient water to work the boat; we therefore got out of it, and walked for about an hour in the sea, preceded by two sailors, who sounded at every step, and served as guides. After passing through different depths of water, but not sufficient to stop us, we at length landed, and sent back the two sailors to inform our companions that we were safe, and invite them to follow the route we had taken.

On quitting the vessel we left all our clothes, which might have prevented us from swimming, if necessary: I had nothing on but a pair of trowsers, in one of the pockets of which I had put a letter with my address, in order that my family might be in-



formed of my fate, if I should be drowned, and cast on shore. This was the only precaution which I thought it necessary to take. We therefore found ourselves on an unknown spot, four in number, almost naked, and without the means of subsistence.

The night continued to be very dark, and the rain poured down in torrents. We, however, continued to walk for two hours, without knowing whither we were proceeding: at length we reached a mansion, which we walked round several times, but could not find any door open, or a place in which we could obtain shelter, though we made noise enough to be heard, if the inhabitants had not all been in a sound sleep. At length, after much trouble, I discovered a little gate, which led into the park. I raised the latch, the gate opened, and we found ourselves, with inexpressible pleasure, in a large walk, which led to the vestibule of the mansion. I knocked at the door with all my strength, and we heard the barking of dogs inside; we also soon found that the domestics were stirring: they appeared to be running to the chamber of the master, doubtless to inform him that the house was infested by banditti; as they only spoke to us through a garret window. They asked us first in English, and then in bad French, for what reason we had entered the park at such an hour? I answered in a feeble voice, and lamentable accent, that we were unfortunate Frenchmen, whose ship had been wrecked, and that we requested an asylum.

If that is the case, answered the person who first spoke, you may be easy; I will order my doors to be open, and you shall receive all the assistance that you may be in want of.

Soon afterwards the doors were thrown open, and we saw in the hall all the servants of the chateau, armed with muskets and sabres: it seems they had taken this precaution, lest we had deceived them by our story; but when they saw us naked, almost frozen, and objects of pity rather than fear, they put down their arms, and paid us every attention.

We were at first conducted into the kitchen, where, before a large fire, we warmed our frost-bitten limbs. Soon afterwards the mistress of the house, and all her female domestics, came and brought us linen, and other apparel, which we divided amongst each other as well as we could. A table was then laid out, and we were supplied with victuals and drink; which we devoured with the greatest eagerness, being almost famished.

After the repast, I was shewn to a chamber; while my companions and the master of the house went down to the shore, to endeavour to save something from the wreck. On their return, I learnt that the vessel had gone entirely to pieces at three o'clock.

All the crew were saved; but most of them had taken apo-



ther direction: my cook and boy lost themselves, and three days elapsed before they found me.

About noon the lady of the mansion sent to know if I would take some tea: I begged to be served with it in my apartment, but she insisted that I should come down stairs, and take it with her. I had much difficulty to bring myself to accept this compliment, as I was still in a most deplorable condition, and not fit to be seen. About five in the afternoon the gentleman returned, with several of his neighbours, and some of the crew. They had saved very few things from the wreck; but they restored to me a bag with about 500 dollars, and a box containing my papers, which I got dried in the oven. My boy John also saved a sack with nearly 1200 livres; a packet of virgin gold, from Senegal, which I sold in London for about 100 guineas; an ape, a yellow parroquet, and some ostriches' eggs. The loss, however, which I sustained by this wreck I shall ever regret, on account of the useful knowledge which it has prevented me from communicating to my country. I lost a choice assortment of plants, unknown in Europe; several bottles of distilled palm wine; some water taken from the Senegal, at Isle St. Louis and Podor; several tons of the earth from the gold mines at Galam and Bambouk; a collection of the scarcest reptiles, birds, and fishes; and drawings of the costumes, arms, equipages, &c. of all the hordes in this part of Africa.

At six o'clock we sat down to an excellent dinner, and remained a long time at table. The repast terminated in the English manner; that is, we swallowed bumpers of wine till we were all drunk. The next day our host conducted me to Carmarthen, where I purchased a new wardrobe, and equipped myself from head to foot.

This day we received an express from the merchants of London; who, having heard of our shipwreck, sent to offer us their services. We were grateful for their attention; but situated as we were, we could only thank them, and answer that we wanted for nothing. I shall always regret that I lost the letter from those obliging merchants, whom we afterwards saw at London, where they treated us in a magnificent style. I should have had the greatest pleasure in making known to my countrymen the names of those liberal gentlemen, so respectable for their humanity, and the nobleness of their sentiments; but being deprived of the means, I must content myself with speaking of their countryman, whose care saved me from misery and death.

The name of this generous Englishman was Henry Trollope; he was a native of Norwich; was then 36 years of age, and was a captain in the navy. His lady, who was handsome, modest, and of the gentlest disposition, was a native of London, whose



maiden name was Fanny Best. She was then about 22 years old. They had no children; a circumstance which they felt severely, as they were both very anxious to have a young family. I hope, for the happiness of themselves and the human race, that their wishes have been fulfilled. Mrs. Trollope, when a girl, had been educated at Brussels, so that she, as well as her husband, spoke French sufficiently well to be understood. I must here add, that the attachment of this amiable woman towards her husband, had induced her to accompany him in all his voyages.

They inhabited Westmead castle, about three miles from Laugharn, in Wales, the place of our shipwreck. It stands in a delightful situation, is well built, and its architecture possesses a noble simplicity. Its internal arrangements are well adapted; the park is large and well planted, and the gardens are judiciously laid out. At the time I was wrecked Captain Trollope had taken a lease of it from Lord Montalt, of which three years had expired.

During my stay at the castle, the liberal inhabitants incessantly endeavoured to dispel from our minds the remembrance of our misfortune; and every day was distinguished by some new festivity: hunting, fishing, gaming, and feasting, succeeded each other without interruption; and the only care seemed to be how fresh pleasure could be procured. O! Mrs. Trollope, worthy and affectionate wife of the most humane of men, I feel the most lively emotion in thus bearing testimony to the gratitude which I owe you, and which will never be effaced from my heart.

On the 24th of September, in the afternoon, Captain Trollope proposed to me a hunting party; but I preferred keeping company with his wife, and he left me alone with her. We were walking in the park, when we observed at a distance a huntsman riding at full gallop; he passed by us without saying any thing, and without stopping at the castle.

Mrs. Trollope was alarmed, and said to me, "some accident has happened to my husband." We soon learned that his horse had fallen and rolled on him, by which he was dangerously hurt; and the messenger who passed us, was riding to fetch a surgeon. It is impossible to describe the distraction of the lady, and our own consternation, when we saw Captain Trollope brought home upon a litter: he was taken to his chamber, followed by his wife, who made the most pitiable lamentations; he, however, turned towards her, and said, with much unconcern, "Fanny, be quiet, wipe away your tears, and cease crying."

On the arrival of the surgeon, our fears were dispelled, as he assured us that the accident would not be attended with any bad consequences. In short, by proper medical attention, the cap-



tain was in a few days restored, and we were enabled to resume our ordinary exercises and amusements.

After passing eighteen days in this delightful abode, without being suffered to incur the least expence, we embarked for Bristol, at the very place of our shipwreck. Our separation cost tears on both sides. I left my ape with Mrs. Trollope, together with whatever I had saved from the wreck, that was worth her acceptance. My parroquet was unique of its kind; it spoke well, and was the only one of a yellow colour that I ever saw even at Senegal, where I obtained it. It came to a miserable end, having been caught and devoured by the cats. Mrs. Trollope was inconsolable at the event, and spoke of it every day.

The generous Captain was not satisfied with the kind reception that he had given us in his mansion, but wished to serve us after our separation. He therefore gave us letters of recommendation to Bristol, Bath, and London; in consequence of which we were every where received with the highest respect.

#### END OF DURAND'S VOYAGE.



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