

A new account of Guinea, and the slave-trade, containing, I. The history of the late conquest of the kingdom of Whidaw by the king of Dahome ... II. The manner how the negroes become slaves ... III. A relation of the author's being taken by pirates, and the many dangers he underwent / By Captain Snelgrave. With a new and correct map of the coast of Guinea.

Contributors

Snelgrave, William.

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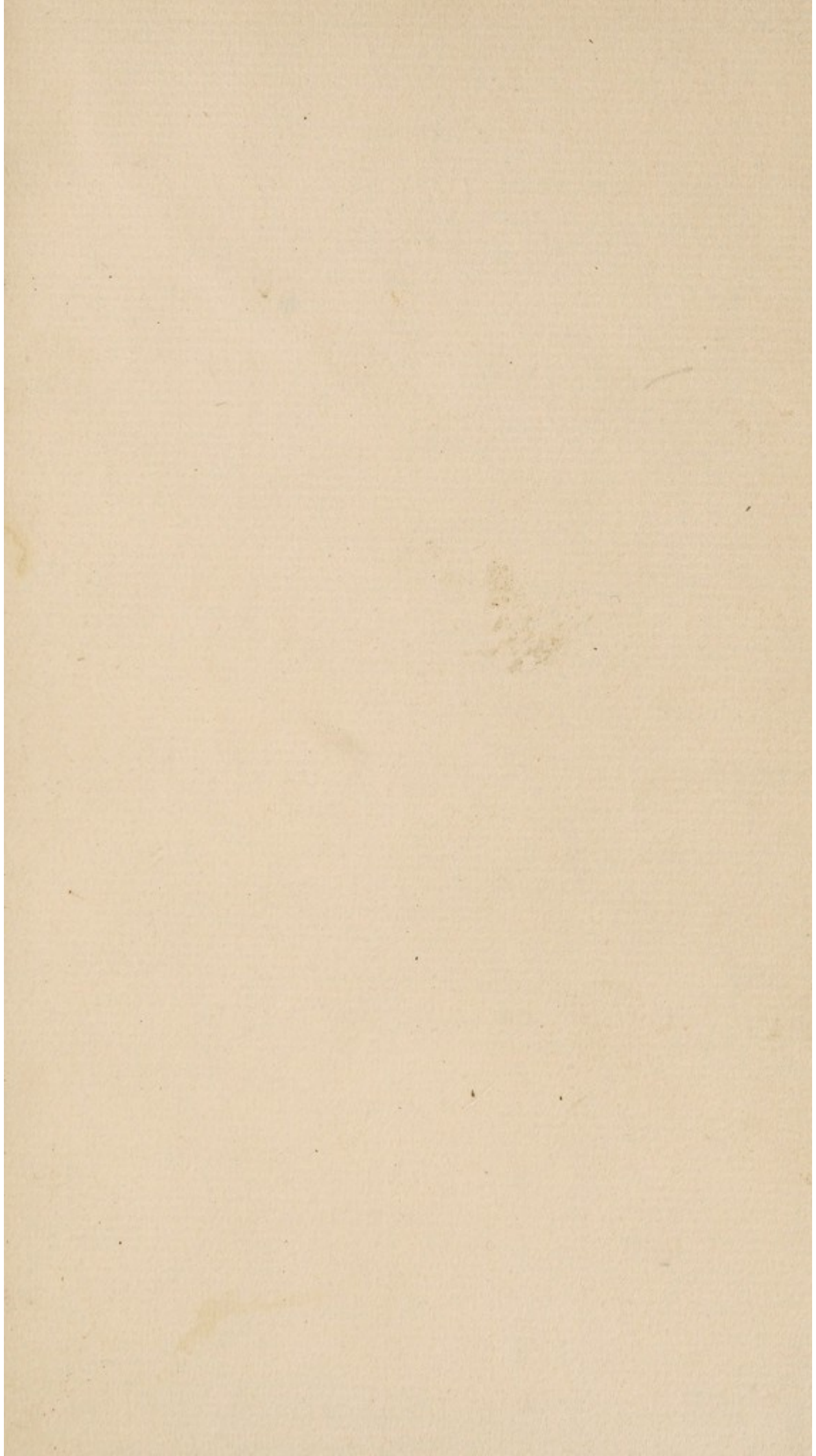



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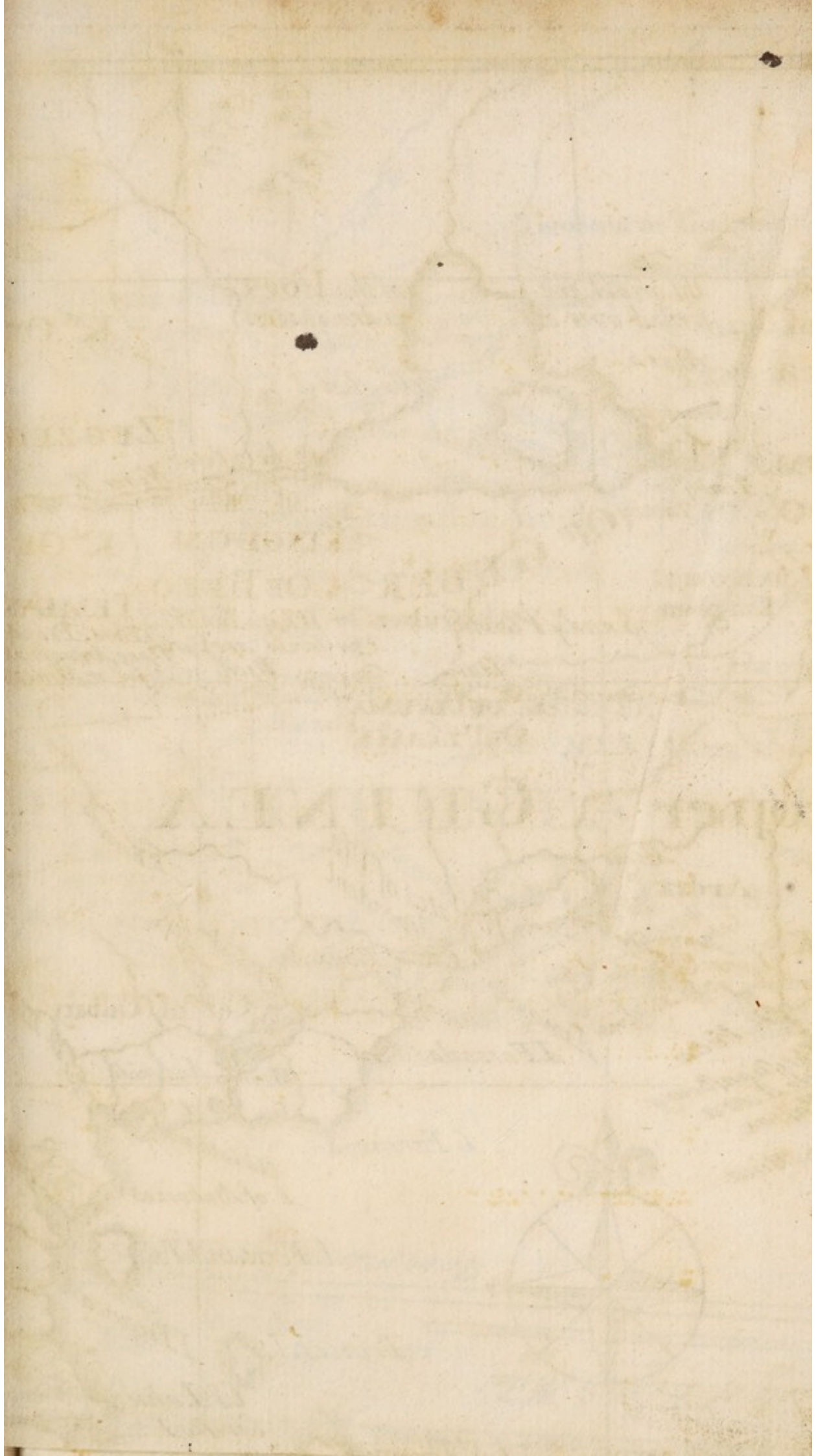
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A NEW
ACCOUNT
OF
GUINEA,
And the Slave-Trade,

CONTAINING,

- I. The History of the late Conquest of the Kingdom of *Whidaw* by the King of *Dabome*. The Author's Journey to the Conqueror's Camp; where he saw several Captives sacrificed, &c.
- II. The Manner how the Negroes become Slaves. The Numbers of them yearly exported from *Guinea* to *America*. The Lawfulness of that Trade. The Mutinies among them on board the Ships where the Author has been, &c.
- III. A Relation of the Author's being taken by Pirates, and the many Dangers he underwent.

By Captain WILLIAM SNELGRAVE.

With a new and correct Map of the Coast of *Guinea*.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. WREN, at the *Bible and Crown*, in
Salisbury-Court, Fleet-Street. 1754.



TO THE
MERCHANTS
OF
LONDON,

Trading to the Coast of *Guinea*.

GENTLEMEN,

SOME of you having
been pleased to peruse
the following Sheets in Ma-
nuscript, and been so kind,
as to express your Approba-
tion of them, it hath incou-
raged me to make them pub-
lick ; and I take the Liberty
to address them to the Mer-

A 2 chants

DEDICATION.

chants trading to the Coast of *Guinea*, as being the best Judges of the Truth of what is here related.

As it has been my good Fortune to be known for many Years to most of you, and to have received Favours from several amongst You, so I beg leave to subscribe my self, with the greatest Respect and Esteem, Gentlemen,

Your most obliged

humble Servant,

W. SNELGRAVE.

PREFACE.

THE best part of the following Sheets were writ several Years ago, more particularly the Account of my being taken by Pirates, in the Year 1719: And being now induced to publish the History of the Conquest of the Kingdom of Dahomè, I have added the other, which is as remarkable in its kind.

I am sensible that Objections may be made to the Account I have given of the Dahomes, by such of my Readers as are not acquainted, either by Travelling or Reading, with the Manners and Customs of several barbarous brutish Nations, that have been and are still on the Globe.

P R E F A C E.

As to human Sacrifices, they are no new thing in the World; for it is recorded of the Mexicans in particular, that they annually sacrificed to their Gods, a great number of their Enemies taken in War.

Mens eating of their own Species, seems to be the most incredible and shocking; but this is practised by others at present (besides the Dahomes) on the Coast of Guinea; especially by a People called Acquas, on the River of old Callabar, and amongst the Camarones adjoining, where I have formerly been, and of which there are some Witnesses now in London: Captain Arthur Lone and others, having seen the same as well as my self.

As to the Story in general of the King of Dahomè, there are some Gentlemen now in Town, that know a great part of it; namely, Jeremiah

P R E F A C E.

miah Tinker *Esq*; Governor Wilson, and others, who have formerly resided at Whidaw, for the Royal African Company: Besides several that have been there in the Service of private Merchants: As also Charles Dunbar *Esq*; of Antegoa, who bought the Negroe-Woman of me there, whose Story is so remarkable, on account of her being thrown as a Sacrifice into the Sea, and her wonderful Preservation afterwards, the Truth of which she has often confirmed.

As to the Relation of my being taken by Pirates, there are several in and about Town, that suffered by them, at the same time and place with myself. And Mr. James Bleau, who was then my Surgeon, lives now at Woodford, in good Repute and Esteem with the Gentlemen of that Village and Neighbourhood.

P R E F A C E.

I shall say nothing with relation to the short Account I have given of the manner how the Negroes become Slaves, and of the Management of them when on Shipboard, it being designed at first only for a Friend's Satisfaction, who had objected against the lawfulness of that Trade.

As I love Freedom my self, so I readily leave the Reader to judge and believe as he pleases, concerning what is here related: My principal motive for publishing these Sheets, being the Persuasion of some Friends, who had perused them in Manuscript, and thought they might prove acceptable to the Publick.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

THAT Part of *Africa* commonly called *Guinea*, is of a large Extent, beginning at *Cape Verd*, in 14 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, and extending to the South and East, as far as the Coast of *Angola*; the River *Congo*, in 6 Degrees South Latitude, being the farthest place where the *English* carry on their Trade.

In this Country of *Guinea*, the *English* have trafficked a great many Years: But especially, since the Conclusion of the last *French War*, it has been so improved, that whereas in the Year 1712, there went only 33 Ships from *England* to that Coast, in 1726, it was proved before the *Commissioners of Trade*, that there had been there the Year before above 200 Sail, to the great increase of Navigation, and the ad-

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advantage of our Plantations in *America*.

Such as are unacquainted with this Country, may reasonably suppose we should have gained by this time a perfect account of the Inland-Parts; yet perhaps we know the least of it of any Country the *English* have so long traded to, for reasons I shall give hereafter. But as I design only to inform the Reader, (for his better understanding the following Sheets) in a cursory manner, of those parts of the Coast of *Guinea*, that I have been personally acquainted with: So, as I go along, I shall intermix my Reasons with the Account.

I have traded along this Coast for near 700 Leagues, from a River called *Sherberow*, in the Latitude of 7 Degrees 30 Minutes North, to *Cape Lopez Gonsalvez*, in 1 Degree South, near the Coast of *Angola*: Now in so large an Extent, we meet with very different People and Trade.

The

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The first part I shall mention, is about 250 Leagues in length, from the above-mentioned River of *Sherberow*, round *Cape Palmas*, to the River *Ancober* near *Axim*. This is commonly called the *Windward Coast*, on which there is no Settlement or Factory of any *European* Nation; but the Trade is carried on in this manner.

As soon as the Natives perceive a Ship on their Coast, they make a smoke on the Sea-Shore, as a Signal for the Ship to come to an Anchor, that they may come and trade with the People on board. As soon as we are at an Anchor, they come to us in small Boats, called *Cannoes*, being made of a single Tree, and bring their Commodities with them.

Along the greatest part of this Coast, the *Europeans* have been cautious of venturing on Shore amongst the Natives, they being very barbarous and uncivilized, as several have experienced to their cost.

In

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In those few places where I have been on Shore myself, I could never obtain a satisfactory account from the Natives of the Inland Parts. Nor did I ever meet with a white Man that had been, or durst venture himself, up in the Country; and believe, if any had attempted it, the Natives would have destroyed them, out of a Jealousy that they designed to make discoveries to their prejudice.

However, the Trade on this part of the Coast, has been exceedingly improved within these 20 years past. It consists in Negroes, Elephants Teeth, and other Commodities; which the Natives freely bring on board our Ships, except when any Affront has been offered them; which, to the great Scandal both of *English* and *French*, has too often been done, namely by their forcibly carrying away the Traders, under some slight pretence of having received an Injury from them. And this has put a stop to the Trade of the particular place where it has happened for a long time; and innocent People, who have

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have come there to trade in small Vessels, have suffered for their Countrymens Villany: Several in my time having been surprized by the Natives, and the People destroyed out of revenge.

From the aforementioned River of *Ancober* to *Acra*, is about 50 Leagues. This part is commonly called the *Gold-Coast*, and thereon are many *English* and *Dutch* Factories, under each of which is a *Negroe Town*, protected by them. The Reader may reasonably suppose, that here we might have a perfect account of the Inland parts; but we can have no such thing. For the Policy of the Natives does not suffer white Men to go up any great way into the Country. Moreover, the Inland People are very jealous of those Negroes, who are under the Protection of the Factories; so that the account I have received from both when at peace (which has brought some of the former to the Sea side) has seemed so fabulous and contradictory, that it could not be depended upon;

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upon; for the Negroes are very apt to impose on us. However, in this part called the *Gold Coast*, the Natives near the Sea side are much civilized, by their conversing with the *Europeans*, at their Settlements; and by going on board so many Ships to trade, as frequent this part of the Coast. Here we can venture on Shore amongst the Natives, without any hazard; for 'tis to be noted, a large part of the Gold Coast is not in Subjection to them.

From *Acra* (where stands the last of the *European* Settlements, on this part of the Coast,) to *Faqueen*, is about 60 Leagues. In this Tract there are no Factories but at two places, namely at *Whidaw*, and *Faqueen*. And tho' they have been so long settled by the *Europeans*, yet till the late Conquest of them by the King of *Dahomè*, we could learn but little of the Inland parts; no white Men having been permitted to go beyond the Kingdom of *Ar-dra*, which is about 50 Miles from the Sea side. But, as I have related in the

2 follow-

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following Sheets what I saw and heard when I was there; so I omit farther mention of it here.

From *Faqueen* to the Bay of *Bennin*, and so round to the *Callabars*, *Camerones*, and *Cape Lopez*, is above 300 Leagues, in which long Tract there is no Settlement of any *European* Nation; so of course the Natives are for the most part barbarous and uncivilized. I have, in my younger years, traded to many places in this Tract, especially at *Old Callabar*, where, in the year 1704, I saw a sad Instance of Barbarity. The King of the place, called *Jabrue*, being fallen sick, he caused, by the advice of his Priests, a young Child about ten Months old, to be sacrificed to his God, for his recovery. I saw the Child after it was killed, hung up on the Bough of a Tree, with a live Cock tied near it, as an addition to the Ceremony.

The last Voyage I went to this place, was in the year 1713, when I commanded the

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the Ship *Anne*, belonging to Messieurs *Bradley, Virginia* Merchants; where I had the good fortune to save a Child from being Sacrificed, as the other poor Infant had been. And tho' 'tis a long story, and therefore may not so well suit an Introduction, yet on account of the singular Circumstances wherewith it was attended, I believe the Reader may be pleased with it.

The chief King, or Lord of the Country (for there are several petty Princes on that River) called *Acqua*, came on board, sometime after my arrival, to see the Ship, and hear our Musick. Being highly pleased with his Entertainment, he kindly invited me on Shore; so I promised to wait on him in a few days. Accordingly I went; but as I knew his People to be fierce brutish Cannibals, I took, by way of precaution, ten of my Sailors as a Guard, with my Gunner to command them. They were all well armed with Musquets and Pistols, which those savage People I knew were much afraid of.

Upon

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Upon my landing at the Water side, I was received by some persons, whom the King had appointed to conduct me about a quarter of a mile up, where I found him sitting on a Stool, under some shady Trees; another being placed by his side, which I was desired to sit on. The King did not speak one word, or moved in the least, till I was sat down; but then he bid me welcome, enquiring after my health; as I did after his, having first paid my respects to him, by bowing and taking off my Hat. There were many of his Courtiers present, and I observed above 50 of his Guard, stood at a little distance. They were armed with Bows and Arrows, a Sword by their side, and a barbed Lance in their Hands. My people ranged themselves opposite to them, at the distance of about twenty paces.

After having presented the King with some things, which, tho' trifling to us, he seemed highly delighted with; accidentally turning my Head about, I saw a little

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Negroe-Child tied by the Leg to a Stake driven in the Ground, the flies and other vermin crawling on him, and two Priests standing by. Being surprized at this sight, I asked the King, " What was the reason
" of the Child's being tied in that man-
" ner ?" He replied, " It was to be sacrific-
" ed that night to his God *Egbo*, for his
" prosperity." Moved at the hearing of this, I called (too hastily, I must own) to one of my People, to take the Child from the Ground, in order to preserve him. He had no sooner done it, but one of the King's Guard advanced towards him, in a threatening posture with his Lance ; and fearing he would run him through, I immediately took out of my Pocket a small Pistol ; at the sight of which, the King rose from his Stool in a fright. But I bid the Linguist tell him, " I would offer no
" Injury to him or his, provided he or-
" dered his Guard not to attack mine:" Which he readily doing, and all things being quiet, I expostulated with him, " for his breaking the Laws of Hospita-
" lity, in permitting one of his Guard to
" threaten

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“ threaten my Man with his Lance.”
To this the King replied, “ I had not
“ done well in ordering him to seize the
“ Child, it being his Property.” This I
acknowledged, “ excusing it on the ac-
“ count of my Religion, which, tho’ it
“ does not allow of forcibly taking away
“ what belongs to another, yet expressly
“ forbids so horrid a Thing, as the put-
“ ting a poor innocent Child to death.
“ And that this would, instead of Bles-
“ sings, certainly bring on him the Wrath
“ of the most high God, whom we white
“ Men adored.” I also observed to him,
“ That the grand Law of human Nature
“ was, To do to others as we desir’d to be
“ done unto;” and many other Argu-
ments I used, too long to repeat here. At
the same time I offered to pay him for the
Child, which the King readily accepted:
And on my asking, what he desired for
it? to my surprize he only asked a bunch
of sky coloured Beads, worth about half
a Crown Sterling. I expected he would
have demanded at least ten times that Va-
lue; for the Negroes, from the King to

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the Trader, are generally very ready, on any extraordinary occasion, to make their Advantage of us.

After this was over, I staid about an hour with the King, treating him with *European* Liquors and Victuals, which I had carried on Shore for that purpose; but I took care not to drink any of his Palm Wine, (which is a Liquor drawn from a Tree, and which they can artfully poison) under pretence, it did not agree with me. But my People did not spare it, drinking plentifully of it with his Guards; and eating likewise heartily of their Victuals.

After this I took my leave, and the King expressed himself well pleased with my Visit; promising to come on board again, before I went out of the River.

As we were returning in our Boat, I told the Gunner, " That when we came
" on board, he should pitch on some mo-
" therly Woman, to take care of this poor
" Child."

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“ Child.” To which he answered, “ He
“ had already one in his Eye.”

It happened, the day before I went on Shore to see the King, I had purchased the Mother of the Child (tho' I knew it not then) from one of his People; and at that time my Surgeon observing to me, she had much Milk in her Breasts, I enquired of the Person that brought her on board, whether she had a Child when he bought her from the Inland Trader? To which he answered in the negative.

But now on my coming on board, no sooner was the Child handed into the Ship, but this poor Woman espying it, run with great eagerness, and snatched him out of the white Man's Arms that held him. I think there never was a more moving sight than on this occasion, between the Mother and her little Son, (who was a fine Boy about 18 Months old; for 'tis to be noted, the Negroe-Women generally suckle their Children till they are above two years old) especially when the Lin-
guist

INTRODUCTION.

guist told her, “ I had saved her Child “ from being sacrificed.” Having at that time above 300 Negroes on board my Ship, no sooner was the Story known amongst them, but they expressed their Thankfulness to me, by clapping their Hands, and singing a Song in my praise. This affair proved of great service to us, for it gave them a good Notion of white Men; so that we had no Mutiny in our Ship, during the whole Voyage.

I went from the River of *Old Callebar*, to the Island of *Antegoa*, where our Cargoe was sold; and upon my telling one Mr. *Studeley* this remarkable story, he bought the Mother and her Son, and was a kind Master to them.

I could give a farther account of some more extraordinary things, that have happened in the many Voyages I have made to this Coast; but am afraid of being tedious to the Reader: So I shall conclude with observing, that Mynheer *Bosman's Account*

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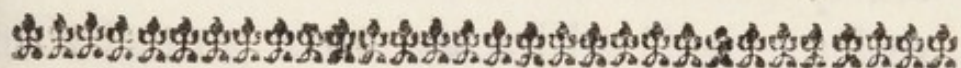
Account of the Coast of Guinea, is the most perfect History we have of that Country; and do readily confess, that whatever he mentions, as far as my Observations have reach'd, I have found to be true. To this Book therefore I refer the Reader, who is curious to know, the *Manners, Customs, Trade, &c.* of the *Negroes* along the Sea-Coast.



E R R A T A.

PAge 67. Line 1. *for* eight *read* eighty. p. 71. l. 6. *Ja-*
queens r. *Dahomes*. p. 123. l. 14. and in other places,
Testejole r. *Testefole*. p. 190. l. 4. to r. from. p. 221.
 l. 23. at r. in. Ibid. l. 24. in r. at. 230. l. 15. just on
Cocklyn's Anchor, r. just heaving up their Anchor.

A NEW
ACCOUNT
Of some Parts of
GUINEA,
And the Slave-Trade.



BOOK I.

Containing an Account of the Destruction of the Kingdom of Whidaw, or Fida; the Author's Journey to the King of Dahomé's Camp; with several other remarkable Particulars.

FOR the better understanding of the following Relation, it is necessary to prefix some Account of the late State of the Country of *Whidaw*, before

B

fore the terrible Destruction and Desolation thereof, in the Month of *March* 1726-7.

Descrip-
tion of
Whidarw.
Sabee.

The Reader then is to observe, That the Sea-coast of this Kingdom lies in 6 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude. *Sabee*, the chief Town of the Country, is situate about seven Miles from the Sea side. In this Town the King allowed the *Europeans* convenient Houses for their Factories; and by him we were protected in our Persons and Goods, and, when our Business was finish'd, were permitted to go away in Safety. The Road where Ships anchored, was a free Port for all *European* Nations trading to those Parts for *Negroes*. And this Trade was so very considerable, that it is computed, while it was in a flourishing State, there were above twenty thousand *Negroes* yearly exported from thence, and the neighbouring Places, by the *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*. As this was the principal Part of all the *Guinea* Coast for the Slave Trade, the frequent Intercourse that Nation had for many Years carried on with

the white People (a) had rendered them so civilized, that it was a Pleasure to deal with them.

The greatest Inconvenience we were exposed to, was the Thievery of the common People; which it was hardly possible to guard intirely against; so bold and dextrous were they at it: Tho' if taken in the Fact, they became our Slaves.

The Custom of the Country allows Polygamy to an excessive degree; it being usual for a great Man to have some hundreds of Wives and Concubines, and meaner Men in proportion; whereby the Land was become so stock'd with People, that the whole Country appeared full of Towns and Villages: And being a very rich Soil, and well cultivated by the Inhabitants, it looked like an intire Garden. Trade having likewise flourished for a long time, had greatly enriched the People; which, with the Fertility of their Country, had unhappily made them so proud, effeminate, and luxurious, that

(a) So they call the *Europeans*, in Opposition to the *Negroes*.

tho' they could have brought at least one hundred thousand Men into the Field, yet so great were their Fears, that they were driven out of their principal City, by two hundred of their Enemies; and at last lost their whole Country, to a Nation they formerly had contemned. And tho' this may appear to the Reader very incredible, yet it will sufficiently be illustrated by the following Account.

Account
of the King
of *Whi-*
daw.

The King of *Whidaw* came to the Crown when about fourteen Years old, so that the Government was for many Years in the hands of the great Men of the Country; who liked it so well, that tho' he was past thirty Years of Age when this Calamity happened, yet they had to this time sought all ways to keep him from a Knowledge of governing. This suited indeed with his Temper, for he was indolent and lascivious, having in his Court several thousands of Women, by whom he was served in all capacities; for no Men-servants were allowed to be there. Being thus soften'd by his Pleasures, he grew intirely negligent of his Affairs,

fairs, which at last produced such a Weakness in the Government, that it ended in its Ruin. For the great Men played the petty Tyrants, often falling out, and pursuing their particular Interests, without regarding the Good of their King or Country. By this means the common People were divided, and such Parties arose among them, as, added to their Fears, rendered them a Prey to their Neighbours; so that tho' they were able to have repelled any Force which could have been brought against them by the neighbouring Countries, they rather chose to abandon the Land, than join heartily against the common Enemy; who brought at this time on them such a terrible Desolation by the Sword, Fire and Famine, as hardly ever befel any Country.

This common Enemy was the King of *Dahomè*, a far inland Prince, who for some Years past had rendered himself famous, by many Victories gained over his Neighbours. He sent an Ambassador to the King of *Whidaw*, requesting to have an open Traffick to the Sea side, and offering

The King
of *Dahomè*'s In-
vasion.

fering to pay him his usual Customs on *Negroes* exported: which being refused, he from that time resolved to resent it, when Opportunity offered. This the King of *Whidaw* was so far from apprehending, that in an Audience I had of him, soon after the Ambassador's Departure, he told me; if the King of *Dahomè* should offer to invade him, he would not use him when taken according to their Custom, that is, cut off his Head, but would keep him for a Slave to do the vilest Offices.

His Con-
quests.

And here 'tis necessary to make a short Digression concerning the King of *Dahomè's* Conquests. Being a politick and couragious Prince, he had such Success against his Neighbours, in a few Years, that he conquered towards the Sea Coast, as far as the Kingdom of *Ardra*, which is the next inland Country adjoining to *Whidaw*; and then resolved to remain quiet for some time, in order to settle his Conquests. But an Accident soon called him again to Arms, for the King of *Ardra* having much injured his own Brother,
named

named *Huffar*; the latter sent privately to the King of *Dabomè*, and offered him a large Sum of Money to revenge him for the many Affronts he had receiv'd from the King his Brother. This the politick Prince soon listen'd to; and the King of *Ardra* having discovered the Matter, sent to the *Whidaws*, representing to them, it was their common Interest to oppose this Conqueror; but they most imprudently refused to lend him their Assistance. So being obliged to encounter alone the King of *Dabomè*, he met him with all the Forces he could raise, which was about fifty thousand Men of his own People, and after a three Days Engagement, his Army was totally defeated, and himself taken Prisoner. Soon after which he was beheaded in the Conqueror's Presence according to the barbarous Custom of these black Princes.

There was at that time in the Country of *Ardra* a white Gentleman, named *Bullfinch Lambe*, who was detained Prisoner by the King on this occasion: Having been sent by the Governour of the

*Bullfinch
Lambe.*

African Company's Settlement at *Jaqueen*, on some Business to the King of *Ardra*, this Prince detained him, under pretence the Company owed him for one hundred Slaves, formerly sent down to their Factory; and he sent word to the Governour, if he did not forthwith pay him this Debt, he would make Mr. *Lambe* a Slave. Which the Governour refusing to do, he remained a Prisoner about two Years, being used very hardly 'till he was taken in this War by the King of *Dahomè*: Being brought into the King's Presence (who had never before seen a white Man) he was treated very kindly by his Majesty, and had, in a short time after, a Household appointed for him with many Servants, and the King bestowed on him some of his near Relations for Wives. Having remained with this Prince near three Years, he was at his own earnest Desire, dismiss'd with a noble Present of Gold and Slaves, in order to go for *Europe*: And his Majesty by a Messenger, to the Towns and Villages he passed through, in his way to *Jaqueen* on the Sea side, ordered the

Inha-

Inhabitants to shew him all possible Respect, and provide nobly for his Entertainment.

After this Gentleman's Departure, the ^{Whidaw} King of *Dahomè* resolved to invade the _{invaded.} Country of *Whidaw*; which, as I have been told, Mr. *Lambe* had dissuaded him from; representing the great number of the Inhabitants, who were much used to Fire-Arms. Moreover, that the white People resident and trading there, would no doubt assist them for their own Interest: So that there was no probability of Success. But this politick Prince finding by his Spies, how much the great Men and People were divided, and that the King was only a Cypher in the Government; he marched against them. The first part of the Country he invaded was the northernmost, of which a great Lord named *Appragab* was hereditary Governour, who forthwith sent to his King for Assistance: But through the Interest of his Enemies at Court, who wished his Destruction, he was refused: So having made a little Resistance, he submitted to
the

the King of *Dabomè*, who received him very kindly.

The Conquest of *Appragah* gave the King an easy Entrance into the Heart of the Country; but he was obliged to halt there by a river, which runs about half a Mile to the northward of the principal Town of the *Whidaws*, called *Sabee*, the Residence of their King. Here the King of *Dabomè* encamped for some time, not imagining he could have found so easy a Passage and Conquest as he met with afterwards. For the Pass of the River was of that Nature, it might have been defended against his whole Army, by five hundred resolute Men; but instead of guarding it, these cowardly luxurious People, thinking the fame of their numbers sufficient to deter the *Dabomes* from attempting it, kept no set Guard. They only went every Morning and Evening to the River side, to *make Fetiche* as they call it, that is, to offer Sacrifice to their principal God, which was a particular harmless *Snake* they adored, and prayed to on this occasion, to keep their Enemies from coming over the River. And

And, as worshipping a Snake may seem ^{Snakes} very extravagant to such as are unacquain- ^{worship-} ^{ped.} ed with the Religion of the *Negroes*, I shall inform the Reader of the Reasons given for it by the People of *Whidaw*. This sort of Snake is peculiar to their Country, being of a very singular Make; for they are very big in the middle, rounding on the Back like a Hog, but very small at the Head and Tail, which renders their Motion very slow. Their Colour is yellow and white, with brown Streaks; and so harmless, that if they are accidentally trode on (for it is a capital Crime to do so wilfully) and they bite, no bad Effect ensues; which is one Reason they give for their worshipping of them. Moreover, there is a constant Tradition amongst them, that whenever any Calamity threatens their Country, by imploring the Snake's Assistance, they are always delivered from it. However this fell out formerly, it now stood them in no stead; neither were the Snakes themselves spared after the Conquest. For they being in great Numbers, and a kind of domestick Animals,

Animals, the Conquerors found many of them in the Houses, which they treated in this manner: They held them up by the middle, and spoke to them in this manner: *If you are Gods, speak and save your selves*: Which the poor Snakes not being able to do, the *Dabomes* cut their Heads off, ripped them open, broiled them on the Coals, and eat them. It is very strange, the Conquerors should so far condemn the Gods of this Country, since they are so barbarous and savage themselves, as to offer human Sacrifices whenever they gain a Victory over their Enemies; an Eye-Witness to which I was, as hereafter shall be related.

But to return to the King of *Dabomè*. He was so politick as to send to the *Europeans*, then residing at *Whidaw*, to assure them, if they stood neuter, and were not found in Arms they should receive no Damage in their Persons or Goods, in case he proved Conqueror; and that he would ease their Trade, and remove divers Impositions laid on it by the King of *Whidaw*: On the contrary, if they
4 appeared

appeared against him, they must expect his Resentment. But they were in a Dilemma; for tho' the King of *Whidaw* did not desire otherwise, yet they would gladly have retired from *Sabee* to two mud-walled Forts, belonging to the *English* and *French African Companies*, which are within three Miles of the Sea side. However, finding it would have been resented by the King as a Discouragement to his People, they were obliged to remain in the Town, never suspecting the Inhabitants would have run away in the cowardly manner they did; or that they should share the Fate of War with them.

The Pass of the River being, as I have related above, wholly left to the Care of the Snakes, whom the Enemy little feared; and they having observed for several Days, that the *Whidaws* kept no set Guard there, it encouraged the King of *Dahome's* General to send two hundred of his Soldiers to ford the River: Which having done without Opposition, and being bold Fellows, they marched towards
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the Town of *Sabee*, sounding their musical Instruments. This was about three a Clock in the Afternoon, and the Out-guards of the Town were almost all asleep; but being roused by the Noise of the Enemy's Musick and Shouts, they fled into the Town, reporting, that all the *Dahome* Army was got over the River: Which soon reaching the King's Ear, he immediately fled, with all his People, making no Resistance. I was informed by the white People, then in the *English* and *French* Forts, that about five a Clock the same Afternoon, they saw such Numbers of People flying from all Parts of the Country towards the Sea side, that it was very surprizing: For the Fields were covered with them many Miles round, and their black Colour made them the more conspicuous in a clear sunshiny Day, on a fine flat champaign Country. The King, with a great number of his Subjects fled to an Island on the Sea Coast, which was parted from the main Land by a River, having ferried over in Canoes; but a great many that could not have the same Benefit,

Benefit, being hurried on by their Fears, were drowned in the Rivers, in attempting to swim to the Islands lying near *Popoe*; which was the next neighbouring Country to their own, on the Sea Coast to the Westward; and where they might have been secure from their Enemies, had they escaped. Moreover, many thousands of these poor People that sheltered themselves up and down the Country among the Bushes, perished afterwards by Sword and Famine.

But now to return to the *Dahomè* Soldiers: When they first came to *Sabee*, it seems they marched directly to the King's Court, where not finding him, they set it on Fire; and then sent their General word of what had happened; who brought the whole Army over the River that Evening. He was in such a Surprise at his good Fortune, that he could hardly believe what he saw; and the white Gentlemen were as much amazed, to see the great Cowardice of these People, who had vapoured so highly, and as ignominiously quitted the Town without opposing
their

their Enemies in the least, leaving them intirely in the Power of the Conquerors, with all their own Riches. Mr. *Duport*, who was then the *African Company's* Governour, told me, that when the *Dabomè* Soldiers, who had never seen white Men before, came to his House, they stood in amaze, and would not venture near him, till he beckon'd and held out his Hand to them. Whereupon they laid hold on him, and finding him a Man like themselves in all Respects, except Colour, soon laid aside their Reverence; and taking from him what he had valuable in his Pockets, made him Prisoner, with about forty other white Men, *English, French, Dutch* and *Portuguese*, who were served in the same manner. Amongst them was *Jeremiah Tinker Esq*; who had just before resigned the *African Company's* Affairs to Mr. *Duport*, and designed, if this Accident had not prevented him, to have embarked in a few Days for *England*. But *Segnor Pereira* the *Portuguese* Governour, had the good Fortune to escape from *Sabee*, to the *French* Fort. He told me, had

he was in great fear of being smothered in the Press of the flying People, whom he could hardly keep off with his Dagger, from the Hammock he was carried in on Mens Shoulders. The Day after the taking of the Town of *Sabee*, the white Men taken Prisoners, were sent into the Country to the King of *Dabomè*, who lay then encamped with another Army, about forty Miles off in the Kingdom of *Ardra*; some Hammocks being provided for the principal white People amongst them, which is the usual way of travelling in this Country for Gentlemen either white or black.

Mr. *Duport* further told me, that as soon as they came into the Camp, they were separated according to their Nations, being delivered to, and put under the Care of, several principal black Gentlemen. At first they were badly accommodated; for it was some Days before he could obtain an Audience of the King; which when he did, he greatly complained of the Usage he had met with in all Respects. On this his Majesty said,

C “ He

“ He was very sorry for what had hap-
“ pen’d, for he had given Orders to his
“ Captains, in case they met with Suc-
“ cess, to use the white Men well; but
“ he hoped they would excuse what had
“ befallen them, which was to be attri-
“ buted to the Fate of War: Confessing,
“ he was much surprized when he was
“ first informed, so many white People
“ were made Prisoners, and soon after
“ brought to his Camp. That in the
“ Confusion of Things he had not regard-
“ ed them so much as he ought; but for
“ the future, they should have better
“ Treatment.” Which accordingly they
found; but could never recover any thing
taken from them, that being put on the
score of the Fate of War. However, a
few Days after, they were set at Liberty
without any Ransom, and sent down to
the *English* and *French* Forts. The prin-
cipal Gentlemen amongst them were
presented with Slaves, and his Majesty
assured them, as soon as he had settled
his Conquest, he would make Trade
flourish, and have a particular Regard
to their Interests. The

The latter end of *March*, in the Year 1726-7, I arrived with the *Katharine Galley* in the Road of *Whidaw*, where I landed, and went to the *English* Fort, which is about three Miles from the Sea side, and likewise to the *French* Fort near adjoining. The white People that had been taken Prisoners, being returned to those Places but a few Days before, gave me a full account of the great Calamity fallen on the Country, about three Weeks before my Arrival ; which gave me much Concern, I having traded there several Voyages. It was a lamentable Story to hear, and a dismal Sight to see, the Desolation of so fine a Country, lately exceeding populous, now destroyed in such a manner by Fire and Sword. The Carnage of the Inhabitants was, above all, a most moving Spectacle, the Fields being strewed with their Bones. Moreover the Concern for the Interest of my Voyage affected me not a little. But knowing it highly necessary to keep up my Spirits in so hot a Country, I resolved (humbly relying on Providence) not to be wanting

in my Endeavours, for the Interest I had under my Care; and I met with far greater Success than any way I could have reasonably expected, considering the melancholy Prospect I had then of Affairs, which shall be related hereafter.

Having staid three Days on Shore with the *English* and *French*, who, I found, were in as great a Doubt as my self how to act in their Affairs; I came to a Resolution to go for the Port or Road of *Ja-queen*, which lies about seven Leagues to the Eastward of *Whidaw*; and has about thirty Miles of Sea-Coast. This Place has always been the Sea Port to the Kingdom of *Ardra*, and tributary to it; having a hereditary Governour, who paid his Tribute in Loaves of Salt, there being great Quantities made here.

As soon as the King of *Dakomè* had conquered *Ardra*, the Lord of this Place sent his Submission, offering the usual Tribute he used to pay the conquered King; which was readily accepted. This shews the Policy of the King of *Dakomè*; for tho' he had made a terrible Destruction

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on of the Inhabitants of the inland Countries he had conquered from Time to Time; yet he knew his Interest too well, to destroy the People of this Country in the same manner; for having now obtained his Desires, in gaining a free Passage to the Sea-Side, he judged the *Jaqueens* would be very useful to him, because they understood Trade, and now by their means, he should never want a supply of Arms and Gunpowder, to carry on his designed Conquests. Moreover these People had ever been Rivals to the *Whidaws* in Trade, and had an inveterate Hatred against them, because they had drawn almost the whole trade from the *Jaqueens*, to their own Country. For, the Pleasantry thereof, with the good Government in former Times, had induced the *Europeans* to carry on the far greater part of the Trade, at their principal Town of *Sabee*.

It was on the third of *April* 1727, we anchored in the Road of *Jaqueen*; and soon after I sent on Shore my Surgeon, to the Lord of that Place, to settle an

Agreement with him, before I landed my self; for I had never been at this Place, and had a Hint given me not to trust him, before all the Particulars I demanded were agreed to by him; for he had formerly plaid base Tricks with some *Europeans*, who had not taken such a Precaution. In the Evening my Surgeon sent me a Letter, informing me, he had obtained all I desired; For the Performance of which the Lord of the Place had taken his *Fetiche* or Oath, in presence of a *French* and *Dutch* Gentleman: On this Assurance I landed the next Day, and went up to the Town of *Jaqueen*, which lies about three Miles from the Sea side, where I was received very kindly, the Promises and Agreement made with my Surgeon being renewed, and a House appointed me to keep Factory in.

The next Day a Messenger came from the King of *Dahomè*, whose Name was *Buttenoe*. He spoke very good *English*, and told me, “ His Majesty having heard
“ there was an *English* Ship arrived in the
“ Road of *Whidaw*, he had ordered him
“ to

“ to go there and invite the Captain to
“ come up to his Camp; (which was
“ about forty Miles directly within the
“ Land in the Country of *Ardra*) but being
“ told there I was gone for *Jaqueen*, he
“ had followed me to make the King’s De-
“ fire known to me: Assuring me in his
“ Majesty’s Name, I should be intirely
“ safe in all Respects, and kindly used.”

To this I answered, “ I would con-
“ sider his Majesty’s kind Invitation, and
“ he should know my Resolution next
“ Day.” But perceiving I had some Dis-
trust in my Mind, he represented to me,
“ That if I did not go, it would highly
“ offend the King; that he feared I
“ should not be permitted to trade, be-
“ sides other bad Consequences might
“ follow.” This black Messenger, as
mentioned above, spoke very good *Eng-
lish*, having learnt it when a Boy in the
English Factory at *Whidaw*: He belonged
to Mr. *Lambe*, and was with him at the
time he was taken Prisoner by the King
of *Ardra*. They both fell into the King
of *Dakomè*’s Power, as related above,

The Au-
thor's
Journey to
the King
of Da-
home's
Camp.

where he learnt the Country Language; and in this respect I had as capable an Interpreter as I could desire. So, upon considering the matter, finding the Interest of my Voyage depended on my going to the Camp to wait on the King, I resolved to undertake it, tho' the many Barbarities I had been told his People had been guilty of, gave me some Concern. However, soon after, I had further Encouragement, by others offering to accompany me. For a *Dutch* Captain's Curiosity prompted him to it, whose Ship had been destroyed just before by the *Portuguese*: Moreover the *Dutch* chief Factor proposed to send one of his Writers with large Presents to the Conqueror; likewise the Lord of *Jaqueen* offered to send his own Brother, to pay his Duty, with great Presents to the King; not having done it before. So having prepared all Things for our Journey, which took us up three Days, we set out in the following manner.

The eighth of *April*, at nine a Clock in the Morning, being accompanied with the aforesaid Persons, we went to the Side
of

of the River that runs on the Back part of the Town of *Jaqueen*, having in our Retinue One hundred black Servants. We ferried over the River in *Canoes*, which are a sort of Boats, made of large Trees hollowed. The People of the Town attended us in great numbers to the water side, praying for our success: For they were under terrible apprehensions for our safety, amongst such barbarous People as we were going to: Especially they were highly concerned for the Duke, their Lord's Brother, who was a Person endowed with the most amiable qualities I ever met with amongst Persons of his Colour.

Being landed on the other side of the River, we set out on our Journey, the proper servants of each person attending in their several places. I had six Hammock-men, who relieved one another by turns; two at a time being only required to carry the Pole which it is fastened to. I had likewise a small Horse to ride on, when I was weary with lying in the Hammock. The other Gentlemen were accom-

accommodated in the same manner. Our travelling was at the rate of about four miles an hour; for we made frequent Stops for our Baggage-carriers, there being no Carts nor good Horses at *Jaqueen*; the few Horses that are there being but little bigger than our Asses. The Country, as we travelled along, appeared beautiful and pleasant, and the Roads good; but desolated by the War, for we saw the remains of abundance of Towns and Villages, with a great quantity of the late Inhabitants bones strewed about the Fields.

Noon time being past, we dined under some Cocoe-trees, on the cold Provision we carried with us; and in the Evening being come to a few sorry Hovels, we put up there for the night, and lay on the ground on mats, (the huts not being big enough to hang our hammocks up in) and the greatest part of our Attendants were obliged to lye in the open Air.

The next day about seven a clock in the morning, we set out again, and by nine came within half a mile of the King's Camp. Here we halted, and
judges

edge we had then travelled about forty miles from *Jaqueen*. Soon after a Messenger came from his Majesty to compliment and welcome us; and being told it was proper to prepare our selves, we took our best apparel out of our trunks, and drefs'd our selves under the covert of an old wall; and soon after we advanced within a little way of the Camp, where we were desired to wait for a great Man who was to receive us. The King, it seems, to do us the more honour, sent the principal person of his Court (whom the *Negroes* distinguish'd to us by the Title of the *Great Captain*) to receive us; which he did in a very extraordinary manner. For he came in the midst of five hundred Soldiers, who had Fire-arms, drawn Swords, shields, and Banners in their hands, using so many odd and ridiculous Ceremonies, (as they appeared to us) that at first we could not judge, whether they meant us well or ill: For the Great Captain, with some of his Officers, approached us, with their Swords drawn, flourishing them over our heads, then

pointing them to our Breasts, and skipping and jumping about us, like so many monkies, showing as many tricks and postures, as that animal generally does. At last, after some time spent in this manner, the Great Man settled into a sedate temper; Then he gave us his hand, welcoming us in the King's Name, and drank to us in Palm Wine, which is a Juice drawn from the Palm-tree, which is very common in that Country. We returned the Compliment, drinking the King's health both in Wine and Beer we had brought with us, which he seemed to be well pleased with: and all Ceremonies being ended, he desired us to go with him towards the Camp; and accordingly we proceeded, the Soldiers guarding us, and the musical Instruments making a dismal noise.

In about half an hour's time we arrived at the Camp, which was near a very great ruin'd Town, late the principal place of the Kingdom of *Ardra*. Here the Army lay in tents, which, according to the *Nagroe*-Custom, were made of small Boughs

Trees, and covered with Thatch, very much resembling Bee-hives, but each big enough to hold ten or twelve Soldiers, who crept in at a hole on one side, and lay heads and points together. Upon our entering the Camp, we were conducted to some large Trees, where Chairs, (taken from the *Whidaws*,) were brought for us to sit on, under the Shade of the Trees. Immediately such Numbers of People flock'd about us, that if the Officers had not ordered the Soldiers to keep the Multitude off, we should have been in danger of being smothered. For tho' there had been forty white men taken at *Whidaw*, who were all brought up prisoners to this Camp, and afterwards released, as related above, yet thousands of People, who came since out of the far inland Countries, had never seen a white man before us.

Having rested our selves about two hours, under the Shade of the Trees, and beheld divers Feats of Activity, performed by the Soldiers to divert us, we were conducted to a thatch'd House, that had
been

been prepared for us; and tho' we were obliged to stoop at our going in at the Door, yet there was height enough within to hang our Hammocks up to sleep in, which was no little Satisfaction to us, for our Bones were hardly recovered, from the former night's Lodging on the Ground. After we had stowed our Baggage in the Tent, the great Man took his leave of us, but left a Guard to prevent any of the People from disturbing us, and he went to the King to give his Majesty an Account of our Arrival.

By this time Noon was come, so we set down to dinner on cold Ham and Fowls, which we had brought with us. Our Tent stood in the middle of a large Court palisadoed round. We were surprized, that no People came into the place to see us, they having crouded so much at first, on our coming into the Camp: But I was told the King having been inform'd how we were incommoded, had given strict Orders, no one, on pain of Death, should, without leave of the Captain of our Guard, come to see

us. This was pleasing news; for by this we found his Majesty was duly obeyed, and also had our safety at heart. But we were plagued with a Vermin that greatly annoyed us; and that was such an infinite number of Flies, that tho' we had several Servants with Flappers, to keep them off our Victuals, yet it was hardly possible to put a bit of Meat into our Mouths, without some of those Vermin with it. These Flies, it seems, were bred by a great number of dead Mens Heads, which were piled on Stages, not far from our Tent, tho' we did not know so much at that time.

After we had dined, a Messenger came to us, about three o' clock in the afternoon, from the *Great Captain*, desiring us to go to the King's Gate; accordingly we went, and in our way saw two large Stages, on which were heaped a great number of dead Men's Heads, that afforded no pleasing sight or smell. Our Interpreter told us, they were the Heads of four thousand of the *Whidaws*, who had been sacrificed by the *Dahomès* to their God,

God, about three weeks before, as an Acknowledgment of the great Conquest they had obtain'd.

When we came to the King's Gate, as they call'd it, we found it only an Entrance into a large Court, which was palisadoed round; there being several mud-wall'd Houses in it. Here we were desired to sit down on Stools brought to us; and an Officer presented us, in the King's name, with Cows, Sheep, Goats, and other Provision; with this Compliment, that as his Majesty was then in a Camp, it was not in his power to provide for us better at this time. Having returned thanks for this unexpected favour, we went out of the Court, and were surprized with a sight, at the Gate, of forty stout Men ranked in file, with Fuses on their Shoulders, and broad Swords in their Hands; who had about their necks strings of dead Mens Teeth, reaching as low as their middle, both behind and before, in such Quantities, as might furnish all the Barber-Surgeons Shops in *Europe*. Being surprized at this extraordinary appearance, I asked

I asked the Linguist, Why they were drest in this manner? To which he replied, They were the King's *Heroes*, or *Worthies*, who had killed a great many People with their own hands, and were allowed, as a mark of their great Valour, to string and wear their Enemies Teeth about their Necks; and, I might observe, some of them had been more successful than others, by the different quantities they had on: For that it was made death by their Law, for any of those Gentlemen to string a Tooth, without first making due Proof, before the proper Officers, that it belonged to an Enemy slain with their own hand in Battle. Having viewed this strange Sight, I bid the Linguist tell them, " They appeared to be a
" Company of brave Gentlemen, and that
" I was their humble Servant." This Compliment pleased them, and they returned it, saying, " They had a great
" Esteem for white Men."

After this was pass'd, we returned to our Tent, and supped; then hung up our Hammocks, and lay in them till

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Morn-

Morning. I took notice, that the Lord of *Jaqueen's* Brother, who came from thence with us, was entertained at the Tent of the *Great Captain*; and on my inquiring the reason, I was answered, It was in respect to us, that we might not be crouded in our Tent.

Next Morning, at nine a Clock, an Officer came from the King to acquaint us, we should have an Audience forthwith. Accordingly we prepared ourselves; and then going to the King's Gate, were soon after introduced into his Presence. His Majesty was in a large Court palisadoed round, sitting (contrary to the Custom of the Country) on a fine gilt Chair, which he had taken from the King of *Whidaw*. There were held over his Head, by Women, three large Umbrellas, to shade him from the Sun: And four other Women stood behind the Chair of State, with Fufils on their Shoulders. I observed, the Women were finely dress'd from the middle downward, (the Custom of the Country being not to cover the Body upward, of either Sex) moreover
they

they had on their Arms, many large Manelloes, or Rings of Gold of great Value, and round their Necks, and in their Hair, abundance of their Country Jewels, which are a sort of Beads of divers Colours, brought from a far inland Country, where they are dug out of the Earth, and in the same Esteem with the *Negroes*, as Diamonds amongst the *Europeans*.

The King had a Gown on, flowered with Gold, which reached as low as his Ancles; an *European* embroidered Hat on his Head; with Sandals on his Feet. We being brought within ten Yards of the Chair of State, were desired to stand still: The King then ordered the Linguist to bid us welcome; on which we paid his Majesty the respect of our Hats, bowing our Heads at the same time very low, as the Interpreter directed us. Then I ordered the Linguist to acquaint the King,
“ That on his Majesty’s sending, to de-
“ fire me to come up to his Camp, I
“ forthwith resolved on the Journey;
“ that I might have the pleasure of see-

“ ing so great and good a King, as I
“ heard he was; relying intirely on the
“ Promises his Messenger had made me
“ in his Majesty’s Name.” The King
seemed well pleased with what I said,
and assured us of his Protection and kind
usage. Then Chairs being brought, we
were desired to sit down, and the King
drank our Healths; and then Liquor be-
ing brought us by his Order, we drank
his Majesty’s. After this the Interpreter
told us, “ It was the King’s Desire we
“ should stay some time with him, to see
“ the Method of paying the Soldiers
“ for Captives taken in War, and the
“ Heads of the slain.

It so happen’d, that in the Evening of
the Day we came into the Camp, there
were brought above eighteen hundred
Captives, from a Country called *Tuffoe*,
at the distance of six days Journey. The
occasion of warring on them, the Lin-
guist thus related, “ That at the time
“ his King was wholly employed in
“ contriving the Destruction of the
“ *Whidaws*, these People had presumed
“ to

“ to attack five hundred of his Sol-
“ diers, sent by his Majesty as a Guard
“ to twelve of his Wives, who were
“ going with a large quantity of Goods
“ and fine things, carried by Slaves, to
“ the Country of *Dabomè*. The Guard
“ being routed, and the Women slain,
“ the *Tuffoes* possess’d themselves of
“ the Goods; for which Outrage, as
“ soon as the Conquest of *Whidaw* was
“ compleated, the King sent part of his
“ Army against them, to revenge him
“ for their Villany; in which they had
“ all desirable Success.” It was necessary
to mention this Affair, for the better
understanding of what follows, it being so
very remarkable.

The King, at the time we were present, ordered the Captives of *Tuffoe* to be brought into the Court: Which being accordingly done, he chose himself a great number out of them, to be sacrificed to his *Fetiché* or Guardian Angel; the others being kept for Slaves for his own use; or to be sold to the *Europeans*. There were proper Officers, who received the

Captives from the Soldiers hands, and paid them the Value of twenty Shillings Sterling for every Man, in *Cowries*, (which is a Shell brought from the *East Indies*, and carried in large quantities to *Whidaw* by the *Europeans*, being the current Money of all the neighbouring Countries far and near) and ten Shillings for a Woman, Boy, or Girl. There were likewise brought by the Soldiers some thousands of dead Peoples Heads into the Court; every Soldier, as he had Success, bringing in his hand one, two, three, or more Heads hanging in a String; and as the proper Officers received them, they paid the Soldiers *five Shillings* for each Head: Then several People carried them away, in order to be thrown on a great Heap of other Heads, that lay near the Camp; the Linguist telling us his Majesty designs to build a Monument with them, and the Heads of other Enemies formerly conquered and killed.

I observed, there were a great many of the principal Men of the Court and Army present, all prostrated on the Ground;

none

none being permitted to go nearer, than within twenty foot of the King's Chair; and whatsoever they had to say to his Majesty, first kissing the Ground, they whispered into the Ear of an old Woman, who went to the King; and having received his answer, she returned with it to them. His Majesty likewise showed his Liberality to his Courtiers and Officers, in presenting them with at least two hundred Captives. As soon as any person had a Slave presented to them, a proper Officer made Proclamation of it, which was immediately echoed by the Populace, who were waiting in great numbers at the King's Gate for the Sacrifices.

After the Business of the Captives was dispatch'd, there came into the Court two Fellows, with a large Tub, that had in it at least six Gallons of Frumenty, or such like stuff, which they set on the Ground; and then falling on their Knees, they took with their Hands the Victuals out of the Tub, and threw it so fast into their Mouths, that tho' there was such a

quantity of it, they dispatch'd it in a few Minutes. The Linguist told us, this was their daily Practice; but that these Gormandizers lived not many Years, and then others took up their Trade; which is only in order to divert the King.

After this we saw several other things, full as ridiculous as this, which would be tedious for me to relate, as well as to the Reader to peruse; so having been near three Hours in the Court, exposed to the great heat of the Sun, from which we had nothing but Umbrellas to defend us, we desired his Majesty's Leave, to retire to our Tent, which was readily granted; accordingly we paid our Duty in a compliment to the King, and went away.

Sometime after this, we sat down to Dinner in our Tent, being accompanied with a great number of Flies, as formerly mentioned. Just as we had dined, the Duke, Brother to the Lord of *Jaqueen*, came to us in so great a fright, that after he had sat down, he could not speak for some time: And tho' he was at other times,

times, of a comely black colour, yet now his Countenance was changed to tawny: For as he was coming to our Tent, he saw a great number of poor People going to be sacrificed; whose Lamentations had made such an Impression, that it had occasioned this great disorder in him. For the People of the Sea-Coast abhor such things; especially the eating their Bodies afterwards, as the *Dakomes* do. And 'tis not to be imagined, what service the report of this did them, when they first invaded the Countries bordering on the Sea-Coast: On which I shall make a short Digression, to inform the Reader.

Discourfing afterwards with some of the principal People of *Ardra* and *Whidaw*, who had escaped the Conqueror's Sword, and telling them, what a Reproach and Disgrace it was to the latter Nation to quit their Country to the *Dakomes* in fo cowardly a manner as they had done; they answered, It was not possible to resist such *Cannibals*, the very Report of which had extremely intimidated their whole Nation. Whereupon
I ob-

I observed to them, It was all one to a dead Carcase, whether it was eaten by their own kind, or by the Vultures, (of which there are great numbers in the Country) on which they shrugged up their Shoulders, saying, “ The thoughts of being eaten by their own Species, were far more terrible to them, than the Apprehensions of being killed.

But to return again to the Duke, I endeavoured to allay his Fears, by representing to him, we had the King's Promise for our Safety; and that sacrificing their Enemies being the usual custom of the Country on any Conquest, he ought not to be so much surprized at it. But he replied, As to his own Safety he was very doubtful of it, the King not having yet admitted him to an Audience; so he requested he might remain in our Tent, as thinking himself safer with us, and accordingly we granted his request. Then sending for our Linguist, we desired to know, Whether the *Dutch* Captain and my self might be admitted to see the manner of the Sacrifices: (As for the *Dutch* Writer, he chose

chose to remain in the Tent with the Duke) The Interpreter answered, He would go to the chief *Feticbeer*, or Priest, and know, whether he would be pleased to give us leave. Soon after he returned, and informed us, Leave was granted: So we went with him, about a quarter of a mile from the Camp. There we found great numbers of People gathered together; and our Guard made way for us through the Croud, till we came near four small Stages, which were erected about five foot from the ground. We stood close to them, and observed the Ceremony, which was performed in the following manner.

The first Victim we saw, was brought to the side of the Stage. It was a comely old Man, between fifty and sixty Years of Age. His hands were tied behind him; and in his behaviour, he showed a brave and undaunted Mind, nothing like Fear appearing in him. As he stood upright by the Stage, a *Feticbeer*, or Priest, laid his Hand on his Head, saying some words of Consecration, which lasted about

about two Minutes. Then he gave the sign of Execution, to a Man that stood behind the Victim with a broad Sword, who immediately struck him on the nape of the Neck, with such force, that the Head was severed at one Blow, from the Body; whereupon the Rabble gave a great Shout. The Head was cast on the Stage, and the Body, after having lain a little while on the Ground, that the Blood might drain from it, was carried away by Slaves, and thrown in a place adjoining to the Camp. The Linguist told us, the Head of the Victim was for the King; the Blood for the *Fetiche*, or God; and the Body for the common People. We saw many other Persons sacrificed in this lamentable manner, and observed, That the Men went to the side of the Stages, bold and unconcerned; but the Cries of the poor Women and Children were very moving, and much affected the *Dutch* Captain and My self, tho' in a different manner: For he expressed his Fears to me, That the Priests might take it into their Heads, to serve us in the same manner,

ner, if they should fancy white People would be more acceptable to their God, than persons of their own colour. This notion raised some fear in me, but recollecting my self, I told him, “ As the
“ King was so greatly revered and
“ feared, I was in good hopes nothing
“ would be attempted on us; and that
“ we ought to put a good face on the
“ matter, and withdraw from so terrible
“ a Sight, the first opportunity.” Soon after, a principal Man of the Court came and stood by us, and bid the Interpreter ask us, “ How we liked the Sight?” To which we replied, “ Not at all: For
“ our God had expressly forbid us using
“ Mankind in so cruel a manner: That
“ our Curiosity had drawn us to come
“ and see it; which if we had not done,
“ we could never have believed it.” Then I asked the Linguist, Whether this Gentleman was accounted a generous good humoured Man? To which the Linguist replying in the affirmative, I ventured to put this Question to him, “ That if his
“ Fate had brought him into the same
6 “ Mis-

“ Misfortune, as these poor Captives were
“ now in, how he should like it? He
“ readily answered, Not at all. On this
“ I observed to him, that the grand Law
“ both of Whites and Blacks, with all
“ their Fellow Creatures was: *To do to*
“ *others no otherwise, than as they desired to*
“ *be done unto*: And that our God had en-
“ joined this to us on pain of very severe
“ Punishments.” To which he answered,
This was the Custom of his Country;
and so he left us.

Presently after this Gentleman's departure, there came to us a Colonel of the Army, whom we had seen at *Faqueen*, the day before we set out on our Journey. This person seemed very friendly and glad to see us, and ready to resolve any Questions we put to him. Amongst the rest, I told him, “ That I wondered they
“ should sacrifice so many People, of
“ whom they might otherwise make
“ good advantage, by selling them.” He replied, “ It had ever been the Custom of
“ their Nation, after any Conquest, to
“ offer to their God a certain number of
“ Cap-

Captives, which were always chose out from among the Prisoners, by the King himself: For they firmly believed, should this be omitted, no more Success would attend them. And he argued for the Necessity and Usefulness of their doing it, from the large Conquests they had made within a few Years, without any Defeat." Then I asked him, "Why so many old Men were sacrificed in particular? He answered, It was best to put them to death; for being grown wise by their Age and long Experience, if they were preserved, they would be ever plotting against their Masters, and so disturb the Country; for they never would be easy under Slavery, having been the chief Men in their own Land. Moreover, if they should be spared, no *European* would buy them, on account of their Age." I then observed to him, That I had seen several handsome young People sacrificed, whom I was sure the *Europeans* would gladly have bought. He replied, "They were designed to attend in the other World the
" King's

“ King’s Wives, whom the *Tuffoes* their
“ Countrymen had slain.” By which Answer I found they have a Notion of a future State, tho’ a very rude one. And this put me upon asking him, What Opinions they held concerning their God? To which he gave a very confused and imperfect Answer; so that all I could gather from his Discourse was, That they esteemed him as an invisible Guardian Angel, subordinate to another God; adding, “ Perhaps that God might be
“ ours, who had communicated so many
“ extraordinary Things to white Men;
“ as he had been informed by Mr. *Lambe*:
“ But as that God had not been pleased
“ to make himself known to them, they
“ must be satisfied with this they worshipped.”

By this time the Mob being grown thin, on the side where we stood, I told the Linguist, we would return to our Tent; and I invited the Colonel to go along with us, which he readily promised. Accordingly our Guard having made way for us, we left this horrible Place and Sight,

not

not having received the least Affront, tho' we were near two Hours by the Stages.

At our return we understood, the King had sent the Duke word, he should have an Audience that Evening; whereupon I endeavoured to cheer him up by telling him, " That we had been civilly used at
" the Sacrifices, and that nothing could
" more conduce to his Reputation, than
" his appearing before the King, in his
" usual sprightly Carriage and Behaviour," which was indeed natural to him. On this he went from us to the Great Captain's Tent, in order to prepare himself to go to the Audience. But the Colonel remained with us, drinking merrily of *European* Liquors, and in the Evening he asked us, " Whether we would take a
" walk, and see that Quarter of the Camp
" where his Tent stood?" This we readily agreed to, and in our way past by the place where the sacrificed Bodies were thrown. There were two great heaps of them, consisting, as they said, of four hundred Persons, and who had been chose out by the King that very Morning.

E

After

After we had been at the Colonel's Tent, where we were treated with Palm Wine, we returned to our own, being accompanied by him, and we desired him to stay to Supper. While we were eating, several Servants came with Dishes of Flesh and Fish, dress'd after the Country manner, and the Interpreter told us, they were sent by a Mulatto *Portuguese* Gentleman, who had been taken in the *Ardra* War. The King had ever since detained him Prisoner, allowing him a handsome Maintenance, and had given him a Wife much whiter than himself, who was born in the inland Country. Soon after the Victuals were brought, the Gentleman came himself, with his Wife, to see us; and after passing a handsome Compliment, they sat down to Supper with us. We were very glad of this new Acquaintance, the *Dutch Writer* speaking good *Portuguese*, and my self understanding a little; so that now we judged, we should not be obliged to trust intirely to our Linguist, this Person talking the Language of the Country fluently. I was
I much

much surprized to see his Wife so white, equal to our *English* Women, only of not so lively a Colour. She had woolly Hair, like the blackest of the Natives, with the same Features. Her Husband told us, she was born in a far inland Country, of black Parents, who had never seen a white Man, nor she before Mr. *Lambe*; whom he enquired affectionately after, saying, "That when he returned, according to his Promise to the King, his Majesty had promised to grant him his Liberty." Then, on his Importunity, we promised him a Visit at his House; and soon after, he and his Wife, with the Colonel, took their leaves, wishing us a good Night.

The next day, early in the morning, the Duke came to our Tent, and told us, he had, in the night past, a long Audience of the King, who treated him in a kind manner; so that his Apprehensions of being kill'd and eaten were quite vanished: but he told us with the utmost Horrour, that the sacrificed Bodies had been taken away in the night by the common People, who *Cannibals* had

E 2

had boiled and feasted on them, as holy Food. This Story induced us to send for our Linguist, and take a walk to the place where we had seen the Carcases the evening before; and, to our great Surprise, we found they were all gone. Thereupon asking the Interpreter, what was become of them? he replied smiling, the Vultures had eaten them up. I told him, "That was very extraordinary indeed, "to swallow Bones and all;" there being nothing remaining on the Place, but a great quantity of Blood. So he confessed, the *Feticheers*, or Priests, had divided the Carcases amongst the People, who had eat them in the manner the Duke had told us. And tho' no doubt this will appear incredible to many Persons, yet I desire they will only make this one Reflection, That those who could be so cruel as to sacrifice their fellow-Creatures, might probably carry their Barbarity a Degree further.

However, as I relate nothing for matter of Fact, but what I was an Eye-witness to, so I shall leave the Reader to give
what

what credit he pleases thereto. But as a further confirmation of their being Cannibals, I shall relate what I afterwards learn'd from one *Mr. Robert More*, who was a person of great Integrity, and at that time Surgeon of the *Italian Galley*. This Ship came to *Whidaw* whilst I was at *Jaqueen*, and Captain *John Dagge*, the Commander, being indisposed, sent *More* to the King of *Dakome's* Camp, with Presents for his Majesty. There he saw many strange things, especially human Flesh sold publickly in the great Market-place. As I was not in the Market during the time I was in the Camp, I saw no such thing: But I don't doubt but that I should have seen the same, had I gone into that place, for there were many old and maimed Captives brought from *Tuffoe*, (besides those sacrificed) which no *Europeans* would have bought.

But to return from this Digression: On our return to the Tent, we sent our Linguist to the great Captain, to desire he would procure us an Audience from the King, to treat of Business: But he sent

us word, That as his Majesty was very much engaged, we could not be heard that day; there being some Embassadors come from the inland Countries, who were to have an Audience forthwith. On this I sent again to the Great Captain, desiring he would please to be mindful of us, on the first Opportunity; and he was unexpectedly so that Afternoon.

Having then nothing to do but sit in our Tent, and make Memorandums of what we heard and saw; we asked the Linguist, "Whether we might, without Offence, go to see the Mulatto *Portuguese* Gentleman?" Thereupon he consulted with a principal Person belonging to the Court, who often came by the King's Order to us, to enquire if we wanted any thing; And he approving of it, we prepared to go, but first had this Caution given us; that there being two Embassadors in the Camp from the King of *Whidaw*, to offer his Subjection, if we should meet with any of their People in the Street, we should not hold any Conference with them. Which having promised,
we

we went to the *Portuguese* Gentleman's House, who received us very kindly, thinking he could not make us welcome enough; and as we could understand him, we sent our Interpreter away, under pretence of an Errand to the Duke. After he was gone, the first thing we desired of this Gentleman, was, to give us some hints, how we should behave, when we came to treat of Business with the King; which he readily did, speaking so highly of the King's Policy and Generosity, that we were much surprized, tho' afterwards we experienced the full of what he told us. This Person had in the Court of his House two pretty Horses, each about thirteen hands high, which were every way much better than those we had seen at *Jaqueen*. Upon our asking him, from whence he had them, he replied, " They
" came from the Kingdom of *Y-oe*;
" which lies towards the North-East,
" many days Journey off, beyond a great
" and famous Lake, which is the Foun-
" tain of several large Rivers, that
" empty themselves into the Bay of *Gui-*

“ *nea*. And he further added, that several fugitive Princes, whose Fathers the King of *Dabomè* had conquered and beheaded, fled to the King of this Country for Protection, and at last prevailed with him to make War on the King of *Dabomè*, which he did soon after the latter had conquered *Ardra*. The King of *J-oe* sent, under the Command of a General, a great Army of Horse, consisting of many Thousands, (for they never use Infantry) wherewith he invaded the *Dabomes* in their own Country: On this sudden and unexpected Invasion, the King of *Dabomè* marched immediately from *Ardra* into his own Kingdom, and made Head against the *J-oes*. But as he had none but Infantry, whose Arms were Guns and Swords, he was hard put to it: For the Country being open and without Inclosures, the Horsemen, who were armed with Bows and Arrows, Javelins and cutting Swords, had certainly conquer’d, if the unusual noise of the *Dabome’s* Fire-Arms had not so frightened the Horses, that

“ that their Riders could never make a
“ home-Charge on the Enemies Foot.
“ However, the Dispute having lasted, at
“ times, four days, and the King of *Dabomè*
“ finding his Soldiers so fatigued,
“ that they could hold out but a little
“ longer, he contrived this Stratagem:
“ he had great quantities of Brandy
“ by him, formerly bought at *Whidaw*,
“ which is a principal Commodity the
“ *French* Ships bring there, to exchange
“ for Negroes. So the King resolved to
“ retreat in the Night with his Army,
“ and leave the Liquor as a Bait for the
“ Enemy, with great quantities of valu-
“ able Goods, which were in store, in a
“ large Town near the Camp. When
“ Day came, the *Foes* thinking the *Dabomes*
“ were fled, fell to plundering and
“ destroying the Town, and drinking
“ greedily of the Brandy: And as they
“ seldom had tasted of that Liquor
“ before, it so intoxicated them, that
“ they fell asleep in great numbers on the
“ Ground. The King of *Dabomè* being
“ informed of this by his Spies, returned
“ with

“ with the utmost speed, and attacking
“ them while they were in this Disorder,
“ routed them; but the greater part of
“ the *J-oes* escaped with the help of their
“ Horses, and fled out of the Country:
“ However, their Loss was so great, that
“ the others esteemed it a compleat Vic-
“ tory. The *Portuguese* Gentleman ad-
“ ded, that at the time of this Rout, he
“ took the two Horses we had seen in his
“ Yard, and a great many more were
“ seized at the same time by the *Dabome*
“ Soldiers. He said further, (but enjoin-
“ ed us Secrecy) That tho’ the *Dabomes*
“ were exceeding proud of this Victory,
“ they were still much afraid of a second
“ Invasion, an Army of Horses being
“ very terrible to them: And that the
“ King had lately sent great Presents to
“ the King of *J-oe*, to prevent his attack-
“ ing him a second time. However, in
“ case he did it, and they should not be
“ able to withstand them, they comforted
“ themselves with this Thought, that
“ they might save their Persons, by flying
“ to the Sea Coast, to which the *J-oes*
“ durst

“ durst not follow them. For as their
 “ national *Fetiche* was the Sea, they were
 “ prohibited by their Priests from ever
 “ seeing it, under no less a Penalty than
 “ Death; which they made the People
 “ believe, would by their God, if they
 “ were so presumptuous, be inflicted on
 “ them.” This last Story seemed no-
 thing strange to us, who had conversed
 with the Coast *Negroes*; for they
 have all their particular *Fetiches* after the
 same manner; some being prohibited eat-
 ing Fowls that have white Feathers;
 others, on the contrary, are to eat none
 that have black: Some are to eat no
 Sheep, others no Goats. And abundance
 of such other superstitious Observances
 they have, which are most religiously
 kept, being assigned them by the Priest,
 the Day they have their name given
 them.

By this time it was past Noon, so we
 took our leave of the *Portuguese*, and
 went to our Tent to Dinner.

About three a Clock that Afternoon, a
 Messenger came from the great Captain,

The Au-
 thor has an
 Audience
 of the
 King of
 to *Dahomè*.

to inform us, the King had appointed immediately to give us an Audience. This was an agreeable Surprize to us, for now we had hopes of being quickly dispatch'd, so we prepared our selves, and went to the King's Gate, our Presents for his Majesty being carried before us.

On our coming into the Court, where we had seen the King at our former Audience, we were desired to stay a little, till the Presents were carried into the House, that his Majesty might view them. Soon after we were introduced into a small Court, at the further end of which the King was sitting cross-legg'd on a Carpet of Silk, spread on the Ground: He was himself richly dress'd, and had but few Attendants. When we approached him, his Majesty enquired in a very kind manner, How we did? ordering we should be placed near him; and accordingly fine Mats were spread on the Ground for us to sit on. Tho' sitting in that Posture was not very easy to us, yet we put a good Face on the matter, understanding by the Linguist, that it was their Custom.

As

As soon as we were placed, the King ordered the Interpreter to ask me, What I had to desire of him? To which I answered, " That as my Business was to
" trade, so I relied on his Majesty's Good-
" nefs, to give me a quick dispatch, and
" fill my Ship with *Negroes*; by which
" means I should return into my own
" Country in a short time; where I
" should make known how great and
" powerful a King I had seen." To
this the King replied by the Linguist,
" That my desire should be fulfilled:
" But the first Business to be settled was
" his Customs." Thereupon I desired
his Majesty to let me know what he expected? There was a Person then present (I believe on purpose) whose name was *Zunglar*, a cunning Fellow, who had formerly been the King's Agent for several Years at *Whidaw*; where I had seen him in my former Voyages. To him I was referred to talk about the Affair. So *Zunglar* told me, " his Master being re-
" solved to encourage Trade, tho' he was
" a Conqueror, yet he would not impose

" a

“ a greater Custom than used to be paid
“ to the King of *Whidaw*.” I answered,
“ As his Majesty was a far greater Prince,
“ so I hoped he would not take so much.”
This *Zunglar* not replying readily to, and
the King observing it, (for the Linguist
told him every word that pass’d be-
tween us) His Majesty himself replied,
“ That as he was the greater Prince, he
“ might reasonably expect the more Cus-
“ tom; but as I was the first *English* Cap-
“ tain he had seen, he would treat me as
“ a young Wife or Bride, who must be
“ denied nothing at first.” Being sur-
prized at this turn of Expression, I told
the Linguist, “ I was afraid he imposed
“ on me, and interpreted the King’s words
“ in too favourable a manner.” His Ma-
jesty observing I spoke with some Sharp-
ness, asked him what I said? Which the
Linguist having told him, his Majesty
smiled, and expressed himself again to the
same purpose: Adding, “ I should find
“ his Actions answerable to his Words.”
Being greatly encouraged by the King’s
gracious Expressions towards me, I took
the

the Liberty to represent to his Majesty,
 “ That the best way to make Trade flourish,
 “ rish, was to impose easy Customs, and
 “ to protect us from the Thievery of the
 “ Natives, and the Impositions of great
 “ Men; which the King of *Whidaw* not
 “ doing, had greatly hurt the Trade. For
 “ the ill usage the *Europeans* had met
 “ with of late from him and his People,
 “ had caused them to send fewer Ships
 “ than formerly they did. And tho’
 “ a large Custom might seem at first
 “ for his Majesty’s Advantage, yet it would
 “ soon be found, that a great number of
 “ Ships would thereby be hindred from
 “ coming to trade; so that in this respect
 “ he would lose far more in General,
 “ than he would gain by that Particular.”

The King took what I said in good part, telling me, “ I should name my
 “ own Custom,” which I at first declined:
 But being prest to do it a second time, I
 told the Linguist to ask his Majesty,
 “ Whether he would be pleased to take
 “ one half of what we used to pay at
 “ *Whidaw*?” To this the King readily
 agreed;

agreed; adding, “ He designed to make
“ Trade flourish; and I might depend
“ upon it, he would prevent all Imposi-
“ tions, and Thievery, and protect the
“ *Europeans* that came to his Country,
“ saying, that his God had made him
“ the Instrument to punish the King of
“ *Whidaw*, and his People, for the many
“ Villanies they had been guilty of to-
“ wards both Whites and Blacks: That
“ the Embassadors now in his Camp from
“ the said King, had informed him of
“ me and my Character, and that by the
“ account they had given him of my
“ former dealings in their Country, he
“ could put much Confidence in me.”
Then his Majesty having asked me di-
vers Questions concerning our former ill
usage in the Country of *Whidaw*, to which
I answered as I thought proper; I took
this Opportunity of pleading for the com-
mon People of that Kingdom; represent-
ing, “ It was the great Men amongst
“ them that had encouraged their thiev-
“ ing, in which they shared: But if his
“ Majesty would be pleased to receive
“ them

“ them to Mercy, and restore them to
“ their Country, on paying a certain
“ Tribute, they would be of great ad-
“ vantage to him; because they were
“ very industrious in cultivating the Land,
“ and many of them understood Trade
“ exceeding well, which his own People
“ were little versed in. Moreover it was
“ a Maxim amongst the white Princes,
“ that the number of useful Subjects was
“ their greatest Glory and Strength; and
“ if his Majesty thought the same, he
“ had an opportunity of adding many
“ hundreds of thousands to his former
“ Vassals.” To this the King replied,
“ He was sensible of the truth of what I
“ alledged, but that the Conquest of
“ *Whidaw* could not be secured, till he
“ had the King’s Head; and he had al-
“ ready offered the People to restore
“ them to their Country, as soon as they
“ should send him alive or dead to his
“ Camp.” I did not think proper, on
hearing this, to say any thing more on
the matter, or observe to his Majesty,
how wrong a Policy it was, to oblige

Subjects to act so villanous a part towards their Sovereign. For as the Custom of these black Princes was little known to us, I was afraid of giving offence: So I only answered, " That as
 " the King of *Whidaw* was on an Island
 " by *Popoe*, with many thousands of his
 " People, the rest that were dispersed up
 " and down the Country in the Bushes,
 " could not possibly perform what his
 " Majesty required of them: For if they
 " were ever so ready to do it, yet having
 " no Cannoes to ferry over to the Island,
 " it was not in their Power to take the
 " King from thence; and that I believed
 " if he did not receive them to Mercy
 " quickly, the far greater part of them
 " would perish by Famine."

Account
 of Bull-
 finch
Lambe.

After this his Majesty fell into a variety of Discourse, and amongst other things complained of Mr. *Lambe*, (who, as I have related in the beginning of this Book, had been taken Prisoner in the *Ardra* War,) saying, " That tho' he had
 " given him, at his leaving the Court,
 " three hundred and twenty ounces of
 " Gold,

“ Gold, with eighty Slaves, and made him
“ promise with a solemn Oath to return
“ again in a reasonable time, yet twelve
“ Moons had now pass’d, and he had
“ heard nothing from him: Adding, He
“ had sent a black Person with him,
“ whose name was *Tom*, one who had
“ been made a Prisoner at the same time,
“ being a *Jaqueen-man*, who spoke good
“ *English*; and this Man he had ordered
“ to return again with Mr. *Lambe*, that
“ he might be informed, whether what
“ that Gentleman had reported concern-
“ ing our King, Customs, and manner of
“ Living was true.” To this I replied,
“ That I had no personal Knowledge of
“ Mr. *Lambe*, but had been informed,
“ before I left *England*, that he went
“ from *Whidaw* to *Barbadoes*, which is
“ a Plantation where the *English* employ
“ their Slaves in making Sugar, and
“ which is at a great distance from our
“ own Country; But I hoped he would
“ prove an honest Man, and return again
“ to his Majesty, according to his Pro-
“ mise and Oath.”

To this the King replied, “ Tho’ he
 “ proved not as good as his Word, other
 “ white Men should not fare the worse
 “ on that account ; for as to what he had
 “ given *Lambe*, he valued it not a Rush;
 “ but if he returned quickly, and came
 “ with never so large a Ship, she should
 “ be instantly filled with Slaves, with
 “ which he might do what he thought
 “ proper.

Account
 of the
 black
 Man.

It may not be improper here to give
 a short account of the *black Man* the King
 mentioned to me, because he was in
England last year, and the Affair was
 brought before the Lords of Trade, by
 whom I was examined about him.

Mr. *Lambe* carried this Person to *Bar-*
badoes, and several other Places, but at
 last left him with a Gentleman in *Mary-*
land. Afterwards Mr. *Lambe* trafficked
 for some Years, from one place to ano-
 ther in the *Plantations*; and coming to
 the Island of *Antegoa*, where I had been
 in the year 1728, and told the foregoing
 story to some Gentlemen, and how kindly
 the King of *Dahomè* had express’d himself
 with

with regard to the said Mr. *Lambe*, being by them informed of it, this induced him to return to *Maryland*; and the Gentleman who had *Tom* in his Custody was so good, as to deliver him again to Mr. *Lambe*, who came with him to *London*, the beginning of the year 1731.

Mr. *Lambe*, soon after his arrival, came to see me at my house, enquiring particularly about what I had related at *Antegoa*; which I confirmed to him. Then he desired my Advice about his going back to the King of *Dahomè*. To this I frankly answered, “ It was my opinion,
“ he had miss’d the opportunity, by not
“ returning in a reasonable time, according to his promise; several years being now pass’d since he came from
“ thence, and the State of Affairs much
“ altered for the worse: Besides, he
“ might justly fear the King’s resentment,
“ as Mr. *Testesole* had experienced lately
“ to his cost, for abusing his Goodness;
“ for tho’ he was Governour for the
“ *African* Company at *Whidaw*, yet he
“ had been put to death in a cruel
“ manner.

On this he left me; and the next news I heard, was, That Mr. *Lambe* had delivered a Letter to his Majesty King *George* as from the King of *Dahomè*, which being referred to the Lords of Trade, the Merchants trading to the Coast of *Guinea* were sent for; and I being ordered to attend, informed their Lordships of what I knew of the matter.

The report from the Lords of Trade was to this Purpose, “ That the Letter
“ in their opinion was not genuine, but
“ that the *black Man* ought to be taken
“ care of, and returned to his King:” Accordingly he was put into the hands of the *African* Company, who took care of him for many Months; but he growing impatient, applied to their Graces the Dukes of *Richmond* and *Montague*, who procured him a Passage on board his Majesty’s Ship the *Tiger* Captain *Berkeley*, then bound to the Coast of *Guinea*.

Moreover, their Lordships having shewed him great Kindness, most generously sent by him several rare Presents to his King, which, no doubt, will make a good
impression

impression on him in favour of our Nation; and I have lately heard, that on his being put on Shore at *Whidaw*, he was forthwith sent to the King, who was then in his own Country of *Dahomè*, and was received graciously by him: That his Majesty sent down handsome Presents for Captain *Berkeley*, but before the Messengers got to *Whidaw*, he was sailed, not having patience to wait so many days, as the return from so far inland a place required.

I had not made this Digression, but only to set this Affair in a true light; and undeceive those that may read this Book, and were so far imposed upon, as to suppose the *Black Man* to have been an Embassador from the King of *Dahomè*, to his Majesty King *George*. I met with several that believed so, till I satisfied them of the contrary; for the jest was carried on so far, that several Plays were acted on his Account, and it was advertised in the News-Papers, that they were for the Entertainment of Prince *Adomo Oroonoko Tomo*, &c. these jingling Names being invented to carry on the Fraud the better. This

This black Person was born at *Jaqueen*, and being from a Boy conversant with the *English* trading there, learned so well our Language, that he was employed by them, when grown up, as an Interpreter.

He happen'd to be at *Ardra* on some business, at the time that Country was conquered, and so became Prisoner to the King of *Dahomè*. But 'tis time to have done with this Story, and go on where I left off.

After this Discourse concerning Mr. *Lambe* was over, I acquainted the King, that I daily expected another Ship belonging to my Owner, (who had five large Ships that used the *Whidaw* Trade in particular) and I hoped his Majesty would not take more Custom from the Commanders of them, than he had been pleased to take of me. To which he answered with a Smile, " That it was a
 " particular Grace to my self. However
 " when any of them came, they should
 " be used kindly in that matter, and the
 " Captains might stay at *Jaqueen* and

“ *Whidaw* as they thought fit, for that
 “ he now was Lord of both places.” And
 then his Majesty asked me, “ Whether
 “ I would chuse the Slaves that were
 “ now in the Camp, or have them first
 “ sent down to *Jaqueen*?” To which I
 answered, “ I chose the latter; desiring
 “ the King would now please to fix the
 “ Price, with other matters.” Accordingly *Zunglar* was called again, to inform his Majesty, what were the last Prices the *Europeans* had paid for Negroes at *Whidaw*, before the Conquest: But on my representing, That the Price had been raised there, much above what had been customary, on account of the War; the King moderated it himself, and I writ down with my Pencil, in his presence, every thing agreed on: Amongst which one was, That I should have three Males to one Female, and take none but what I liked. The reason of my mentioning this, is to explain more fully what happened to me afterwards, on account of these two Articles.

After

After this was done, the Duke, Brother to the Lord of *Jaqueen*, was sent for, and the King recommended me to the care of them both, declaring, “ If I suffered by their People, either in Person or Goods, he and his Brother should answer for it: Moreover, if any Person stole my Goods, and could be taken, his Majesty ordered, they should be impaled alive on the Sea side, for an Example to the Porters, and others that bring our Merchandise from thence to the Town.

By this time it was near nine a clock at night, and the Linguist was ordered by the King to tell us, his time of washing was come; so we rose up in order to take our leaves, humbly thanking his Majesty for all his Favours, and for his great Goodness towards us, in giving us so long an Audience; desiring he would be pleased to permit us to return next day to *Jaqueen*: adding, I hoped God would give him many Days, for the good of his own People, and of the *Europeans* that should come to his Country. The King thanked us for our good Wishes, saying,

saying, he would dispatch us the next day, and then we paid our Respects, and so parted.

As we were almost five hours so near the King, I had a good opportunity of taking an exact View of him. He was middle-sized, and full bodied; and, as near as I could judge, about forty five years old; His Face was pitted with the Small Pox; nevertheless, there was something in his Countenance very taking, and withal majestick. Upon the whole, I found him the most extraordinary Man of his Colour, that I had ever conversed with, having seen nothing in him that appeared barbarous, except the sacrificing of his Enemies; which the *Portuguese* Gentleman told me, he believed was done out of Policy; neither did he eat human Flesh himself.

Being made easy in all respects by this Audience, we returned to our Tent, and spent the evening cheerfully, the *Mulatto Portuguese*, with several Courtiers supping with us. The next morning we were sent for again to the King's Gate, and the
Officers

Officers told us, “ It being the King’s
“ *Fetiche*-day, his Majesty could not see
“ us; but that he had ordered them to
“ present us with something in his name;
“ adding, I might depend on what had
“ been promised me, and that we were
“ at Liberty to go for *Jaqueen* when we
“ pleased:” Our black Servants had likewise handfom Clothes given them to wear about their middle; (according to the custom of the Negroes, who never cover more than that part) with a small sum of Money to each of them, which made them very jocund, and almost forget the fear they had been put in at the sight of the Sacrifices.

This being over, our servants carried the Presents to our Tent, which consisted of Slaves, Cows, Goats and Sheep, with other Provisions: And then we went to the great Captain’s Tent, to take our leave of him. There we found the Duke, who told us, he could not have his Audience of leave from the King till the Evening; and earnestly desired us not to go without him; for that he would certainly

tainly accompany us the next Morning to *Jaqueen*. Tho' the *Dutch* Gentlemen and my self were very desirous of going before, yet we could not in honour leave the Duke; so we consented to stay for him, and went to our Tent to Dinner.

In the Afternoon, the Linguist came and told us, that the remainder of the Army, who had been plundering the Country of *Tuffoe*, were returning; and asked us, whether we would go and see them pass by the King's Gate? We went accordingly to that place, and soon after they appeared, marching in a much more regular Order than I had ever seen before, even amongst the *Gold Coast Negroes*; who were always esteemed amongst the *Europeans* that used the Coast of *Guinea*, the best Soldiers of all the Blacks. I observed, this Army consisted of about three thousand regular Troops, attended by a Rabble of ten thousand at least, who carried Baggage, Provisions, dead Peoples Heads, &c. The several Companies of Soldiers had their proper Colours, and Officers, being armed with Musquets and cutting

cutting Swords; and with Shields. As they passed by the King's Gate, every Soldier prostrated himself, and kissed the Ground; then rose with such agility, as was very surprizing. The place before the King's Gate was four times as large as *Tower Hill*; there they performed their Exercises, in the sight of innumerable Spectators, and fired at least twenty rounds with their small Arms, in less than two hours time: Then, by the General's Order, the Soldiers retired to the part of the Camp they belonged to. This fight was well worth seeing even by us *Europeans*.

I took notice, that abundance of Boys followed the Soldiers, and carried their Shields; and asked the Linguist, "What was the occasion of it? He told me, That the King allowed every common Soldier a Boy at the publick charge, in order to be trained up in Hardships from their Youth; and that the greatest part of the present Army consisted of Soldiers, bred up in this manner, and under this Establishment." By which I judged, it was no wonder the King had made so large Conquests,

quests, with such regular Troops, and his Policy together.

After this Sight was over, we went again to the great Captain's, whose eldest Son had been General in the Expedition against the *Tuffoes*. The *Mulatto Portuguese* Gentleman being then present, advised us to go and pay our Compliments to this Commander. Accordingly we went, and were received by him with great Civility; and having presented him with some Trifles, wherewith he was highly delighted, we returned to his Father's Tent. After a short stay, telling him we were afraid we should not set out for *Jaqueen* the next day, he assured us we should certainly go the next morning early; and that he would accompany us part of the way: which Promise was highly pleasing to us, for we were quite tired of the Camp: Moreover my Business very much required my presence at *Jaqueen*, in order to begin trading. I observed in the Great Captain's Tent two black Gentlemen, who had long Gowns on, with a Cloth wreathed about their Heads,

Heads, like a *Turkish* Turbant, and Sandals on their Feet. This being a Dress I had never seen before amongst the Negroes, I inquired of the Linguist, who they were? He replied, " They were
" *Malayes*, which is a Nation far inland,
" bordering on the *Moors*; and that these
" People were equal to the white Men
" in one thing, namely in writing: That
" at this time there was about forty of
" them in the Camp, who had been taken
" at several times in war, as they
" traded from one Country to another:
" and that the King treated them kindly,
" for they had the Art of dying Goat and
" Sheep-skins with divers Colours, which
" they made into Cartouch-boxes for the
" Soldiers; and also into Bags to hold
" loose powder, and for many other uses."
I was desirous of discoursing with these People, but the Linguist declined it, saying, " It would give offence to the Great
" Captain:" So we went from hence to take our leave of the *Mulatto Portuguese* Gentleman, and afterwards to our Tent to supper, and slept all night in our Hammocks. Next

Next Morning we rose early, and prepared for our Journey. As soon as all our things were in order, we sent the Duke word, that we waited for him. The Messenger returned forthwith, and desired us to go to the great Captain's Tent, where we should find the Duke and his People all ready for going. Accordingly we went, but the Ceremony of taking leave of several great Men, who came to wish us a good Journey, detained us till nine a clock in the Morning: And then we set out; the musical Instruments of the *Negroes* making a great noise at our Departure. The great Captain, according to his Promise, accompanied us for an hour on the Road, and then took his leave under a Salute of Fire-Arms from his Soldiers, and our Servants. Our Hammock-men had no need of being press'd to make haste, and travel fast: For the Impression made on their Minds by the sacrificing the poor People of *Tuffoe*, still so much affected them, that they ran full speed with us, even beyond their Strength; so that by five a clock in the

The Au-
thor's re-
turn to
Faqueen.

Evening, they brought us into *Faqueen* Town, where the People received us with much Joy, having been under great apprehensions for our Safety, because we staid longer than was expected.

The next day, being the 15th of *April* 1727, I paid the King of *Dahomè*'s Officers the Custom agreed on; and in two days after, a great many Slaves came to Town, being sent by his Majesty for me to chuse such as I liked of them: Which having done, I offered to pay the Lord of *Faqueen* his usual Duties, but he insisted on a larger Custom than my Surgeon had agreed for with him at our first coming: So I refused to pay it, and put him in mind of the Injunction the King of *Dahomè* had sent him by his Brother. This put him in a Passion, and he asked me sternly, Whether I designed to bring War on him, by informing the Conqueror of what he demanded? This being a tender Point, and hoping Time and Patience might bring him to do me Justice, I took my leave of him: For I had been told, it was not possible, no more than prudent,

to engage any one to go with a Complaint to the King of *Dahomè*; for the Messenger would certainly be murdered on the Road by the *Jaqueens*. Moreover, I was informed, they and their Lord had sent their beloved Wives and best Effects to an Island, which is about thirty Miles to the Eastward of *Jaqueen* on the Sea-Coast, and under the Protection of the King of *Appah*, whose Country extends as far as the Bay of *Bennin*. And as they durst not trust intirely to the Conqueror's Faith and Promises, so the Men were always ready to fly there themselves, on the least appearance of Hostility: There they could be in safety, the *Dahomes* not having Cannoes to follow them, or if they had, none amongst them understanding the Management of them.

A few days after the Lord of *Jaqueen* had refused to take his usual Customs, another difficulty arose; for the Porters refused to bring up my Goods from the Sea side, except I would pay them double the price I did at my first coming. Thereupon I sent my Complaint to their Lord,

who acknowledged it was a great Imposition, but he sent me word, “ It was not
“ in his Power to oblige those sort of
“ People to do me Justice; for by the
“ stranding of the *Dutch* Ship, they had
“ got so many Goods, that it had made
“ them rich and proud; and should he go
“ about to force them to bring up my
“ Goods at the usual rates, they would
“ forthwith quit the Country, and fly to
“ *Appab.*” Being in these melancholy
Circumstances, imposed on by all hands,
and without hopes of redress, an accident
relieved me very unexpectedly. For a
few days after this, the Lord of the place
sent for me; and going to him, he told
me, “ He had just then received Advice,
“ that an *English* Ship was arrived in the
“ Road of *Whidaw*; and he desired I
“ would send my Boat there, to persuade
“ the Captain to come to *Jaqueen.*” I
answered, “ I did not doubt but that Ship
“ was the *Italian* Galley, Captain *Dagge*,
“ who was known to him; for I had
“ expected him some time, his Ship be-
“ longing to the same Gentleman as
“ mine

“ mine did: But since I had received
 “ such bad usage from him and his Peo-
 “ ple, he could not expect I would be so
 “ imprudent as to advise the Captain,
 “ who was in the same Interest with me,
 “ to come and receive the like Treat-
 “ ment: Adding, If I sent my Boat, it
 “ should be to desire Captain *Dagge* to
 “ stay at *Whidaw*, and send a Messenger
 “ to the King of *Dahome*, to represent
 “ the usage I had met with from him;
 “ tho’, to let him see how loth I was to
 “ give any Offence that way, I should
 “ intirely forget what was past, if he
 “ would make me easy.” This immedi-
 ately brought him to do me Justice: He
 took his usual Custom that very day, and
 the following went himself to the Sea
 side, to the Towns where the Porters
 lived, and persuaded them to carry my
 Goods at the usual rates.

Soon after this I received a Letter from
 Captain *Dagge*, desiring I would let him
 know how Affairs stood at *Jaqueen*. Hav-
 ing informed him of all matters, he con-
 cluded, it would be for our Owner’s In-

terest if he stayed at *Whidaw*, where he had great Success; for that People being in a starving Condition, and obliged to sell their Servants and Children for Money and Goods, to buy Food from their Neighbours of *Popoe*; his Ship was soon filled with *Negroes*, and he had the good fortune to sail from the Coast three days before me. Not long after the Arrival of Captain *Dagge*, I was taken ill of a Fever; my Surgeon, a very eminent Man for Trade as well as his Profession, died in a few days after my being taken ill; and the rainy Season coming on, my white People both on board and on Shore grew sickly; and to add to my Misfortunes, the King of *Dabomè*'s Traders began to grow troublesome and imposing. Indeed I had one Comfort in this Distress; namely, that tho' I was two days together without a white Man in the Factory with me, (occasioned by the Sickness) yet I had nothing stole from me, which I believe was owing to the severe Charge given by the King to the Lord of *Jaqueen* and his Brother, to take care of me and my Goods.

But

But as to the King of *Dahomé*'s Traders, when I objected to them my Agreement with their Master, producing the Writing I had made in his Presence, and calling the Linguist to witness, that I was not to take any Slaves but such as I liked; yet it signified nothing: For tho' the Interpreter was so honest as to own it, yet he was as imposing as any other, pretending the King's Orders for what they did. Nay, I began at last not to think my self safe, one of the Traders being so insolent as to present his Fusil at me, for refusing to take his bad Slaves. For tho' they came to trade, yet they were always armed with Sword and Dagger, and a Boy carried their Gun for them. These People were far different from the Traders we used to deal with at *Whidaw*: For these came always in a modest manner to deal with us, and tho' sometimes I owed them Goods on my Notes for ten days together, because the badness of the Sea prevented our landing them; yet they shewed no Uneasiness about it: Whereas, on the contrary, these *Dahomé* Traders would

come ten times a day with their Notes; tho' they were sensible the Sea was so great on the Shore, that we could land no Goods. And when I expostulated with them, about the needless trouble they gave me and themselves, in coming so often to me to read their Notes; it not being in my Power to pay them, 'till I could get goods landed; they angrily replied, " They did not like a bit of Paper
" for their Slaves, because the writing
" might vanish from it; or else the Notes
" might be lost, and then they should
" lose their Payment." Upon that I used to shew them my Book, telling them their Notes were entered therein, and should they lose them by any Accident, yet I would pay them by my Book: And as to the writing it would never go off the Paper; but this did no ways satisfy them.

About this time several *Portuguese* Ships arrived in the Road of *Whidaw*, and stay'd there, on a prospect of the Country's being settled again; for the King of *Dahomè* had permitted a great number of the
common

common People to return, and they began to build them Houses near the *English* and *French* Forts. But some time after it appeared, that it was only done to deceive the *Europeans*. However the King of *Dahomè* being desirous of the *Portuguese* Gold, which they bring to purchase *Negroes* with, his Majesty sent a great many Slaves down to *Whidaw*, which made Trade dull with us at *Jaqueen*. For tho' formerly great Numbers came to this place, from other Nations now destroyed by the *Dahomes*, there remains at present only one Country called *Lucamee*, lying towards the North-East, for the *Jaqueens* to trade to. Which Nation, by means of a wide River, has escaped being made a Conquest to the barbarous and cruel *Dahomes*. As I was in this melancholy state, one day, my old Acquaintance the Captain (who had been so civil to me at the Camp) came to visit me; and the Linguist not being in the way, I made use of a little black Boy, who spoke pretty good *English*, and was entertained by me in the Factory as a Servant, to be my

Interpreter; ordering him to tell the Captain my Grievances, for which he seemed concerned. He told me he was a warlike Person, and so had no Knowledge of the Affairs of the Traders; but he was confident the *Jaqueens* were not tolerated in such things by the King. Then I bid the little Boy further inform him, That the Traders very much imposed upon the military Gentlemen of his Country, in selling them Muskets bought out of the *French* Factory, for the sake of a small Present. These being made in imitation of *English* Arms, were sent to the King, as if bought from me, by which means a bad repute was brought on our Arms; because the *French* Guns split in firing, and hurt the Soldiers; which is owing to their not being proved as ours are, with a good load of Gunpowder, before they are put into a Stock and finished. I observed, this very much moved him, so I made him a Present of some things, with a promise of a greater Reward, if he would go to the King, and let his Majesty know my Complaints. So
having

having considered the matter a little while, he agreed to go, charging the little Boy to keep the thing secret, on pain of being put to cruel Torments if he divulged it; and I soon after experienced the good Effects of his Journey.

The People of *Jaqueen*, as I mentioned before, were in very uneasy Circumstances. The King of *Dabomè* being informed of it, resolved to send the great Captain to their Lord, to settle all things to their Satisfaction. The Captain my Friend being got to the Camp before the Great Captain set out, and acquainting the King with my Complaints, it much incensed him against the Traders, and he caused the great Captain to go forthwith to *Jaqueen*, to settle all matters. He made such haste, that he brought the first news of his coming himself; and because he had a great Retinue, on the first report of his arrival, the Inhabitants of *Jaqueen* were going to fly to *Appah*; believing he was come in a hostile manner: But he soon made them easy, ordering the far greater part of his People to remain on the other
side

side of the River, which runs on the back part of the Town; and he came only with one hundred Attendants into the place. Upon the first notice of his coming, the Duke, Brother to the Lord of *Jaqueen*, went to receive him; and all the white Gentlemen in the Town, both Merchants and Commanders of Ships, assembled at the Door of the *Dutch* Factory, to salute him as he pass'd by that House. He was conducted to the Duke's Court, with all the Honours the place could possibly afford. His Retinue was lodged near my Factory, which proved a great disturbance to me; for they made a dismal noise with their musical Instruments, both night and day; but on my complaining of it, they were afterwards removed.

It seems the Great Captain, at his first coming into the Town, had given orders to some of his Officers, to seize all the *Dahomè* Traders. But by means of some Friend they had in their Retinue, notice was given them; whereupon several of them fled. However, about ten were seized,

seized, and immediately sent in Irons to the King: And the Duke, brother to the Lord of *Jaqueen*, told me afterwards, “ That when the Great Captain began “ to talk of Business with him, the first “ Question he asked, was, Whether the “ Traders had used me ill? To which he “ replied in the affirmative; Adding, He “ was in my Factory, when one of them “ presented his Piece at me, because I “ refused to buy the bad Slaves brought “ by him.” The great Captain upon that asked him, “ Why he suffered me to be so used? To which the Duke answered, “ That not only he himself, but his Brother, had been treated by them with “ great Insolence; and that they were “ afraid to resent it, for fear they should “ represent their Actions in a bad Light “ to the King.” On this account the Great Captain said, they had talked enough upon that Point.

We understood afterwards, that this great Man, at his return to the King, acquainting him with the Misbehaviour of the Traders, his Majesty ordered the Person

son who presented his Piece at me, to be beheaded, with another, who had highly insulted me at the same time: And the others were kept in bonds, fed only with Bread and Water; and whenever it rained, they were put out into the Prison Court, and exposed till it had done raining. By this I found, that the Traders and the Linguist had shamefully belied the King; however, in Prudence I did not think fit to complain of the Interpreter, but only chid him in private; at which he was so frightened, that he left me, when the great Captain returned to their King.

The next day after this Great Man's arrival, all the white Gentlemen in the place went to wait on him at the Duke's House, carrying him Presents; and I went amongst the rest. Upon my taking leave, I invited him to dine with me at my Factory the next day. He came accordingly with many Attendants, one of whom he admitted with the Duke, to sit at Table with us. He seemed to be much pleased with the Victuals, especially with a Ham; and was much surprized when I told him,
it

it was part of a Hog that had been killed
fix Months ago. I was so much diverted
to see him handle a Fork, which it seems
he had never used before, that I could
hardly keep my Countenance, so auk-
wardly did he manage it. Amongst other
dishes there was brought to the Table a
Pye of minced meat. Of this he eat
greedily, asking me, "How it was pre-
pared?" I told him the manner; ad-
ding it was done by my Wife, and be-
ing put up in earthen Pans, it would
keep in so hot a Country as this was,
for six Months at least." He then ask-
me, How many Wives I had? "I told him
we were allowed by our Laws but one;
on which he fell a laughing, saying,
He had five hundred, and wished fifty
of them could prepare such meat for
him as mine had done." After this
the Servants brought *Bananas*, with other
Fruit of the Country, on *Delft* Plates.
These Plates he was much taken with,
and desired I would give him that he eat
on, with the Knife, Fork, and Napkin
he used. I told him he was welcome to
all

all on the Table: Of which the Linguist had no sooner informed him, but he spoke to his Servants, and they immediately swept all away, so suddenly, that they had like to have broke all the Plates, but they luckily escaped. I put on a good Face on the matter, tho' I was something surprized to be so soon taken at my word, with the manner of it; so I said to him, "I would present him further with some Mugs and Cups, which I called for."

I had almost forgot to relate another Circumstance, full as odd as this. When we first sat down to dinner, some of his principal Servants who stood behind his Chair, would every now and then snatch off his Plate, a Slice of Ham or Fowl; and observing he did not rebuke them for it, I bid the Linguist tell him, "His Servants should not want for Victuals after we had dined; for it was not the white Peoples custom, to let their Guests Attendants go home hungry;" so he ordered them to be quiet for the future.

After

After dinner we drank both our Kings healths, and he grew very merry, preferring Punch to other Liquors. When he took his leave of me in the Evening, he express'd great Satisfaction at his Entertainment: Moreover he told me, "He
" design'd to go and see the Sea the next
" day, (which was about three Miles
" off) and as he had never yet seen it,
" nor a Ship, he should be glad of my
" Company." But I was obliged to excuse my self, on account of my late Illness, from which I was not perfectly recovered. So I told him, "I would
" order my Officer in the Tent, to entertain him in the best manner he could;
" and if he would be pleased to go on
" board my Ship to see her, all possible
" Care should be taken of him.

I must now leave this great Man for a while, and give an Account of a remarkable thing that happen'd whilst he was at the Sea side. For the right understanding of it, the Reader is to know, That a few days before the great Captain came to *Jaqueen*, the Linguist brought me two

H

Female

Female *Negroes*, saying, “ The King de-
“ fired, I would buy them, and promise
“ I would not let them be redeemed by
“ any one that should offer to do it:”
After I had viewed these Women, one of
which was turned of fifty, and the other
about twenty Years old, I told the Lin-
guist, “ The first was past her Labour,
“ and not for my purpose; but I would
“ buy the other.” He replied, “ He
“ could not part them; adding, It would
“ highly oblige the King if I took them
“ both:” But suspecting he made use of
the King’s Name, to get rid of an old
Woman, I refused it, and he carried them
away. I little suspected then what would
happen to this poor Creature, which I
shall presently relate.

The great Captain, as he had told me,
went the next day to the Sea side, accom-
panied by abundance of People who came
from the inland Country, which indeed
they daily did in great Numbers, to see
so rare a sight, now the ways were open
to them. There lay then at Anchor, in
the Road of *Jaqueen*, the *Katherine Gal-*
ley

ley which I commanded, being a fine Ship of near three hundred Tuns burthen; and two *Portuguese* Vessels. This fight exceedingly surprized him, as well as did the Sea, which came rolling and roaring with its Billows on the Shore; so that he stood for some time fixed as if he had been a Statue, till he heard the Guns fired from the *Katherine*, wherewith I had ordered him to be saluted, on a signal made from our Tent. Being by the Noise of the Guns roused out of his Astonishment, my Officer then invited him to go to the Tent to dinner, which he readily accepted. Whilst he was at dinner, he could not sit still three minutes together, his Curiosity still prompting him to go and look on the Sea and Ships.

As the Water near the Shore is very shallow, our Boats cannot approach nearer than within two Cables length, so that we are obliged to make use of *Cannoes*, which draw much less Water than our Boats, to land our Goods: And also the fresh Water for the Ship's use, is rafted

in Casks by Ropes from the Boats. The great Man was so pleased with the sight, that he went too near the Sea to see it; in which instant a Wave coming with great force, reached him so, that with the surprize he fell on his back; by which Accident some salt Water got into his Stomach. His Servants seeing him fall, immediately run to his Assistance; and taking him up, carried him to our Tent, where he drank half a pint of Brandy, to qualify the salt Water he had swallowed down. Tho' he had met with this mischance, he stay'd at the Tent till the Evening, and then left the place with reluctance, to come to Town; so much delighted was he with this sight. It was about nine a clock at night when he returned to *Jaqueen*, being usher'd in with the hideous noise of their musical Instruments, and the Acclamations of the People.

Soon after, one of his principal Servants, together with the Linguist, came to me, saying, "The Great Man had sent them
" to return me thanks for the kind Enter-
" tainment

“tainment he had received at my Tent;
“that he designed to set out next day
“for the King’s Camp, and should be
“glad to see me before he went.”

The Servant being gone, the Linguist told me in private, “That the oldest
“Woman whom I had refused to buy,
“had that day been sacrificed to the Sea,
“by order of the great Captain. For
“she had highly offended the King,
“and as I would not take her, his Ma-
“jesty had ordered her to be destroyed
“this way, in the room of another Victim
“that was designed for the same Purpose.”
I asked him, What Crimes she had com-
mitted? He replied hastily, “Did I think
“he knew the King’s Secrets? adding,
“She had lived a long time in the Court,
“with good Repute till now.” I then
wish’d in my mind I had bought her;
but only said to the Linguist, “I won-
“dered he should have a hand in such
“Cruelty, having been bred up amongst
“white People. To which he answer-
ed, “Great Mens Commands were not
“to be disputed, especially there being

“ no one but himself of the *Dabomes*,
“ that durst go off in a Cannoe with her.”
Whereupon he told me the following
Story; “ The Woman’s Hands being tied
“ behind her, and her Feet across, she
“ was put into the *Cannoe*, and carried
“ off about half a Mile from the
“ Shore: And then he ordered the Row-
“ ers to throw her over board; which
“ they had no sooner done, but he saw
“ some Sharks (voracious Fishes very
“ common in those Seas) tear her to pie-
“ ces in an instant.” On hearing this
Account I pitied the Fate of this poor
Creature, for I intirely credited the Story,
knowing full well the Barbarity of those
People. But the next day I was greatly
surprized, with a Letter from my chief
Mate, informing me, that the Woman
was on board our Ship: Which happened
in this manner. It seems, neither my
People at the Tent, nor those in our
Boats, which lay at the Moorings near the
Shore, knew any thing of the real occa-
sion of the Cannoe’s going off. For the
Woman was put very privately into the
Cannoe.

Cannoe. They only thought the Linguist was gone, with a design to see some of the Ships. When he came on shore again, one of our Boats went just then from the Moorings, in order to go on board our Ship. Being got about half way, the Officer in the Boat spied something floating on the Sea, which at his coming nearer, he perceived to be a human Body lying on its back; and now and then spurting Water out at the Mouth. This showing it was still living, he ordered it to be taken into the Boat, being bound in the same manner as the Linguist had told me. Immediately they untied this poor Woman, chafed her Limbs, and rolled her Body about, whereupon she discharged a good quantity of salt Water out of her Mouth. Then they carried her on board the Ship, not knowing in the least the occasion of her being in the Sea, and extremely wondering she had escaped the Sharks, who are usually so voracious, that when a dead Person is thrown overboard, or a living one falls into the Sea by Accident, they are in an instant torn to pieces

by those voracious Animals. So that this poor Creature seemed to have a miraculous Escape; and the knowledge of the greediness of these Sharks, I suppose, induced the Linguist to tell me, that he actually saw her torn to pieces; verily believing it would so happen, which his Fears would not let him stay to see, on account of the great swell the Billows of the Sea had at that time.

Upon my receiving the abovementioned account from the Mate, tho' pleas'd with the safety of the poor Woman, yet it filled me with Apprehensions, if the King of *Dahomè* should come to know it: For he might pretend, his *Fetiche*, or God, being disappointed of this Sacrifice by us, would revenge it on me, or at least oblige me to make up the Affair with large Presents. So having considered of the matter, I writ to the chief Mate, to charge our People to keep the thing secret; it being of the utmost Consequence to us all to do it: Which they accordingly did. Some time after, going on board the Ship, I examined this Wo-

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man by the Linguist, but she would never confess the reason of the King's displeasure against her; alledging she knew not that she had in any respect offended him. However, I found by the Linguist, that he suspected, it was on account of her assisting some of the King's Women in their Amours.

This Woman being a sensible Person, did us good service in the Voyage. For she was known to several of the Negroes on board, and by her talking to and advising them, made them easy in their Minds: She observed to them, amongst other things, " That as we had shown
" such Kindness to her, first in saving her
" Life, and since in taking care of her,
" who might be reckoned an useless Person to us, on account of her Age; so
" they had all the reason in the World
" to believe we were much better people
" than their own Countrymen; and that
" the strange Stories they had been formerly told of white People, must be
" false." The female *Negroes*, who used always to be the most troublesome to us,
on

on account of the noise and clamour they made, were kept in such Order and Decorum by this Woman, that I had never the like in any Voyage before: And when I came to *Antegoa*, *Charles Dunbar* Esq; Surveyor General of *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward Islands*, on my Recommendation, bought her, and I was not a little pleased she had got so generous and good a Master.

But to return again to the great Captain: When he was ready to depart from *Jaqueen*, all the *Europeans* in the Place waited on him to the side of the River, that runs on the back part of the Town. Upon taking leave I told him, "I wanted
" but eighty *Negroes* to compleat my Car-
" go," and he promised he would acquaint the King with it; and I might be sure his Majesty would send them down to me forthwith. However, this did not happen according to my Expectation; for I understood afterwards the King had no Slaves by him for sale, tho' he had great numbers of captive *Negroes*, which tilled his Grounds, and did other Work. For,
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it seems, after they are once inrolled for that Service, his Majesty never sells them, unless they are guilty of very great Crimes.

After the great Captain's departure, I was obliged to wait a long while for a dispatch; at last the desired Time came, and the King's Factors that brought the *Negroes* behaved themselves so well towards me, that I had no reason to complain of them. The principal amongst them told me, "The King was much surprized, " that I had not been dispatch'd before; " and that his Majesty had punished those " severely, who had been the occasion " of my long stay at *Jaqueen*: That if " my Affairs would admit of my going " to the Camp, the King was desirous " to see me again there, to discourse, and " settle Matters, for the mutual Interest " of himself, and the *Europeans* trading " to his Country; for when I was with " him before, the great Hurry of Affairs " his Majesty had then on his Hands, did " not allow him sufficient time to talk of " Business." I desired the Gentleman to
return

return the King my due Acknowledgments for all his Favours; “ and that I
“ should have been very glad and ready
“ to have waited again on his Majesty at
“ the Camp: But the bad state of health
“ I was then in, did not allow it; of
“ which himself being an Eye-Witness,
“ I desired he would be pleased to inform the King of it: Adding, I should
“ not fail, on my arrival into *England*,
“ to tell my Countrymen who trade to
“ this place, how great and generous a
“ Prince I had been entertained by; hoping (if God blest’d me) to return again
“ in a twelvemonth at farthest.” So having made the Traders some small Presents, they took their Leaves, returning many thanks for what I had given them.

As soon as I had finished my Affairs with these People, I waited on the Lord of *Jaqucen*, and told him, “ That having compleated my Ship’s Cargoe of
“ *Negroes*, I design’d to go on board in
“ two days time, desiring he would be
“ pleased to pay me the ballance of an
“ account that was between us.” This
he

he readily promised, but never performed it. Moreover, the next day, having paid his Brother the rest of the Customs, and my Servants their Wages, my Store-house was soon after plundered in a violent manner: But, by good fortune, there were in it, only things of small value. I complained of this Usage, but had no Redress. However, I did not think proper to threaten, as I had formerly done, “ That I “ would inform the King of *Dabomé* of “ it;” but quietly putting up the Affront, I went to the Sea side the next day, where I was obliged to lie all night in our Tent, because the Sea ran high on the Shore; but the next morning it being calmer, I got on board to my great Satisfaction, having, through the goodness of Providence, compleated my Affairs, much beyond my Expectation, considering I had so melancholy a Prospect, when I first came to this Country.

The first of *July* 1727, we sailed from the Road of *Jaqueen*, having on board above 600 *Negroes*. I had a tedious Passage to the *West-Indies* of seventeen Weeks, which

which obliged us to stop at several places for Water and Provision. But at length we arrived at *Antegoa*, where the Cargo of *Negroes* (who had stood very well) came to a good Market: And having lain there for a Cargo of Sugars, we sailed from thence the latter end of *February*, and got safe into the River of *Thames*, the 25th of *April* 1728, having been sixteen Months on this remarkable VOYAGE.



A

SUPPLEMENT,

Containing an Account of what happened to the King and People of Whidaw, and the Dahomes, since I came away from thence, to the Time of my return thither in the Month of February 1729-30. All which I was informed of, by some white Gentlemen of good Credit, who resided at Jaqueen all the Time I was absent.

UPON my coming to *England*, being in a bad State of Health, I desired leave of my Owner to stay at home a Season, which he was pleased to grant me; and appointed Captain *John Dagge* to command the Ship I had been in. He made a successful Voyage, and returned with her in the Month

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of *August* 1729: As I was by that time very well recovered, my Owner was pleased to send me again to the Coast of *Guinea* in the *Katherine Galley*. Having therefore spent some time on the *Windward* and *Gold Coast*, I proceeded for *Whidaw*. In my way to that place I stop'd at *Great Popoe*, which lies a few Leagues to the Windward of *Whidaw*. Being informed there, that the late King of *Whidaw* was near that place, with *Captain Ossue*, one of his principal Cabociers or Lords, on two barren sandy Islands, with many other People, I sent my first Mate on Shore with a Present to each of them. He returned at night, with some of the King's People, who brought me a Goat from him: Saying, " Their Master being in a poor Condition, had nothing better to send me." And they having bought some few things, I sent them on Shore again. After they were gone, my Mate gave me the following account: " That the King and *Captain Ossue*, had with them many Thousands of People who lived in a miserable manner, the Island

Islands they were on being so barren, that they produced nothing: But by means of the River which separated them from the Continent, they were very well secured from the *Dahomes* Power; who not understanding the Management of *Cannoes*, could not invade them. Moreover, they had planted several great Guns, which secured the Passes, so that they were in no fear of the Enemies. But then, on the other hand, they could not sow Corn, or other Pulse in that barren place, but were supplied with what they wanted by their Neighbours of *Great* and *Little Popoe*. However, this constantly decreased their Numbers, they being obliged to sell their Wives, Children, and Servants for Provisions and other necessaries, because they had no Money left.

From *Great Popoe* I went to the Road of *Whidaw*, where being informed there was little Trade, I proceeded for *Jaqueen*, which is seven Leagues to the Eastward of it; and anchored in that road the 20th of *February* 1729-30: At my going on Shore there, the King of *Dahome*'s Agent

I

came

came to see me; and upon my en-
quiring after his Master's welfare, he
told me, " He would send a Messenger
" to inform his Majesty of my Arrival:
" But as the King was then in his own
" Country, far inland, it would be at
" least twenty days before he could have
" an Answer." At his taking leave, he
promised to let me know his Master's
Pleasure on the return of the Messenger.
Accordingly he came to see me again,
about three weeks after his former visit,
and told me, " The King was very glad
" to hear of my being once more arrived
" at *Jaqueen*; but as he was then far
" within Land, tho' he was desirous of
" seeing me again, yet he could not in
" reason require it: His Master being
" sensible, such a long Journey would be
" neither safe for my Health, nor suit-
" able to my Business; but in case the
" King came to *Ardra*, whilst I was at *Ja-*
" *queen*, which is but two days journey
" off, and where I had formerly been
" with his Majesty, he should be very
" glad to see me there once more." How-
ever,

ever, this not happening, I had not the Fortune to see the King a second time.

I now come to relate what I heard from several white Gentlemen residing at *Ja-queen*, ever since my former Voyage, concerning the *Whidaws* and the *Dabomes*. The King of *Whidaw*, with abundance of his People, having fled to the Islands formerly mentioned, the King of *Dabomè* was disappointed in his design of destroying him, as he had always intended. So that he contented himself with keeping Possession of the Country of *Whidaw*, by an Army encamp'd at *Sabee*, which had been the principal place of the Kingdom, till destroyed by him. But in time this Army being much diminished, it encouraged Captain *Offue* to leave the Islands, and settle himself, with many of his People, near the *French Fort*, which is about four Miles from *Sabee*; believing the great Guns therein would be a sufficient Protection from the *Dabomes*, in case they should offer to disturb him. This Fort had a dry Ditch, with mud Walls made of the Earth that was dug out of it; and was a square

place with Towers at each Corner, on which were mounted several Cannons, and their Lodgings, Storehouses, and even their Magazine of Gunpowder, were covered with Rushes, according to the Custom of that Country; which occasioned a terrible Misfortune, as shall be immediately related.

The King of *Dahomè* being informed of Captain *Ossue's* return into his Country, resolved to send an Army to drive him out; which the other having notice of, retired with many of his People into the *French* Fort: *Ossue* little thinking at that time, that the Governor was the occasion of his Enemies coming in order to betray them.

The next day after he and his People were received into the Fort, the *Dahomè* Army came down, and being informed the *French* had given them Protection, contrary to a secret Promise their King had received from the Governor, they assaulted the Fort. But having nothing but small Arms to make their Attack, it would have availed little, had not the
Thatch

Thatch of the Houses within the Fort taken Fire, This Accident alarmed the white Men, who knowing there was a great quantity of Gunpowder in their Magazine, and no possibility of stopping the Fire, fled to the *English* Fort, which was within Musquet-Shot of their own, and so saved themselves: But the black People not being so sensible of their Danger, suffered very much by the blowing up of the Magazine, there being above one thousand of them killed, besides many wounded by this Accident. However, in the Confusion, and under cover of the Smoke, Captain *Ossue*, and several of his People, escaped to the *English* Fort: Where Governor *Wilson*, who then resided there for the *African* Company, generously gave them Protection; and to prevent Accidents, ordered immediately all the Houses in the Fort to be unthatch'd, and by firing on the *Dabomes* with his Cannon, killed several, and kept the rest at a distance.

The *Dabomes* having taken the *French* Fort, sheltered themselves therein; and

the next morning sent a principal Man amongst them to Governor *Wilson*, to know the reason why he had fired on their Army. To which he answered, “ That
“ they having come down out of the
“ Country in a hostile manner, without
“ giving him the least notice, and attack-
“ ed his Neighbours the *French*, he looked
“ on it as the common Cause of all the
“ *Europeans* settled there, who were
“ bound to assist one another.” To this the *Dahomes* replied, “ That when they
“ came down, they had no design to at-
“ tack the *French* Fort, for the King had
“ no quarrel with the white Men: But the
“ Governor having taken Captain *Offue*
“ and his People into the *French* Fort,
“ contrary to his Promise, it obliged them
“ to act as they had done. At the same
time they told the Governor to his Face,
“ That he had first sent to their King by
“ a *French* Surgeon, then residing with
“ their Master, to persuade his Majesty to
“ send an Army down, to destroy Cap-
“ tain *Offue* and his People; promising
“ at

“ at the same time he would give them
“ no Protection. ” This the *French* Governor denied, but all that were present believed it to be too true; and by this means he let the *Dahomes* see, that white Men (whom they had before a high opinion of) could be the basest of Villains, when their Interest tempted them thereto. For it was much suspected, that the Governor had contrived the whole Affair, in order to squeeze a large Sum of Money from Captain *Offue* to protect him, and for some other infamous Views. However, he met afterwards with a suitable Reward, being killed by the *Whidaws*, whom he had so much injured.

As soon as the King of *Dahomè* was informed of the taking of the *French* Fort, he sent this Message to the *French* Governor; “ that he had brought this
“ Misfortune on himself by his Perfidy,
“ for he had no quarrel to his Nation;
“ therefore he would order his Soldiers
“ to repair the Fort, which had been
“ greatly damaged by the Powder: Or if
“ he did not desire this, he might depart

“ with all the *Frenchmen* to his own
“ Country.” After this, the Ships that
lay then in the Road of *Whidaw* had good
Trade for Women and Children, which
the *Dahomes* had taken of Captain *Ossue*’s
People, but there were few Men taken;
many of them being lost when the Ma-
gazine blew up: and the rest having fled
to the Island which their King was in.

I come now to relate a great Misfor-
tune which befel the *Dahomes*, some
Months after they had taken the *French*
Fort. For the better understanding of it,
the Reader is to know, that the King of
Dahomè having conquered several Coun-
tries within a few Years, and depopula-
ted them; the King of *Weemey*’s Sons,
with other Princes, (whose Fathers this
Conqueror had taken in War, and be-
headed) fled to a far Inland Potent Na-
tion called the *J-oes*. The King of *Whidaw*
having, after *Ossue*’s Defeat, found means
to send Messengers to the King of this
Country, they, and the others that had
fled to him for Protection, did at last,
through their earnest Sollicitations, ob-
tain

tain an Army to march against the King of *Dahomè*, whom they all look'd upon as a most cruel Destroyer of Mankind. This Nation of *J-oe* fight all on Horseback, and living a great way on the North towards *Nubia*, they can at no other time march to the Southward, but when the Season for Forage, and the dry Weather sets in. The King of *Dahomè* had notice of their coming, a few days before they reached his Country; and he having formerly experienced how terrible such Numbers of Horse had been to his Army, which consists of none but foot Soldiers; he resolved to bury his Riches, burn his Towns, and then fly into the Woods and Thickets with his People; which is a common thing amongst the *Negroes*, for the weaker side to do, when at War; for they have no fortified Towns as in *Europe*: So they that are Masters of the Field command the Country far and near.

The King of *Dahomè* having thus in time provided for his Safety by Flight, the *J-oes* were disappointed: But one *Appragah* and his People, formerly subject

ject to the King of *Whidaw*, but now under the Dominion of the *Dabomes*, did not escape so well. For not moving so soon by two days as they did, the *J-oes* came up with him and his People, and took abundance of them, with all *Appragab's* Riches; and he himself was hardly put to it to escape, with a few of his Servants.

After this the *J-oes* marched on in quest of the *Dabomes*, but finding they were got into the thick Woods and Bushes, they incamped near them; making frequent Assaults, and often taking some of the *Dabomes* Prisoners. At last, they so distressed them, that for want of other Provision, they were obliged to eat many of their own Slaves. Yet the *Dabomes* patiently endured these Calamities, knowing the *J-oes* would be obliged to retire in a little time, on account of the rainy Season that was approaching, and for want of Forage: Accordingly they were obliged to retire soon after; and the *Dabomes* then returned to their own Country, and rebuilt their Towns again.

During these Misfortunes of the *Dabomes*

homes, which lasted several Months, various Reports came to *Whidaw*. Sometimes it was said, "That the King of *Dabome* was killed:" But that was again contradicted: And it was reported, "he had lost so many of his People, that he never could be again in a Condition to disturb his Neighbours;" and this was so currently believed that no one doubted of it.

About this time, which was in the beginning of *July* 1729, Governor *Wilson* departed from *Whidaw*, in order to return to *England*. He left in his room one Mr. *Testefole*, who had resided there many Years, but was no ways equal to him in Prudence and Conduct, as his unhappy Fate will afterwards show. For tho' this Person had been often at the King of *Dabome's* Camp, where he was always used with great Civility, yet now believing that King was so far reduced, that the People of *Whidaw* had nothing more to fear from him; he too hastily advised their King, to leave the barren Islands wherein he had fled with his People, and come and take again Possession of his Country.

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Hereupon the King of *Whidaw* resolved to return; and, to provide against the worst, he desired his Neighbours of *Popoe* to lend him some of their Forces; which they readily did. For these People, with all the *Coast-Negroes*, mortally hate the *Dahomes*, on account of their Cruelty, and their Barbarity in eating human Flesh. And, besides that the *Popoes* are little afraid of the *Dahomes* Power, because they live in Islands, they now assisted the *Whidaws* out of Policy; thinking, if they were reinstated in their Country, Trade would soon revive, which had been so long interrupted on account of the War. So they sent them some thousands of their People; and at their Arrival the King of *Whidaw* joined them with his Forces. Tho' he was a very fat unwieldy Man, yet he marched at the head of his Army, which consisted of about fifteen thousand Men, including the *Popoes*, and incamped in his own Country for some time, near the *English* and *French* Forts. This the *Dahomes* knew nothing of; for they had so mean an opinion of the *Whidaws*, that

they

they never thought they would attempt to settle again in their own Country: Neither had they, since the departure of the *J-oes*, sent any of their People to the Sea side, having been employed in repairing their Towns, and about other Affairs. These being near finished, the King of *Dahomè* sent some of his Traders down with Slaves, to the *English* and *French* Forts: But his People were much surpris'd to see such an Army of *Whidaws* incamped near them. So they returned in great haste to inform their King, who upon the receipt of this News, was greatly embarras'd; for he had lost many of his best Soldiers whilst the *J-oes* remained in his Country, and kept him so long in the Bushes. Moreover, his Majesty had lately sent an Army into the inland Country, to take Slaves: For as I have formerly observed, he drives no regular Trade in Slaves, but only sells such as he takes in his Wars.

Being in this State of Perplexity (when he had not a sufficient Number of Soldiers

diers to encounter the *Whidaws* and *Popoes* together, and, on the other hand, could not bear to see himself braved by such a cowardly Race as the *Whidaws*;) his Policy extricated him out of this Difficulty. He ordered a great number of Women to be armed like Soldiers, and appointed Officers to each Company, with Colours, Drums and Umbrellas, according to the *Negroe* Fashion. Then ordering the Army to march, the Women Soldiers were placed in the Rear, to prevent Discovery. When they came in sight of the *Whidaw* Army, the latter were much surprized to see such Numbers of *Dabomè* Soldiers, as they supposed them all to be, marching against them: For they had much depended on the former Reports, that they were so far reduced, as not to be able (at least so soon) to have made Head against them. At this unexpected fight the *Whidaws* were divided: Some were for retiring back to the Islands; but others who were commanded by Captain *Ossue*, with the *Popoes*, were for fighting. During this Dispute, the
Dabomè

Dabome Army marched on boldly, and Captain *Ossue*, with the *Popoe* General, as bravely advanced to meet them; and attacked their right Wing so briskly, that they drove them for some time before them. But the *Whidaws* who were with the King, at that instant cowardly fled; tho' his Majesty used his utmost endeavours and Intreaties to stop them, and at last wounded several with his Lance, to oblige them to second Captain *Ossue*'s People: But all in vain. This being observed by the left Wing of the *Dabomes*, they fell on the Rear of *Ossue*'s Soldiers, and soon obliged them and the *Popoes*, to fly in their turn; which the King of *Whidaw* perceiving, and being so very unwieldy and fat, he had no other way to save his Life, but to fly into the dry Ditch of the *English* Fort; where, by the help of two of his Sons, his Majesty got over the Wall, and so escaped the fury of his Enemies: But many of his People were killed, and others taken.

Mr. *Testesole*, the Governor, was at a great loss how to act on this occasion.

For

For he foresaw the *Dabomes* would demand the King, and insist on his being delivered to them, as soon as they should know he was in the Fort. Which if he refused to do, he was sensible, they could oblige him in time to do it, by starving him. Moreover, he could not but sustain a great loss by the Interruption of Trade. So the Governor persuaded the King to leave the Fort that Night, and he happily escaped to his barren Islands again. However, the King of *Dahomè* was afterwards fully informed of all this, and likewise that the Governor had been the principal occasion of the *Whidaws* endeavouring to regain their Country: Which he highly resented.

The *Dabomes*, after this, retired from about the Forts, and, leaving a small Army at *Sabee*, returned to their own Country; where many Banditti of other Nations resorting to them, their King, in a few Months, found his Strength and Power as much increased, as when he fled from the *J-oes*. But the Countries being laid waste far and near by his former Wars, the
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he has large Territories of many hundred Miles, and as fine a Country under his Dominion, as any in the Southern Parts of *Africa*; yet he is only a great King in name for want of Subjects, by reason of his having destroyed in so cruel a manner the Inhabitants of all the Places he has conquered. This has obliged many hundred thousands to fly from his Arms, into foreign Countries; that are by Situation secured from his rambling Bands, either by great Rivers, Mountains or Lakes.

He has acted since as impolitick a part in another matter. For he gave his word to a great number of the former Inhabitants, If they would return again into their own Country, they should quietly enjoy it, upon paying a certain Tribute. On this many thousands returned into the Kingdom of *Ardra*, where they built Houses, sowed Corn, and planted Potatoes; but no sooner were these poor People settled, than the *Dabomes* surprized them, and killed or took captive all that could not escape from them. The King

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having

having thus broken his promise, I believe no others will ever venture to trust him: And the Country, in all Probability, will remain uninhabited, during his Life: Moreover, by this means the Trade at *Whidaw* is almost ruined; for the far inland People having now no Markets to carry their Slaves to, as formerly, and the *Dahomes* using no Trade but that of War, few *Negroes* are now brought down to be sold to the *Europeans*.

Whether it was the badness of Trade, occasioned by the *Dahomes* acting in this manner, or any thing else, that enraged Mr. *Testesole* against them; he was so imprudent, that on all Opportunities he used their People ill, when they came to the *English* Fort: And at last whipped one of their principal Men at the Flag-Staff; and upon his complaining of this great Indignity, *Testesole* rashly replied, *He would serve his King in the same manner if he was in his Power.* All this being afterwards reported to his Majesty, it highly offended him: And he said, “ Surely this Man must be full of Malice
“ against

“ against us, else he could never have so
“ suddenly forgot our former Kindnesses
“ to him.”

The King upon this ordered his People to watch for an Opportunity to surprize the Governor, and make him Prisoner; and his Imprudence soon made him fall into their Hands in the following manner. There was a *French* Captain who had a Factory, at some distance from the *English* Fort: This Gentleman had been drinking with the Governor all night, and when the day came, he perswaded Mr. *Testesole* to go and drink Coffee with him at his Factory. The *Dabomes*, who were on the Watch, seeing him go to the *Frenchman's* House, went and surrounded it, demanding to have the Governor delivered to them. This the Captain at first refused, but they threatning to burn his Factory; he told them, He would forthwith bring him out. So he went into the House, and advised Mr. *Testesole* to make his Escape; which he refusing to do, the Captain put him by force into a large Chest, and lock'd him in: Then

he went out, and told the *Dabomes*, “ He
“ could not find the Governor, and that
“ he believed he had escaped.” This so
enraged them, that they fired a Pistol at
the Captain, which shot him in the Arm,
and thereupon broke into his House,
where they at last found the unfortunate
Man in the Chest; whom they took out,
tied his Hands and Legs, and putting him
into a Hammock, sent him away to their
King, who was at that time encamp’d up
into the Country, four days journey off.

This unhappy Gentleman flattered
himself, that the former Kindness the
King had shown for him, would now
save him; but his Majesty was so highly
offended, that he would not vouchsafe to
see him; so that he gave himself up for
lost. However, a few days after this he
was sent down to *Sabee*, about four Miles
from the Fort, where he was given to un-
derstand, “ If he would write to the Per-
“ son that commanded in his Absence
“ for several things, which they named
“ for his Ransom, that on their being
“ sent he should have his Liberty.

Th

This he readily complied with, and they instantly allowed him more Freedom, permitting two of his own Negroe Servants to wait on him; so that he began to be easy in his Mind: But the Scene soon changed; for on their receiving the Things he had writ for, and which were of a considerable Value, these cruel base Villains seized his Person, and made his Body fast to Stakes drove in the Ground: Where, spreading him on his Belly, they with sharp Knives cut open his Arms, Back, Thighs and Legs in several places, and filled the Wounds with a mixture of Limejuice, Salt and Pepper mixed together; which put him to inexpressible Torment. However, they soon after put him out of his pain, by cutting off his Head. Then they cut his Body in pieces, broiled them on the Coals, and eat them.

Thus this poor Gentleman lost his Life in a terrible manner. And tho' the King of *Dabome* has since denied to some white People, "That he gave Orders to have him put to death;" His Majesty
K 3 saying,

saying, by way of Excuse, “ He only told
 “ some of his principal People to carry him
 “ to *Sabee*, and there do with him what
 “ they thought fit, not suspecting they
 “ would have used a white Gentleman in
 “ such a manner;” Yet it is not to be doubt-
 ed but they knew their Master’s Mind too
 well in this Affair. For his Majesty pu-
 nished none of those that were Actors in
 this cruel Tragedy; tho’ it was earnestly
 insisted on. Nay some of them that eat
 part of his Flesh, have been since so au-
 dacious, as to tell several *Portuguese* Gen-
 tlemen, that talked with them about it,
 “ That *English* Beef was very good.”

After Mr. *Testesole*’s unhappy Fate, two
 white Men running away from the *Eng-
 lish* Fort, one of them went to the King
 of *Dabomè*, and informed him, “ There
 “ were but four white People left in the
 “ place, so that he might easily take it.”
 The King replied, “ He had no quarrel
 “ with the *English* Nation; for what had
 “ been done to the late Governor, he by
 “ his Imprudence had brought on himself:
 “ And he hoped, the *African* Company
 “ would

“ would send a fitter Person to command
“ the *Fort* for the future.”

Sometime after this the King of *Dahomè* considering he should certainly be invaded again by the *Y-oes*, as soon as the Season permitted them to march, and dreading very much their power, he sent Embassadors with large Presents to their King, together with one of his handsomest Daughters. These were civilly received, and had the good fortune to succeed in their Negotiations. For they so gained some great Men about the King, by presenting them with large pieces of *Coral* (which the *Y-oes* esteem above all things) that by their means an advantageous Peace was obtained for their Master, and they were civilly dismissed with handsome Rewards. For a Confirmation of the Peace, the King of *Y-oe* sent, a little while after, one of his Daughters to the King of *Dahomè* for a Wife; and she was received with great Joy by the King and his People.

At my going on Shore at *Jaqueen*, the latter end of *February* 1729-30: I was

informed of all that I have here related; and tho' I found Trade very dull, yet all the white Gentlemen residing at that place, were full of Expectations, That, now a Peace was concluded between the *J-oes* and the *Dabomes*, we should soon have a great many *Negroes* brought down for Sale. But tho' I was there above two Months, Trade did not mend in the least: And I am afraid it will not for many Years, because of the great Destruction of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Countries, who used to carry on a regular Trade with the far inland People: Neither will those that had the good fortune to escape the *Dabomes* Cruelty, dare to return during the Life of the present Conqueror, whose Perfidiousness and Treachery they have often experienced.

I shall conclude this first Book with an account of a Misfortune that befel me by Fire, whilst I was at *Jaqueen*. The relation, if I mistake not, may be acceptable to the Reader, and give him a true notion of the Buildings, and some other Matters amongst the *Negroes*.

The

The Houses in that Country are built with mud-Walls, one Story high. The Rafters that support the Roof are made of *Bamboes*, which is a light spungy Wood. On these they lay a great quantity of Thatch, which in the dry Season of the Year is like Tinder: Yet the Natives are so careless, that many Fires happen in that Season; there having been no less than five during the two Months I was there, in which some thousands of their Houses were burnt down. This carelessness of the *Negroes*, I judge, chiefly proceeds from the little regard they have for their Furniture. For it is very mean, except amongst some of the principal People, consisting of *Matts* to sleep on, earthen *Pots* to boil their Victuals in; with a few other things of small value. Moreover, the Walls of their Houses being made of Clay, the Fire does them rather good than hurt, as it bakes them harder. And to new cover them it costs but little. So that the *Europeans* that have Factories in the Town of *Jaqueen*, are often great Sufferers by these frequent Fires,

Fires, occasioned generally by the stupid Carelessness of the Negroes, which proceeds from the Reasons just now mentioned.

I thought our Factory pretty safe from it, for we lived in a large Court belonging to the Duke, who was the only Brother of the Lord of the Place by the same Mother, and his chief Minister. This House joined to the Apartments of the Duke's Women, which it being a capital Crime for the Natives to go into, so it would have been very imprudent for any white Man to have attempted it: Yet the Fire obliged us to save our selves that way, as I shall just now relate. The other side of the Court we lived in, opened into the Fields; and just by our Door a narrow Street began, where the Lord of *Jaqueen's Feticheer* or Priest lived with his Family.

Two Fires having happened in the Town, within a few days one of the other, in which some *Portuguese* suffered a great Loss in their Goods, I express'd my apprehensions of the like Danger. But the Duke assured me, " It was never
" known,

“ known, that either his Brother’s Houses,
 “ or his own had been burn’d. For they
 “ having abundance of Servants, if any
 “ Fire began near them, their People, by
 “ unthatching the Houses, soon put a
 “ stop to it. Moreover, all the Inhabi-
 “ tants who lived near the Court, were
 “ very careful of Fire; because it was
 “ death by their Law to all the Family
 “ where it began.” These Reasons made
 me more easy than I had been for some
 time. But on the fifteenth of *March*, be-
 ing *Sunday*, what I long feared came to
 pass.

My hired black Servants asked me
 leave after Dinner, to go to the Bu-
 rial of one of their acquaintance; and fe-
 veral of my white People did the same,
 being desirous to see the Customs of the
 Blacks on this occasion: In which indeed
 they are very ridiculous and expensive,
 drinking as much Brandy and other Li-
 quors, as the Circumstances of the deceas-
 ed Person will allow. I granted them all
 their request; and by that means there
 remained only two white Men with me
 in the Factory.

The

The Fire began about two a clock that afternoon, in the *Feticbeer's* House, just opposite to our Door, which immediately taking Fire, prevented our Escape that way. However in the first Surprise, I gave my Box of Books and Accounts to one of my young Men, who ventured through the Door-way with them, tho' he was scorched by the Flames; and so I luckily saved them. My next care was to save our *Gold*, which I kept in a large *Dutch* Chest, thinking it safer there than in a Portmanteau, or a small Box, which our black Servants might have been tempted to run away with. But, in the hurry, I could not find the Key of the Chest, to take the Money out; and the Fire having taken hold of the Thatch of the room wherein it stood, I and the other white Man then remaining with me, took it up, and carried it into the Apartments belonging to the Duke's Women: Where we met him and his Brother with many People, going to endeavour to stop the Fire, by unthatching the adjoining Houses; but the Flames were got to such a head, that

that they were soon forced to fly before them. My Man and I having carried the Chest through several windings and turnings in the Duke's Houses, we began to be quite tired, (for it was very heavy) when, just in the nick of time, five black People came running towards us, and the way was so narrow they could not easily pass by us. One of these Men I knew, who spoke good *English*, "so I desired him and the others to save the Chest, for which I would well reward them." He answered, "They durst not assist me; being obliged, on no less a Penalty than the loss of their Heads, to go and save the Duke's Goods." By good fortune I had my Cane then hanging on my Wrist, which I used to such purpose, that two of them immediately took up the Chest; whereupon I let the other three pass by: So, with the help of the two Men I had obliged to assist us, we got the Chest at last over a Wall ten foot high, into the Street, and so to the *Dutch* Factory in safety. But we had the Misfortune to lose in our Factory a large quantity of

2

Goods,

Goods, with all my Necessaries, except what was in the Chest. All the Duke's houses, and the greatest part of his Furniture was destroyed; but his Brother's were preserved, by unthatching the Houses that stood next his Court. I think, for the time this Fire lasted, which was but about an hour, nothing could be fiercer or quicker; and had it happened in the night, we should certainly have been burnt; for we could never have found our way out, amongst so many Turnings and Windings, as were in the Dukes Apartments.

When the hurry was pretty well over, the Lord of *Jaqueen* inquired after me, being under some concern about me; for he did not see me as he passed along in his Brother's Rooms: As soon as he was informed of my Safety, he sent a Messenger to enquire, "How I did, after so severe
" a Misfortune?"

It is remarkable, we could never learn how this Fire happened, for tho' I often press'd the Duke to make an inquiry after it, yet he always declined it; which I believe

was on account of his Brother's *Feticbeer*, in whose Family the Fire began. However, they were so wise as not to let them repair their Houses, but obliged them to build further from the Court which belonged to the Duke.

Adjoining to the *Feticbeer's* House that was burnt, there was a large square Court, adorned with many handsome Trees that grew round it. In the middle of this place stood the Lord of *Jaqueen's Fetiche*. It was made in the fashion of a large Hay-cock, and covered over with Thatch: On the top of this was placed a dead Man's Scull, before which Offerings were made for the Duke's Health and Preservation. This *Fetiche* escaped being burn'd, tho' all the Houses adjoining to the Court wherein it stood were consum'd. This was cryed up by the People as a great Miracle; saying, "Their Lord's God had taken care to preserve his own House:" Tho' by what I could judge it was impossible this *Fetiche* should be burn'd, because it was at a considerable distance from the Fire, and guarded by so many
Trees

Trees full of Branches and Leaves. But it was in vain to argue against their superstitious Notion.

After this Misfortune, I sent my People on board to get them more necessities; during which time I remained in the *Dutch* Factory. On their return ashore, I was obliged, tho' much against my will, to take a new-built house belonging to the Duke, but finding no one durst let me one (which it seems had been forbidden for the sake of the Duke's Advantage) I complied. But what I feared came to pass, for we all got Fevers in a few days after we had been in this House.

About ten days after this, another terrible Fire happened, which began in a *Portuguese* Factory, and in this manner. A *Negro* Cook frying some Fish in Palm-Oyl, the Oyl took fire; and he imprudently throwing Water thereon, the Flame of the Oyl ran up the side of the Wall, (for the *Negro* Houses have no Chimneys) and instantly fired the Thatch. Whereupon the Wind then blowing very fresh, it spread

spread in a moment and consumed, in two hours time, one third of the Town, in which stood several thousands of their little Houses: However, this did not come near our Factory.

Soon after this, my People grew so bad, that I was obliged to send them on board the Ship, and have others ashore in their room: In a little while after, the House we had been burnt out of, being repaired, we removed into it; and by this means had the Opportunity of seeing daily thousands of People bring *Bamboes* and Thatch, to repair the Duke's Houses with; it being the Custom of the Country so to do, when either their Lord or his Brother wants it. But the noise of the People's Musick, and antick dancing, on this occasion, gave me much Disturbance: Moreover, Trade continuing still very dull, it gave me no little concern; and having got rid of my Fever for a few days, it returned again. Being in these unhappy Circumstances, I received advice, that two of my Owner's Ships were arrived in the Road of *Jaqueen*. Whereupon I left my
L Factory,

Factory, and went on board my Ship; and there, the Commanders of the other two and I agreed, " It would be for our Owner's Interest that I should go directly for *England*." So, delivering to one of them what *Negroes* I had on Board, and receiving what *Elephants Teeth*, and *Gold* they had, I left the Road of *Jaqueen* the first day of *May*: And having had a fine Passage, in which I intirely lost my Fever, and recovered my Strength a little, I arrived safe in the River of *Thames* the 13th of *July* 1730.

ADDITIONS

To the foregoing Account.

AS the Publication of this Book has been deferred till the Winter Season, it may not be unacceptable to the Reader, to have a farther Account of the King of *Dahomè*, according to the latest Advices come from those Parts.

I ended the first Book with an account of that King's having concluded a Peace with the most powerful of his Enemies, the King of *J-oe*. This put the *Europeans* then residing at *Jaqueen* in great hopes, that those Countries would be settled, and Trade flourish again; tho' at my departure from that Place, in *May* 1730, I saw but little prospect of it: And indeed it has been quite ruined since, by the Destruction of the Country of *Jaqueen*, on the 22d of *March* 1731-2.

For the King of *Dabomè* being a restless ambitious Prince, instead of endeavouring (after the concluding of the Peace with the *J-oes*) to settle his conquered Countries, he marched far Inland against a Nation called the *Yaboos*.

These People valiantly defended themselves for many Months, having retired amongst their Mountains and Woods, where they were besieged by the *Dabomes*. The rainy Season coming on, the *Dabome* Soldiers were desirous of returning to their own Country, but the King was highly incensed at it, and put several of the principal Officers to death, only for mentioning it to him. This caused great Murmurings in the Army, which were increased by their Sufferings from the Rains; so that some of his Captains deserted him with many Soldiers, amongst whom was one of his Sons, who fled with four thousand Men to the King of *Weemey*.

Finding himself in these Circumstances, he resolved to make one grand Effort on the *Yaboos*, in which he prevailed; but
tho

tho' he beat them out of their Fastnesses, he gain'd little by it, they making a brave Retreat, in which his wearied Soldiers could not pursue them; and soon after he returned to his own Country, with the loss of most of his Forces and of his Reputation.

At this the People of *Jaqueen* were not a little pleased; for they always stood in fear of him, but now began to entertain Hopes, he might at last be destroyed.

There resided at that Place, a *Dutch* Gentleman named *Mynbeer Hertog*. This Person carried on a considerable Trade, with the help of his black Servants, into several distant Countries, by means of a River that runs from *Jaqueen* into the Bay of *Bennin*. Having gained a great influence over the King of *Jaqueen*, they often consulted together, sending private Messages by the Traders to the King of *Weemey*, and other neighbouring Princes, to stir them up against the King of *Dahome*, and withal supplied them with Ammunition. Of this the King of *Dahome* having received Intelligence, and also that

the People of *Jaqueen* were going to build a Fortification by the Directions of the *Europeans* residing there; he resolved to attack them, in order to be revenged.

The better to deceive them, he gave out, that he intended a second Expedition far inland: And to blind the *Jaqueen* Spies, he gave Order to his General to march towards the inland Parts, but in the Night the Army wheeled about, and with great Expedition (tho' there were above fifteen thousand men in this Army) they came by the way of *Whidaw* to *Jaqueen*, without being discovered, till they were just entering the Town.

As the People of *Jaqueen* stood always in dread of the King of *Dahomè*, (as I have just now mention'd) they kept in readiness a great many *Cannoes* in the River that runs on the back part of the Town, to save themselves, in case they should be attacked and defeated. But being now surprized, they had little time to provide for their own Safety: However, the King and many of his principal People escaped in the *Cannoes*, to an Island he had fortified

tified against such an Accident, and which lies in the middle of the River towards *Appah*. By that means he escaped the fury of the *Dabomes*; but he lost all his Riches, and, to add to his Misfortune, his Mother, (that was highly revered by him and his People) was taken Prisoner by the Enemy, and carried to the King of *Dabomè*; and what became of her afterwards is unknown.

Mynbeer Hertog, the *Dutch Chief*, was at dinner, when the *Dabomes* entered the Town: And knowing how obnoxious he had made himself to their King, he immediately fled, being defended by four hundred of his People from the Enemy, till he got into a Canoe; and then they shifted for themselves. He lost every thing in the Factory, which at that time was full of *European Goods* to a very great Value. This Gentleman escaped to *Appah*, which lies on the Sea Coast, about ten Leagues to the eastward of *Jaqueen*. He was kindly received by the King and People, who have a great aversion for the *Dabomes*.

In the Town of *Jaqueen* the Conquerors met with a great deal of Plunder, the Inhabitants not having had time to carry any thing away. But not satisfied with this, they made, according to their barbarous Custom, a terrible Carnage of the People; and to compleat the Destruction of the Country, set all the Towns and Villages on fire.

There were at this time in *Jaqueen* several *Europeans*, who fared little better than the Natives; their Factories being plundered of every thing. Amongst the rest there was Captain *Robert More* Commander of the *Squirrel Galley*, belonging to the late *Humphrey Morrice Esq*; This Gentleman being taken Prisoner with the white Men in his Factory, (as the *French* and *Portuguese* also were in theirs) was obliged to travel with them to the King of *Dahomè*, who then resided at *Ardra*, about fifty Miles within Land. And they were not so much as provided with Hammocks, or any other Carriages, but forced to walk on foot in the scorching Sun, which had like to have kill'd them.

Upon their appearing before the King, Captain *More* complained of his hard usage; telling his Majesty, " They had " had no Victuals nor any Refreshment " since they had been taken Prisoners." The King thereupon rose up, and went into an inner room; whence coming out again with a Hatchet in his Hand, the sight of it so frightened some of the *Portuguese*, that they fell on their Knees to implore his Mercy; imagining their Heads were going to be cut off. But Captain *More* severely upbraiding them for their cowardly Behaviour, so disgraceful to white Men, they rose up: And had soon after the pleasure of seeing a small Cask of Beef opened with it, and several pieces ordered to be dress'd for them. This Cask of Beef, it seems, was found by the Soldiers in the Captain's Factory, and sent up with other Plunder, to the King, the day before.

Then they were distributed according to their different Nations, and put under the care of several great Men. Captain *More* and his People were delivered to
Allegee,

Allegee the *English* Cabocier; (as he was termed) that is, the Person appointed to Trade with them in particular. This black Gentleman treated them with great Civility; but they had the Mortification, a few days after, to hear, he was seized and beheaded; tho' they could never learn the Cause.

It seems the King of *Dahomè* is grown exceedingly cruel towards his People, being always suspicious, that Plots and Conspiracies are carrying on against him: So that he frequently cuts off some of his great Men on bare Surmises. This, added to the many Disappointments he has met with from the *J-oes*, has so soured his Temper, that he is likewise greatly altered towards the *Europeans*, as Captain *More* experienced. For this Gentleman had been at his Camp formerly, and was known to him soon after the Conquest of *Whidaw*, as I have related in the former part of this Book.

Besides, both King and People continue as savage as ever, tho' they have conversed for several Years past with white Men.

Men. For one day the Council having begged a Captive, his Majesty readily gave them one, whom they killed and feasted on.

But to return to Captain *More*. He and the other *Europeans* having continued a good while Prisoners, Mr. *Dean*, the *African Company's* Governor of the Fort at *Whidaw*, came to *Ardra*, and interceded with the King for them: Representing, "As they had been at *Jaqueen* only on account of Trade, it was very unjust to detain them." With these and many other Arguments, he at last obtained their Freedom: And a Guard was ordered to see Captain *More* safe down to *Jaqueen*. But he reflecting on the hard usage he had received at that place from the Soldiers, when at first taken Prisoner; and that they still were encamped there, he chose to go by the way of *Whidaw*: From whence he got on board a *French Ship*, and borrowed their Boat, which carried him to his own Ship, that lay in the Road of *Jaqueen*.

From

From this and the foregoing Account the Reader may observe, that now all the Countries near the Sea side, which the King of *Dabomè* could possibly get at, are not only conquered, but also turned into Desolation, with the Inland Parts, in so terrible a manner, that there is no Prospect of Trade's reviving there again for many Years, or at least so long as the Conqueror lives. What little there is, is carried on chiefly at *Appah*, a place secured from him by a Morass and a River.

The End of BOOK I.

B O O K II.

The manner how the Negroes become Slaves. The Numbers of them yearly exported from Guinea to America. The Lawfulness of that Trade. Mutinies among them on board the Ships where the Author has been, &c.

BEFORE I give a particular Relation of the several *Mutinies* among the *Negro* Slaves, whereof I have been a Witness, and which is to be the chief Subject of this present Book, it will be very proper to prefix a short account of the *Manner* how the *Negroes* become Slaves; what *Numbers* of them are yearly exported from *Guinea*; and

and then offer a few words in Justification of that Trade.

The manner how the Negroes become Slaves.

As for the *Manner* how those People become Slaves; it may be reduced under these several Heads.

1. It has been the Custom among the *Negroes*, time out of Mind, and is so to this day, for them to make Slaves of all the Captives they take in War. Now, before they had an Opportunity of selling them to the white People, they were often obliged to kill great Multitudes, when they had taken more than they could well employ in their own Plantations, for fear they should rebel, and endanger their Masters Safety.

2^{dly}. Most Crimes amongst them are punished by Mulcts and Fines; and if the Offender has not wherewithal to pay his Fine, he is sold for a Slave: This is the Practice of the inland People, as well as of those on the Sea side.

3^{dly}. Debtors who refuse to pay their Debts, or are insolvent, are likewise liable to be made Slaves; but their Friends may redeem them: And if they are not able or willing

willing to do it, then they are generally sold for the Benefit of their Creditors. But few of these come into the hands of the *Europeans*, being kept by their Countrymen for their own use.

4thly. I have been told, That it is common for some inland People, to sell their Children for Slaves, tho' they are under no Necessity for so doing; which I am inclined to believe. But I never observed, that the People near the Sea Coast practise this, unless compelled thereto by extreme Want and Famine, as the People of *Whidaw* have lately been.

Now, by these means it is that so many of the Negroes become Slaves, and more especially by being taken Captives in War. Of these the Number is so great, that I may safely affirm, without any Exaggeration, that the *Europeans* of all Nations, that trade to the Coast of *Guinea*, have, in some Years, exported at least seventy thousand. And tho' this may no doubt be thought at first hearing a prodigious Number; yet when 'tis considered how great the Extent of this Coast is, namely

from

Number
of Negroes
exported.

from *Cape Verd* to *Angola*, which is about four thousand Miles in length; and that *Polygamy* is allowed in general amongst them, by which means the Countries are full of People, I hope it will not be thought improbable that so many are yearly exported from thence.

Lawful-
ness of
that
Trade.

Several Objections have often been raised against the Lawfulness of this Trade, which I shall not here undertake to refute. I shall only observe in general That tho' to traffick in human Creature may at first sight appear barbarous, inhuman, and unnatural; yet the Traders herein have as much to plead in their own Excuse, as can be said for some other Branches of Trade, namely, the *Advantage* of it: And that not only in regard of the Merchants, but also of the Slaves themselves, as will plainly appear from these following Reasons.

First, It is evident, that abundance of Captives, taken in War, would be inhumanly destroyed, was there not an Opportunity of disposing of them to the *Europeans*. So that at least many Lives

saved

saved, and great Numbers of useful Persons kept in being.

Secondly, When they are carried to the Plantations, they generally live much better there, than they ever did in their own Country; for as the Planters pay a great price for them, 'tis their interest to take care of them.

Thirdly, By this means the *English* Plantations have been so much improved, that 'tis almost incredible, what great Advantages have accrued to the Nation thereby; especially to the *Sugar Islands*, which lying in a Climate near as hot as the Coast of *Guinea*, the *Negroes* are fitter to cultivate the Lands there, than white People.

Then as to the Criminals amongst the *Negroes*, they are by this means effectually transported, never to return again; a Benefit which we very much want here.

In a word, from this Trade proceed Benefits, far outweighing all, either real or pretended Mischiefs and Inconveniences. And, let the worst that can, be said of it, it will be found, like all other earthly Advantages, tempered with a mixture of Good and Evil.

M.

I

Mutinies
among the
Negroes,
in the
Ships
where the
Author
has been.

I come now to give an Account of the Mutinies that have happened on board the Ships where I have been.

These Mutinies are generally occasioned by the Sailors ill usage of these poor People, when on board the Ships wherein they are transported to our Plantations. Wherever therefore I have commanded, it has been my principal Care, to have the *Negroes* on board my Ship kindly used; and I have always strictly charged my white People to treat them with Humanity and Tendernefs: In which I have usually found my Account, both in keeping them from mutinying, and preserving them in health.

And whereas it may seem strange to those that are unacquainted with the method of managing them, how we can carry so many hundreds together in a small Ship, and keep them in order; I shall just mention what is generally practised. When we purchase grown People, I acquaint them by the Interpreter, “ That,
“ now they are become my Property, I
“ think fit to let them know what they
“ are bought for, that they may be easy
“ in

“ in their Minds: (For these poor People are generally under terrible Apprehensions upon their being bought by white Men, many being afraid that we design to eat them; which, I have been told, is a story much credited by the inland *Negroes*;) “ So after informing them, That “ they are bought to till the Ground in “ our Country, with several other Matters; I then acquaint them, how they “ are to behave themselves on board, towards the white Men; that if any one “ abuses them, they are to complain to “ the Linguist, who is to inform me of “ it, and I will do them Justice: But if “ they make a Disturbance, or offer to “ strike a white Man, they must expect “ to be severely punished.”

When we purchase the *Negroes*, we couple the sturdy Men together with Irons; but we suffer the Women and Children to go freely about: And soon after we have sail'd from the Coast, we undo all the Mens Irons.

They are fed twice a day, and are allowed in fair Weather to come on Deck

at seven a clock in the Morning, and to remain there, if they think proper, till Sun setting. Every *Monday* Morning they are served with Pipes and Tobacco, which they are very fond of. The Men *Negroes* lodge separate from the Women and Children; and the places where they all lye are cleaned every day, some white Men being appointed to see them do it.

It would be tedious to the Reader as well as to my self, should I relate all the Particulars of our Management of them, and the Care we take to keep them in health and order; wherefore I shall conclude with this remark, That if a Commander is himself well inclined, and has good Officers to execute his Orders, the *Negroes* on board may be easily governed; and many Difficulties (which unavoidably arise amongst such Numbers) got over with a little trouble.

The first Mutiny I saw among the *Negroes*, happened during my first Voyage, in the Year 1704. It was on board the *Eagle Galley* of *London*, commanded by my Father, with whom I was as Purser.
We

We had bought our Negroes in the River of *Old Callabar* in the Bay of *Guinea*. At the time of their mutinying we were in that River, having four hundred of them on board, and not above ten white Men who were able to do Service: For several of our Ship's Company were dead, and many more sick; besides, two of our Boats were just then gone with twelve People on Shore to fetch Wood, which lay in sight of the Ship. All these Circumstances put the *Negroes* on consulting how to mutiny, which they did at four a clock in the Afternoon, just as they went to Supper. But as we had always carefully examined the Mens Irons, both Morning and Evening, none had got them off, which in a great measure contributed to our Preservation. Three white Men stood on the Watch with Cutlases in their Hands. One of them who was on the Forecastle, a stout fellow, seeing some of the Men Negroes take hold of the chief Mate, in order to throw him over board, he laid on them so heartily with the flat side of his Cutlase, that they soon

quitted the Mate, who escaped from them, and run on the Quarter Deck to get Arms. I was then sick with an Ague, and lying on a Couch in the great Cabbin, the Fit being just come on. However, I no sooner heard the Outcry, *That the Slaves were mutinying*, but I took two Pistols, and run on the Deck with them; where meeting with my Father and the chief Mate, I delivered a Pistol to each of them. Whereupon they went forward on the Booms, calling to the Negroe Men that were on the Forecastle; but they did not regard their Threats, being busy with the Centry, (who had disengaged the chief Mate,) and they would have certainly killed him with his own Cutlace, could they have got it from him; but they could not break the Line wherewith the Handle was fastened to his Wrist. And so, tho' they had seized him, yet they could not make use of his Cutlace. Being thus disappointed, they endeavoured to throw him overboard, but he held so fast by one of them that they could not do it. My Father seeing this stout Man
in

in so much Danger, ventured amongst the *Negroes*, to save him; and fired his Pistol over their Heads, thinking to frighten them. But a lusty Slave struck him with a Billet so hard, that he was almost stunned. The Slave was going to repeat the Blow, when a young Lad about seventeen years old, whom we had been kind to, interposed his Arm, and received the Blow, by which his Arm-bone was fractured. At the same instant the Mate fired his Pistol, and shot the *Negro* that had struck my Father. At the sight of this the Mutiny ceased, and all the Men-negroes on the Forecastle threw themselves flat on their Faces, crying out for Mercy.

Upon examining into the matter, we found, there were not above twenty Men Slaves concerned in this Mutiny; and the two Ringleaders were missing, having, it seems, jumped overboard as soon as they found their Project defeated, and were drowned. This was all the Loss we suffered on this occasion: For the *Negro* that was shot by the Mate, the Surgeon, beyond all Expectation, cured. And I

had the good Fortune to lose my Ague, by the fright and hurry I was put into. Moreover, the young Man, who had received the Blow on his Arm to save my Father, was cured by the Surgeon in our Passage to *Virginia*. At our Arrival in that place we gave him his Freedom; and a worthy Gentleman, one Colonel *Carter*, took him into his Service, till he became well enough acquainted in the Country to provide for himself.

I have been several Voyages, when there has been no Attempt made by our Negroes to mutiny; which, I believe, was owing chiefly, to their being kindly used, and to my Officers Care in keeping a good Watch. But sometimes we meet with stout stubborn People amongst them, who are never to be made easy; and these are generally some of the *Cormantines*, a Nation of the *Gold Coast*. I went in the year 1721, in the *Henry* of *London*, a Voyage to that part of the *Coast*, and bought a good many of these People. We were obliged to secure them very well in Irons, and watch them narrowly: Yet
they

they nevertheless mutinied, tho' they had little prospect of succeeding. I lay at that time near a place called *Mumfort* on the *Gold-Coast*, having near five hundred Negroes on board, three hundred of which were Men. Our Ship's Company consisted of fifty white People, all in health: And I had very good Officers; so that I was very easy in all respects.

This Mutiny began at Midnight (the Moon then shining very bright) in this manner. Two Men that stood Centry at the Fore-hatch way, where the Men Slaves came up to go to the house of Office, permitted four to go to that place; but neglected to lay the Gratings again, as they should have done: Whereupon four more Negroes came on Deck, who had got their Irons off, and the four in the house of Office having done the same, all the eight fell on the two Centries, who immediately called out for help. The Negroes endeavoured to get their Cutlaces from them, but the Lineyards (that is the Lines by which the handles of the Cutlaces were fastned to the Mens Wrists) were so twisted

twisted in the Scuffle, that they could not get them off before we came to their Assistance. The Negroes perceiving several white Men coming towards them, with Arms in their hands, quitted the Centries, and jumped over the Ship's side into the Sea.

I being by this time come forward on the Deck, my first care was to secure the Gratings, to prevent any more Negroes from coming up; and then I ordered People to get into the Boat, and save those that had jumped over-board, which they luckily did: For they found them all clinging to the Cables the Ship was moored by.

After we had secured these People, I called the Linguists, and ordered them to bid the Men-Negroes between Decks be quiet; (for there was a great noise amongst them.) On their being silent, I asked, "What had induced them to mutiny? They answered, I was a great Rogue to buy them, in order to carry them away from their own Country and that they were resolved to regain their Liberty if possible." I replied "That

“ That they had forfeited their Freedom
“ before I bought them, either by Crimes,
“ or by being taken in War, according to
“ the Custom of their Country; and they
“ being now my Property, I was resolved
“ to let them feel my Resentment, if
“ they abused my Kindness: Asking at the
“ same time, Whether they had been ill
“ used by the white Men, or had wanted
“ for any thing the Ship afforded?” To
this they replied, “ They had nothing to
“ complain of.” Then I observed to them,
“ That if they should gain their Point
“ and escape to the Shore, it would be
“ no Advantage to them, because their
“ Countrymen would catch them, and
“ sell them to other Ships.” This served
my purpose, and they seemed to be con-
vinced of their Fault, begging, “ I would
“ forgive them, and promising for the
“ future to be obedient, and never mu-
“ tiny again, if I would not punish them
“ this time.” This I readily granted, and
so they went to sleep. When Day-light
came we called the Men Negroes up on
Deck, and examining their Irons, found
them

them all secure. So this Affair happened, which I was very glad of; for the People are the stoutest and most sensible *Negroes* on the Coast: Neither are they weak as to imagine as others do, that we buy them to eat them; being satisfied we carry them to work in our Plantations as they do in their own Country.

However, a few days after this, we discovered they were plotting again, and preparing to mutiny. For some of the Ringleaders proposed to one of our Linguists, If he could procure them an Anchor, they would cut the Cables the Ship rode by in the night; and so on her driving (as they imagined) ashore, they should get out of our hands, and then would become his Servants as long as they lived.

For the better understanding of this, must observe here, that these Linguists are Natives and Freemen of the Country whom we hire on account of their speaking good *English*, during the time we remain trading on the Coast; and they are likewise Brokers between us and the black Merchants.

Th

This Linguist was so honest as to acquaint me with what had been proposed to him; and advised me to keep a strict Watch over the Slaves: For tho' he had represented to them the same as I had done on their mutinying before, That they would be all catch'd again, and sold to other Ships, in case they could carry their Point, and get on Shore; yet it had no effect upon them.

This gave me a good deal of Uneasiness. For I knew several Voyages had proved unsuccessful by Mutinies; as they occasioned either the total loss of the Ship and the white Mens Lives; or at least by rendering it absolutely necessary to kill or wound a great number of the Slaves, in order to prevent a total Destruction. Moreover, I knew many of these *Cormandore* Negroes despised Punishment, and even Death it self: It having often happened at *Barbadoes* and other Islands, that for their being any ways hardly dealt with, to break them of their Stubbornness in refusing to work, twenty or more have hang'd themselves at a time in a Plantation.

on. However, about a Month after this a sad Accident happened, that brought our Slaves to be more orderly, and put them in a better Temper: And it was this. On our going from *Mumfort Annamaboe*, which is the principal part of the *Gold Coast*, I met there with another of my Owner's Ships, called the *Elizabeth*. One Captain *Thompson* that commanded her was dead; as also his chief Mate: Moreover the Ship had afterwards been taken at *Cape Laboe* on the windward Coast, by *Roberts* the Pirate, with whose several of the Sailors belonging to her had entered. However, some of the Pirates had hindered the Cargoe's being plundered, and obtained that the Ship should be restored to the second Mate: Telling him, "THAT we did it out of respect to the generous Character his Owner bore, in doing good to poor Sailors."

When I met with this Vessel I had almost disposed of my Ship's Cargoe; as the *Elizabeth* being under my Direction I acquainted the second Mate, who then commanded her, That I thought it

our Owner's Interest, to take the Slaves from on board him, being about 120, into my Ship; and then go off the Coast; and that I would deliver him at the same time the Remains of my Cargoe, for him to dispose of with his own after I was sailed. This he readily complied with, but told me, "He feared his Ship's Company
" would mutiny, and oppose my taking
" the Slaves from him:" And indeed, they came at that instant in a Body on the Quarter-deck; where one spoke for the rest, telling me plainly, "they would not
" allow the Slaves to be taken out by me." I found by this they had lost all respect for their present Commander, who indeed was a weak Man. However, I calmly asked the reason, "Why they offered to
" oppose my taking the Slaves?" To which they answered, "I had no business
" with them." On this I desired the Captain to send to his Scrutore, for the Book of Instructions Captain *Thompson* had received from our Owner; and he read to them, at my request, that Parr, in which their former Captain, or his
Successor

Successor (in case of Death) was to follow my Orders. Hereupon they all cried out, "they should remain a great while longer on the Coast to purchase more Slaves, if I took these from them, which they were resolved to oppose." I answered, "That such of the Ship's Company as desired it, I would receive on board my own; where they should have the same Wages they had at present on board the *Elizabeth*, and I would send some of my own People to supply their Places." This so reasonable and Offer was refused, one of the Men who was the Ship's Cooper telling me, that the Slaves had been on board a long time, and they had great Friendship with them: therefore they would keep them. I asked him, "Whether he had ever been on the Coast of *Guinea* before?" He replied no. Then I told him, "I supposed he had not by his way of talking, and advised him not to rely on the Friendship of the Slaves, which he might have reason to repent of when too late." And 'tis remarkable this very person was killed by them

the next Night, as shall be presently related.

So finding that reasoning with these Men was to no Purpose, I told them, " When I came with my Boats to fetch
" the Slaves, they should find me as re-
" solute to chastise such of them as should
" dare to oppose me, as I had been con-
" descending to convince them by argu-
" ing calmly." So I took my leave of their Captain, telling him, " I would
" come next Morning to finish the Af-
" fair."

But that very Night, which was near a month after the Mutiny on board of us at *Mumfort*, the Moon shining now very bright, as it did then, we heard, about ten a Clock, two or three Musquets fired on board the *Elizabeth*. Upon that I ordered all our Boats to be manned, and having secured every thing in our Ship, to prevent our Slaves from mutinying, I went my self in our Pinnace, (the other Boats following me) on board the *Elizabeth*. In our way we saw two Negroes swimming from her, but before we

N

could

could reach them with our Boats, some *Sharks* rose from the bottom, and tore them in Pieces. We came presently along the side of the Ship, where we found two Men-Negroes holding by a Rope, with their Heads just above water; they were afraid, it seems, to swim from the Ship's side, having seen their Companions devoured just before by the *Sharks*. These two Slaves we took into our Boat, and then went into the Ship, where we found the Negroes very quiet, and all under Deck; but the Ship's Company was on the Quarter-deck, in a great Confusion, saying, "The Cooper, who had been placed centry at the Fore-hatch way, over the Men-Negroes, was, they believed, kill'd by them." I was surprized to hear this, wondring that these cowardly fellows, who had so vigorously opposed my taking the Slaves out, a few hours before, had not Courage enough to venture forward, to save their Ship-mate; but had secured themselves by shutting the Quarter-deck-door, where they all stood with Arms in their Hands. So I
went

went to the fore-part of the Ship with some of my People, and there we found the Cooper lying on his back quite dead, his Scull being cleft afunder with a Hatcher that lay by him. At the sight of this I called for the Linguist, and bid him ask the *Negroes* between Decks, "Who had killed the white Man?" They answered, "They knew nothing of the matter; for there had been no design of mutinying amongst them:" Which upon Examination we found true; for above one hundred of the *Negroes* then on board, being bought to Windward, did not understand a word of the *Gold-Coast* Language, and so had not been in the Plot. But this Mutiny was contrived by a few *Cormantee-Negroes*, who had been purchased about two or three days before. At last, one of the two Men-*Negroes* we had taken up along the Ship side, impeached his Companion, and he readily confessed he had kill'd the Cooper, with no other View, but that he and his Countrymen might escape undiscovered by swimming on Shore. For on their coming

upon Deck, they observed, that all the white Men set to watch were asleep; and having found the Cook's Hatchet by the Fire-place, he took it up, not designing then to do any Mischief with it; but passing by the Cooper, who was centry, and he beginning to awake, the Negroe rashly struck him on the head with it, and then jump'd overboard. Upon this frank Confession, the white Men would have cut him to Pieces; but I prevented it, and carried him to my own Ship. Early the next morning, I went on board the *Elizabeth* with my Boats, and sent away all the Negroes then in her, into my own Ship: not one of the other Ship's Company offering to oppose it. Two of them, the Carpenter and Steward, desired to go with me, which I readily granted; and by way of Security for the future Success of the Voyage, I put my chief Mate, and four of my under Officers (with their own Consent,) on board the *Elizabeth*; and they arrived, about five Months after this, at *Jamaica*, having disposed of most part of the Cargoe.

After

After having sent the Slaves out of the *Elizabeth*, as I have just now mentioned, I went on board my own Ship; and there being then in the Road of *Anamaboe*, eight sail of Ships besides us, I sent an Officer in my Boat to the Commanders of them, “ To desire their Company on board my
“ Ship, because I had an Affair of great
“ Consequence to communicate to them.” Soon after, most of them were pleased to come; and I having acquainted them with the whole Matter, and they having also heard the Negroe’s Confession, “ That he had killed the white Man;” They unanimously advised me to put him to death; arguing, “ That Blood required Blood,
“ by all Laws both divine and human;
“ especially as there was in this Case the
“ clearest Proof, namely the Murderer’s
“ Confession: Moreover this would in
“ all probability prevent future Mischiefs;
“ for by publickly executing this Person
“ at the Ship’s Fore-yard Arm, the Ne-
“ groes on board their Ships would see it;
“ and as they were very much disposed to
“ mutiny, it might prevent them from

“ attempting it.” These Reasons, with my being in the same Circumstances, made me comply.

Accordingly we acquainted the Negroe, that he was to die in an hour’s time for murdering the white Man. He answered, “ He must confess it was a rash
“ Action in him to kill him; but he de-
“ fired me to consider, that if I put him
“ to death, I should lose all the Money I
“ had paid for him.” To this I bid the Interpreter reply, “ That tho’ I knew it
“ was customary in his Country to com-
“ mute for Murder by a Sum of Money,
“ yet it was not so with us; and he
“ should find that I had no regard to my
“ Profit in this respect: For as soon as
“ an Hour-Glass, just then turned, was
“ run out, he should be put to death;”
At which I observed he shewed no Con-
cern.

Hereupon the other Commanders went on board their respective Ships, in order to have all their Negroes upon Deck at the time of Execution, and to inform them of the occasion of it. The Hour-Glass
being

being run out, the Murderer was carried on the Ship's Forecastle, where he had a Rope fastened under his Arms, in order to be hoisted up to the Fore-yard Arm, to be shot to death. This some of his Countrymen observing, told him, (as the Linguist informed me afterwards) " That " they would not have him be frightened ; " for it was plain I did not design to put " him to death, otherwise the Rope would " have been put about his neck, to hang " him." For it seems they had no thought of his being shot ; judging he was only to be hoisted up to the Yard-arm, in order to scare him : But they immediately saw the contrary ; for as soon as he was hoisted up, ten white Men who were placed behind the Barricado on the Quarter-deck, fired their Musquets, and instantly killed him. This struck a sudden Damp upon our Negroe-Men, who thought, that, on account of my Profit, I would not have executed him.

The Body being let down upon the Deck, the Head was cut off, and thrown overboard. This last part was done, to

let our Negroes see, that all who offended thus, should be served in the same manner. For many of the Blacks believe, that if they are put to death and not dismembred, they shall return again to their own Country, after they are thrown overboard. But neither the Person that was executed, nor his Countrymen of *Cormantee* (as I understood afterwards,) were so weak as to believe any such thing; tho' many I had on board from other Countries had that Opinion.

When the Execution was over, I ordered the Linguist to acquaint the Men-Negroes, " That now they might judge, " no one that killed a white Man should " be spared:" And I thought proper now to acquaint them once for all, " That if " they attempted to mutiny again, I " should be obliged to punish the Ring- " leaders with death, in order to prevent " further Mischief." Upon this they all promised to be obedient, and I assured them they should be kindly used, if they kept their Promise: which they faithfully did. For we sailed, two days after, from

Anamaboe

Anamaboe for *Jamaica*; and tho' they were on board near four Months, from our going off the Coast, till they were sold at that Island, they never gave us the least reason to be jealous of them; which doubtless was owing to the Execution of the white Man's Murderer.

These three Mutinies, I have here related, are all that ever happened where I was present, tho' I have gone many Voyages to the Coast of *Guinea*. But I have heard of several, that have ended in a very tragical manner. However to avoid being tedious, I shall relate only one, which is very remarkable, and happen'd on board the *Ferrers Galley* of *London* Capt. *Messervy*; who by his over-care, and too great Kindness to the *Negroes* on board his Ship, was destroyed by them, and the Voyage at last came to nothing. I met this Gentleman at *Anamaboe* on the Coast of *Guinea*, in *January* 1722. At his coming on board my Ship, he informed me of his good fortune, in that he had purchased near 300 *Negroes* in a few Days, at a place called *Cetre-Crue*, on
the

the windward part of the Coast of *Guinea*; which happened in this manner.

It seems the Inhabitants of this place, which lies near the Sea-side, had been often misused by some inland People, who for a long time had treated them in a villainous manner, whenever they went to their Towns with Salt, or any other Commodities to sell. For knowing the People of *Cetre-Crue*, did in a great measure depend on them for their Food, which is Rice, they took their Commodities, and gave them just what quantity of Rice they pleased, in exchange. The *Cetre-Crues* having long complained of this Injury, without redress, resolved to bear it no longer, but to revenge themselves by Arms. And they were crowned with Success, destroying and taking all the Inhabitants of the principal Town where they used to go and buy Rice.

Captain *Messervy* happened to anchor near *Cetre-Crue* just at that time, and had the opportunity of purchasing a great many of the Captives at an easy rate. For the Conquerors were glad to get something
for

for them at that instant, since if a Ship had not been in the Road, they would have been obliged to have killed most of the Men-Captives, for their own Security.

After the Captain had told me this story, he desired me to spare him some Rice, having heard, I had purchased a great many Tuns to the Windward; where he had bought little, not expecting to meet with so many Slaves. This request I could not comply with, having provided no more than was necessary for my self, and for another of my Owner's Ships, which I quickly expected. And understanding from him, that he had never been on the Coast of *Guinea* before, I took the liberty to observe to him, " That as he had on board so many Negroes of one Town and Language, it required the utmost Care and Management to keep them from mutinying; and that I was sorry he had so little Rice for them: For I had experienced that the Windward Slaves are always very fond of it, it being their

“ usual Food in their own Country
 “ and he might certainly expect dissatis-
 “ factions and Uneasiness amongst them
 “ for want of a sufficient quantity.”

This he took kindly, and having asked
 my Advice about other Matters, took his
 leave, inviting me to come next day to
 see him. I went accordingly on board
 his Ship, about three a clock in the after-
 noon. At four a clock the Negroes went
 to Supper, and Captain *Messervy* desired
 me to excuse him for a quarter of an
 hour, whilst he went forward to see the
 Men-Negroes served with Victuals. I
 observed from the Quarter-Deck, that he
 himself put Pepper and Palm Oyl amongst
 the Rice they were going to eat. When
 he came back to me, I could not forbear
 observing to him, “ How imprudent it
 “ was in him to do so: For tho’ it was
 “ proper for a Commander sometimes
 “ to go forward, and observe how things
 “ were managed; yet he ought to take a
 “ proper time, and have a good many of
 “ his white People in Arms when he
 “ went;

went; or else the having him so much in their Power, might incourage the Slaves to mutiny: For he might depend upon it, they always aim at the chief Person in the Ship, whom they soon distinguish by the respect shown him by the rest of the People."

He thanked me for this Advice, but did not seem to relish it; saying, "He thought the old Proverb good, that *The Master's Eye makes the Horse fat.*" We then fell into other Discourse, and among other things he told me, "He designed to go away in a few days:" accordingly he sailed three days after for *Jamaica*. Some Months after I went for that place, where at my arrival I found his Ship, and had the following melancholy account of his Death, which happened about ten days after he left the Coast of *Guinea* in this manner.

Being on the Forecastle of the Ship, amongst the Men-Negroes, when they were eating their Victuals, they laid hold on him, and beat out his Brains with the little

little Tubs, out of which they eat the boiled Rice. This Mutiny having been plotted amongst all the grown Negroes on board, they run to the fore-part of the Ship in a body, and endeavoured to form the Barricado on the Quarter-Deck, and regarding the Musquets or Half Pike that were presented to their Breasts by the white Men, through the Loop-hole. So that at last the chief Mate was obliged to order one of the Quarter-deck Guns laden with Partridge-Shot, to be fired amongst them; which occasioned a terrible Destruction: For there were near eighty *Negroes* kill'd and drowned, many jumping overboard when the Gun was fired. This indeed put an end to the Mutiny, but most of the Slaves that remained alive grew so fullen, that several of them were starved to death, obstinately refusing to take any Sustainance. And after the Ship was arrived at *Jamaica*, they attempted twice to mutiny before the Sale of them began. This with their former Misbehaviour coming

to be publickly known, none of the Planters cared to buy them, tho' offered at a low Price. So that this proved a very unsuccessful Voyage, for the Ship was detained many Months at *Jamaica* on that account, and at last was lost there in a Hurricane.

The End of BOOK II.



be publicly known, none of the
acted to buy them, tho' offered at a low
ice. So that this proved a very unsuccess-
 Voyage, for the ship was detained
any where at New York on that account,
it was left there in a short time.

The ship was ordered to
return to New York, and was
ordered to be ready to sail
on the 1st of the next month.

The End of BOOK II.

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B O O K III.

Containing an Account of the Author's being taken by Pirates, on the North part of the Coast of Guinea, in the Bird Galley of London, belonging to the late Humphrey Morrice Esq; who was sole Owner of the said Ship. Interspersed with several Instances of the Author's many Deliverances, and narrow Escapes from Death, during the time he was detain'd Prisoner by the Pirates.

IN the beginning of November, in the Year 1718, the late *Humphrey Morrice Esq;* Merchant of London, appointed me Commander of the *Bird Galley*, and gave me Orders to go to *Holland*,

to take on board a Cargoe for the Coast of *Africa*: Having so done, we were unfortunately detained by contrary Winds, at *Helvoet-Sluys*, till the 10th day of *December*, when a violent Storm arose, and in the night following forc'd our Ship on Shore, with several others. The Ship, by the Strength of the Wind, and height of the Tide, was carried with a great force against the Dike, or Bank that secures the Land from being overflowed on such high Tides, which frighten'd the Inhabitants thereabouts not a little. Moreover, the Waves made her work so much on the Ground where she was stranded, that when the Tide had left her, we found she set seven foot deep abaft in the Strand; but had the Satisfaction to find, on Examination, the Ship had received no damage in her bottom. Having unloaded, and hired many Boors or Peasants, to dig a Trench off near 300 Foot in length to the low water mark, we waited some time for a high Tide; and then getting the Ship off, carried her into *Helvoet-Sluys* Peer.

Having

Having refitted and loaded again, we proceeded on our Voyage the latter end of *January*; but the Wind changing by the time we were off the Isle of *Wight*, and rising to a great Storm westerly, we were forced into *Spithead*; where having lain some time, we sailed again with a fair Wind, which carried us above 70 Leagues to the westward of the *Lizard*. Here a severe Storm of Wind coming up at Southwest, obliged us to lye by, under a reef'd Mainfail; and it increased to such a violent Degree, that we expected to be swallowed up every Minute, by the great Sea which ran Mountains high; but it pleased God, that after 24 Hours, it began to abate, and we received no other damage, than the loss of the *Lyon* from the Ship's Cut-water, which was washed away by the Sea.

The Wind (after this Storm) remaining contrary a long time, with frequent hard Gales, obliged us at last to go for *Kingsale* in *Ireland*: Where having lain a few days, and repaired the Ship's Head, with other things that were out of Order,

we sailed from that place, with a northerly Wind, the 10th day of *March* 1718-19, and had a short and fine Passage to the River *Sieraleon*; on the North Coast of *Guinea*, in the Latitude of 8 Deg. 30 Min. where we arrived the first day of *April* 1719: We met with nothing remarkable in our Passage, except, that near the *Canary Islands*, we were chased by a Ship whom we judged to be a *Sallec-Rover*; but our Ship outfailing her, they soon gave over the Chase.

There were, at the time of our unfortunate Arrival in the above mentioned River, three Pirate Ships, who had then taken ten *English* Ships in that place. As it is necessary for illustrating this Story, to give an Account how these three Ships came to meet there, I must observe, That the first of them which arrived in the River, was called the *Rising Sun*, one *Cocklyn* Commander, who had not with him above 25 Men. These having been with one Captain *Moody*, a famous Pirate, some Months before, in a *Brigantine*, which sailed very well, and

took the *Rising Sun*, they were *morooned* by him, (as they call it) that is forced on board that Ship; and deprived of their share of the Plunder, taken formerly by the *Brigantine*. These People being obliged to go away in her, with little Provision and Ammunition, chose *Cocklyn* for their Commander, and made for the River *Siera-leon*; where arriving, they surprized in his Sloop, one *Segnor Joseph*, a black Gentleman, who had been formerly in *England*, and was a Person of good account in this Country. This Man's Ransom procured the Pirates a sufficient supply of Provision and Ammunition. Moreover, several *Bristol* and other Ships arriving soon after, were likewise taken; and many of their People entring with the Pirates, they had, when I fell into their hands, near 80 Men in all.

The Cruelty of the *Brigantine*, who, with their Captain *Moody*, had thus forced their Companions away in the *Rising Sun*, soon after repenting of that Action, it bred great Discontents among them; so that they quarrelled with their Cap-

tain and some others, whom they thought the chief Promoters of it; and at last forced him, with twelve others, into an open Boat, which they had taken a few days before, from the *Spaniards* of the *Canary Islands*; and as they never were heard of afterwards, doubtless they perished in the Ocean. After this, they chose one *Le Bouse* a *Frenchman* for their Commander, who carried them to the River *Sieraleon*, where they arrived about a Month after their parting with the *Rising Sun*.

At the first Appearance, of this Brigantine, *Cocklyn* and his Crew were under a great Surprise; but when they understood how *Moody* and some others had been served by them, they cheerfully joined their Brethren in Iniquity.

On the same day also arrived one Captain *Davis*, who had been pirating in a Sloop, and had taken a large Ship at the *Cape de Vérd* Islands. He coming into *Sieraleon* with her, it put the other two Pirates into some fear, believing at first it was a Man of War: But upon discovering

vering her black Flag at the Main-top-mast-head, which Pirate Ships usually hoist to terrify Merchant-Men; they were easy in their Minds, and a little time after, saluted one another with their Cannon.

This *Davis* was a generous Man, and kept his Crew, which consisted of near 150 Men, in good order; neither had he conformed or agreed to join with the others, when I was taken by *Cocklyn*; which proved a great Misfortune to me, as will appear afterwards. For I found *Cocklyn* and his Crew, to be a set of the basest and most cruel Villains that ever were. And indeed they told me, after I was taken, “ That they chose him for their Com-
“ mander, on account of his Brutality
“ and Ignorance; having resolved never
“ to have again a Gentleman-like Com-
“ mander, as, they said, *Moody* was.”

Upon mentioning this, I think it necessary to observe in this place, that the Captain of a Pirate Ship, is chiefly chosen to fight the Vessels they may meet with. Besides him, they chuse another principal Officer, whom they call *Quarter-master*,

who has the general Inspection of all Affairs, and often controuls the Captain's Orders: This Person is also to be the first Man in boarding any Ship they shall attack; or go in the Boat on any desperate Enterprize. Besides the *Captain* and *Quarter-master*, the Pirates had all other Officers as is usual on board Men of War.

I come now to give an account how I was taken by them. The day that I made the Land, when I was within three Leagues of the River's Mouth, it became calm in the Afternoon. Seeing a Smoke on Shore, I sent for my first Mate Mr. *Simon Jones*, who had been formerly at *Sieraleon*, where I had not; "bidding
" him take the Pinnace, and go where
" the Smoke was, to enquire of the Na-
" tives, how Affairs stood up the River."
" But he replied, " it would be to little
" purpose, for no People lived there: As
" to the Smoke we saw, he believed it
" might be made by some Travellers
" who were roasting of Oysters on the
" Shore; and would be gone before he
" could

“ could get a Mile from the Ship. More-
“ over, as Night drew on, it would be
“ difficult for him to find the Ship again.”
Thinking this answer reasonable, I did
not press him further; tho’ I understood
afterwards, there was a Town where the
Smoke appeared. But I did not then in
the least suspect Mr. *Jones* would have
proved such a Villain as he did after-
wards.

About five a Clock in the Afternoon, a
small Breeze arising from the Sea, and the
Tide of Flood setting strong, we stood for
the River’s Mouth. At Sun-setting we per-
ceived a Ship at Anchor, a great way up
the River; which was the Pirate that took
us soon after. The other two Pirate
Ships, with their Prizes, were hid from
our sight by a Point of Land.

It becoming calm about seven a Clock,
and growing dark, we anchor’d in the
River’s Mouth; soon after which I went
to Supper, with the Officers that usually
eat with me. About eight a Clock the
Officer of the Watch upon Deck, sent
me word, “ He heard the rowing of a
“ Boat.”

“ Boat.” Whereupon we all immediately went upon Deck; and the night being very dark, I ordered Lanthorns and Candles to be got ready, supposing the Boat might come from the Shore with some white Gentlemen, that lived there as free Merchants; or else from the Ship we had seen up the River a little while before we came to an Anchor. I ordered also, by way of Precaution, the first Mate to go into the Steerage, to put all things in order, and to send me forthwith twenty Men on the *Quarter-deck* with fire Arms and Cutlaces, which I thought he went about.

As it was dark, I could not yet see the Boat, but heard the noise of the rowing very plain: Whereupon I ordered the second Mate to hail the Boat, to which the People in it answered, “ They belonged
 “ to the *Two Friends*, Captain *Eliot* of
 “ *Barbadoes*.” At this, one of the Officers who stood by me, said, “ He
 “ knew the Captain very well, and that
 “ he commanded a Vessel of that name.”
 I replied, “ It might be so; but I
 “ would

“ would not trust any Boat in such a
“ place;” and ordered him to hasten the
first Mate, with the People and Arms
upon Deck, as I had just before ordered.
By this time our Lanthorns and Candles
were brought up, and I ordered the
Boat to be hailed again: To which the
People in it answered, “ They were from
“ *America:*” And at the same time fired
a volley of small Shot at the Ship, tho’
they were then above Pistol shot from us;
which showed the Boldness of these Vil-
lains: For there was in the Boat only
twelve of them, as I understood after-
wards, who knew nothing of the Strength
of our Ship; which was indeed consider-
able, we having 16 Guns, and 45 Men
on board. But as they told me after we
were taken, “ They judged we were a
“ small Vessel of little force. Moreover,
“ they depended on the same good for-
“ tune as in the other Ships they had
“ taken; having met with no resistance:
“ For the People were generally glad of
“ an opportunity of entring with them:”
Which last was but too true.

When

When they first began to fire, I called aloud to the first Mate, to fire at the Boat out of the Steerage Port-holes; which not being done, and the people I had ordered upon Deck with small Arms not appearing, I was extremely surprized; and the more, when an Officer came and told me, "The People would not take Arms." I went thereupon down into the Steerage, where I saw a great many of them looking at one another. Little thinking that my first Mate had prevented them from taking Arms, I asked them with some Roughness, "Why they had not obeyed my Orders?" Calling upon some brisk Fellows by name, that had gone a former Voyage with me, to defend the Ship; saying, "It would be the greatest Reproach in the World to us all, if we should be taken by a Boat." Some of them replied, "They would have taken Arms, but the Chest they were kept in could not be found." The reason of which will be related hereafter.

By

By this time the Boat was along the Ship's Side, and there being no body to oppose them, the Pirates immediately boarded us; and coming on the Quarter-deck, fired their Pieces several times down into the Steerage, and shot a Sailor in the Reins, of which Wound he died afterwards. They likewise threw several Granado-shells, which burst amongst us, so that 'tis a great wonder several of us were not killed by them, or by their Shot.

At last some of our People bethought themselves to call out for *Quarter*; which the Pirates granting, the *Quarter-master* came down into the Steerage, enquiring, "Where the Captain was?" I told him, "I had been so till now." Upon that he asked me, "How I durst order my People to fire at their Boat out of the Steerage?" saying, that they had heard me repeat it several times." I answered, "I thought it my Duty to defend the Ship, if my People would have fought." Upon that he presented a Pistol to my Breast, which I had but just time

time to parry before it went off; so that the Bullet past between my Side and Arm. The Rogue finding he had not shot me, he turned the But-end of the Pistol, and gave me such a Blow on the Head as stunned me; so that I fell upon my Knees; but immediately recovering myself, I forthwith jumped out of the Steerage upon the Quarter-deck, where the Pirate Boatswain was.

He was a bloody Villain, having a few days before killed a poor Sailor, because he did not do something so soon as he had ordered him. This cruel Monster was asking some of my People, "Where their Captain was." So at my coming upon Deck, one of them, pointing to me, said, "There he is." Tho' the night was very dark, yet there being four Lanthorns with Candles, he had a full sight of me: Whereupon lifting up his broad Sword, he swore, "No Quarter should be given to any Captain that offered to defend his Ship," aiming at the same time a full stroke at my Head. To avoid it I stooped so low, that the Quarter-deck Rail

Rail received the Blow; and was cut in at least an inch deep: Which happily saved my Head from being cleft asunder: And the Sword breaking at the same time, with the force of the Blow on the Rail, it prevented his cutting me to pieces.

By good Fortune his Pistols, that hung at his Girdle, were all discharged; otherwise he would doubtless have shot me. But he took one of them, and with the But-end endeavoured to beat out my Brains, which some of my People that were then on the Quarter-deck observing, cried out aloud, "For God's sake
"don't kill our Captain, for we never
"were with a better Man." This turned the Rage of him and two other Pirates on my People, and saved my Life: But they cruelly used my poor Men, cutting and beating them unmercifully. One of them had his Chin almost cut off; and another received such a Wound on his Head, that he fell on the Deck as dead; but afterwards, by the care of our Surgeon he recovered.

All

All this happen'd in a few Minutes and the Quarter-master then coming up ordered the Pirates to tie our People's Hands, and told me, " That when they
" boarded us, they let their Boat go
" adrift, and that I must send an Officer
" with some of my People in our Boat to
" look for theirs." Whereupon my first Mate, Mr. *Simon Jones*, who stood by offered to go: And the Quarter-master telling him, " He must return quickly
" otherwise he should judge that they
" were run away with the Boat, in order to go on Shore; and if they did
" so he would cut me to pieces:" Mr. *Jones* replied, " He would not stay above
" a quarter of an Hour, but return whether he found the Boat or not." Happily for me he soon found her, and returned (tho' it was very dark) in less time than he had promised.

Then the Quarter-master took me by the hand, and told me, " My Life was
" safe provided none of my People complained against me." I replied, " I was
" sure none of them could."

Th

The Pirates next, loaded all their small Arms, and fired several Vollies for Joy they had taken us: Which their Comrades on board their Ship hearing, it being then very near us, tho' we could not see it for the darkness of the Night, they concluded we had made Resistance, and destroyed their People.

It will be proper to observe here, that soon after we had anchored in the Mouth of the River *Sieraleon*, it became calm; and the Tide of Ebb beginning to come down, the Pirates cut their Cable, and let their Ship drive down with the Tide towards us, from the place where we had seen her at anchor; having sometime before sent their Boat against the Tide of Flood, to discover us. The Ship being by that means come near us, and seeing our Lights, without asking any Questions, gave us a Broad-side with their great Guns; verily believing we had destroyed their Boat and People. This put the Pirates on board us into Confusion, which I observing, asked the Quarter-master, "Why he did not call with the speak-
P " ing.

“ing Trumpet, and tell their Ship they
 “had taken us?” Upon that he asked me
 angrily, “Whether I was afraid of go-
 “ing to the Devil by a great Shot? For,
 “as to his part, he hoped he should be
 “sent to Hell one of these days by a
 “Cannon Ball.” I answered, “I hoped
 “that would not be my Road.” How-
 ever, he followed my Advice, and in-
 formed their Ship, “They had taken a
 “brave Prize, with all manner of good
 “Liquors and fresh Provisions on board.”

Just after this, *Cocklyn*, the Pirate Cap-
 tain, ordered them to dress a quantity of
 these Victuals; so they took many Geese,
 Turkeys, Fowls and Ducks, making our
 People cut their Heads off, and pull the
 great Feathers out of their Wings: But
 they would not stay till the other Fea-
 thers were pick'd off. All these they
 put into our great Furnace, which would
 boil Victuals for 500 Negroes, together
 with several *Westphalia* Hams, and a large
 Sow with Pig, which they only bow-
 elled, leaving the Hair on. This strange
 medley filled the Furnace, and the

Cook was ordered to boil them out of Hand.

As soon as the Pirate-ship had done firing, I asked the Quarter-master's leave, for our Surgeon to dress my poor People that had been wounded; and I likewise went into the Steerage, to have my Arm dress'd, it being very much bruised by the Blow given me by the Pirate-Boatswain. Just after that, a person came to me from the Quarter-master, desiring to know, "What a Clock it was by my Watch?" Which judging to be a civil way of demanding it, I sent it him immediately: desiring the Messenger to tell him, it was a very good going Gold Watch. When it was delivered to the Quarter-master, he held it up by the Chain, and presently laid it down on the Deck, giving it a kick with his Foot; saying, "It was a pretty Foot-ball: On which, one of the Pirates caught it up, saying, "He would put it in the common Chest to be sold at the Mast.

I would not mention such trifling Circumstances, but that I judge they serve to

shew the Humours and Temper of these sort of People.

By this time I was loudly called upon to go on board the Pirate-ship. As soon as I came upon Deck, they hurried me over our Ship's side into the Boat; but when we arrived along the side of the Pirate-Vessel, I told them, " I was
" disabled in my Arm, and so desired
" their help to get me into their Ship:" Which was readily done. Then I was ordered to go on the Quarter-deck to their Commander, who saluted me in this manner. " I am sorry you have met
" with bad usage after Quarter given,
" but 'tis the Fortune of War sometimes. I expect you will answer truly
" to all such Questions as I shall ask you:
" otherwise you shall be cut to pieces;
" but if you tell the Truth, and your
" Men make no Complaints against you,
" you shall be kindly used; and this shall
" be the best Voyage you ever made in
" your Life, as you shall find by what
" shall be given you." I thanked him for his good Intentions, telling him, " I
" was

“ was content to stand on the footing he
“ had proposed to me:”

Having answered all his Questions, one of which was, “ How our Ship sailed
“ both large, and on a wind?” I replying,
“ Very well:” He then threw up his Hat, saying, “ She would make a
“ fine Pirate Man of War.” When I heard that, I must own I could not but be concern’d for having answered so truly in that particular: But then considering, that some of my People would no doubt have told them the same; and moreover, my Journal, when they look’d into it, would have made it plainly appear, which might have proved my Destruction, I satisfied my Mind with these Reflections.

As, in this whole Affair, I greatly experienced the Providence of Almighty God, in his Goodness delivering me from the hands of these Villains, and from many Dangers; so the same good Providence gave me such a presence of Mind, that when I believed I was upon the point of being killed, such Terrors did not arise, as I had formerly experienced,

enced, when in danger of Shipwrack
And tho' I fared very hard, and endured
great Fatigues during the time I was
there Prisoner; yet praised be God, I
enjoyed my Health: Submitting with that
Resignation to the Will of the Almighty,
as a Man ought to do in such severe
Misfortunes.

But to return to my Narrative, which
the Remembrance of my past Dangers
hath interrupted.

As soon as I had done answering the
Captain's Questions, a tall Man, with
four Pistols in his Girdle, and a broad
Sword in his Hand, came to me on the
Quarter-deck, telling me, " His name
" was *James Griffin*, and that we had
" been School-fellows." Tho' I remem-
bered him very well; yet having formerly
heard, it had proved fatal to some who
had been taken by Pirates, to own any
Knowledge of them; I replied, " I could
" not remember any such Person by
" name." Upon that he mentioned some
boyish Pranks that had formerly pass'd
between us. But I still denying any
Know-

Knowledge of him, he told me, “ He
 “ supposed I took him to be one of the
 “ Pirate’s Crew, because I saw him armed
 “ in that manner; but that he was a
 “ forc’d Man, and had been lately chief
 “ Mate to Captain *James Creighton* of
 “ *Bristol*; who was then, with his Ship,
 “ in the Possession of the Pirates in the
 “ River, and had not been destroyed by
 “ them, at his earnest intreaty: That since
 “ his being forced, they had obliged him
 “ to act as Master of the Pirate-ship;
 “ and the reason of his being so armed,
 “ was to prevent their imposing on him;
 “ for there was hardly any amongst the
 “ Crew of Pirates belonging to Captain
 “ *Cocklyn*, but what were cruel Villains;
 “ misusing much better Men than them-
 “ selves, only for having the Misfortune
 “ to fall into their Hands, as I had al-
 “ ready experienced, and might find
 “ hereafter; but he would himself take
 “ care of me that night, in which would
 “ be my greatest Danger; because many
 “ of their People would soon get drunk
 “ with the good Liquors found in my
 “ Ship.”

This generous Declaration was very acceptable to me, and I then readily owned my former acquaintance with him. Then he turned to Captain *Cocklyn*, and desired a Bowl of Punch might be made. Which being done, the Captain desired Mr. *Griffin* my Schoolfellow to show me the way to the great Cabbin, and he followed himself.

There was not in the Cabbin either Chair, or any thing else to sit upon; for they always kept a clear Ship ready for an Engagement: So a Carpet was spread on the Deck, upon which we sat down cross-legg'd. Captain *Cocklyn* drank my Health, desiring, "I would not be cast
" down at my Misfortune, for one of
" the Boat's Crew who had taken us had
" told him, My Ship's Company in gene-
" ral spoke well of me; and they had
" Goods enough left in the Ships they
" had taken to make a Man of me." Then he drank several other Healths, amongst which was that of the *Pretender*, by the name of King *James the Third*, and thereby I found they were doubly

doubly on the side of the Gallows, both as Traitors and Pirates.

It being by this time Midnight, my Schoolfellow desired the Captain, "To have a Hammock hung up for me to sleep in;" for it seems every one lay rough, as they called it, that is, on the Deck; the Captain himself not being allowed a Bed. This being granted, and soon after done, I took leave of the Captain, and got into the Hammock, tho' I could not sleep in my melancholy Circumstances. Moreover, the execrable Oaths and Blasphemies I heard among the Ship's Company, shock'd me to such a degree, that in Hell it self I thought there could not be worse; for tho' many Seafaring Men are given to swearing and taking God's Name in vain, yet I could not have imagined, human Nature could ever so far degenerate, as to talk in the manner those abandoned Wretches did.

After I was got into the Hammock, Mr. *Griffin*, according to his Promise, walked by me, with his broad Sword in his Hand, to protect me from Insults.

Some time after, it being about two a clock in the morning, the Pirate *Boatswain* (that attempted to kill me when taken) came on board very drunk, and being told I was in a Hammock, he came with his Cutlace near me. My generous Schoolfellow asked him what he wanted? he answered, " To slice my Liver, for I
" was a vile Dog, for ordering my Peo-
" ple to fire on their Boat; neither would
" I deliver my Watch when the *Quar-*
" *termaster* first demanded it." Upon hearing that, I told Mr. *Griffin*, " The
" last was false, for I had immediately
" sent it by a Messenger, who only asked,
" what a clock it was? supposing the
" Quarter-master expected it". Then *Griffin* bid the Boatswain keep his Distance, or else he would cleave his head asunder with his Broad Sword. Nevertheless, that bloody-minded Villain came on to kill me; but Mr. *Griffin* struck at him with his Sword, from which he had a narrow Escape, and then ran away: So I lay unmolested till day light. By that time the Fumes of the Liquor being gone
off

off by Sleep amonst most of the Pirates, Mr. *Griffin* complained to the Quarter-master and Company, of the cruel Intention of the Boatswain towards me; representing, “ They ought to observe
“ strictly that Maxim established amongst
“ them, not to permit any ill usage to
“ their Prisoners after Quarter given.” At the hearing of this, many of them voted for his being whipp’d, tho’ he was a great Favourite of several others. But tho’ I wish’d him hang’d in my Mind, yet I thought it prudent to plead for him; saying, “ I believed it was his being in
“ Liquor that was the cause of his using
“ me in that manner.” So he received a general Order, not to give me the least Offence afterwards: Yet did that vile Wretch attempt once more to kill me, as shall be related in its due place.

I come now to relate, How Mr. *Simon Jones*, my first Mate, and ten of my Men entred with the Pirates. The Morning after we were taken, he came to me, and said, “ His Circumstances were bad at
“ home: Moreover, he had a Wife whom
“ he

“ he could not love; and for these Rea-
“ sons he had entred with the Pirates, and
“ signed their Articles.” I was greatly
surprized at this Declaration, and told
him, “ I was very sorry to hear it, for I be-
“ liev’d he would repent when too late; and
“ as he had taken this Resolution rashly,
“ without communicating it to me, all
“ I could say now would be to no Pur-
“ pose; neither would it be proper for
“ me, for the future, to have any Dis-
“ course with him in private.” I saw
this poor Man afterwards despised by his
Brethren in Iniquity; and have since been
informed, he died a few Months after
they left the River *Sieraleon*. However,
I must do him the Justice to own, He
never shewed any Disrespect to me; and
the ten People he perswaded to enter with
him, remained very civil to me, and of
their own accord, always manned the
side for me, whenever I went on board
the Ship they belonged to.

Several of these unhappy People soon
after repented, and desired me to intercede
for them, that they might be cleared
again;

again; for they durst not themselves mention it to the Quarter-master, it being death by their Articles: But it was too nice a matter for me to deal in; and therefore I refused them.

Some days after this, one of these poor Men, whose name was *Thomas Wilder*, discovered things to me, of which I only had a suspicion before. After cursing Mr. *Jones* for persuading him to enter with the Pirates, he said to me, “ That
“ several times in the Night-watch, before we came to *Sieraleon*, he had heard
“ him say, *That he hoped we should meet*
“ *with Pirates when we came to that River* ;
“ which he then thought to be spoken
“ only in jest; but now he found it too
“ true”. As I seemed not to believe this, he called another of our People, who confirmed what he had told me. “ Then
“ I asked them the Reason why the
“ Chest of Arms was put out of the place
“ where it usually stood at the Steerage;
“ and where it was hid in the time we
“ were taken?” They answered, “ I
“ might remember, that the Morning
“ we

“ we made Land, I ordered the Steerage
“ to be clean’d; to do which all the
“ Chests there were carried between
“ Decks; and after the Steerage was
“ clean’d, all the Chests were brought
“ back again in their places, except the
“ Chest of Arms, which was left behind
“ by the Mate’s Order: That when I
“ called to the People in the Steerage to
“ fire on the Pirate-boat, supposing Mr.
“ *Jones* had delivered them Arms accor-
“ ding to my Order, many of the Men
“ would have broken the Chest open, but
“ he prevented them, by declaring, *This*
“ *was an opportunity he had wished for;*
“ *and that if they fired a Musquet, they*
“ *would be all cut to pieces.* And they
further assured me, that to induce them
to enter with the Pirates, he had declared
to them, *That I had promised him to*
enter my self. Putting all this together,
with what several of the Pirates told me
afterwards, namely, *That he had been the*
chief occasion of their keeping my Ship, it
was a wonder that I escaped so well, hav-
ing such a base Wretch for my principal
Officer. . Bu

But to resume the thread of my Story. As soon as the Fumes of the Liquor were gone out of the Pirates Heads, they all went on board the Prize, as they called my Ship, about eight a clock in the morning, it being the second day of *April*. Mr. *Jones*, who had been my first Mate, went with them; and he having confirmed them in their intention of keeping the Ship for their own use, all hands went to work to clear the Ship, by throwing over board Bales of Woollen Goods; Cases of *India* Goods; with many other things of great Value: So that before night they had destroyed between three and four thousand Pounds worth of the Cargoe. For they had little regard to these things, Money and Necessaries being what they chiefly wanted. The sight of this much grieved me, but I was obliged in prudence to be silent. For my Schoolfellow told me, I was still under the displeasure of many of them, on account of my ordering my People to fire on their Boat when they took me.

There

There were then residing at *Sieraleon*, several *Englishmen* who traded on their own accounts; And among the rest, one Captain *Henry Glynn*, who was since Governor for the Royal *African Company* at *Gambia*, and died there. This Gentleman was an honest generous Person, and of so much Integrity, that tho' he had suffered by the Pirates when they first landed, yet he would never accept of any Goods from them, which they had often press'd him to receive for his own use. This Conduct, with an engaging deportment, so gained him the Good-will of the Pirates, that they were ready to oblige him in whatever he requested. Captain *Glynn* and my self having formerly been acquainted, as soon as he heard of my being taken, he engaged Captain *Davis* and *Le Boofe*, the Commanders of the two other Pirate Ships, who were then on Shore at his House, to come on board with him to see me. I was very agreeably surprized with his coming that Afternoon, and both the Pirate Captains that came with him saluted me civilly.

Captain

Captain *Davis* told me, “ He knew me,” tho’ I never could recollect where I had seen him; and I found, he did not care to tell, where he had seen me.

Soon after this, *Captain Cocklyn* with his Quarter-master and others, came from the Prize on board their old Ship, to compliment Captain *Davis* and the rest that came with him. After the Compliments were over, Captain *Davis* generously said, “ He was ashamed to hear how I had “ been used by them. That they should “ remember, their Reasons for going a pi- “ rating were to revenge themselves on “ base Merchants, and cruel Commanders “ of Ships. That as for the Owner of “ the Prize, he had not his Fellow in “ *London* for Generosity and Goodness to “ poor Sailors, as he had formerly heard “ from others, and now from Captain “ *Glynn*: That as for my part, no one of “ my People, even those that had entered “ with them, gave me the least ill Cha- “ racter: But by their respect since shewn “ me, it was plain they loved me. That “ he indeed had heard the occasion of

Q

“ my

“ my ill usage, and of the ill-will some
“ still bore me, was, because I had or-
“ dered my People to defend the Ship:
“ Which he blamed them exceedingly
“ for; saying, If he had had the good
“ fortune to have taken me, and I had
“ defended my Ship against him, he
“ should have doubly valued me for it:
“ That as he was not in Partnership with
“ them, he would say no more at present;
“ but that he hoped they would now use
“ me kindly, and give me some Necessi-
“ taries, with what remained undestroyed
“ of my private Adventure.” This was
by no means relished by this pack of Mis-
creants; for in their Hearts they hated
Captain *Davis*, because he kept his Ship’s
Company in good order, tho’ they were
almost double their Number; and being
a brave generous Man, they dreaded his
Repentment. However *Cocklyn*, and the
chief of his People putting a good face on
the matter, invited him and Captain
Glynn on board the Prize; and they two
desiring I might accompany them, it was
readily granted.

Soon

Soon after we were on board, we all went into the great Cabin, where we found nothing but Destruction. Two *Scrutores* I had there were broke to Pieces, and all the fine Goods and Necessaries in them were all gone. Moreover two large Chests that had Books in them were empty; and I was afterwards informed, they had been all thrown overboard; for one of the Pirates, upon opening them, swore, “ There
“ was Jaw-work enough (as he called it)
“ to serve a Nation, and proposed they
“ might be cast into the Sea; for he
“ feared, there might be some Books
“ amongst them, that might breed Mis-
“ chief enough; and prevent some of
“ their Comrades from going on in their
“ Voyage to Hell, whither they were all
“ bound.” Upon which the Books were all flung out of the Cabin-windows into the River.

After the Company were all sat down in the Cabin, they were treated with all sorts of Liquors, and other things, that had once been mine: By this means the chief Pirates being put into a good humour,

mour, my Friend captain *Glynn* took the opportunity of begging of the Quarter-master several Necessaries for me: Which being readily granted, they were tied up in Bundles, and Captain *Glynn* designed to take them on Shore with him to his House for me. But an unlucky accident happened, which made me lose them all again.

For some of Captain *Davis's* People coming on board at that time; one of them, a pert young fellow of eighteen, broke a Chest open to plunder it. The Quarter-master hearing of it, goes out of the Cabin, and asks the reason of his so doing; the young Man replied, "As they were all Pirates, he thought he did what was right." On that the Quarter master strikes at him with his broad Sword, but the young Man running away, escaped the Blow, and fled for protection into the great Cabin to his Master Captain *Davis*. The Quarter-master pursues him in a great Passion; and there not being room amongst so many of us, to make a stroke at him, he made a thrust with

with his Sword, and slit the Ball of one of the young Man's Thumbs, and slightly wounded at the same time Captain *Davis* on the back of one of his Hands. *Davis* upon that was all on Fire, and vowed Revenge, saying, "That tho' his Man had
"offended, he ought to have been first
"acquainted with it; for no other Person
"had a right to punish him in his Presence;" and immediately goes on board his own Ship. Where telling the Story to his Ship's Company, they all resolved forthwith to revenge this great injury done to one of their Comrades, and the Indignity shown their Captain. Upon that they slip one of their Cables, and begun to heave on the other, in order to come and board *Cocklyn's* Ship, and destroy such a set of vile Fellows, as they called him and his Crew. When Captain *Davis* went from the Prize, *Cocklyn* soon followed, and went on board his own Ship, to get all things in a readiness to defend himself. Captain *Glynn* and myself only remained behind, and hoped quickly to have seen hot work between

them; but *Cocklyn* having consulted his People, and judging they should be no ways able to cope with Captain *Davis*, hastily came on board the Prize again, and desired Captain *Glynn* to go on board *Davis* with him, in order to make up matters. My Friend would have refused this unpleasant Office, if he durst; but on his not readily complying, *Cocklyn* grew enraged. I fearing the consequences, persuaded him to go: Which *Cocklyn* was so well pleased with, that he often spoke of it afterwards to my advantage.

By the time they came on board *Davis*, his Ship was just on ^{hoisting up their} ~~*Cocklyn's*~~ Anchor; and tho' Captain *Glynn* was a well-spoken ingenious Man, he found it very difficult to compromise the Matter: Which at last was done on these Terms; " That
 " Captain *Davis* and his Ship's Com-
 " pany, should have their share of Li-
 " quors and Necessaries on board the
 " Prize; and, That the Quarter-master,
 " who had wounded the young Man be-
 " longing to *Davis*, should before all
 " his Crew acknowledge his fault, and
 " ask Pardon for the same." Night

Night now approaching, Captain *Glynn* was obliged to go on Shore, without calling upon me for the Things he had begged, intending to come next day for them. Being thus left on board the Prize, with only three or four of the Pirates, amongst whom the bloody-minded Boatswain (formerly mentioned) was one; and there being no Boat along the side at that time, I resolved to stay where I was all night, and not hail their Pirate-Ship to send their Boat for me.

The Pirate-Carpenter was then lying on my Bed in the State-room; so I sat some time by my self in the Cabin, having a Candle by me on a Table. When he awoke, he civilly desired me to go and take some rest; saying, "He feared I had not had any since I was taken." I returned him thanks, saying, "I would sit up till eight a clock:" Whereupon he came and sat down by me on the Lockers, abaft in the Cabin.

The Boatswain came down soon after this, and being a little in Liquor, began to abuse me. On that the Carpenter told

him, "He was a base Villain," and turned him out of the Cabin. Soon after, a puff of Wind coming in at one of the Cabin Windows, put our Candle out; and the Carpenter and I rising up together, to blow the Candle in again, (but not being able to do it) we accidentally shifted places in the dark, he seating himself just over against the Cabin Door, where I sat before: And having no Tinder-box, we were at a great loss how to light the Candle again.

While we were considering how to do it, the Boatswain came into the Steerage, and finding the Candle out, began to swear and rant, saying, "I had put it out
"purposely, with design to go into the
"Powder-room undiscovered, and blow
"the Ship up." But the Carpenter called to him, and told him, "It was done by
"accident, and that I still sat by him on
"the Locker." So he came to the Cabin Door, and by the Star-light that came in at the Windows, perceived us sitting; but could not distinguish our Faces. Thinking I sat still in the Place where
he

he had seen me before, he presented a Pistol, and drew the Trigger, swearing, "At that instant, he would blow my Brains out." By good fortune the Pistol did not go off, but only flash'd in the Pan: By the Light of which the Carpenter observing that he should have been shot instead of me, it so provoked him, that he run in the dark to the Boatswain; and having wrenched the Pistol out of his hand, he beat him, with that and his Fist, to such a Degree, that he almost killed him.

The noise that was made in this Fray being heard on board the Pirate-ship that lay close to us, a Boat was sent from her; and they being informed of the Truth of the matter, the Officer that was in her, thought fit to carry away this wicked Villain, who had three times attempted to murder me.

After this I slept soundly, having been much fatigued; but I was awaked early in the Morning by a great number of Captain *Davis's* Crew, who came on board to take part of the Liquors and Necessaries, according

according to Agreement. It was very surprizing to see the Actions of these People. They and *Cocklyn's* Crew (for *Le Boose's* were not yet admitted) made such Waste and Destruction, that I am sure a numerous set of such Villains would in a short time, have ruined a great City. They hoisted upon Deck a great many half Hogsheads of *Claret*, and *French Brandy*; knock'd their Heads out, and dipp'd Canns and Bowls into them to drink out of: And in their Wantonness threw full Buckets of each sort upon one another. As soon as they had emptied what was on the Deck, they hoisted up more: And in the evening washed the Decks with what remained in the Casks. As to bottled Liquor of many sorts, they made such havock of it, that in a few days they had not one Bottle left: For they would not give themselves the trouble of drawing the Cork out, but nick'd the Bottles, as they called it, that is, struck their necks off with a Cutlace; by which means one in three was generally broke: Neither was there any Cask-liquor left in a short time, but a little *French Brandy*. As

As to Eatables, such as Cheese, Butter, Sugar, and many other things, they were as soon gone. For the Pirates being all in a drunken Fit, which held as long as the Liquor lasted, no care was taken by any one to prevent this Destruction: Which they repented of when too late.

As for my things, which the Quartermaster had given me at Captain *Glynn's* Request, and which were accordingly bundled up; a company of drunken Pirates coming into the Cabin, and stumbling over some Goods that lay on the Floor, they took them, with three of my Bundles, and threw them overboard; swearing, "They had like to have broken
" their Necks by those things lying in
" their way."

I had then but one Bundle left, in which was a black Suit of Cloaths, and other things which this Gang had spared. They being gone out of the Cabin, a Pirate, who was tolerably sober, came in soon after, and seeing my Bundle, said, "He would see what was in it;" which in prudence I did not oppose. He
then

then took out my black Cloth Cloaths, a good Hat and Wig, and some other Things. Whereupon I told him, “ Captain *Cocklyn*’s Quarter-master had given them to me; and I hoped he would not deprive me of them; for they were of no service to him in so hot a Country, but would be of great use to me, as I should soon return to *England*.” I had hardly done speaking, when he lifted up his broad Sword, and gave me a Blow on the Shoulder with the flat side of it; whispering at the same time these Words in my Ear, “ I give you this Caution, never to dispute the Will of a Pirate: For, supposing I had cleft your Scull asunder for your Impudence, what would you have got by it but Destruction? Indeed you may flatter your self, I should have been put to death for killing a Prisoner in cold Blood; but assure your self my Friends would have brought me off on such an Occasion.” I gave him thanks for his Admonition, and soon after he put on the Clothes, which in less than half an hour after, I saw him take off

off and throw overboard. For some of the Pirates seeing him dress'd in that manner, had thrown several Buckets of Claret upon him. This Person's true name was *Francis Kennedy*. He was afterwards hang'd at *Execution-Dock*, but he told me at the time he put my Cloaths on, that his name was *Sun*; asking me, " If I did not know his Father, who was then Commander of a Ship that used the *Barbadoes Trade*; and that if ever the old Dog fell in his way, he would kill him." To which I answered, " I knew no such Person."

When night came on, I had nothing left of what had been bundled up, but a Hat and Wig. I must own, that whenever they plundered me, no Affront was offered to my Person; but several brought me Liquor, and Slices of Ham broiled, a Biscuit being my Plate; saying, " They pitied my Condition." The Hat and Wig I had left, being hung on Pins in the Cabin, a person half drunk came in about eight a clock at night, and put them on; telling me, " He was a great Merchant

“ Merchant on Shore, and that his name
“ was *Hogbin* :” But supposing him to be a
Pirate, I said little to him. By this time
there was a great Quietness in the Ship,
most of the Pirates being dead drunk.
After a little Conversation, as Mr. *Hogbin*
was going out of the Cabin with my
Hat and Wig on, he met *Cocklyn*’s Quar-
master ; who knowing him not to be one
of the Crew, asked him, “ How he came
“ by the things he had on ?” To which the
Fellow not returning a direct answer,
the Quarter-master beat him very severely,
for taking things he had no Right to :
Then coming to me, he asked in a kind
manner, “ How I had fared in the hurly
“ burly of that Day ?” When I told him,
“ I had lost all the Necessaries he had
“ given me the Day before,” he express’d
much concern, and said, “ He would
“ take care the next day to recover what
“ he could for me.” But he did not
prove so good as his word.

The next day, which was the third
since my being taken, *Le Boofe*’s Crew were
permitted to come on board the Prize :

Where

Where they finished what was left of Liquors and Neccessaries; acting in the same destructive manner as their vile Brethren in Iniquity had done before.

Being quite weary of such Company, and understanding, the three Pirate Captains were on Shore at my Friend Captain *Glynn's* House, I asked leave of the Quarter-master to go to them; which he readily granted. On this I got into a Canoe, and as we rowed towards the Shore, we had like to have been overfet, through the drunkenness of one of the Pirates that was with us. If Providence had not prevented this Accident, we should undoubtedly have all been lost; for the Tide ran very strong, and several voracious Sharks were then near us.

When I came to Captain *Glynn's*, he and the Pirate Captains received me in a very civil manner; and upon my telling them, "How I had lost all my Neccessaries that had been given me;" the Captains promised, That the next day they would do what they could, to recover some of them again for me. Then I

4

begged

begged a Shirt of my Friend Captain *Glynn*; for I had been three days without shifting, which is very uneasy in so hot a Country, where people sweat so much.

Being greatly refresh'd with that clean Shirt, and having stayed all night with him, where I had more rest than I before had for a good while; next day I went on board, in company with the Pirate-Captains. Captain *Davis* desired *Cocklyn* to order all his People on the Quarter-deck, and made a Speech to them in my behalf; which they relishing better than that he had formerly made, It was resolved to give me the Ship they designed to leave, in order to go into the Prize, with the Remains of my Cargoe that was undestroyed. And there being a large quantity of Goods likewise remaining in several Prizes, they concluded to give me them also: Which, with my own, were worth several thousand Pounds. One of the leading Pirates proposed to the rest, " That they should take me along with them down the Coast of *Guinea*; where " I might exchange the Goods for Gold:

“ And if in order to make a quick Sale,
 “ I sold them at prime cost, I should get
 “ Money enough by them: That, no
 “ doubt, as they went down the Coast,
 “ they should take some *French* and *Por-*
 “ *tuguese* Vessels, and then they might
 “ give me as many of their best Slaves,
 “ as would fill the Ship: That then he
 “ would advise me to go for the Island of
 “ *St. Thomas* in the *West Indies*, a Free-
 “ port belonging to the *Danes*, and sell
 “ them there, with the Vessel: And af-
 “ ter rewarding my People in a handsom
 “ manner, I might return with a large
 “ sum of Money to *London*, and bid the
 “ Merchants defiance.”

This proposal was unanimously ap-
 proved of by them: But it struck me with
 a sudden damp, apprehending it would
 be fatal to me. So I began to insinuate,
 “ It would not be proper for me to ac-
 “ cept of such a quantity of other Peo-
 “ ples Goods, as they had so generously
 “ voted for me:” And going on to give
 my reasons, I was immediately interrup-
 ted by several of the Pirates, who began

to be very angry, that I did not readily accept of what had been proposed, so much for my advantage, as they thought; for many of them were so ignorant, as to think their Gift would have been legal.

On this, Captain *Davis* said, “ I know
“ this Man, and can easily guess his
“ thoughts concerning this matter; for
“ he thinks, if he should act in the
“ manner you have proposed, he shall
“ ever after lose his Reputation. Now
“ I am for allowing every body to go to
“ the Devil in their own way; so desire
“ you will give him the remains of his
“ own Cargoe, with what is left of his
“ private Adventure, and let him do with
“ it what he thinks fitting.”

This was readily granted, and they advised me to take *Le Boose's* Brigantine, which he had then just quitted, (having fitted one of the Prizes for a Pirate-ship for him and his Crew) and carry her along the side of my Ship, in order to save the Goods then left undestroyed in her; allowing me some of my own People to do it. By this means we saved a considerable

derable part of the Cargoe, but of my private Adventure not above thirty Pounds Sterling: for that chiefly consisting in Necessaries and Liquors, with fine Goods, was soon destroyed by them: One instance of which out of many I shall give. The Pirates took several Pieces of fine *Holland*, and opening them, spread them on the Deck; and being almost drunk, lay down on them: Then others came and threw Buckets of Claret upon them, which rousing them up, and the *Hollands* being thereby stained, they flung the Pieces overboard.

Captain *Davis* likewise further obtained for me, that I might lye on board the *Two Friends* Captain *Elliot* of *Barbadoes*; whom they had taken and forced to be their Store Ship; and that I might go on Shore when I pleased, to my Friend Captain *Glynn's* house, on condition I should return whenever they sent for me.

And now, the Tide being turned, they were as kind to me, as they had been at first severe. So we got the Brigantine along the side of the Prize, and as Bale-

goods and Cases came to hand, we got them into her; only now and then we lost some, by the ill-nature of two or three leading Pirates: For if we could not receive the Goods so fast as they expected, with the few People I had of my own then with me, they would let them drop overboard.

The same they did by a quantity of *Irish* Beef, the first day after I was taken; for they despised it, having found so much *English*, in the several Prizes they had met with in the River. This sight moved me to intreat Captain *Cocklyn* to give me the *Irish* Beef they were going to throw overboard; for the use of my poor People that had not entered with them. But I being then under the high Displeasure of him and his Crew, he brutishly replied, "There is Horse-beans enough in the Prize to serve you and your People six Months." To which I answered, "It was coarse diet." But finding this put him into a passion, I held my Tongue, and the Beef was all cast into the Sea.

In

In this place I think it proper to acquaint the Reader, What danger all the Prisoners were in by a false Report brought on board the Prize Ships that afternoon. For it was confidently averred by some Negroes, " That one of their Crew was
" murdered, by two Captains, whose
" names were *Bennet* and *Thompson*, who
" had been obliged to fly into the Woods
" from the rage of the Pirates." And they added, " That these two Gentlemen
" coming to the House of one Mr. *Jones*,
" (who lived a great way up the River)
" to seek for Provisions, they there met
" with the person whom they had killed." Upon this report the Pirates resolved to revenge themselves on us who were their prisoners: " Which obliged me to argue
" with them, and observe how great a
" cruelty it would be, to punish us who
" were wholly innocent, for the faults
" of others." Moreover I said, " The
" report might be false, it coming from
" the Shore-Negroes; and I hoped at
" least they would defer their resentment
" against us, till they had a more certain

“ account of the matter.” This calmed their Rage a little, when, to our great Joy, the Person that was reported to be killed, came on board soon after; and told his Comrades, that he had met with Captain *Bennet* and *Thompson* at Mr. *Jones’s* House, who threatned him; from which the report arose that they had killed him; but that they had not otherwise misused him: So on this their Passion was entirely calmed.

As I have mentioned these two Captains, *Bennet* and *Thompson*, I shall give an account of their Misfortunes, which I had afterwards from their own Mouths. Captain *John Bennet*, being bound from *Antegoa* to the Coast of *Guinea*, was taken at *Cape de Verd* Islands by *Davis*. Who, after plundering him, restored him his Ship; and he went into the River *Siera-leon*, where Captain *Thompson* was arrived before him. Upon *Cocklyn* the Pirate’s coming into the River, they carried their Ships a good way up, to a place called *Brent’s-Island*, being the Settlement of the *Royal African Company*; where one Mr. *Plunket*

Plunket was Governour. Having got their Ships very near the Shore, they made a Battery thereon, and having landed Ammunition, resolved with their People to defend themselves to the utmost: thinking at that time they would remain faithful. *Le Boose* being arrived in his Brigantine, and hearing that several Ships were up the River, he resolved to have one of them for his use; so he went up to attack them, and they bravely defended themselves against him: But, soon after, *Cocklyn* coming with his Ship to the assistance of *Le Boose*, their People begun to falter; and these gallant Captains were, for saving their Lives, obliged, with Mr. *Plunket*, and several of their Officers, to fly into the Woods: Where, for many Weeks, they remained, having nothing to subsist on but Rice, with now and then some Oysters, which they got by night from the River side: neither durst they appear near the place where the Pirates were (as long as they remained there) for they had vowed to cut them to pieces, if ever they fell into their hands. Moreover, their Ships were

burnt, and *Le Boose* took for his own use, one Captain *Lamb's* Ship, which at that time lay farther up the River. I thought proper to relate this, in order to set the story in a better light, tho' it happen'd some Weeks before I was taken.

But now, to return to my Subject. I was relating, how we were employed in saving what Goods we could. This took us up four days; and I slept every night on board their *Tender* commanded by Captain *Elliot*, who was very kind to me, and had a great ascendant over the leading Pirates: so that he had seldom the Company of the common sort, having orders to drive them away, whenever they came on board him. And I have often been amazed, to hear and see what he has done to some of them when they were impudent; beating them, and saying, "He was sure he should see them hang'd in due time at *Execution-dock*." However, by this means we were generally very easy on board him, which was no little satisfaction to me in my Circumstances.

About

About this time the Quarter-master, who took me, fell sick of a Fever; which increas'ing, he sent to speak with me: And having desired all present, except my self to withdraw, he told me, " That
" at the time I was taken, he designed to
" have killed me, when he presented the
" Pistol to my breast; begging I would
" forgive him for his cruel Intention:" Which I readily doing, he further said,
" That he had been a most wicked
" Wretch, having been guilty of all manner of abominable Crimes; and that now
" believing he should die, his Conscience
" sadly tormented him, fearing he should
" be punished, as he deserved, in Hell-fire,
" which so often in their vile discourse he
" had made light of." Upon hearing that, " I exhorted him to sincere Repen-
" tance; telling him, the Christian Religion assured us of God's Mercies, if we
" are truly penitent; and I instanced the
" goodness of God to my self, in that he
" was graciously pleased to preserve me,
" the night I was taken, from being murdered by him and others; which great
" Mercies

“ Mercies I believed were shown me,
“ because I put my Hope and Trust in
“ Almighty God; and exhorted him to
“ do the same.” But he replied, with a
sad countenance. “ O, Sir, my heart is
“ hardened; however, I will endeavour
“ to follow your good counsel”. As he
was going on, expressing his sorrow for
his former course of Life, some of the
Pirates broke in upon us, to ask him,
“ How he did?” So he called his Boy, and,
as a mark of his Good-will towards me,
ordered him to take the Key of his Chest,
and let me take out what Necessaries I
would. Accordingly I took that oppor-
tunity of providing my self with Shirts,
Stockings, and several other things. As
I was taking them out, a Pirate coming
from the Deck, and knowing nothing of
the Quarter-master’s order, called out
aloud; “ see how that Dog is thieving
“ there: He does it as cleverly as any
Rogue of us all.” But being told, “ It
“ was with the Quarter-master’s leave,”
he came and helped me to bundle the
things up, and I sent them on board the
Tender.

Tender. These were the first Necessaries which I could call my own, since my Misfortune.

The Quarter-master that evening falling into a Delirium, died before morning in terrible Agonies; cursing his Maker in so shocking a manner, that it made a great Impression on several new entered Men: and they afterwards came privately to me, begging, “ that I would advise
“ them how to get off from so vile a
“ Course of Life, which led them into
“ Destruction both of Body and Soul.
“ Some of them proposed to fly into the
“ Woods, and remain there till their
“ Ships were gone, if I would promise
“ to protect them afterwards; but this
“ being too nice a matter for me to
“ meddle with at that Juncture, I declined it; Exhorting them in general,
“ Not to be guilty of Murder, or any
“ other Cruelty to those they should
“ take. For if ever they should, by a
“ general consent, resolve to embrace
“ the King’s Pardon, it would be a great
“ Advantage to them, to have the unfortunate
“ tunate

“fortunate People they had taken give them
“a good Character in that respect.”

Having mentioned the King's Pardon, I shall here relate what I before omitted, with relation to his late Majesty's Proclamation, for a *Pardon to Pirates, that should surrender themselves at any of the British Plantations, by the first of July 1719.* This Proclamation I had on board, with a Declaration of War against *Spain.* The Quarter-master finding them amongst my Papers, and not being able to read, he brought them to me, the next day after I was taken, and “bid me read them
“aloud to all then present;” which I did: But there being Rewards offered in the Proclamation, to those that should take or destroy Pirates; so much for a Captain; and in proportion for the other Officers and common Pirates; this put them into such a Rage, that I began to apprehend my self in some Danger. But Captain *Cocklyn* ordering silence to be made, bid me read the other Paper, which was *The Declaration of War against Spain.* When I had read it, some of them said,
“They

“ They wished they had known it before
“ they left the *West Indies*.” From
thence I took occasion to observe to them,
“ That if they thought fit to embrace
“ his Majesty’s most gracious Pardon,
“ there was not only time enough for
“ them to return to the *West Indies*, (there
“ being still three Months to come of the
“ time limited in the Proclamation) but
“ now that War was declared against
“ *Spain*, they would have an opportunity
“ of enriching themselves in a legal way,
“ by going a privateering, which many
“ of them had privately done.” This
seemed to be relished by many: but several old *Buccaneers*, who had been guilty of Murder and other barbarous Crimes, being no ways inclined to it, they used the King’s Proclamation with great contempt, and tore it in pieces. I thought my self well off, that no Resentment or ill-usage was shown me on this occasion.

Amongst the several Pirates, that came to consult me, “ How they should get
“ off.” There was one *Ambrose Curtis*, who was in a bad state of Health, and
generally

generally walked the Deck in a Silk Night-gown. This person finding me shy in answering his Questions, he told me, “ Tho’ I had forgot him, yet he
“ had not me; for he was eleven years
“ ago at Sea with my Father, who had
“ used him severely for being an unlucky
“ Boy: That I might remember, my
“ Father died in *Virginia*, and I com-
“ manded the Ship afterwards, and
“ brought her home to *England*; having
“ been very kind to him, except in one
“ thing, which was, That he having
“ confessed to me, he was a Servant, and
“ run away from his Master, I refused to
“ pay him his Wages, till he brought a
“ person who gave me Security that I
“ should not pay them twice; and then
“ he had his Wages to a farthing: Ad-
“ ding, “ he had told this to several lead-
“ ing Pirates, who had persuaded him to
“ revenge himself on me; but as I had
“ been kind to him, and in his Conscience
“ he believed I was in the right, to demand
“ Security when I paid him his Wages,
“ so he bore no ill-will to me on that

“ ac-

“ account; and when my necessaries came
“ to be sold at the Mast, he would buy
“ some of them for me;” in which he
proved as good as his word.

But as to his Questions about getting off,
I replied as I had done to others; “ Assur-
“ ing him, if ever it came to be in my
“ power to serve him, I would not spare
“ for Money nor Pains to do it:” But
this poor fellow died, before the Pirates
left *Sieraleon*.

I hope the Reader will pardon me for
mentioning several things, which are not
so coherent as I could wish; as also se-
veral little Incidents. The reason why I
mention them is, because I think they
display the true humours and ways of
these Miscreants.

Amongst my Adventure of Goods, I had
in a Box three second-hand embroidered
Coats. One day the three Pirate Cap-
tains, coming on board the Prize together,
enquired for them, saying, “ They under-
“ stood by my Book such Clothes were in
“ my Ship.” I told them, “ They were
“ in a Box under the bed place in the

“ State-

“ State-room. So they ordered them to
“ be taken out, and immediately put
“ them on.” But the longest Coat falling to *Cocklyn’s* share, who was a very short Man, it almost reached as low as his Ancles. This very much displeased him, and he would fain have changed with *Le Boose*, or *Davis*: But they refused, telling him, “ As they were going
“ on Shore amongst the *Negroe-Ladies*,
“ who did not know the white Mens
“ fashions, it was no matter. Moreover,
“ as his Coat was Scarlet embroidered
“ with Silver, they believed he would
“ have the preference of them, (whose
“ Coats were not so showy) in the opinion
“ on of their Mistresses.” This making him easy, they all went on Shore together.

It is a Rule amongst the Pirates, not to allow Women to be on board their Ships, when in the Harbour. And if they should take a Prize at Sea, that has any Women on board, no one dares, on pain of death, to force them against their Inclinations. This being a good political Rule

Rule to prevent disturbances amongst them, it is strictly observed. So now being in a Harbour, they went on Shore to the Negroe-women, who were very fond of their Company, for the sake of the great Presents they gave them. Nay, some white Men that lived there, did not scruple to lend their black Wives to the Pirates, purely on account of the great Rewards they gave.

The Pirate Captains having taken these Cloaths without leave from the Quarter-master, it gave great Offence to all the Crew; who alledg'd, " If they suffered
" such things, the Captains would for
" the future assume a Power, to take
" whatever they liked for themselves." So, upon their returning on board next Morning, the Coats were taken from them, and put into the common Chest, to be sold at the Mast. And it having been reported, " That I had a hand in
" advising the Captains to put on these
" Coats," it gained me the ill-will in particular of one *Williams*, who was Quarter-master of *Le Boose's* Ship. He

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seeing me in the *Tender's* Boat, going on board a *French* Ship lately taken, where he then was, he swore, " That if I came
" there, he would cut me to pieces, for
" the advice I had given the Captains."
But Captain *Elliot*, who was then in the Boat, whispered me, saying, " Don't be
" afraid of him, for it is his usual way of
" talking. But be sure call him Captain, as
" soon as you get on board." It seems this Villain had been Commander of a Pirate Sloop; who, with a Brigantine, two years before, took Captain *Laurence Prince* in the *Whidaw Galley* near *Jamaica*; and being now Quarter-master, which he did not like, he loved to have the Title of Captain given him. So when I came into the *French* Ship, I adressed my self to him, saying, " Captain *Wil-*
" *liams*, pray hear me upon the Point you
" are so offended at." Upon that he gave me a slight Blow on the Shoulder, with the flat of his Cutlace, swearing at the same time, " he had not the heart to hurt me;" When I had told him how the affair had really happen'd, which he had
been

been so angry about, he gave me a Keg of Wine, and was my Friend ever after.

The *French* Ship just now mentioned, fell into their hands about a fortnight after I was taken by them, in this manner. It was not bound to *Sieraleon*, but having not had an Observation for several days, because the Sun was near their *Zenith*, they made land unexpectedly; and not knowing certainly whereabouts they were, but seeing several Ships in the River at an Anchor, they came boldly towards them.

I was then on board Captain *Cocklyn's* old Ship; for they had not quite fitted mine for their use, not having at that time any Guns mounted; so I saw the great fear and confusion that was amongst them. My Mate, who had entered with them, said, "He believed, by the Ship's coming in so boldly, it was the *Launceston* Man of War of forty Guns, whom we had left in *Holland*. For he had heard me say, she was to follow us to the Coast of *Guinea*."

Happy would it have been for us and many more, if it had been so. For had

that, or even a smaller Ship of twenty Guns, with the King's Commission, come in at that time, or any other, whilst I was in their hands, I am persuaded they would have easily destroyed them. For the new-entered-men had little Courage; and the far greater part both of old and new Pirates, were so much in drink, that there could have been no Order or Conduct amongst them in an Engagement. So that it would have been very easy to have subdued them, and prevented that terrible Destruction, which happened to above one hundred Sail of Ships, that fell afterwards into their Hands, in their going down the Coast of *Guinea*: Together with those Damages that happened a good while after in the *East Indies*, by some of this Gang; and the great Ravage made by *Roberts* (who rose out of *Davis's* Ashes) the second time, on the Coast of *Guinea*, till he was happily destroyed by Sir *Chaloner Ogle* in the *Swallow* Man of War. But the reason why no timely care was taken to prevent so great a Destruction, is not proper for me to mention in this place. As

As I had no business to be on board the Pirate Ship in time of Action, I asked Captain *Cocklyn's* leave to go on board their *Tender*, which he readily granted. Just as I was going, several of my People who had entered with him, said, "They would go along with me, for they had never seen a Gun fired in anger." *Cocklyn* hearing that, told them, "That now they should learn to smell Gunpowder, and caned them heartily."

So I went on board Captain *Elliot*, where I soon saw the *French* Ship taken. For coming so unexpectedly into the Pirates hands, they made no Resistance: And because the Captain did not strike on their first firing, they put a Rope about his Neck, and hoisted him up and down several times to the Main-yard-arm, till he was almost dead. Captain *Le Boofe* coming at that instant, luckily saved his Life: And highly resenting this their cruel usage to his Countryman, he protested, "he would remain no longer in Partnership with such barbarous Vil-

“lains.” So, to pacify him, they left the *Frenchmen* with the Ship in his care; and after the Cargoe was destroyed, they cut the Ship’s Masts by the board, and run her on Shore, for she was very old, and not fit for their purpose.

After the affair of the *French* Ship was over, I was employed for several days, in landing out of the Brigantine the Goods that had been given me, out of my own Ship’s Cargoe, and carrying them to my Friend Captain *Glynn*’s House; in which both he and I worked very hard. For my own People that did not enter with the Pirates, were mostly obliged to work on board the Prize, in fitting her for them; and the Natives who served Captain *Glynn* at his House, were grown so insolent by the large quantity of Goods given them by the Pirates, that they would do nothing but what they pleased. However, at last, with much trouble we got them housed.

By this time, which was about the 20th of *April*, the Ship they had taken from me was compleatly fitted, and the

next day was appointed to name her, to which Ceremony I was invited. When I came on board, the Pirate Captains told me, " It was not out of Disrespect they " had sent for me, but to partake of the " good Cheer provided on this occasion : " So they desired I would be chearful, and go with them into the great Cabin. When I came there, Bumpers of Punch were put into our Hands, and on Captain *Cocklyn's* saying aloud, *God blefs the Windham Galley*, we drank our Liquor, broke the Glaffes, and the Guns fired.

The Ship being Galley-built, with only two flush Decks, the Cover of the Scuttle of the Powder-room was in the great Cabin, and happened at that time to be open. One of the aftermoſt Guns blowing at the Touch-hole, ſet fire to ſome Cartouch-boxes, that had Cartridges in them for ſmall Arms, the Shot and Fire of which flew about us, and made a great ſmother. When it was over, Captain *Davis* obſerved, there had been great Danger to us from the Scuttle's being open ; there being under, in a Room,

above *twenty thousand* weight of Gun-powder. *Cocklyn* replied, “ He wished
“ it had taken fire, for it would have
“ been a noble blast, to have gone to
“ Hell with.

Then all going upon Deck, three Prizes that remained undestroyed, were ordered to be burned; upon hearing that, I privately represented to Captain *Davis*,
“ How hard it would be upon us who
“ were Prisoners, to remain in that Coun-
“ try, without Necessaries, and without
“ Food to subsist on: Besides, there was
“ no manner of Prospect of our getting
“ away quickly: That to the many Obligations I owed him, I hoped he would
“ add one more, and, by his Interest, at
“ least save one of the Vessels, for us
“ to return to *England* in: That as he
“ had several times hinted to me, how
“ much he disliked that course of Life,
“ hoping he should have an opportunity
“ of leaving it in a short time; so I wished
“ he would put it in my power, to re-
“ port to his Advantage, the good deed
“ I then requested of him; for, in my
“ Opinion,

“ Opinion, next to Murder and Cruelty,
“ too often practised by Pirates, nothing
“ could make them more odious to the
“ World, than their destroying, out of
“ mere Wantonness, so many Ships and
“ Cargoes, as had been done by *Cocklyn* and
“ *Le Boose*’s Crews; in which I knew he
“ had no hand: And if he would be pleased
“ to procure my entire Liberty, at the
“ same time that he pleaded for one of
“ the Vessels for us, it would be a double
“ Obligation on me to Gratitude, in case
“ it ever fell in my power to serve him.”

This he readily promised, and by his Management the Ships were saved from being burned, and they made a Bonfire only of the old *Rising Sun*, being the Ship they had quitted for mine: And now obtaining, through Captain *Davis*’s means, my entire Liberty, I went on Shore to my friend Captain *Glynn*’s House again.

Two days after this Captain *Elliot* sent his Boat for me, desiring I would forthwith come on board his Ship, because he wanted very much to speak with me. I had too many obligations to this Gentleman

man to refuse going, (tho' I had a sort of an aversion.) Upon coming on board, he privately represented to me, " That I
" knew he had been obliged against his
" will by the Pirates, to receive into his
" Ship a great quantity of other People's
" Goods; for which he might hereafter
" be called to an account; therefore he
" desired I would give him a Certificate,
" testifying the Truth of it." Knowing this to be true, I readily complied; for he was a very honest Man, as appeared soon after. For the Pirates compelling him to go out of the River with them, as their *Tender*, he took the first opportunity of getting from them, which he did in a Tornado, or sudden Gust of Wind, that arose in the Night; and having the good fortune to succeed in his attempt, he made a good Voyage for his Owners, with Slaves to *Barbadoes*; where he fell sick and died.

While I was in his Ship, the three Pirate Captains called along the side. Not expecting to see me there, they seemed very glad of it, and invited me to go and
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sup with them on board Captain *Davis*. This I declined, being desirous of going on Shore to Captain *Glynn*'s. But Captain *Davis* insisting on it, I thought it prudent to comply; that I might not lose that Gentleman's Good-will, who had been so kind to me.

After we had been some time on board his Ship, Supper was brought up about eight a clock in the Evening; and the Musick was ordered to play, amongst which was a Trumpeter, that had been forced to enter out of one of the Prizes. About the middle of Supper, we heard upon Deck an outcry of Fire, and instantly a Person came to us, and said, "The Main-hatch-way was all in a Flame;" so we all went upon Deck.

At that time, besides the Pirates Ship's Crew, who were mostly drunk, there was on board at least fifty Prisoners; and several Boats along the side, into which many People jumped, and put off. I being then on the Quarter-deck, with the Captains, observed this to them; but they all in confusion said, "We know

" noe

“ not what to do in the matter:” Upon that I told them, “ If the sober People
“ were allowed to go away with the
“ Boats, no one would endeavour to save
“ the Ship ; and we that were left should
“ be lost, (for the other Ships were above
“ a Mile from us, and the Tide of Flood
“ then run so strong, that their Boats could
“ not row against it to save us:) So I
proposed to them, “ to fire the Quarter-
“ deck Guns at the Boats that had just put
“ off, to oblige them to come on board
“ again ;” which being instantly done, it
so frightened the People in them, that they
forthwith came back ; and all that were
able, and not drunk, lent their helping
hand to put out the Fire ; which by this
time was come to a great head in the
Ship’s hold.

After this I went down into the Steer-
age, where I saw one *Goulding*, who was
Gunner’s Mate, and a brisk active Fel-
low, put his head up the After-hatch-
way, calling for Blankets and Water ;
“ which if not brought immediately, (he
“ said) the Bulk-head of the Powder-
“ room

“ room would be fired, and the Ship soon
“ blown up.” Observing the Stupidity
of the People about me, who stood looking on one another, I caught up several Blankets and Rugs which lay scattered about, and flung them to him, and so did others by my example. Then I run out of the Steerage upon Deck, where meeting with some People that were sober, I got them to go over the side, and draw up Buckets of Water; And others handing them to *Goulding*, who had by this time placed the Blankets and Rugs against the Bulk-head of the Powder-Room, he flung this Water on them, and thereby prevented the Flames from catching the Powder, and consequently from blowing up the Ship, which must otherwise have happened: For there was then on board at least *thirty thousand* pounds of Gunpowder, which had been taken out of several Prizes, it being a Commodity much in request amongst the *Negroes*.

There was still great Confusion amongst us, occasioned by the darkness of the
Night,

Night, and the many drunken People, who were not sensible of the great Danger we were in: Moreover, the People in the Hold gave us as yet no Hopes of their getting the Mastery of the Fire. So I went again on the Quarter-deck, and considered with my self, if the fire could not be conquered, as I could not swim, I should have no chance of being saved: and even those that could, would, I knew, be exposed to be torn to pieces by voracious Sharks, which abound in that River: So I took one of the Quarter-deck Gratings, and lowered it by a Rope over the Ship's-side, designing to get on that, if I should be forced to quit the Ship. For tho' the Boats had been once obliged to come back, yet it being a dark Night, some People, unperceived, had slipped again away with them, and were quite gone away.

Whilst I stood musing with my self on the Quarter-deck, I heard a loud shout upon the Main-deck, with a Huzza, "*For a brave blast to go to Hell with,*" which was repeated several times. This
not

not only much surprized me, but also many of the new entered Pirates; who were struck with a Pannick Fright, believing the Ship was just blowing up; so that several of them came running on the Quarter-deck, and accidentally threw me down, it being very dark. As soon as I got upon my Legs again, I heard these poor wretches say, in a lamentable Voice, one to another; " Oh! that we could be
" so foolish as to enter into this vile course
" of Life! The Ship will be immediately
" blown up, and we shall suffer for our
" Villanies in Hell Fire." So that when the old harden'd Rogues on the Main-deck, wish'd for a blast to go to Hell with, the other poor wretches were at the same time under the greatest Consternation at the thoughts of it.

The Apprehension of the Ship's being just ready to blow up, was so universal, that above fifty People got on the Bolt-sprit, and Sprit-sail-yard, thinking they should have there a better chance for their Lives: But they much deceived themselves, for had so great a quantity of
Powder

Powder as was at that time on board, been fired, it would have blown them up to Atoms.

There was one *Taylor*, Master of this Pirate Ship, as brisk and couragious a Man as ever I saw; (who afterwards commanded the *Cassandra*, an *English East India* Ship, and carried her to *New Spain*, where he and his Crew separated.) This Person, with fifteen more, spared no pains to extinguish the Fire in the Hold; and tho' they were scalded in a sad manner by the Flames, yet they never shrunk till it was conquered; which was not till near ten a clock at night, when they came upon Deck, declaring the Danger was over: So the Surgeons were called to dress their burns. This was joyful News to us all on Deck, for we little expected to escape.

I shall now relate how this Fire happened, from which our Deliverance was almost miraculous. About half an hour after eight a clock in the evening, a Negroe Man went into the Hold, to pump some Rum out of a Cask; and imprudently

dently holding his Candle too near the Bung-hole, a Spark fell into the Hogf-head, and set the Rum on fire. This immediately fired another Cask of the same Liquor, whose Bung had been, through carelessness, left open: And both the Heads of the Hogheads immediately flying out, with a report equal to that of a small Cannon, the fire run about the Hold. There were twenty Casks of Rum, with as many Barrels of Pitch and Tar, very near the place where the Rum lay that was fired; yet it pleased God none of these took fire, otherwise it would have been impossible for us to escape.

After this was over, I was obliged to stay on board till Morning, all the Boats being run away with. In that time *Golding*, the Gunner's Mate, told the Pirate's Crew several things to my Advantage: "How I had handed the Blankets
" to him, and ordered Water to be thrown
" on them; which saved the Bulk-head,
" where the Powder lay, from being fired,
" and consequently the Ship from being
" blown up." So now I was more than

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ever in their favour: For several of them desired me to come on board the *Windham* Galley, the day Things were sold there at the Mast, and then they would be kind to me. Likewise Captain *Davis* press'd me to come, asking me, "Whether the Gold Watch that was taken from me was a good one?" To which I answering, "It was very good, at that time." He then said, "He would buy it for his own use at any rate."

While he and I were talking thus, one of the Mates came half drunk, on the Quarter-deck, saying to him; "I propose in behalf of the Ship's Company, that this Man shall be obliged to go down the Coast of *Guinea* with us; for I am told we cannot have a better Pilot." This was a great surprize to me; but my generous Friend *Davis* soon put me out of pain. For he told him, "They wanted no Pilot:" and the fellow still insisting on my going, Captain *Davis* caned him off the Quarter-deck, and I heard no more of it: For soon after I went on Shore to my Friend Captain *Glynn's* House.

Two days after this, a small Vessel came into the River, and was taken by them : It was called the *Dispatch* Captain *Wilson*, belonging to the Royal *African Company*. Mr. *Simon Jones*, formerly my first Mate, who had entered with the Pirates, (as I have before related) told them, on this occasion, “ That he had
“ once commanded a Ship, which was
“ hired and freighted by the *African*
“ *Company*; and that he had been very
“ unjustly used by them; so he desired
“ the *Dispatch* might be burned, that he
“ might be revenged of them.” This being immediately consented to, and forthwith ordered to be executed, one *John Stubbs*, a witty brisk fellow, stood up, and desired to be heard first; saying,
“ Pray, Gentlemen, hold a little, and I
“ will prove to you, if this Ship is burnt,
“ you will thereby greatly serve the *Com-*
“ *pany's* Interest.” This drawing every one's attention, they bid him go on: Then he said, “ The Vessel has been out
“ these two years on her Voyage, being
“ old and crazy, and almost eaten to

“ pieces by the Worms; besides, her
“ Stores are worth little; and as to her
“ Cargoe, it consists only of a little Red-
“ wood and *Melegette-pepper*; so if she
“ should be burned, the Company will
“ lose little; but the poor People that
“ now belong to her, and have been so
“ long a Voyage, will lose all their Wa-
“ ges, which, I am sure, is three times
“ the Value of the Vessel, and of her
“ trifling Cargoe; so that the Company
“ will be highly obliged to you for de-
“ stroying her.” The rest of the Crew
being convinced by these Reasons, the
Vessel was spared, and delivered again to
Captain *Wilson* and his People, who af-
terwards came safe to *England* in it.

The 29th of *April*, such of the Pirates
as were my Friends, sent me word on
Shore, “ That the Sale of Necessaries
“ was to begin that day in the afternoon,
“ in the *Windham-Galley*, Captain *Cock-*
“ *lyn*.” So I went on board in a large
Canoe, belonging to two Men that lived
ashore, who went at the same time with
me. At the Sale, several of the Pirates
5 bought

bought many Necessaries that had been mine, and gave them to me. Likewise, Mr. *James Griffin*, my Schoolfellow, was so civil as to beg from those that were not so kind to me, as he hoped they would have been. The two white Men that went with me in the Canoe, minded their own business so well, that they got several great Bundles of Clothes and Goods, which they put into the Canoe with mine.

By this time several Pirates being half drunk with Brandy, looked over the side, and seeing so many Bundles in the Canoe, which they supposed to be all mine, they swore, "I was insatiable, and that it "would be a good deed to throw them "overboard." This my kind Schoolfellow hearing, he came and told me of it; advising me, to go immediately on Shore; which I accordingly did; and it proved very happy for me. For soon after my Watch was put up to sale, and many bidding for it, some of them out of Spite to Captain *Davis*, it was run up to one hundred Pounds, which he paid down. One of the Pirates being greatly

vexed at it, said, " He believed the
" Cases of the Watch were not good
" Gold;" and calling for a Touch-stone,
he tried them on it. The Touch looking
of a *copperish* Colour, (as indeed all Gold-
cases of Watches do on the touch, by
reason of the quantity of Alloy put in to
harden them) this pretence served the
turn of this Villain; who thereupon ex-
claimed against me, saying, " I was a
" greater Rogue than any of them, who
" openly professed Piracy; since I was so
" sly, as to bring a base Metal Watch, and
" endeavour to put it off for a gold one."

This Speech procured me the Anger
of many, who knew no better; they be-
lieving every word of what he said to be
true. And tho' Captain *Davis* laugh'd at
it, yet several swore, " If I had not been
" gone on Shore, they would have whip-
" ped me:" And as their Drunkenness in-
creased, they talked of sending for me to
be punished for so great a Villany, as
they called it. But my Schoolfellow
apprehending they would really offer me
some Violence, was so kind as to send me
word

word of what had pass'd, by a white Man living on Shore, who was then on board; advising me to go into the Woods, for they should sail quickly out of the River.

The next morning early, which was the last day of *April*, as I was just going to follow his advice, I was agreeably surprized with the arrival of one Mr. *James Bleau*, my Surgeon, whom they designed to take by force with them. This honest Man had been very much cast down at it, and had often desired me to intercede for his liberty. Accordingly I had done it, representing, "That he grieved himself
" so much, that if he did not die quickly,
" yet he would be of no use to them:" But this had no effect. However, at last, a fortunate accident cleared him, when he least expected it; for that very evening, after I was come on Shore, the Surgeon of the *French Ship* entered with them; whereupon they gave Mr. *Bleau* his Liberty the next morning.

Mr. *Bleau* brought us the agreeable News, that the three Pirate Ships, with their *Tender*, were under sail, going out

of the River. This gave us all on Shore the highest Satisfaction; for I had been then in their hands a Month, and many others much longer. Mr. *Bleau*, whom I have here mentioned, lives now at *Woodford-Row* on *Epping-Forest*, where he follows his Business.

I shall now inform the Reader, what became of my kind Schoolfellow *Griffin*, and my generous Friend *Davis*. The first took an opportunity of getting out of the hands of the Pirates, by taking away a Boat from the Stern of the Ship he was in, when off the Road of *Annaboe*, on the Coast of *Guinea*. He was driven on Shore there, unperceived in the night time; and from thence went to *Cape Coast Castle*, belonging to the Royal *African Company*; from which place he went Passenger to *Barbadoes*, in an *English Ship*, where he was taken with a violent Fever and died.

As to *Davis*, having discovered, a few days after they left the River *Sierraleon*, a Conspiracy, to deprive him of his Command, which was carried on by one *Taylor*,

lor, that was Master of the Ship under him, he timely prevented it: But he and some others left their Ship, and went on board the *Windam* Galley, Captain *Cocklyn*, by whom he found *Taylor* had been set on to displace him. This causing him to leave their Partnership, he took a few days after one Captain *Plumb* in the *Princess* of *London*, whose second Mate *Roberts*, so famous afterwards for his Villanies, entered with him; and *Davis's* Crew, after plundering the Ship, restored her to Captain *Plumb* again. After this, Captain *Davis* went for the Island *Princess*, belonging to the *Portuguese*, which lies in the Bay of *Guinea*. Here the Pirates gave out, "They were a King's Ship;" but the People soon discovered what they were by their lavishness, in purchasing fresh Provisions with Goods; but the Governour winked at it, on account of the great Gains he, and others of the chief of his People made by them. But at last some putting him in mind, "That if this Affair should come to the King of *Portugal's* ear, it might prove
his

“ his ruin;” he plotted how to destroy *Davis* and his Crew, in order to colour over what he had so basely permitted, in allowing them a free trade, after discovering they were Pirates.

Captain *Davis* being one day on Shore with the Governor, he told him, “ They
“ designed to sail from the Island in three
“ days, and that he would come, and take
“ his leave of him the day before.” Accordingly he went on a Sunday morning, taking with him his first Surgeon, the Trumpeter, and some others, besides the Boat’s Crew. At their coming into the Governor’s House, they saw no body to receive them; so they went on, till they came into a long Gallery fronting the Street. Here the Governor’s *Major Domino* presently came to them, saying, “ His
“ Master was at his Country-House, but
“ he had sent a Messenger to him, when
“ they saw Captain *Davis* coming on
“ Shore; and no doubt he would soon
“ be in Town.” But the Surgeon observing, that many People had got together in the Street, with Arms in their hands,

hands, he said to his Captain, "I am sure we shall see no Governor to day," and advised him immediately to go away. So *Davis* and the Surgeon went out of the House; whereupon the *Major-Domo* called to the People in the Street, to fire at them. The Surgeon and two more were kill'd on the Spot, and the Trumpeter was wounded in the Arm, who seeing two *Capuchin* Friars (from whom I had this Account at the Island *Princess*) fled to them. One of them took him in his Arms to save him, but a *Portuguese* came, and shot him dead without any regard to the Frier's Protection. Captain *Davis*, tho' he had four Shots in divers parts of his Body, yet continued running towards the Boat: But being closely pursued, a fifth Shot made him fall, and the *Portuguese* being amazed at his great Strength and Courage, cut his Throat, that they might be sure of him.

The Boat's Crew hearing the firing, put off in good time at some distance from the Shore; and seeing the *Portuguese* advancing to fire at them, they rowed

on

on board their Ship; where relating what had happened, as they supposed, to their Captain, and to the rest left on Shore, it set the Pirates all in a flame; and they directly chose *Roberts* for their Commander, vowing a severe revenge on the *Portuguese*.

The Water was so shallow, that they could not get their Ship near the Town; so they prepared a Raft, on which they mounted several pieces of Cannon, with which they fired at the place: But the Inhabitants having quitted it, and all the Houses being of Timber, they did little damage to the Town. Neither durst they land to burn the Place, for fear of the great Number of People, whom they perceived in the Bushes with small Arms: So, they returned to their Ship, and the next day sailed out of the Harbour.

Thus fell Captain *Davis*, who (allowing for the Course of Life he had been unhappily engaged in) was a most generous humane Person. And thus *Roberts* arose, who proved the reverse of him, and did afterwards a great deal of mischief in the *West Indies*, and on the Coast

Coast of *Guinea*; till he and his Crew were happily suppress'd by Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, in the *Swallow* Man of War, and in the Engagement, *Roberts*, and several of his People were killed. But as there is *An Account of the Pirates* published, in which the principal Actions of *Roberts* are related, I shall say nothing more of him here; but go on to relate what is not mentioned in the aforesaid Book.

As soon as it was commonly known, that the Pirates were sail'd from *Sierraleon*, Captain *Bennet* and *Thompson*, with several others that had been obliged to keep in the Woods, as I have formerly related, came to Captain *Glynn's* House. There we all consulted about preparing the *Bristol Snow*, which the Pirates had spared at my Intreaty, so as to make it fit for us to return to *England* in. There was with us one Captain *David Creighton*, in the *Elizabeth* of *London*, laden with dying Wood; whom the Pirates had taken not long before me. Him they plundered, and would have destroyed, but by the Interest of Mr. *James Griffin*, who had been chief Mate

Mate with the Captain's Brother, the Ship was spared. In this Ship Captain *Creighton* took as many People as he possibly could, in order to spare our Provisions, and sailed a few days after the Pirates left the River *Sierraleon*, for *London*: We that were left behind, sent notice by him to our Owners of the great Misfortunes that had befallen us.

Then applying our selves to fit the *Bristol-Snow*, whom a worthy Person, one Captain *John Morris*, commanded, we found we should be in very great want of Provisions, considering how many poor People desired to go home with us. Upon that Captain *Glynn* sent a small Sloop belonging to him, to fetch Provisions from the River *Sherberow*, where the destroying Pirates had not been. From thence she returned in a few days, with a good quantity; and one Captain *Nisbet* having found under his Ship's Ballast in the Hold, several Casks of Beef; which had not come to the knowledge of the Pirates (otherwise it would no doubt have been destroyed, as most part of his Cargoe was)

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he was so kind as to spare me as much of this Beef as he possibly could; and I drew a Bill on my Owner for the value of it.

Moreover, we found in the *French* Ship that had been taken, and afterwards run on Shore by the Pirates, a large quantity of good Biscuit, so that now we were sufficiently provided in all respects.

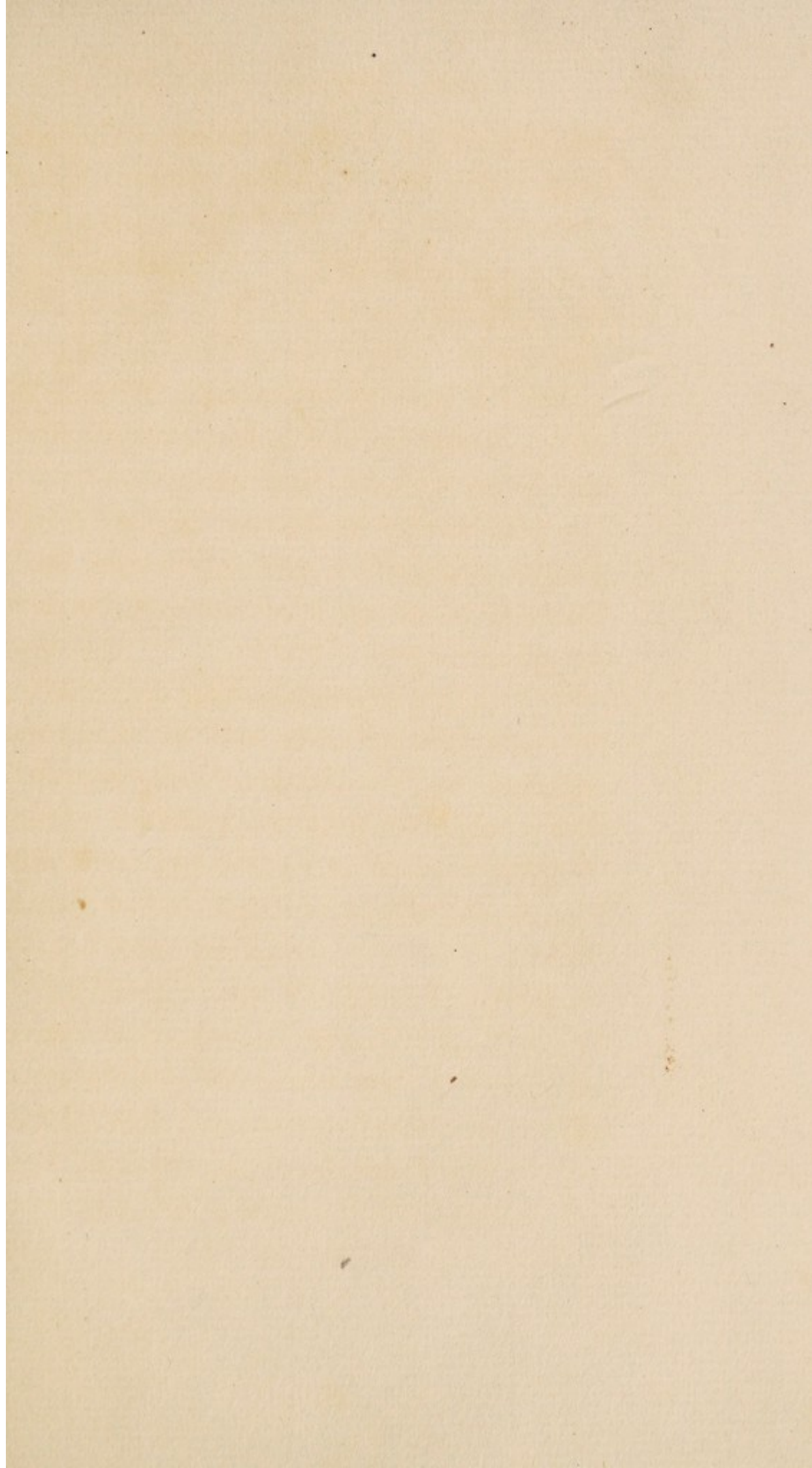
Lastly, knowing that large quantities of Goods had been given by the Pirates, to all the white Men residing on Shore upon their own accounts, we all went in a Body to demand them. Messieurs *Mead* and *Pearce*, who were in Partnership, very readily and honourably delivered up all they were possessed of: But others did not follow their Example; for they only shewed us what Goods they thought proper, of which I allowed them one third part for salvage.

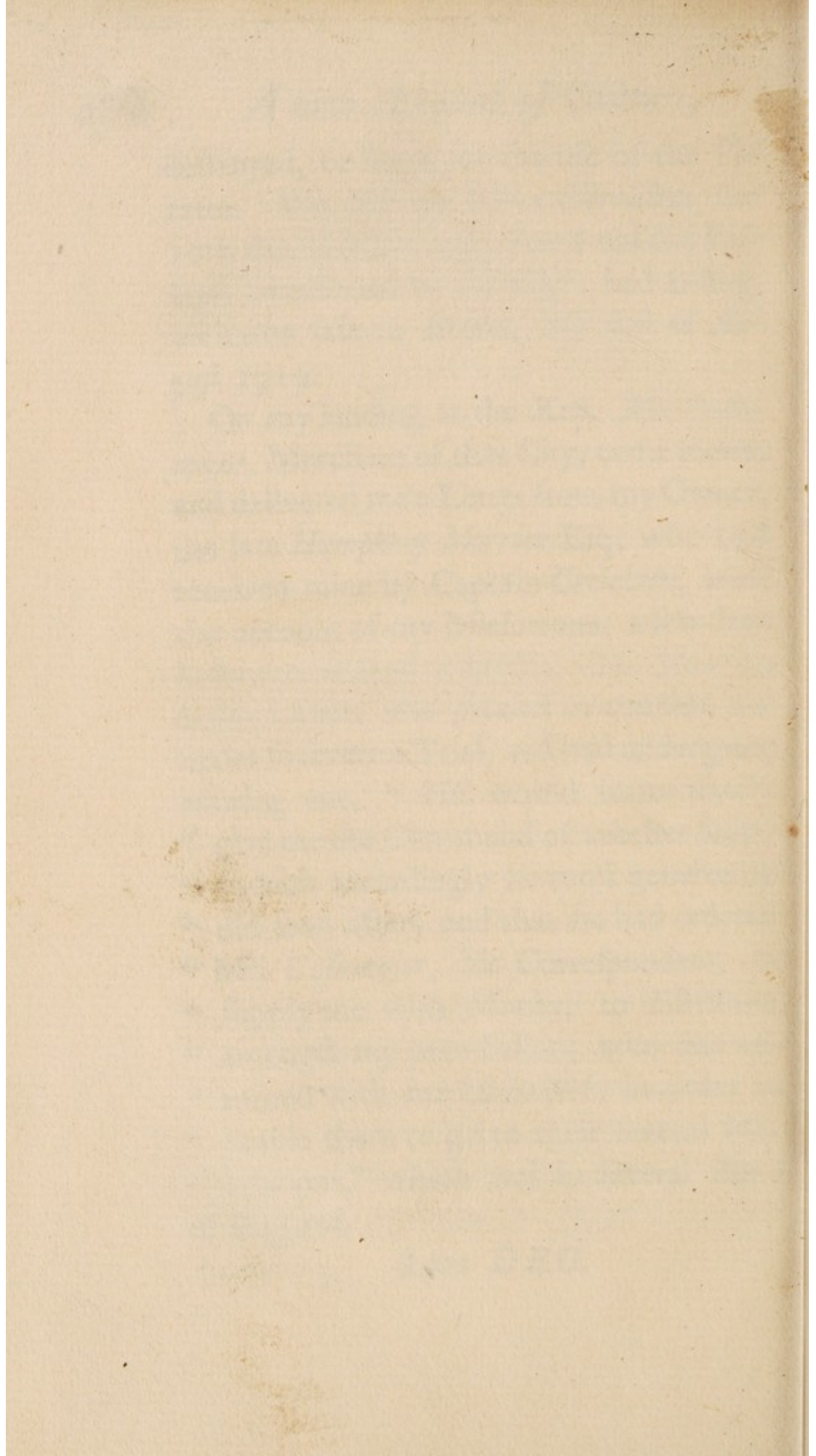
So I shipp'd what I had recovered from them, with the other Goods the Pirates had given me formerly out of Captain *Morris's* Vessel; and then we embarked in her, being above sixty Passengers, besides six Masters of Ships, whose Vessels had been destroyed,

destroyed, or fitted for the use of the Pirates. We left the River *Sierraleon* the 10th day of *May*, and, after a tedious Passage, occasioned by the Ship's bad failing, we came safe to *Bristol*, the first of *August* 1719.

On my landing at the Key, Mr. *Casamajor*, Merchant of that City, came to me, and delivered me a Letter from my Owner, the late *Humphrey Morrice* Esq; who had received mine by Captain *Creighton*, with the account of my Misfortune, a few days before we arrived at *Bristol*. Mr. *Morrice*, in his Letter, was pleased to comfort me under so severe a Trial, as I had undergone, assuring me, “ He would immediately
“ give me the Command of another Ship;
“ (which accordingly he most generously
“ did soon after) and that he had ordered
“ Mr. *Casamajor*, his Correspondent, to
“ supply me with Money, to distribute
“ amongst my poor Sailors, who had re-
“ turned with me to *Bristol*; in order to
“ enable them to go to their several Ha-
“ bitations,” which was in several Parts of *England*.

Laus DEO.





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