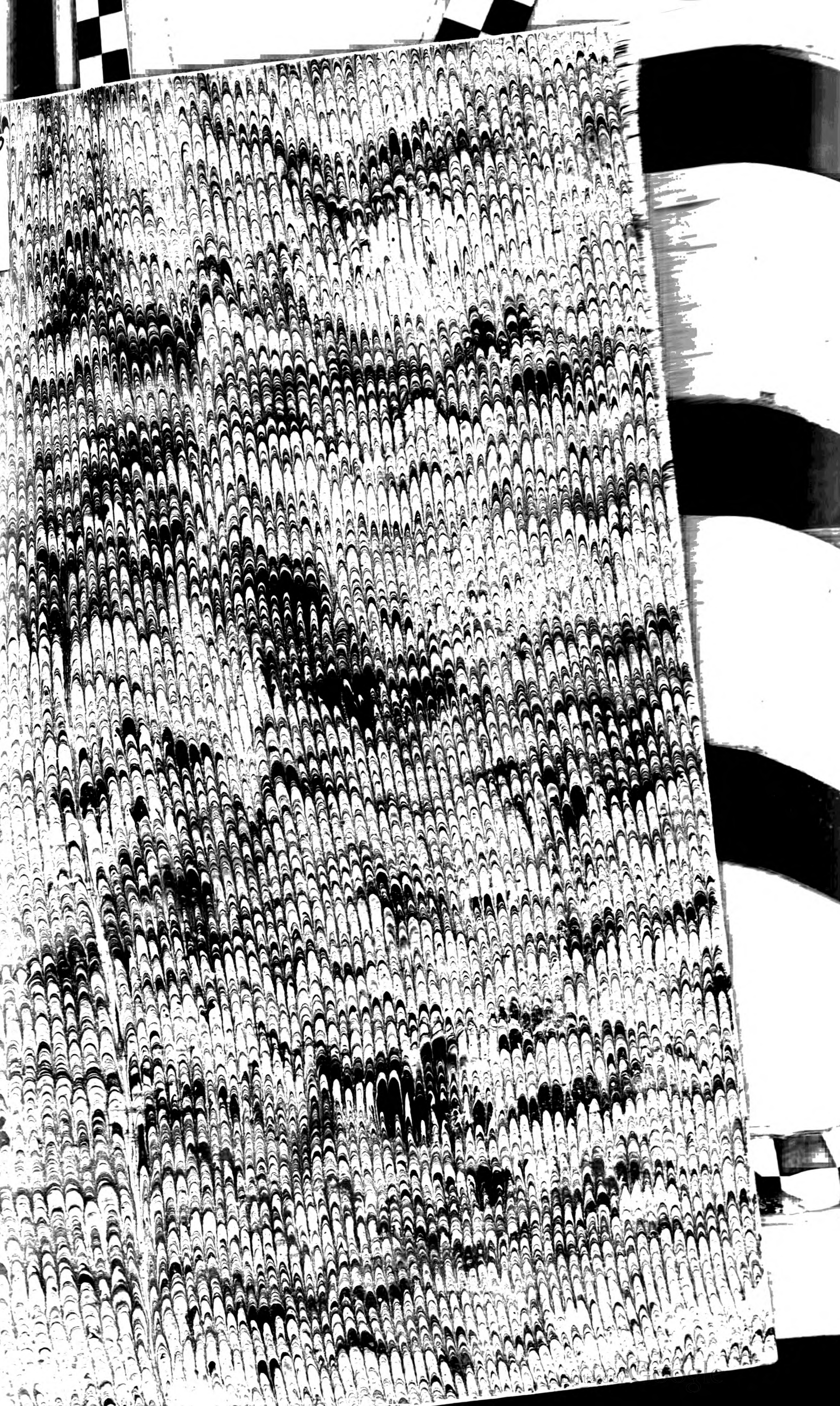

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A
JOURNAL of a VOYAGE

Made in the
HANNIBAL of *London*, Ann. 1693, 1694,
From **ENGLAND**, to
Cape MONSERADOE, in **AFRICA**;
And thence along the Coast of
Guiney to Whidaw, the Island of St. Thomas,
And so forward to
BARBADOES.

WITH A
Cursory **ACCOUNT** of the **COUNTRY**, the **PEOPLE**,
their **MANNERS**, **FORTS**, **TRADE**, &c.

By **THOMAS PHILLIPS**, Commander of the said Ship.



1164/539

[A Collection of voyages and travels. 6.]

[1732]

A JOURNAL of a VOYAGE from England to AFRICA, and so forward to BARBADOES, in the Years 1693, and 1694.

The author
taken by
the French.

IT was my misfortune, as well as many others this last war with *France*, in my voyage home from *Venice* and *Zant*, in the *William* of two hundred tons, and twenty guns, to fall into the clutches of three great *French* men of war, of seventy guns each, in the foundings, about sixty leagues S. W. from *Cape Clear* in *Ireland*. There being so great an inequality in our strength, and no hopes of escaping, I thought it prudence to submit without any resistance, and not have my men kill'd and wounded to no purpose; for they had five hundred men each, and I but thirty in all; therefore I was forc'd to let might overcome right, and upon summons by a shot athwart our fore foot, from the *Crown* of seventy brass guns, which came first up with us, to strike our ensign, and become their prize. We were treated very civilly by *Chevalier de Monbroun* on board the *Crown*, who convey'd us carefully to *Brest*, and oblig'd me to visit a country which at that time I had a perfect aversion to. After my return to *England*,

Returns to
England.

I was for some time destitute of employment, until my ever honoured patron and benefactor, *Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys*, Knt. out of his extraordinary generosity and good will to me, understanding that the ship *Hannibal* of four hundred and fifty tons, and thirty-six guns, was to be sold, gave me orders to buy her. Having done this he was pleas'd to deposite the money for her presently out of his own pocket; and after, by his interest, to bring in his worthy brother, *John Jeffreys*, Esq; *Sam. Stanyer*, Esq; then sub-governor of the *African* company, and some other eminent merchants, to be part-owners with me, and then to recommend me and the ship to the royal *African* company of *England*; from whom, upon his account, I found acceptance: Being enter'd into their service, on a trading voyage to *Guiney*, for elephants teeth, gold, and *Negro* slaves; and

Buys the
Hannibal.

Enters into
the service
of the *Afri-*
can com-
pany.

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having the needful cargoes onboard, where-
with to purchase them, as well as supplies
of merchandize, stores, &c. for the com-
pany's castles and factories; my business
being compleated at *London*, I took boat
for *Gravesend* the fifth of *September* in the
evening, and got on board about eleven
at night, with money to pay my men their
river-pay, and one month's pay advance-
money, as per agreement.

PHILLIPS:
Goes on
board.

Tuesday the 5th, I cleared the ship at
Gravesend, the wind at N. E. dirty wea-
ther.

The 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, I had the
wind at N. E. fresh gale, paid my men
their wages to the fifth instant.

Sunday the 10th in the morning, we
broke ground from *Gravesend*, and drove
with the ebb to the upper end of the *Hope*,
where we chop'd to an anchor, and in the
evening I went up to *Gravesend*.

Monday the 11th. This day having paid
my debts, and finish'd my business, I
took my leave of agent *Nurse*, and some
other friends, and in the evening came on
board, wind from W. N. W. to W. S. W.
easy gales.

Tuesday the 12th. This morning about
three o'clock we got under sail, with a
brave gale at W. At nine we were
past the *Nore*, where we drove till one
in the evening, waiting for water, at which
time we bore away for the red sand, and
about four got through the *Narrow*, and at
six anchor'd off the *North Foreland*, in
nine fathom water, it bearing S. by W. of
us.

Wednesday the 13th. At four this morn-
ing we got up our anchors, with the wind
at S. W. and after several tacks, about
eleven we came to an anchor in the *Downs*,
in eight fathom water, the *South Foreland*
bearing S. by E. Here rid admiral *Nevil*
with the union-flag at miffen top-mast head,
whom I saluted with eleven guns, and was
answer'd with nine. In the afternoon he and
Capt.

Y y

PHILLIPS. Capt. Cole, in another third rate man of war, set sail on some important affairs, for Copenhagen, in Denmark, and left Capt. Wisbart in the *Swiftbire*, admiral of the Downs, where we lay with our yards and top-masts lower'd, having very stormy weather, and the wind constantly between the S. and W. Until the fifth of October, in the morning, we had fair weather, smooth sea, and a small gale of wind at S. S. W. which towards evening veer'd about to the S. E. and E. and invited us, and the rest of the outward bound ships, in the Downs, to go to sea; of which those for Guinea were, the *East-India Merchant*, of thirty guns, Capt. Thomas Shurley commander; the *Hannibal* of thirty-six guns, Thomas Phillips, for the gold coast; the *Mediterranean* of twenty-four guns, Capt. Daniel, for Angola; the *Jeffrey* of twelve guns, Capt. Somes, for the *Bite*; the *Fortune* of twelve guns, Capt. Hereford, for Angola; and the *Eagle* packet boat, Capt. Perry, for Gambo and the coast. We having agreed among ourselves, that Capt. Thomas Shurley, who had been long acquainted with the Guinea trade, should give sailing orders, shape the course, and carry the light; we came on board to unmoor our ships, and about eight were under sail, and stood out of the Downs, with a small gale at E. S. E. till ten, when the gale dullering, and the flood being made, we came to an anchor in ten fathom, under the *South Foreland*, where we rid till four in the morning, then with the tide of ebb, we weigh'd, having a fresh gale at S. S. E. which about eight veer'd to S. and S. by E. increasing, so as Capt. Shurley lying by, to speak with me, we agreed, that perceiving no probability of a fair wind, but great likelihood of bad weather, it was not prudence to beat the sea, in regard as well of the danger of the enemy, as of the stormy season of the year; whereupon we resolv'd to stand into the Downs again; accordingly Capt. Shurley having given the signal, bore up, and the rest of our Guinea fleet after him, while I lay muzzled to bring up the rear. When all the fleet were past me I fill'd my sails and stood after them; the *South Foreland* then bearing N. by E. but we had not gone a quarter of an hour large, ere we were envelop'd in the thickest fog I ever knew, so that we could not see the ship's length before us. I steer'd away N. N. E. for most part, but was often forc'd to edge into the shore, to keep clear of some ships that were on my off-side, and press'd hard upon me, so that I shoal'd my water to six fathom; but then haling off to nine fathom, I resolv'd to run no more risques, till I could see my way better, therefore I

October.

Set sail.

came to an anchor, ordering our trumpets to sound, and drum to beat, to give notice to any ships that might be coming into the Downs, lest they should run on board us in the fog unawares, we lying in the fair trade way; our anchor was scarcely down ere we heard a gun fired, which was soon follow'd by four more at a small intermission of time; whereupon reading our sailing orders, I found it to be the signal appointed to be given, in case any of us should run ashore; but whose misfortune it was at this time I could not determine, till about an hour after, the fog dispelling, I perceiv'd it to be the *East-India Merchant*, Capt. Shurley, who had run a-ground two miles to the S. E. of the *South Foreland*, and was a spectacle I was not a little griev'd to see, my best friend Sir Jeffrey Jeffries, Knt. and some others of my worthy owners, as well as the royal African company, being deeply concern'd in her; therefore I thought it no seasonable time only to look on and bemoan his ill luck, but forthwith, with all the application I could, to send him some timely assistance; in order to this, our long boat being hal'd up, I sent my three mates, boatswain, gunner, and carpenter, with twenty of the best men I had, to carry out an anchor for him to heave off by upon the flood, for he happen'd to run ashore almost at low water, so as he had the whole tide of flood to friend. I was extremely pleas'd that I came to an anchor so fortunately as I did, and did not stand into the Downs; for had not my boat come to his relief, I question if he had ever floated again, for Capt. Shurley himself was like a distracted man, and his seamen were grown wilful, and would not obey his officers, each taking care of his own little concern only, and neglecting their common interest in saving the ship. Whether he had given his men occasion for this untimely frowardness, I will not pretend to determine, but cannot forbear here to give my own opinion freely, that it is the greatest prudence, as well as interest of a commander, of a merchant ship especially, to gain his mens good-will and affections, by being humane to them, and giving them their due and full allowance, according to the use of the sea, of good and wholesome provisions, for nothing grates upon seamen more than pinching their bellies, or treating them with cruelty or reproachful words, such as lubber, &c. whereas they are such a sort of people, that if they have justice done them, a good word now and then, and be permitted their little fore-castle jefts and songs with freedom, they will run thro' fire and water for their commander, and do their work with the utmost satisfaction and alacrity;

crity; but on the other side, as they should not want their just dues in any kind, so they should not want work, as long as there were any to be done for the ship's service and benefit; tho' at the same time I am far from approving the morose and cynick temper of some commanders, who hate to see a poor failor have a minute's time of quiet, to enjoy himself, and indulge his humour with a song or an old tale, but will keep them doing out of perfect ill nature, and rather than let them be the least at ease, will put them at work to the ship and owners prejudice. I remember a couple of masters that I knew in the *Streights*, trading before the war, whom I shall forbear to name, the one of them would often make his men coil one of his cables upon deck, then pass the end without board into the gun-room port, and rouse it in again, and coil it where it was before, and this he said was to plague the dogs, tho' to the great damage of his cable, by rubbing and galling it, and no doubt but it plagu'd them sufficiently, making them curse and damn him all the time, and wish for an occasion to be among rocks, sands, or a lee-shore, where there was but any possibility of saving their lives, that they might return his favours, and shew him how ready they would be to obey his command and save his ship; then I fear they would serve him as the seamen serv'd the collier master coming from *Newcastle*, who having lock'd up the firkin of butter from them, contrary to custom, and plying to windward with the tide among the sands, standing on one tack as near a sand as he thought proper, order'd the helm a-lee, to go about; when the ship was well stay'd, he call'd to hale the main-sail, but his men answer'd unanimously, *that not one of them would touch a rope till the firkin of butter was brought to the mast*. He began to expostulate with them, but to no purpose, and seeing the ship drive near the sand with all sails aback, he promis'd them they should have it as soon as the sails were trimm'd, and the ship had gather'd way; the men reply'd, *that seeing was believing*; whereupon, finding there was no other remedy, he run down to his cabin to fetch the butter, and laid it at the mast; then the men went to work, but too late, for e'er the sails could be hal'd about and fill'd, the ship struck upon the sand, and never came off again; so that as the sea proverb is, *he lost a Hog for a halfpenny-worth of Tar*.

The other master I knew in the *Streights*, would in a fit of the spleen sling a chip, or any other insignificant trifle, over-board, and make his men hoist out the boat and row half a mile after it; in the mean time he would make what sail he could, and

keep a-head of them, making them row five or six hours after him, and a little before night lie by and take them up. Such perverse usage as this is a sure sign of an ill temper in the commanders, and nothing can alienate the esteem and affections of their men more from them. After this long digression 'tis time to return to the *East-India merchant*, who about four in the evening floated and swung to her anchor, having lain three hours aground without any damage; about five we weigh'd, and stood into the *Downs*, and anchor'd in six fathom, the *South Foreland* bearing S. S. W. and *Deal-Castle* W. S. W. This untoward beginning of our voyage gave me some troublesome reflections, but was too far engag'd to resolve upon any thing but to proceed, and endeavour to go thorough it as well as I could.

We were detain'd in the *Downs* with very blustering weather and contrary winds until the twenty-fifth of *October*; the wind veering about to the north, we got up our anchors, and about seven in the evening were under sail, and about eight were off the *South Foreland*, where we lay by about an hour, to give time for the rest of our fleet to join us, which when they had done, we fill'd and steer'd away S. W. for the *Nefs*.

Thursday the 26th. Last night at eleven a-clock we were a-breast the *Nefs*-light: then hal'd up W. S. W. and W. by S. for *Beachy*, had a brave stiff gale all night at north, going away with courses and top-sails till seven this morning: I set all sails, and shot a-head the rest of the fleet, in order to get in my boats, which having done, about ten join'd the fleet again, of which we found none missing but Capt. *Herford* in the *Fortune*, whom we could not descry. At noon this day we saw the isle of *Wight*, bearing north-west; distance by estimation seven leagues: we steer'd for most part west, with cloudy dark weather, and some small drizzling rain; we got our anchors up, and our ship clear for the sea, and removed two of our guns that were open in the waist into the after ports in the great cabin.

Friday the 27th. From yesterday noon till twelve this day we have had a brave top-sail gale from north to north-east, steering away west. At four in the evening yesterday the west end of the *Wight* ^{Leaves sight of Land.} bore N. by W. distance seven leagues, from whence I take my departure, we not coming in sight of any other land in *England*; at which time Capt. *Somes* in the *Jeffrey* was far a-stern, not being able to bear his top-sails for the extremity of the gale; but Capt. *Shurley* not easing sail, we were forc'd to croud with him all night,

so

PHILLIPS.
October,
1693.

PHILLIPS.
October,
1693.

so that we lost poor *Somes*. We run from four in the evening yesterday 112' west, by the best computation I could make, for our log-line breaking in the night, we lost our log, and were forc'd to make guess-work. We saw many ships of all sides, but spoke with none, except one *Portuguese* of two-hundred tons, bound from *Oporto* to *London*, laden with wine, for some quantities of which commodity we had a great desire to traffick with him; but it blowing so hard, and night being come on, hinder'd our design, so that we bid him farewell, and left him to proceed on his voyage, as we did on ours, unbent our cables, and clapt on haufe-boards, clear'd our ship, and appointed my men their quarters in case of engaging an enemy, having seventy men belonging to the ship, and thirty-three of the *African* company's passengers, for their castles in *Guiney*, so that we made in all, men and boys, a hundred and three. At four in the evening yesterday the east end of the isle of *Wight*, being in latitude $50^{\circ} 24'$ N. bore N. by W. distance seven leagues, from which take my departure. We had a great north sea, for which I allow one point leeway, so that since four in the evening yesterday have run 112 W. by S. and at noon this day have made from the east end of the isle of *Wight* $8^{\circ} 42'$, and westing 108 (lat. $49^{\circ} 42'$.)

Saturday the 28th. These twenty-four hours we have had a close sky, with some small showers of rain, and a brave gale of wind at N. N. E. and N. E. running from six to eight miles an hour. This morning at nine we saw a ship to the southward standing with us; about ten she shew'd a blue *English* ensign, by which we guess'd it to be Capt. *Hereford* in the *Fortune*, as he prov'd; about twelve he join'd us: the true course steer'd, allowing all impediments, is S. $75^{\circ} 56'$ W. or W. S. W. $\frac{3}{4}$ W. distance run 178; the latitude by reckoning 49° and westing in all made 280 miles, being S. 42, and W. 172 miles.

Sunday the 29th. These twenty-four hours we have had a brave stiff gale from N. E. to E. N. E. steering away W. by S. and W. S. W. distance run *per* log is 167 miles; decreas'd our latitude forty-seven miles, made west departure 160'. At noon this day we had indifferent good observation of the latitude in $47^{\circ} 58'$ N. total westing 440 miles.

Monday the 30th. From noon yesterday we had a fine topsail gale at N. N. E. keeping our course W. S. W. till eight last night, at which time it veer'd to the N. by W. and at twelve to the N. W. and at noon this day to W. dark cloudy weather, with some rain, but smooth water. This

day we fold at the mast our boatswain *Robert Fabin's* and *John Harding's* cloaths, being two of our men that run away from the ship while we lay in the *Dorens*, the first having embezzled and convey'd away a great deal of our cargo, as well as the ship's stores, while we lay fitting out in the river, as we found when we came to examine them. Distance run *per* log is 116', difference of latitude made is 67', W. Departure made is 88'; the present latitude by reckoning is $46^{\circ} 51'$, and total departure W. 528 miles.

Tuesday 31st. These twenty-four hours we have had a brisk gale of wind, veering from W. N. W. to W. by S. with frequent hard squalls and gusts. Last night at four most of our fleet being to leeward far, we bore down to them, and it looking like dirty weather we took up both reefs in our topsails, and jogg'd under them and our two courses close hal'd all night. This morning, our foretopfail being in some places seam-rent, we unbent it, and brought to another, and furl'd it, by reason we fore-reach'd and weather'd much upon all the rest of the fleet. Distance run since yesterday noon is 112', course various, from S. W. to S. by W: but the direct course made (allowing one point and half lee-way, by reason of the small sail we made, and the great western sea) is S. $11^{\circ} 15'$ W. or S. by W: difference of latitude made is 108' S. departure 20' W. the present latitude $45^{\circ} 3'$, by reckoning; and total departure W. 548 miles.

Wednesday the 1st. From noon yesterday we had the wind at W. by S. until four in the evening, when it veering to the S. W. by W. we tack'd, lying up with larboard tacks aboard N. W. by W. and N. W. until three this morning; the mate that had the watch came to acquaint me that they discover'd four strange ships with lights to windward of us; when I came upon deck I perceiv'd one with a light standing as we did, upon which we got our half ports off, chests and hammocks up, and order'd every man to their several quarters, to get them clear for an engagement. About seven, being clear day, we had all things in order, and ready for a fight, at which time I plainly saw four tall ships with all sails set standing directly with us. I am sure they were men of war of sixty and seventy guns each, as near as I could discover thro' my glass, but of what nation I could not tell, tho' we had great reason to believe them *French*, our frigots seldom or never cruising so far to the S. and W. They stood towards us with all sail set in a line, upon which I made a signal, by hoisting and lowering my ensign four times, to give notice to Capt.

Novem-
ber.

PHILLIPS.
Novemb.
1693.

Capt. *Sburley* of our new companions, and crouded with all sails to speak with him, he being about a mile distant upon my lee bow, and the only one of our fleet then in company, we having lost the rest last night and the night before: when I came up with him it blew so hard that we could not hear each other, tho' we had good speaking-trumpets, therefore we were forced to endeavour to understand one another by signs, by which I perceiv'd that he was of my opinion, that since they were so many, not to stand the brunt with them, two to one being odds at foot-ball, we being deep laden merchants ships, and they frigots, built and fitted only for fight, but rather to go away large, and endeavour, by often varying our course, to lose them, it blowing very hard at S. and being thick dirty weather, which was likely to continue and increase, which I was not sorry for, since I do verily believe it fav'd us a *French* voyage; therefore we hal'd up our mainsails, clapt the helm a-weather, and bore away under foresail and maintop-sail, with two reefs in, upon the cap, steering W. N. W. and N. W. till nine, handed maintop-sail, and went away N. W. till ten, having lost sight of the ships that pursu'd us e'er since we went large. At eleven it blowing a hard storm, having very thick weather and grown sea, lest we should lose each other, Capt. *Sburley* brought to under a mizzen; my foresail being, up I went to do the like, but in haling out our mizzen the strap of the sheet-block broke, so that eer we could brail him up he was by the violence of the gale split to pieces, which occasion'd us to lower the yard down and unbend him, upon which the ship labouring much for want of sail, found it convenient to set the mainsail, and having got the tack aboard, eer we could gather the sheet aft we split the mainsail, and were forc'd to hale down the yard and furl him, and bear away before the wind N. and N. by W. with only the bunt of our foresail loose. In furling our mainsail one of our seamen, *John Southern*, being careless of himself, fell off the yard-arm and was drown'd, which I was extreamly sorry for, but it was beyond human power to save him, it blowing a mere fret of wind, and a very great sea, and having no sails to command the ship. The difference of latitude and departure these twenty-four hours, by the best computation I can make, is, N. 21', W. 40'; so that our present latitude is 45° 24' N. and total westing 588 miles.

Tuesday the 2d. From twelve yesterday until two in the evening, we went away N. with our bare poles, running four miles

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an hour; at which time, having brought to a new mizen and reef'd him, we hoisted the yard and set him, and brought her to under a mizen, then unbent our main-sail that was split, and with much pains and trouble we bent another; and having reef'd him we furl'd him: About four we furl'd our fore-sail snug, and hoisted the mizen stay-sail, to keep the ship to, and her head upon the sea, she labouring most dreadfully. At twelve last night the violence of the storm being abated, we set the main-sail, and lay under it and mizen till day-light; when, having righted up the ship a little, to my great trouble and surprize, we found that our foremast was sprung about three foot above the partners in the fore-castle; the crack being very large, and opening above an inch upon every rent of the ship, which, to see, made my heart ake; we found it likewise upon searching, to be almost rotten to the heart in that place, whereupon I sent for my officers, to consult what was most proper to be done upon this unexpected accident, and how best to secure him, but finding some of them begin to urge that there was no proceeding on so long a voyage with such a mast, and that it was convenient to bear up for *Plymouth*, while we were so near it, to furnish ourselves with another. I thought it convenient to quash this motion in the bud, and declar'd I was resolv'd to proceed on my voyage, tho' I should be forc'd to go with a jury-mast, rather than return again to *England*; and forthwith order'd my carpenters to go to work to secure him, by paying four new capston bars of good oak, and nine foot long each, round him, where he was sprung, and spike them very well, and afterwards clapt four good wooldings upon him, which I was in hopes would sufficiently secure him, we every day approaching nearer a fair weather country; and when our carpenters had done what I had order'd them, it seem'd very firm, and did not complain all the voyage after. In crowding yesterday morning with maintop-sail to speak with Capt. *Sburley*, upon sight of the four strange ships, we wrench'd the head of our main-mast; and this morning set some men to woold the heel of the maintop-mast, to the head of the main-mast, to keep him fast, else the cap would flue much where the head of the mast was wrung. We had the wind these twenty-four hours at S. and S. S. E. blowing a very severe storm, we caping all night W. and W. N. W. drove N. two mile an hour. At noon this day the wind came about to W. N. W. but being busy about our mast could make no sail; the direct course made is N. forty-six miles, latitude, by reckon-

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ing

PHILLIPS. ing, $46^{\circ} 10'$ N. and westing 588 miles.
 November In this storm I lost my consort, Capt.
 1693. *Sburley*.

Friday the 3d. About two in the evening yesterday, our carpenters having completed what they could do to the foremast, we set the foresail and wear'd the ship, and laid her head to the S. lying up S. by W. and S. S. W. wind at W. and W. by S. stiff gale. At nine o'clock we handed our maintop-sail, and went under courses all night, until noon this day, having the weather very cloudy and squally for most part; I allow three points lee-way, so that judge we made our way good, but S. E. by S. Dist. *per* log fifty-seven miles: At twelve we had good observation of the latitude, and found it to be $45^{\circ} 5'$ N. Departure made is thirty-one miles easterly. Total westing is 557 miles.

Saturday the 4th. These twenty-four hours we have had dull squally weather, and some heavy showers of rain; wind from S. W. by W. to W. by N. lying up from S. by E. to S. W. by S. until six this morning, when the wind came about to the N. W. by W. and so to N. we steering away S. W. with a fresh gale till noon this day, when it cleared up, so that we had a good observation of the latitude, and found it to be $43^{\circ} 50'$ N. Departure made is 20' W. Total westing 577'.

Sunday the 5th. These twenty-four hours we have had close cloudy weather, wind between the N. N. W. and N. N. E. a fine top-sail gale, steering till six in the evening yesterday, S. W. 41 miles, then S. S. W. 100 miles till noon this day. Difference of latitude made is S. 121 miles. Departure W. 67 miles, the present latitude reckon'd $41^{\circ} 49'$ N. Total westing 644 miles.

Monday the 6th. From noon yesterday until twelve this day, we have had but a small gale of wind, shuffling from N. N. E. to E. S. E. our course steer'd being S. S. W. Distance *per* log is 54', the weather close and cloudy, so that we could have no observation: This morning beginning to draw near a fair weather-country, we got up our top-gallant-mast and yards, and dry'd our sails, which were split in the late storm. Difference of latitude made, is 49' S. Departure 21 W. Latitude, by reckoning, 41° N. and total westing 665 miles.

Tuesday the 7th. These twenty-four hours we have had close sky and dark weather, wind from S. S. E. to S. S. W. At twelve last night we tack'd to eastward, lying up S. E. and S. E. by E. Distance run *per* log 74'. Difference of latitude made is 25' S. Departure 22' E. Latitude, by reckoning, $40^{\circ} 35'$ N. and total westing 643 miles. This day our old mizen being

mended, we unbent the new one and brought it to the yard.

Wednesday the 8th. These twenty-four hours we have had very hard showers of rain, and a fresh gale of wind at S. and S. S. W. At six in the evening yesterday we tack'd to the westward, lying up W.; at eight handed our top-sail; and at four this morning our maintop-sail, lying W. S. W. and W. by S. under our three courses, we having a great S. sea and hard gale of wind. This morning the clue of our fore sail gave way, so unbent and brought to another. Distance run *per* log, is 74 miles. Difference of latitude and departure made, allowing for lee-way, and all other impediments, is S. 8', W. 22'. Latitude, by reckoning, $40^{\circ} 27'$ N. and total westing 665 miles.

Thursday the 9th. These twenty-four hours we have had several showers of small drizzling rain, wind from S. E. by S. to S. W. by S. dark cloudy weather. Distance run *per* log 57'. Difference of latitude is 3' S. Departure 53° W. Latitude, by reckoning, $40^{\circ} 24'$ N. Total westing 718 miles. From ten to twelve this day we lay becalm'd.

Friday the 10th. From noon yesterday we lay becalm'd, with courses up, and top-sails lower'd, until four this morning, when sprung up a small breeze at W. by S. which continu'd freshning until ten, then veer'd to S. W. blowing a fine top-sail gale; and the sea very much laid. We had some small showers of rain last night, but this day fine hard sky and clear weather, and had very good observations of the latitude. Departure made, is E. 9'. Latitude $39^{\circ} 33'$ N. and total westing 709 miles. This day we mended all our split sails.

Saturday the 11th. These twenty-four hours we have had smooth water, and a fresh gale of wind at S. W. by S. and S. W. lying S. S. E. and S. E. by S. weather indifferent clear. Distance run *per* log is 118 miles. Departure made is 75' easterly. At noon this day we had indifferent good observation. Lat. $38^{\circ} 10'$ N. Westing 634 miles.

Sunday the 12th. These twenty-four hours we have had various weather, wind S. W. and W. S. W. until ten last night, with some showers of rain; it came about to N. W. fine top-gallant gale: we steering away S. by W. at noon had the wind at N. by W. at which time we had good observation of the latitude. Departure made is E. 5 miles. Latitude $36^{\circ} 27'$ N. Total westing 629 miles.

Monday the 13th. From noon yesterday we have had a fine small gale from N. by W. to N. E. until two this morning, it fell stark calm, and continu'd so (with a few intervening breezes) till noon this day.

Distance

Distance *per log* is sixty-eight miles. Course steer'd is S. by W. Departure made is W. 8'. Latitude, by reckoning, $35^{\circ} 20'$ N. and total westing 637 miles. Had great N. W. swell these twenty-four hours, for which I make some allowances.

Tuesday the 14th. From noon yesterday we have had but little wind till six this morning, at which time sprung up a fine gale at N. W. we steering S. by W. At noon we had good observation of the latitude, $34^{\circ} 6'$ N. Total westing 637 miles, had great N. W. sea.

Wednesday the 15th. These twenty-four hours we have had a small gale of wind, various, from W. to S. W. Latitude, by reckoning, $33^{\circ} 11'$ N. Total westing 646 miles.

Thursday 16. These twenty-four hours we have had good weather, wind at S. and S. S. E. small gale. At noon this day, we were, by observation, in latitude $32^{\circ} 44'$ N. Westing 680 miles.

Friday the 17th. These twenty-four hours we have had the wind various, at S. and S. by W. Yesterday we tack'd to the W. lying W. by S. and at two this morning it blowing a hard gale, we handed both our top sails. Latitude, by reckoning, $32^{\circ} 47'$ N. Total westing 698'.

Saturday the 18th. These twenty-four hours we have had very squally weather, and many heavy showers of rain, wind shuffling between the W. S. W. and S. S. W. hard gale, and great sea, course various, made difference of latitude seventy-three miles S. Departure $15'$ E. Latitude, by reckoning, $31^{\circ} 34'$ N. Total westing 683 miles. This morning we found out that one of the *Royal African* company's soldiers, for their castles in *Guiney*, was a woman, who had enter'd herself into their service under the name of *John Brown*, without the least suspicion, and had been three months on board without any mis-

A woman
soldier.

trust, lying always among the other passengers, and being as handy and ready to do any work as any of them; and I believe she had continu'd undiscover'd till our arrival in *Africa*, had not she fallen very sick, which occasion'd our Surgeon to visit her, and order'd her a glister; which when his mate went to administer, he was surpriz'd to find more sally-ports than he expected, which occasion'd him to make a farther enquiry; which, as well as her confession, manifesting the truth of her sex, he came to acquaint me of it, whereupon, in charity, as well as in respect to her sex, I order'd her a private lodging apart from the men, and gave the taylor some ordinary stuffs to make her woman's cloaths; in recompence for which she prov'd very useful in washing my linnen, and doing what else she could, till we deliver'd her with the rest at *Cape Coast* castle. She was about twenty years old, and a likely black girl.

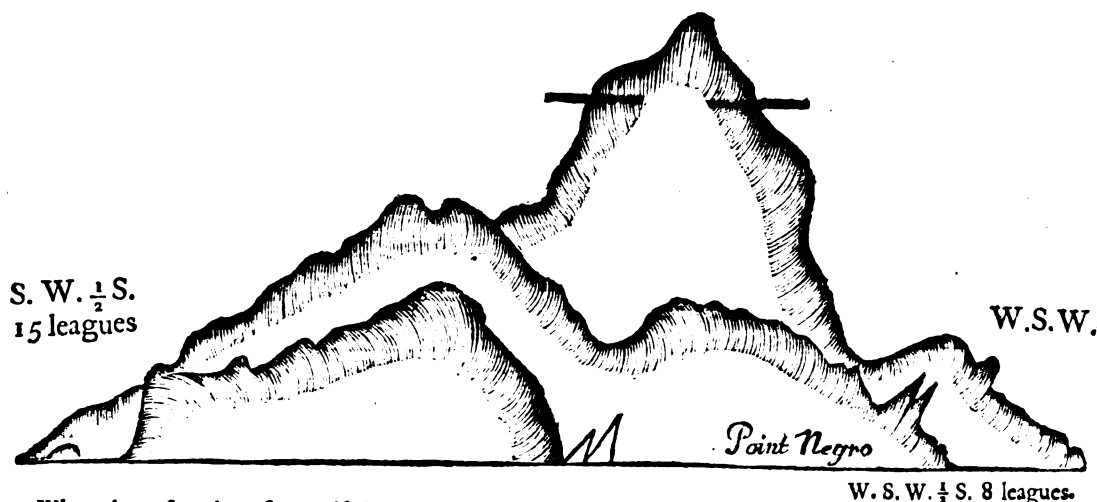
Sunday the 19th. From noon yesterday we have had the wind from S. W. to W. by S. lying up for the most part S. by W. fine top-sail gale, and smooth water. Distance run *per log* is 132'. Had good observation of the latitude, which was $29^{\circ} 58'$; total westing 669 miles.

Monday the 20th. We have had the wind at W. and W. by S. until four this morning; at which time it fell stark calm, and continu'd so till noon, when we had good observation; latitude $29^{\circ} 30'$; total westing 706 miles.

Tuesday the 21st. From twelve yesterday, until four in the evening, we lay becalm'd; at which time sprung up a small gale at S. E. At six we discern'd the peak of *Tenerif*, which had the appearance as by the black line underneath, bearing S. W. by W. distance by estimation, twenty-five leagues; whereupon we steer'd away with it, with a fine gale at night at S. S. E. At noon this

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Tenerif.



When the east point of *Tenerif* shuts in the west point of the *Grand Canary*, it bears exactly S. by E. half E.

day

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day we had very good observation of the latitude, being in $28^{\circ} 48'$ N. *Point Negro* then bearing W. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. distance about eight leagues. The S. E. point of *Tenerif* S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. distance fifteen leagues; the west point of the *Grand Canary*, S. fourteen leagues, $28^{\circ} 48'$ N. and total westing, allowing for all impediments 720 miles. Note, in this run, or for the streights, I always allow twelve leagues easting more than my course gives, for the great western sea that insensibly puts us to the east beyond our expectation, as I found by experience of many voyages.

Wednesday the 22d. From yesterday noon we steer'd away W. by S. with a fine gale at S. S. E. until five in the evening it veer'd to S. S. W. faltring and dying away, so that we had but faint breezes of wind all night; about four o'clock in the morning, it being day-light, *Pico Tenerif* bore due east of us, at which time being near *Oratava* road, we discerned two sail between us and the shore, one of which we perceiv'd to be a ship, and the other seem'd a *barca longa*; in a short time we saw the ship standing off to us, with all sails set, whereupon we tack'd off to the N. to have time to put our ship in a posture of defence, in case she prov'd an enemy, and with all expedition got our hatch ports off, our chests and hammocks up, our close quarters up, guns and small arms all ready, and about twelve we were every way clear and ready for an engagement, at which time we furl'd our main sail, and handed all our small sails, slung our yards, clap'd on our stoppers, our puddings, and platings under our parrels, and being but little wind hal'd up our fore sail, and lay by for the ship that was so earnest to speak with us.

Engage-
ment with
a French
frigate.

Thursday the 23d. From noon yesterday we had but faint small breezes of wind until three in the evening, at which time the ship that stood after us was got within random gun-shot of us, appearing a fine long snug frigate; so that now we no longer doubted but she was an enemy, therefore letting fly my colours we fir'd a shot athwart his fore foot; upon which he shew'd an *English* ensign: but for all his cheat we knew what he was, and were in all kinds ready to give him his welcome, we jogging easily under our fighting sails till four, at which time being in carbine shot of us, he run out his lower tier of guns, (which I did not expect, nor was well pleased to see) nine of each side, and struck his false colours, and hoisted the *French* white sheet. I perceiv'd he was resolv'd to pluck a crow with me; therefore, after drinking a dram, and encouraging all, order'd all my men to their guns, to

behave themselves courageously, and expected his broad-side, which when within pistol-shot he gave us, and his volley of small shot. We return'd his civility very heartily with ours; after which he shot a head of us, and brought to, and fell along our larboard side, and gave us his other broad-side, as we did him; then each of us loaded and fired as fast as we could until ten o'clock at night, when his fore top mast came by the board; then he fell a stern of us, and made the best of his way to leeward, with his boat towing a head, and took his leave of us. We gave him a levet with our trumpets, and what guns, we had loaded, to bid him farewell, being heartily glad to be rid of such a troublesome guest, and stood to our former course W. by S. I was extremely glad that, by God's assistance, we defended the ship, tho' she was most miserably shatter'd and torn in her mast and rigging, having had eleven shot in our main mast, three quite thro' him, and several lodg'd in him and gaul'd him slanting three or four inches deep, eight shot in our fore mast, two quite thro'; our main top shot to pieces; our main top mast splinter'd half a way; our mizen yard shot in two pieces; our sprit sail top mast jack and jack staff shot away; our antient staff shot by the board, so that had no colours flying most part of the engagement, but the king's pendant, which by authority of my letter of mart, I fought under; we had several shot thro' our yards, with much more too long to insert. As to the rigging, I know not how to begin or end with it, 'twas so tore by long bars of iron they fired; our main shrouds we were forc'd to knot in fourteen places, and had but one shroud standing of the larboard side, when *Monsieur* towed off. We knotted our fore shrouds in nine places; our main top chain and main tie were shot to pieces, so that the yard hung wholly by the parrel and pudding: our stayes, sheets, and tacks, were shot in several places; and of the running rigging few or none escap'd their small shot, which flew very thick; we had not above thirty shot placed in our hull, four of which were under water: He fired very high for the most part, at our mast, yards, and rigging, to bring our mast by the board, and had we had a top sail gale, they must have all gone away, but it was our good fortune to have smooth water, (a thing not common in that place) and little wind, until we had opportunity, by stoppers, preventers, knotting, and splicing, to secure them indifferently: We fired low all into his hull, and loaded our low guns (which were all demiculverin) constantly with both double and round shot, and our quarter

quarter deck guns with round shot, and tin cases full of musket bullets, so that we must certainly have kill'd him a great many men; our three boats and booms were shot thro' in many places; and we had a suit of sails quite spoil'd, some being shot thro' like strainers. We had five men kill'd out-right, and about thirty-two wounded; among the last was my brother, my ganner, carpenter, and boatswain; the carpenter had his arm shot off, and three others their legs; five or six of my best men were dreadfully blown up by their carelessness, in laying the lighted matches among some cartridges of powder; our harper had his scull fractur'd by a small shot; the rest are but slight small shot, and splinter wounds, and bruises, and hope will do all well; our surgeon, Mr. *William Gordon*, being a diligent man, and an excellent artist in his profession. The fight lasted six hours, from four till ten o'clock, being all that while within pistol-shot, little wind, and small water, and firing as fast as both sides could load our guns. We often gave them huzza's during the engagement, and they would answer with *Vive le roys*; but when he towed away under our stern his note was chang'd, for I never heard such dreadful screeching and howling as was on board of him, so that he must needs have a great many men wounded. I judg'd him to be about 48 guns, and a man of war. After he left us we steer'd W. by S. with a small gale at N. E. and spent all the night in fixing our rigging as well as we could, to be in some posture to receive him, if he should incline to have another bout with us in the morning; but our men being tired all day, and the best of them kill'd or wounded, we could do but little, tho' they had all the encouragement that I could give them, and as much punch as they would drink: This morning, when it was light, we saw the enemy about three leagues distance, standing to the northward from us, having, I presume, had his belly-full the night before, and which, without fallacy, I was very glad of, not desiring to have any more to do with such a quarrelsome fellow.

Since my arrival in *England* from *Guiney* I have been inform'd by capt. *Peter Wall*, who had been taken by the ship we fought with some short time before I met with her, and was on board her with his men prisoners at the time of my engaging with her, viz. that she was the *Louis* of *St. Malo*, capt. *de Gra* commander, mounted with 52 guns, and mann'd with 280 men, newly come out; that we had kill'd him sixty-three men and wounded seventy odd; that after our battle the next morning he sent the said capt. *Wall* and some other prisoners in his boat ashore on *Teneriff*,

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and made the best of his way for *Lixa*, to put ashore his wounded men, and refit his ship, which was very much shatter'd and damag'd; that the *Canary* merchants saw the engagement while light, and heard the guns when dark; that they intended to make me a present had I put into *Oratava* road; but I knowing nothing of their design, thought myself very happy in having sav'd my ship, and so proceeded on my voyage for the coast of *Guiney*.

Friday the 24th. These twenty-four hours we have spent in knotting our shrouds, and fixing our other rigging as well as we could; knotted our main shrouds in fourteen places, and the fore-shrouds in nine, and after set them up very tort, to secure our poor shatter'd mast; we were forc'd to keep our chain-pump and both hand-pumps constantly going, to keep the ship free, she making a great deal of water, through the four shot-holes receiv'd under water, which we could not come at to stop effectually by reason of the sea. This day we liv'd on bread and cheese and punch, not being able to dress any meat, by reason our hearth and furnaces were shot thro', which our armourer was about mending. We had a hoghead of brandy shot in our lazaretta, whose loss we much regretted. We had a fine gale of wind at N. E. by E. with which steer'd away W. S. W. the poor ship looking miserably with her shot rigging dangling about, and as full of splinters as a carpenters yard of chips.

Saturday the 25th. From noon yesterday we have had a fine gale of wind at N. E. and E. N. E. steering S. W. with our topsails low set, for fear of straining our shatter'd mast. At six in the evening yesterday the island of *Fero* (in the latitude $27^{\circ} 30' N.$) bore S. S. E. distance seven leagues. At nine this morning bracing our main-yard, about ten foot of the starboard yard-arm broke, being shot above half thro' in that place. At ten this morning the island of *Fero* being just discernible, bore of us N. E. distance by estimation twelve leagues, from which I take my departure for *St. Jago*, there to stop my leaks, fit my mast and yards, and get some fresh provisions for my wounded poor men, which are a most dismal spectacle. Difference of latitude and departure made at noon this day from the isle of *Fero* is as follows,

Latitude $27^{\circ} : 30'$
South made $35'$

Latitude $26^{\circ} : 55'$

Westing made from *Fero* is 29 miles.

Sunday the 26th. Yesterday in the evening we set up our shrouds tort again, the heat

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heat of the weather and the drawing of the knots having much slacken'd them; our shot mizzen-yard being splic'd and fish'd, we bent a new mizzen to him, and got him up and set him; we unbent our foresail, (which had thirty large shot-holes thro' him, some half-yard wide, done with the long bars of iron they fired, and innumerable musket-shot holes) and brought to another; we woolded three large crows to the foremast, to succour a great gaul about eight inches deep which he had receiv'd in the engagement, about ten foot above the forecattle; set our carpenters to work about mending the shot-holes in our bolts. Last night took up both reefs in each of our topsails, and were forc'd to go with them about two foot above the caps, for fear of carrying our mast away. Now having begun to come into the trade-winds way, had fine steady gales at E. S. E. steering away S. S. W. At noon this day we had good observation. Distance run *per log* 146'; westing before 29; now 57; total westing from *Fero*, 86 miles.

*Monday* the 27th. Yesterday's evening our carpenters spent in mending the bottom of our yaul, so that now we have one boat that will swim, ready to be hoisted out upon any sudden accident, of a man falling over-board, or the like. We kept our pumps constantly plying, to free the ship, in which the royal *African* company's soldiers did us good service in the day-time. We had a fine curious gale, veering from E. N. E. to E. by S. steering all night S. S. W. for *St. Jago*, one of the cape *de Verd* islands. This morning as soon as it was clear light we saw a ship upon our weather-bow, bearing of us S. by W. distance about a league, standing as we did; immediately we call'd up all hands to put the ship in a fighting posture, and in truth our men were very dextrous at it, so that we were clear for a fight in less than an hour's time (being improv'd by the last engagement;) in about half an hour after we were every way ready, we perceiv'd her to hale close upon a wind, crouding with all the sail she could towards the *Barbary* coast; she seem'd to us a good ship, and I do believe it might be capt. *Daniell* in the *Mediterranean*, bound to *Angola*; when we saw him shun us we kept on our own course S. S. W. being not very desirous to force a quarrel, having so lately been well bang'd, tho' all our men that were unwounded were very resolute to give him a rough salute, had he had any thing to say to us; he keeping still close hal'd, about twelve a-clock was out of sight. We then put our half ports on again, unslung our yards, and got off our close quarters, and set our carpenters about

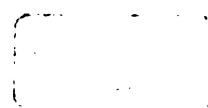
mending the rest of our boats. This false alarm hinder'd the paying of our tropick bottles. At noon this day we had good observation, distance run *per log* 160; course S. S. W. latitude  $22^{\circ} 31'$ ; westing before 86; now 61; total 147. This day our bag-piper's leg was cut off a little below the knee.

*Tuesday* the 28th. These twenty-four hours we have had a fine gale of wind at E. S. E. steering away S. S. W. distance run *per log* 186'; employ'd our carpenters about mending our long-boat, and our men that were clear of the pumps in picking of oacum. This morning our surgeon cut off *Thomas Cronow's* leg; at noon had good observation; latitude  $20^{\circ} 12'$ ; westing 63; total westing from *Fero* 210 miles.

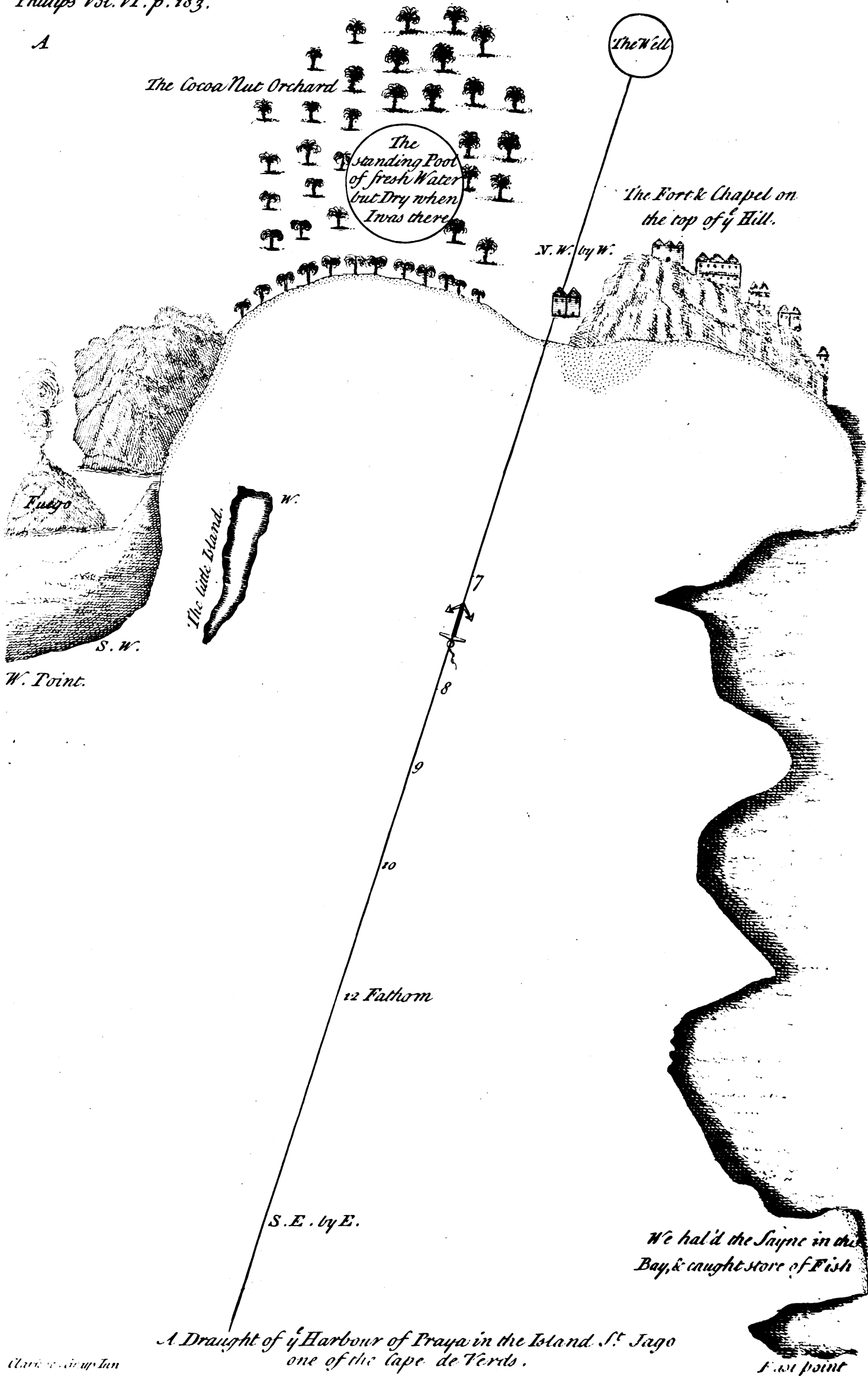
*Wednesday* the 29th. These twenty-four hours we have had good weather, and a fine steddly gale of wind at E. N. E. steering away S. S. W. distance run *per log* 155 miles. At noon this day had good observation; latitude  $18^{\circ} 20'$ ; westing before 210, now 59; total westing 269. This morning we made an end of mending and calking our long-boat.

*Thursday* the 30th. These twenty-four hours we have had a fine gale of wind at E. and E. N. E. steering S. S. W. till 8 this morning, we saw *Isla de Sal* bearing S. E. by S. eight leagues off, and appearing in three small high hummocks, like three distinct islands; having hal'd up S. for a little time to make it plainer, we steer'd away S. by W. for *St. Jago*. At noon this day had good observation in  $16^{\circ} 52' N.$  the northmost hummock of *Sal* then bearing E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. distant five leagues *per estimation*; then appear'd a single hummock far distant from the other three, which was the island *Bonavista*, bearing E. S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. distant eight leagues. We could see no land joyn any of the hummocks of *Sal* together. The true latitude of the N. end of *Sal* is  $16^{\circ} 50'$ ; and the true westing from *Fero* to the island *Sal* is 102 leagues; westing made these twenty-four hours 33; before 269; total westing made from *Fero* 302. At noon this day setting off my reckoning upon the plat, we found thereby that the N. end of *Sal* ought then to bear of me E. distant four leagues, so that I was by my dead reckoning but one league to the E. too much, as I found by setting the island. Yesterday in the evening we rattled our shrouds, and this day mended our shatter'd main-top, and let one reef out of our topsails.

*Friday* the 1st. All these twenty-four hours we have had a fine gale of wind at E. steering S. by W. till twelve last night; the wind scanting we hal'd up S. till seven this morning, when we descri'd the N. point



A





point of St. *Jago*, bearing S. by W. distant 8 leagues; then hal'd close S. by E. and S. S. E. that we might be sure to weather the island; about ten saw *Santa Mayo*, bearing S. E. by E. seeming like a small hummock about seven leagues off. At noon this day had good observation in latitude

15° 27' N. the N. point of St. *Jago* (on which is a very high and steep hill) then bearing W. S. W. distant six leagues, the body of the isle of *May* S. E. by E. six leagues, seeming as underneath is pourtray'd.

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### SANTA MAYO.

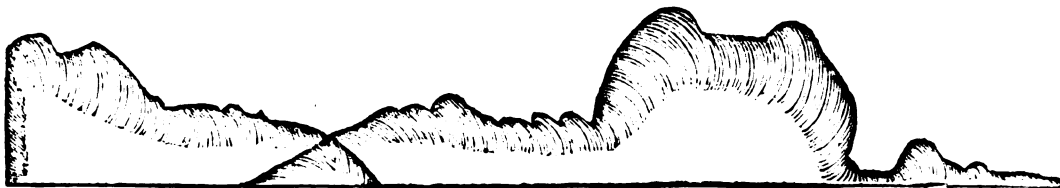
E. S. E. 6 leagues.

S. E. by E. 6 leagues

S. E. 8 leagues.



The North Point of St. *Jago* seems thus, bearing W. S. W. 7 leagues.



*Saturday* the 2d. From noon yesterday until six in the evening we steer'd S. S. E. and S. E. by S. along the island of St. *Jago*, at which time took in our small, and hal'd up our low sails, and stood to the E. off, under our topsails only, *Santa Mayo* then bearing E. N. E. distance five leagues, and the S. E. point of St. *Jago* S. S. W. distance three leagues. At ten we brac'd our foretopfail to the mast, and lay by for day-light to get into the harbour of *Praya*, to refit our ship; at six in the morning made sail and stood in for the port, and about ten we got in, off of the steep heads on the starboard side going in (which seem as if they were cut even down with a spade.) We found soundings as follow, viz. off the first had ten fathom, then nine, then eight, then seven, when we let go our anchor in the midst, between the starboard shore and the little island on the larboard or W. shore going in, which island bore, when at an anchor, due W. of us, the steep point over-against it N. E. the fort and church on the top of the hill N. W. by W. We rid somewhat more than a cable's length from each shore, and about a mile from the bottom of the bay, which is fine and sandy, with a large cocoa-nut orchard near the water-side. We veer'd out one third of our small-bower, with which we brought to, and carry'd out a stream-anchor and hawser to the W. N. W. to steady the ship on the land-breezes. Here the trade-winds constantly blow between the N. N. E. and E. N. E. the night is commonly calm, and towards morning

you have for most part small breezes off the land: we rid here as in a mill-pond, and the ground is very clean and sandy. The island of St. *Jago* lies in the latitude 15° 25' N. being full of barren high mountains, on which are bred vast numbers of jackanapes, the least I ever met with; they are sold for a trifle, but the least cold kills them. The island extends about twenty leagues in length, S. E. and N. W. its greatest breadth is about ten leagues, E. N. E. and W. S. W. The best road in the island is port *de Praya*, where there is good sandy ground, and safe riding with a small scope of cable. Near the cod of the bay is a very large cocoa-nut orchard, with plenty of fruit, in which near the sea-side is a large hole, where they told me there us'd to be fresh water to supply shipping; but at my being there I saw not one drop, so that we were forc'd to fill what we did at a well, inclos'd with a stone wall, which reach'd from the bottom about two foot above the ground; the water therein was about a foot and half deep, which, being oblig'd to hand up in buckets, occasion'd a tediousness in filling our casks, and disturb'd the water to that degree, that it was as thick as puddle, so that it serv'd us for no other use but to boil our provisions with; the well is three good cables length distant from the sea, which occasion'd us great trouble, as well as damage to our casks, in rolling them so far over sharp rocky fragments, which the way along the orchard-wall to the well is full of, they dropping from the impending hill. As soon

[See Plate A.]

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soon as we came to an anchor we saluted the island with five guns, but were answer'd only with three, which distinction I did not well relish, having the king's jack and pendant flying; but not knowing how to help it, we went about getting our boats out, which when we were busy about, there was a gun fired from the little fort on the brow of the hill, to command us ashore, which we regarded not, but pursu'd our business; in a short time there was another fired, and soon after a third, with a shot, which dropt half way between the fort and our ship: being loth to make them waste more of their powder and ball, our pinnace being ready, myself and one of the *African* company's factors, my doctor and purser, went in her ashore, where when we arriv'd we found a dozen of half-starv'd soldiers attending our landing; they had each a long sword and a lance, but they look'd more like skeletons than men, and so very ragged, that, if the proverb be true, they were all heathen philosophers. Being landed, we were receiv'd by those lank gentlemen with a sort of civil stateliness, and conducted towards the hill where their commanding officer expected us; we accompany'd them up a craggy, steep, uncouth way, till at length, half out of breath, we reach'd the summit, where we were receiv'd by a well-look'd old man, who, after the civility of our hats, and bidding us welcome, desired us to walk on with him, which we did, and in our passage the first sight I met with was a cow kill'd and skinn'd, and cut into divers small messes, most nauseously mangled in the butchering, and as lean as the guard. I was sorry to see such a sample of their provisions, since I had occasion for some quantities, to nourish and support our poor wounded men, of which we had above thirty. The officer seeing me eye the meat, offer'd to present me with some of it to send aboard; I civilly thank'd him, and declin'd his proffer, well knowing the *Portuguese* don't use to make presents but with expectation of ten times the value in return, but told him, *If he could provide me some cows against the morning I would buy them, if not too dear*: he reply'd, *That none but the governor, who liv'd at St. Jago town, the metropolis of the island, three leagues to the W. of us, durst sell any cattle; but for other provisions, that the country people would bring down some to the sea-side in the morning to trade with us*. By this time he had led us to an old house, which we ascended by a crazy pair of stairs into a large open room, where being seated, he began to interrogate us, *who we were? whence we came? and whither bound?* in which

having fully satisfy'd him, I demanded the reason of his firing so eagerly and often to command us ashore: he reply'd, *That pyrates frequently came in there under English colours, and that in truth he himself being upon the outward steep point, close to which we steer'd coming in, and seeing our sails full of shot-holes, concluded us to be one, which was the reason of his earnestness for our coming ashore*: therefore, for his better satisfaction, I shew'd him my letter of mart, which he receiv'd with much respect. Afterwards we fell into a general talk of the state of affairs in *Europe*, then of navigation, the coast and trade of *Guiney*, which he had been all over, and gave a very good account of; and indeed thro' all our discourse I found him to be a man of general knowledge and experience, and of a more civil and condescending temper than is usually found among the *Portuguese*, which prompted me to ask him, *If he was of that nation?* He assur'd me, *he was nothing a-kin to them, but was a Flanderkin, born in Ostend, who had, by great promises from the Governor at Lisbon, been persuaded to accompany him to this place, where, when he arriv'd, he found so little performance, that he would be glad any manner of way to return into his own country*. I offer'd him his passage with me gratis, and assur'd him of a hearty welcome, and to send my boat any where for him the night before I should sail, and to put him ashore in *Guiney*, *Barbadoes*, or *England*, as he should choose; he thankfully acknowledg'd my kindness, but told me, *he was so narrowly watch'd when any shipping lay there, that it was impossible for him to get aboard*. By this time one of the guard came in great haste to acquaint him he saw the lieutenant-governor coming, whereupon we all walk'd to the gate to attend him, whence we saw him riding, without any attendance, as fast as his mule could carry him, which ran up and down the craggy steep hills as freely and firmly as our horses can do in a smooth road. As soon as he arriv'd and alighted, the old officer paid his respects to him in a most cringing servile manner, he not taking the least notice of him, which troubled me, to see that age, experience, and worth, should be so undervalued and trampled upon by a young boy that had nothing in him but power, pride, and emptiness; for I am certain he could not be twenty years old, and had the most abject mean presence that I have seen. We gave him the civility of our hats, he hardly vouchsafing to touch his, but gave us many disdainful looks and glances, and testify'd so much superciliousness in all his carriage to us, that it began to stir the old man in

in me, and made me put on a resolution to return him his civilities in his own way, hardly giving him an answer to any thing he ask'd me, but wholly applying my discourse to the first old officer, and eying him with as little regard as he had done us. By which usage I perceiv'd he began to be sensible of his error, and a little more civil: but in truth I could not smother my resentment so soon; therefore in brief I reply'd to him, who and whence we were, and whither bound, and that we had put in here only to fill water, and purchase provisions if we might have it. Then he enquir'd of me about our engagement with the *Frenchman*, desiring a relation of it? I told him, We had met, fought, and got clear of a *French* man of war, but that my business aboard was so pressing, that I could not then spare time to give him a particular account of the action, but that I would shortly come to St. *Jago* to wait upon, and pay my respects to the governor; and so left him with as little ceremony as he met us, and went directly aboard.

*Sunday* the 3d. After we came aboard yesterday we unbent the main-sail; and having lower'd the yard, got it fore and aft, in order to splice a piece ten foot long to the starboard yard arm, where it was broke. About three o'clock this morning got our guns over, and gave the ship a heel to port, in order to stop our leaks on the starboard side, where we receiv'd three shots under water afore the chestree. Our carpenters spent till two in the evening in stopping them, our men in the mean time giving the ship a scrub as low as they could: then we heel'd the ship the other way, and found a very large shot-hole in the larboard-bow, about a foot under water. Our carpenters spent the rest of the day in stopping that, and righted the ship before night. About nine this morning I went with some of my officers to pay my respects to the governor at St. *Jago* town, having our trumpets in the pinnace's head. After we had row'd about seven miles, we came about a point into the bay near the town. We run our boat ashore right against the gate; where being landed, and seeing only a few negroes and children, our trumpets sounded a levée, which soon brought an officer down to us, who conducted us to the governor's palace at the upper part of the town; where we saw no body but negroe women, who talk'd to us many smutty *English* words, making lascivious undecent gestures with their bodies, which were all naked, excepting a little clout about their waste, hanging down to the middle of the

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thigh, which they would often take up to shew us their merchandize. We were inform'd that the governor was at church; but our trumpets had alarm'd him so, that we had not waited long ere he appear'd, advancing towards us at the head of the congregation. There were two young captains and the priest accompanied him, his horse being led after him in pretty good equipage. When he was come where we were, we saluted him with our hats, which he and his company return'd very courteously. Then he desired us to walk in, and led us thro' a court into a large hut, with an iron balcony facing the sea, towards which it had a fine prospect. After we were seated I acquainted him we were come to pay our respects to him, and gave him an account of our voyage, and what induced us to put into his port, desiring he would permit us to furnish our selves with what fresh water and provisions we had occasion for. He reply'd, That since he was perswaded we were upon an honest account, we might furnish our selves with what e'er the island afforded: which favour I thankfully acknowledged. Then he ask'd me for news from *Europe*. I gave him an account of what I could recollect, especially of our successes at sea, and that the *French* did not dare appear since we burnt their ships at *Cberburg* and *La Hoge*, excepting some small privateers and pickeroons to molest our trade; that our fleet lay all the summer before their ports, and upon their coast, destroying it and bombarding their towns, but no *French* fleet would appear to defend them. He seem'd very unwilling to believe me, being, as I found, in the *French* interest, in praise of whose bravery and strength he did much enlarge. Next he enquir'd about our engagement. I acquainted him with the whole matter of fact; and having answer'd his questions about the enemies force and our own, he shook his head, and told me, He could not tell how to persuade himself it was possible I could escape from a man of war of fifty guns. I reply'd, That I was very glad of my good fortune, but that it was certainly so; and that if he would send any one aboard to see my wounded men, and the posture my ship was in, he would be convinc'd it was no jest. I further assur'd him, that, were he in *Europe*, he would understand and find by frequent instances, that it was no improbable nor uncommon thing for our *English* merchant ships to clear and defend themselves from the *French* men of war and privateers, by plain downright fighting, if they were not out-number'd. After which he said no more about that,

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but congratulated my good luck in saving my ship. I fancy'd him all this time a little uneasy by reason he saw so many of my officers and passengers with me, and that he had an inclination to give me some treat, but that he was afraid they would devour him; therefore calling one of them to me, I whisper'd him to go with the rest and take a walk for an hour; which they soon did, making their excuse to the governor, that they had a desire to see the town, which he was not backward to grant them, none remaining with me but my brother. Soon after they were gone, we had a napkin laid, and a loaf of good white bread; then he went into the next room and brought out a box of marmalad, and a square case bottle half full of *Madeira* wine in which he drank to me; but had it not been out of perfect civility, I had rather have pledg'd him in water; for it was so thick, foul and hot, that it had like to have made me commit an indecency in his excellency's presence; but having laid a foundation of good punch in the morning aboard, it fortify'd my stomach so as that I had power to contain myself. When our collation was over he began to enquire of me what provisions I wanted, acquainting me that the cattle were several miles within land, that he had sent for some, and that none were allow'd to sell them but himself; which I told him I was very glad of, because I should have to do with none but his excellency, and that if he pleas'd I would take half a dozen cows of him, and pay him in any goods that we had on board. Then he demanded what goods we had? I nam'd him powder and muskets. He reply'd, he had ten thousand good muskets in the island, with ammunition sufficient for them; which tho' I knew to be rhodomantado, I only answer'd, That he was excellently well provided. Then I nam'd him other goods, such as linen, painted calicoes, sayes, perpetuanoes, iron, brasse, pewter, &c. all which he slighted, declaring he would dispose of none of his cattle but for ready money. I gave him to understand that I had none of that, nor was it customary for merchants ships to carry monies with them to purchase necessities, having either credit where they come, or effects to raise money with: more especially in my voyage to *Guiney*, where we had many good factories, and where our *European* coins were not passable. But notwithstanding what I urg'd, I found him persist in his resolution to dispose of none but for ready cash. But whatever he pretended, I fancy the chief reason was, that he had few or none to

dispose of, else he would not have slighted such commodities as I offer'd in exchange, most of which I knew to be very estimable at *Lisbon*, much more at such a distant island as his: however, he gave me permission to buy what goats, sheep, &c. I could of the inhabitants in truck, and so ended our discourse upon that topick. Next he ask'd me for some of our *East India* commanders, whom he nam'd; and going into the next room, brought out two or three *English* walking canes, which, he told me, they had presented him when here, which he esteem'd so much, that he would highly value and keep them while he liv'd, in respect to them that gave them, still having an eye upon that in my hand, which was a pretty clouded cane with an engrav'd silver head. I soon guess'd what he drove at; and not knowing how handsomely to come off (for now he began to handle and commend my cane) and perceiving no other remedy, I told him, That since my first arrival in the island, I had intended to make his excellency some present, and had been often considering what might be most acceptable to him, and was very glad now to find that he had such a value for canes, and begg'd that he would be pleas'd to accept that which I had, as a token of my respects, that thereby I might have the honour of some place in his remembrance, as well as my brethren the *East India* captains. He receiv'd the cane and compliment with abundance of pleasure and satisfaction, as was manifest by his countenance as well as his words, assuring me, that he should never see that cane but he should remember me with esteem, and so immediately convey'd it and the rest out of my sight. Afterwards I gave him an invitation to come and dine aboard our ship, where he should find a cordial welcome, as well as all due respect. He receiv'd the invitation kindly, but assur'd me, that he had not been on board any ship since he had been governor there, and that if he were inclin'd to go, the inhabitants would lose their lives ere they would permit him, lest any harm should befall him, or tricks be put upon him, as there have been on some governors of these islands, by pirates and privateers, who, when they have got them aboard, have carry'd them away, if they did not forthwith give orders to bring them such a quantity of provisions as they demanded, for which they would pretend to give a bill of exchange payable at *London*, but drawn upon *John a-Nokes*, or the pump at *Algate*, as *Avery's* bill was to the governor of *St. Thomas's* isle. Being in the balcony with his excellency, I enquir'd if there

there were any good *Madeira* wine to be bought there? He told me, There was; and a *Portuguese*, in a handsome garb, just then walking in the street under us, the governor call'd to him, and ask'd, If he had any wine to truck for merchandize? As soon as he heard and saw the governor, he took off his hat, made a profound bow, and fell upon his knee in the street, and then answer'd, That he had a barrel of wine to dispose of, but that he must have money for it; but the governor acquainting him that I had none, and that he had no more to say to him, he rose; and having made another humble cringe, walk'd with his hat in his hand till out of sight. By this time my officers return'd, and I took my leave of the governor. We parted very kindly, with a promise of sending him a *Cheeshire* cheese next day. This governor was of a very small stature, about fifty years of age, of a noble family in *Portugal*. His complexion was swarthy, his aspect mean, and his cloaths very ordinary. He had a long black wig which reach'd to his middle, but somebody had pluck'd out all the curls. He seem'd to me to be a man of good parts, experience and subtlety. The foundation of his house is as high as the tops of most of the other houses in the town, which lies in a bottom under it, and may contain about two hundred houses in all, among which there is a convent, a nunnery, and a good large church near the castle, which lies on a hill on the east side of the town. It makes a pretty good shew at sea, and is mounted with twelve guns. Here is a bishop sent from *Lisbon*: and in the town the majority of the inhabitants are *Portuguese*, but in the rest of the island there are twenty blacks to one *Portuguese*. Thro' the middle of the town there runs a small brook, which passes thro' the foot of the town wall, and empties itself into the sea. 'Tis about eight yards broad, and about a foot deep. The road here of *St. Jago* is smaller and more open than *Praya*, and the ground foul and rocky. We had an alferes to wait upon us to the boat; which having enter'd and put off, we gave them a farewell with our trumpets, and row'd away for our ship, and got aboard about four in the evening.

*Monday* the 4th. This day our carpenters splic'd a piece to the main-yard, and clap'd two good iron hoops and two woodlings up it. We unbent our shot top-sails, and brought others to the yards; fitted our shatter'd main-stay, sent the longboat for water, of which she fill'd sixteen punchions. We had fine weather, and a curious easy gale at N. E. In the morning I went ashore at the cod of the

bay, which I found cover'd with ragged merchants; some with oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, pine apples, bananas, &c. Here one with a couple of small hens in his hand, there another with a little monkey upon his knee; a little farther, one with a goat betwixt his legs, another near him with a hog ty'd to his arm, and our seamen so busy trafficking with them for old ragged shirts, drawers, or any other moveables (for nothing came amiss) that the trade was very brisk and diverting. After we had pleas'd our selves some time with this rag market, we walk'd up the hill to deliver the cheese I had promis'd the governor, which I intrusted with the before-nam'd old officer, presenting himself with another. Here I met with a gentleman of the island who was come on purpose to offer to supply me with what provisions I wanted, and to take what money I could muster, and the rest in goods for it. I gave him orders for fifteen goats, ten sheep, four hogs, sixty hens, five hundred oranges, and five hundred lemons, which he promis'd should be ready at the sea side in the morning. I had this time more leisure to survey the little garrison on the hill, where there are about eight small houses, most of them ready to tumble down. Their church is the best, and next the *corps de guard*. On the west brow of the hill is a little breast-work, thro' which peep six small iron minion guns, so much out of kelter, that they were ready to tumble out of their carriages. Except a cross or two I saw nothing more worth notice there. I would have had the old officer gone off to dine with me, but he refus'd, telling me, It was as much as his life was worth to attempt it. And indeed they are so jealous of the inhabitants going off with ships that call here, that they do not keep a boat in the island, at least I saw none here nor at *St. Jago* town; and a guard is kept constantly along the marine while any ships are in port, to prevent it. There are vast numbers of goats, I having seen three or four flocks near the ship, in each of which there could not be less than 500. Their sheep are but ordinary, their hogs indifferent, and so are their poultry. Their lemons and limes are good; but their *Cibina* oranges are the best I ever met with, I think exceeding those of *Lisbon*, and so common, that for an old rag you may buy an hundred. There is in this bay great plenty of fish, and very good. With our hooks we catch'd them as fast as we could hale them in; but with our sayne, which we hal'd two or three times in the little sandy bay near the east point coming in (as appears in the preceding draught) we caught

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caught such quantities, that our men not being able to eat them all, they dried and salted abundance.

This island of *St. Jago* is the largest of the *Cape de Verdes*, or, as they were antiently call'd, the *Gorgades*; the rest of the islands, which are nine, being subordinate to this governor. They were discover'd, according to Dr. *Heylin*, in the year 1440. by a *Genoese* whose name was *Antonio de Noli*, employ'd thereto by and at the charge of duke *Henry*, a younger son of *John* the I. king of *Portugal*. The town of *St. Jago* was taken first by Sir *Francis Drake* in 1585. and by Sir *Anthony Shirley* in 1596. The main trade of these islands is in salt, and that chiefly at *Santa Mayo*, where our ships bound to *Newfoundland* generally go to load it for curing their fish. Also some ships call, in their way to our *American* plantations, at this island, *Bonavista*, *St. Nicolas*, *St. Vincents*, &c. where they purchase asses very cheap, and come to a good market for them at *Barbadoes*, where all sorts of brutes go off well. They lie very convenient for the refreshment of shipping in their way to *Guiney* or the *East Indies*, and few *English*, *Dutch*, or *French East Indiamen* but call here outward-bound. Their own *Brasil* fleet never fails. The negroes here go naked, except a cloth about their middles, and a roll of linen the women wear about their heads. The cloaths they wear are of cotton, and chequer'd or strip'd with blue. I have been told they make great quantities of these cloaths to sell, being much esteem'd, and a very good commodity upon the gold coast in *Guiney*; but for my part I saw none but what the women wore; neither did any body mention or offer any such to me for sale.

*Tuesday* the fifth. This morning, according to promise, I found the provision we had bespoke at the water-side, which we bought very reasonably, and paid for them three pounds in *Spanish* money which I had pick'd up among my officers, and the rest in muskets, coral, and painted linen. I went and took leave of the old officer, intending to go no more ashore, and about noon return'd aboard, where our men were busy setting our shrouds well up fore and aft. Our carpenters had saw'd a spare main-topmast we had into two halves, with which this morning they fish'd the foremast, which was very crazy. After having fay'd and spik'd the fishes, they clap'd four good wooldings upon them. We got up our low yards, and made all clear to sail next morning. We had this day a fine easy gale at N. E. with some

small showers of rain. Last night *Thomas Cronow*, an honest stout *Welshman*, one of our sailors, died of his wounds received in the late engagement; one of his legs being carry'd off about the ankle, and half his other foot by the same shot. He was row'd some distance from the ship, and his body committed to the deep.

*Wednesday* the 6th. This morning at *They leave* four we got our stream anchor and hauser *St. Jago.* aboard; then having loos'd and hoisted our top-sails, hove up our small bower, and stood out to sea with the wind at N. E. a fine fresh gale: at five were without the point of the harbour; then set fore-sail, main-sail, and sprit-sail, and stood away S. E. by E. for the coast of *Guiney*, with the wind a point large. At noon this day we had good observation of the latitude in  $14^{\circ} 45'$  N.; S.  $23'$ ; W.  $4'$ ; the S. E. point of *St. Jago* bearing N. W. by N. distant six leagues, and the S. end of the isle of *May* N. by E. distant eight leagues, from which I take my departure. As we lay in the port of *Praya* we saw the island *Fuego* over the west *Island Fu-* point of the harbour. It smok'd all day, *ego.* and all night we perceiv'd it belch sparkles of fire very thick.

*Thursday* the 7th. At noon yesterday the S. end of the isle of *May* bore N. by E. distant twenty-four miles: from which time till noon this day we steer'd away S. E. by E. having run *per log* an hundred and fourteen miles; had good observation this day, latitude  $13^{\circ} 33'$ , easting  $90'$ . Yesterday in the evening we clean'd all fore and aft between decks; and having cover'd the gratings close with tarpaulins, we burnt three buckets of tar to keep the ship wholesome, and prevent infection and distempers. We hoisted in our pinnace and yaul; and having clap'd the boat rope and a hauser upon the longboat, tow'd her astern. We unbent our cables, got up our anchors, clap'd on hause-boards, and took up one reef in our top-sails.

*Friday* the 8th. From noon yesterday we steer'd S. E. by E.  $112'$ , with a fine fresh gale at N. E. which towards noon this day began to falter; had good clear weather, and observation of the latitude in  $12^{\circ} 30'$  N. East departure made was before  $90'$ , now  $93'$ , total  $183'$ .

*Saturday* the 9th. These twenty-four hours we had a small gale of wind from N. E. to E. by N. Distance run *per log*  $54'$ , latitude  $12^{\circ} 1'$ ; easting before  $183'$ , now  $43'$ , total  $226'$ . This morning we fold at the mast the cloaths of *Gablier Led-* lers and *Thomas Cronows*, two of our men that were kill'd in the late engagement.

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*Sunday* the 10th. From noon yesterday till eight in the evening we had very faint small gales shuffling from E. by N. to S. with extraordinary flashes of lightning, and dreadful cracks of thunder, and a dismal black sky; wherefore we, with expedition, handed all sails except our fore-sail, and expected some violent squall. About ten we had a very hard gust of wind at S. W. accompany'd with heavy showers of rain, and most terrifying thunder and lightning. It lasted until twelve, at which time we had fine clear weather, and a moderate gale at S. S. E. veering to S. W. and so to W. N. W. we keeping our course S. E. by E. The small tempest we had was a

*Tornado.*

tornado, very frequent on the coast of Africa; which being the first I ever was in, did a little surprize me; for I never heard such thunder, nor saw so dreadful a sky before, nor such flashes of lightning, which I was fearful would fire the ship, it leaving a sulphureous smell behind it: but afterwards we had them so frequently, that we little regarded them, having always timely notice of their coming, to hale our sails up; which when done we let them blow their fury over, which was soon done, they seldom lasting an hour, and near the coast of *Guinea* blowing generally off the shore, so that there is but little danger. These and the extraordinary thunder and lightning are a sure sign of approaching the coast of *Guinea*; for on the south side of the line I sail'd four hundred leagues between two and three degrees south latitude, in my passage from the island *St. Thomas* to *Barbadoes*, and met with none of them, nor thunder or lightning, but fine steady brisk gales between S. S. E. and E. S. E. They shift all round the compass in half an hour. Distance run these twenty-four hours is 24, course various; latitude, deducting 5' S.  $11^{\circ} 56'$ ; easting before 226, now 20, total 246.

*Monday* the 11th. From noon yesterday until eight at night we steer'd S. E. by E.  $29'$ ; then S. E. until noon this day, when we had an observation in  $10^{\circ} 40'$ ; wind at N. and N. N. E. fresh gale; easting before 246, now 95, total 341.

*Tuesday* the 12th. From noon yesterday until noon this day we steer'd S. E.  $124'$  by the log, with a fine gale of wind at N. E. and N. N. E. and smooth water. At twelve had good observation in  $9^{\circ} 12'$  N. latitude; and east departure, before 341, now 87, total 428.

*Wednesday* the 13th. These twenty-four hours we have had but a small gale of wind at N. and N. E. steering S. E. Distance run *per* log  $33'$ ; latitude by

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reckoning,  $8^{\circ} 49'$ ; easting before 428, now 24; total 452. This morning we catch'd a great shark eight foot long.

*Thursday* the 14th. From noon yesterday until four we had a small top-gallant gale at N. E. course steer'd S. E. then calm till six, when we had a faint breeze at S. E. till ten; then becalm'd again till eight this morning, when a gale sprung up at W. S. W. freshning till twelve. We lying up S. E. had good observation in  $8^{\circ} 34'$ ; easting before 452, now 6; total 458.

*Friday* the 15th. Between one and two in the evening yesterday we had heavy showers of rain, with an easy gale of wind at N. W. by W. steering S. E. by E. Distance run *per* log  $54'$ . By noon this day the wind veer'd to S. W. a fine gale, but close cloudy weather. Latitude, by reckoning,  $8^{\circ} 4' N.$  easting before 458, now 45; total 503.

*Saturday* the 16th. These twenty-four hours we steer'd S. E. by E. with a fine top-gallant gale from W. S. W. to W. N. W. Weather close and cloudy, with great thunder and lightning all round. This morning we had a most hideous black sky, which occasion'd us to hand all our sails except the sprit-sail, expecting a strong tornado; but it all ended in most severe showers of rain, which continu'd from nine till twelve o'clock. Distance run *per* log is  $53'$ ; latitude, by reckoning,  $7^{\circ} 37'$ ; easting before 503, now 40; total 543.

*Sunday* the 17th. From noon yesterday we have had a very black sky, with much rain, thunder and lightning, until eight this morning, when we had a fine gale at E. N. E. and E. but at twelve were becalm'd, when we had good observation in  $7^{\circ} 7' N.$  easting before 543, now 41; total 584.

*Monday* the 18th. Yesterday from twelve we lay becalm'd until six in the evening, when we had a small gale at N. steering S. E. by E. till twelve; then E. S. E. till ten this morning, at which time the gale died away. Distance run *per* log 53; latitude, by reckoning,  $6^{\circ} 44'$ ; easting before 584, now 47; total 631. This day had several shoals of fish about the ship.

*Tuesday* the 19th. These twenty-four hours we have had but small breezes from W. to S. W. steering E. S. E. and E. by S. until four this morning; at which time it fell stark calm, and continued so until noon, with most excessive heat. Distance run *per* log  $19'$ ; latitude by reckoning  $6^{\circ} 39'$ ; easting before 631, now 18; total 649.

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*Wednesday* the 20th. We lay becalm'd from noon yesterday till six; then had a small breeze at N. W. till five in the morning, when it fell calm again, and continued so till noon; at which time we had good observation in  $6^{\circ} 40'$  N. easting before 649, now 12; total 661.

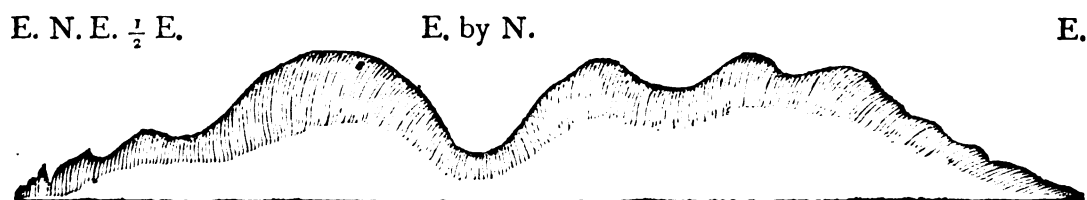
*Thursday* the 21st. These twenty-four hours we have had small faint gales from N. W. to N. by E. we steering due E. Distance run *per* log 28'; had good observation; latitude  $6^{\circ} 42'$ ; easting before 661, now 28; total 689.

*Friday* the 22d. These twenty-four hours we have had a fine gale of wind between the W. and N. we steering due E. for cape Mount, we having been these three days in the latitude of it; having run 60' by the log at eight o'clock this morning; at which time we descried cape Mount, bearing E. by N. distant by estimation seven leagues, shewing as in the

subsequent figure. At noon this day we had good observation in latitude  $6^{\circ} 36'$  N. the cape bearing then N. E. by N. distant four leagues; so that I was off the cape  $12'$  S. W. by S. which work'd gives  $10'$  S. and  $6'$  W. so that by my observation, which I judge to be very good, cape Mount lies in latitude  $6^{\circ} 46'$  N. which is more northerly than 'tis generally laid down in the books and charts. At the same time heaving the lead, we had forty-four fathom water, and dark sandy oozy ground. I made E. departure from *Santa Mayo* to cape Mount, exactly 754 miles, or 251 leagues, as follows;

|                |       |
|----------------|-------|
| Easting before | 689   |
| Now            | 59    |
|                | <hr/> |
|                | 748   |
|                | 6     |
|                | <hr/> |
| Total          | 754   |

Thus shews cape Mount seven leagues off, and at the bearings set down.



*Saturday* the 23d. From noon yesterday we steer'd along shore S. E. by E. for cape Mounseradoe, with a small gale of wind. In the night hove the lead frequently, having eighteen and twenty fathoms; in which depths we kept till daylight, when we saw the cape, and soon after descried three vessels riding at anchor under it; one of which seem'd a large ship. We not knowing what they might be, made our ship clear, and order'd all things ready for a battle, when we perceiv'd a boat rowing off towards us, who having discover'd what we were, came aboard us, being the pinnacle of the *East India* merchant, captain *Shurley*, my comfort, who had sent her to intreat me to put in there to his assistance, he having, off the cape, had his fore-mast and fore-yard split to pieces with a thunder-bolt, and his fore-topgallant-sail set on fire by the precedent flash of lightning. I in-

tended to wood and water at *Junco*, about twelve leagues more to the E. where is a good river, and plenty of wood; but understanding this disaster that had befallen captain *Shurley*, I alter'd my resolution, and made all the way I could to get into Mounseradoe road, which, with the sea breeze, I did; and about four in the evening let go my anchor in eight fathom water, cape Mounseradoe bearing then S. by W. distant two miles, the mouth of the river S. E. distant a mile and an half. We found the other two vessels to be one *Gubbins* an interloper come from *Barbadoes*, chiefly laden with rum, to trade for gold and slaves, of which I bought about 500 gallons of him cheap, and sold it to good advantage; the other vessel was the *Stanier* sloop, with Mr. *Colker* on board her, who was agent of *Cherborough*, and came thence to trade along the coast for teeth, &c.

Thus shews cape Mounseradoe bearing N. four leagues off.



Cape Mounseradoe is about sixteen leagues distant from cape Mount, there being no high land between them. Cape Mounseradoe is a round mountain, not near

near so high as cape *Mount*. Within it to the N. N. E. is good riding in twelve, ten, or eight fathom water. The best anchoring is in nine fathom, bringing the cape to bear S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. of you, two miles off. About a mile within the cape is a sand on the shore; and just at the beginning of the sand is a fine small rivulet of curious clear cool water, which distils thro' the woods and rocks, and there empties itself into the sea. About a cable's length from which to the east there are two pools of fresh water under two great stones. The people here are civil and courteous, but great beggars, the king and capparshiers continually haunting us for dashes (which is their word for presents.) Here is store of good rice, and cheap, which they brought us in abundance: and for our better convenience of trading with them, as well as to lodge our carpenters that lay ashore in the nights to cut wood, we erected two tents with old sails, upon the spit of sand at the mouth of the river. The chief commodity we traded for was rice, of which I bought about five tuns, paying mostly for it in booges or cawries, which are the goods they chiefly esteem, for a pint of which we could buy 30 lb. of rice. The other goods they approved of were iron bars and red *Welsh* plains; but they had nothing considerable to trade with us for them. We bought some fowls of them which they call *Cocadeoes*, being not bigger than our *English* chickens, and eat dry. We also purchas'd some limes, wild oranges, pine apples, and two or three small goats. They had a few small elephants teeth, but not worth our regard. About two miles E. S. E. and E. within the cape, is a fine large river call'd in the *Platts*, *Rio de St. Paulo*; the name, I presume, given it by the *Portuguese*, who were formerly the sole masters, as well as first discoverers of this coast. About  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile without the mouth of the river is a bar, which, at high water, has upon it four foot, and at low water two and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , or three foot. The sea breaks high upon it, especially when the sea breeze blows fresh, which commonly begins at nine or ten o'clock, and continues till towards the same in the evening. The deepest water is near each shore. Going in our long-boat which drew three foot water, we always past the bar very well.

The river of *St. Paul* is a very pleasant river, in some places as broad as the *Thames* at *London*, and fring'd on each side with thick groves of mangrove trees, which are always green; so that, in my opinion, nothing can be painted to give a

more delightful prospect to the eye than this naturally does. About three miles up this river we had good fresh water at low water; and about five miles up at high water; our long boat always bringing down it five tons of good, without grounding any where: One morning myself, and some officers, went in our pinnace about eight miles up the river to visit king *Andrew* at his town. In our passage we saw several monkeys on the trees, leaping from one to the other; at some of which we shot, but kill'd none. King *Andrew's* town lies on the larboard side of the river going up, and about a quarter of a mile from the river side; the landing to it being between two high trees, where being arriv'd, we were met by *Roy Andrew*, and his nobility, who conducted us thro' the woods to an open place, where the town lay, it being the only piece of ground I saw free from woods in these parts, so that I admire where the vast quantities of rice which they have, do grow; after welcoming us upon our entering the town, they led us to their council-hall, where they meet to hear all causes, dispense justice, and debate their state affairs: This judiciary is seated in the midst of the town, the foundation or floor being of clay rais'd about four foot from the ground, and of a circular figure; over it, supported by posts, is a shed, or pent-house, thatch'd with palm branches, to shelter them from the sun or rain; between the shed and foundation 'tis open on all sides, for the convenience of light and air, and is about twelve yards diameter. Here, when we arriv'd and had climb'd up, we had some blocks of divers figures brought us to sit on, as had king *Andrew* and two or three of his grandees, the rest sitting behind cross-legg'd on the ground; these stools are about half a foot high, and none of the better sort of negroes go abroad but have one carried with them, which they esteem a piece of state; being seated, we had some punch made, and opened our knap-sacks to eat a bit of neats-tongue, and what other cold provisions we had brought along with us; and having invited his majesty and lords to our collation, and distributed some amongst them, we were surprized to see each of them, instead of falling to, go to a hole in the floor we eat upon, and the king first, and the rest following, with great devotion and symptoms of sorrow, dropt some part of each sort of meat we had given them into it, and the same of the punch, beer, brandy, and rum we gave them, and after return'd and eat and drank most voraciously, his majesty and court being very glad of the roots and parings of the tongues, and what else we could not eat. I enquir'd of them

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them what they meant by putting some of each meat and drink into the hole; and they inform'd us, that their last dead king was there bury'd, and that the hole reach'd his corpse; and that the meat and drink they put into it, was to give him some of all sorts of our varieties, ere they touch'd any themselves. I was pleas'd with their respect to their deceas'd monarch, tho' I could not but pity their folly and superstition. After our repast was over, I order'd our boats crew, &c. to exercise their guns before the king, with which he was much surprized, as well as pleas'd, especially at our regular volleys; and to return our civility he commanded his men to shew us their way of fighting, which was after a confus'd manner, with lances about five foot long, with pointed iron heads; small bows and arrows, as slender as a reed, of which most were poison'd at the end with some black ingredient, which if it touches the blood, kills inevitably, if the part affected be not immediately cut off: Their arrows have no iron heads nor feathers, neither do they ever shoot them point blank, but at random, as we do rovers; and yet they will come very near the mark they aim at: They carry square targets of thin board, about four foot long, and two broad, with conveniences on the inside to hang them on their left arms, but so as their hand is free to manage their bow. Here were some soldiers come from the river of *Junco*, to assist king *Andrew* in his wars, two of them had old fuses, with which they march'd behind two that carried targets, the muzzle of their pieces peeping out between two targets; in this posture they crept on very silently to discover the enemy, which as soon as they pretended they had, the two guns gave fire, their lances were flung, and arrows shot, with a most dismal horrible screaming noise; and then they ran in confusion back to their first post, where having reloaden their guns, and put themselves in such orderly disorder as they use, they renew the attack again as before. This town is about a quarter of a mile from the river side, surrounded with woods, so that it is not to be seen till you enter it; it consists of about forty houses, or rather dog-kennels; the walls are built of clay, or twisted twigs plaster'd over; the doors or holes to enter them are not above two foot high, so that we were forc'd to creep in, where we found a bank of earth rais'd about two foot from the floor, which having a mat laid thereon serves them for a bed; fires they seldom make, except in the rainy time, and then 'tis in the middle of the house; the mats they make here are very fine, and prettily wrought in

divers figures, red and white; they are much in esteem at *Barbadoes*, &c. to lay on the chamber floors under beds, instead of *Turkey* carpets. As to their dress here, the king and his capparshiers, or lords, wear a cotton sort of frock, strip'd or checker'd with white and black, or blue, which reaches to their knee, having a hole in it just big enough to put their heads through, and which they put on as we do shirts. If they can get an old hat they are very proud of it, else they wear a party-colour'd ozier bag upon their heads; the common sort wear either a long piece of cotton cloth, about a foot wide, which they paste about their middles, and then between their legs, letting both ends hang down before and behind; or else a piece of cloth about a foot square, tied to a string that is about their middles, and just serves to cover their privities: The womens garb is the same as at *St. Jago*.

There cannot be a better place for cutting wood than this is, it reaching close to the water-side, and very smooth loading it; here are trees of that size as will serve to mast a ship of 700 tons. Capt. *Shurley* cut here a fore-mast, fore-yard, and two beams; and I cut a main-top mast, some fitches for my mast, and ten long boats of excellent fire wood: the masts here are so extream solid and heavy, that to prevent their sinking we were oblig'd to float them off by our boats, but they are very strong sticks. We had good diversion here in shooting small birds, much of the size and resemblance of a snipe, which were very plenty along the sand, and in such flocks that we kill'd seven or eight at a shot; and they eat indifferently, though some were lean. At the mouth of the river we hal'd the sayne often, and catch'd good fish in plenty: we had no want of venison, for Mr. *Colker*, the agent of *Cherborough*, would send his grumito's, or blacks, a hunting in a morning into the woods, and they would assuredly bring us a small hedge deer or two before night. One of his blacks was our interpreter, for here they could speak neither *English* nor *Portuguese*, as they do on the gold coast, by reason of the small resort of shipping to this place; the aforesaid black spake their language very well, and I have observ'd that from hence along the coast to cape *Tres Puntas*, they have a different dialect every twenty leagues. I took notice here of their way of discovering any person suspected of thievery, or other villainy; which is by making the person charg'd with the crime, for his justification, to drink a small quantity of the juice of a certain tree, which is reddish, and by them call'd red-water; and if the said juice makes

Way of discovering  
covering  
guilt.

makes them vomit and sick, they are held guilty; as on the contrary, if they appear no ways disturb'd therewith, they are acquitted, and the party that challeng'd them and put them to the trial of the red-water, is oblig'd to make large reparation for the scandal and wound given their reputation; of which we had one instance, for one of the meaner negroes that came to our tents to trade, pretended that some of our seamen belonging to the boats, had stoll'n from him a large bag of rice, whereof he made his complaint to king *Andreo*, and he came and acquainted us therewith, requiring restitution with much earnestness and dissatisfaction; we immediately call'd all our seamen that were ashore together, charg'd them with the theft, and requir'd them upon their peril to bring back the rice, using severe threats to such as we should, upon search, find guilty, and which we were firmly resolv'd to execute, and to have made the criminal a publick example before the negroes, to shew them how much we abhorr'd such practices; but all our men absolutely and firmly declar'd their innocence as to the thievery, which we did acquaint the king with, but he began to be angry, telling us that his subjects should not be robb'd, and requiring satisfaction of us; at length finding that the more we endeavour'd to appease and convince him, the more insolent he grew, made us resolve to mask ourselves in his humour, and to shew him we knew how to huff as well as his majesty; wherefore immediately ordering our men to take their guns in hand, agent *Colker* (who knew the custom of the country) shook his cane at him, and requir'd him instantly to bring red-water, and that we and all our men would drink it for proof of our innocency, and that if we thereby were found so, that he upon his peril should provide to make us large amends for the injury done us. No sooner he heard this, and saw us all so resolute to drink it, (as he thought) but the scene was chang'd, and he became very humble and submissive, telling us the man that charg'd our men with it was a villain, and that he would have him punish'd, and banish'd him immediately from our tents; so much did the apprehension of our being clear'd by the red-water, and the reparation he must then make, work upon king *Andreo*, tho' in reality had he had the courage and constancy to put us to the test, none of us did intend to experiment the virtues and qualities of his red juices. While I was at king *Andreo's* town, there came one of the inland kings to the side of the council room where we were; he was of a large stature, and had a manly look and good features, and indeed was the most

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majestick handsome negroe that I ever saw, (except the king of *Saboo*) tho' he was very old, and his hair and beard as grey as a rat. His head was cover'd with above a hundred little horns, about an inch in length, tied to his hair, and fitted with some red composition, or paste, which was his *fatish* or god to protect him from evil, of which sort of *fatish* I shall write more at large hereafter. I eyed him from the beginning, being much pleas'd with his venerable countenance, but little thought him of that quality, by reason *Andreo*, and his nobles took no notice of him; about an hour after he came, I enquir'd who he was, and being told he was a great inland king, I was much surpriz'd at the ill manners of his brother king *Andreo*, to let him stand so long without, unregarded, and desir'd him to invite him in; but finding him backward in doing it, I went myself, tho' I could not persuade him to come up to us, therefore I had a bowl of punch brought where he was, of which he drank very freely, till he saw the bottom; I would have had another made for him, but could not persuade him to stay, having a long way home; he presented me with a good leopard's skin, worth 3 or 4 *l.* in *England*, and I him with 3 or 4 bottles of rum, and as many handfuls of cowries, and so we parted very friendly; but there was not the least ceremony between king *Andreo* and him, being, as I since understood, on no good terms with each other: We found a *Scotchman* among the natives here, who could give us no account of himself, but that he was shipwreck'd near the cape, and the only man escap'd drowning, tho' I suspected then he was a rogue, and pyrate; and since I have understood he belong'd to a pyrate, a small brigantine, commanded by one *Herbert*, which they had run away with from some of the plantations in the *West-Indies*, and were just arriv'd upon this coast to look for purchase, when there fell a dissention and quarrel among the crew, which prov'd so bloody, that in the conflict so many of the men were slain and desperately wounded, that there were none left but this fellow that could any ways manage the vessel, so he run her ashore to the S. E. of the cape, and saved his life, the rest dying of their wounds: he had a long flaxen wig, and white beaver hat, and other good cloaths on; he offer'd me his service as a sailor, but he had so much of a villain in his face, that Capt. *Shurley* nor myself did not care to meddle with him, so that agent *Colker* took him with him in the *Stanier* sloop to *Sherborow*. We kept *Christmas* day as merrily as we could; in honour to which each ship fir'd all her guns round: The

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28th

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28th came in here Capt. *John Soans*, in the *Jeffrey*, and having supply'd himself with some wood, water, and rice, set sail again for the *Bight*, on *Thursday* the 3d of *Jan.* having left with me a packet of letters directed for Sir *Jeffrey Jeffreys*, to be forwarded to *Europe*, with the first convenience. Agent *Colker*, set sail for *Sberberow*, on the 5th, and *Gubbins* in the *Barbadoes* interloper, the same morning for the gold coast, by whom I sent letters to the *African* companies three chief merchants at *Cabo Corce* castle, signifying my agreement with the company to slave upon the gold coast, and bespeaking their diligence in procuring what numbers they could for me against my arrival there, with what else was needful: I was forced to stay here ten days after I had compleated my business for Capt. *Shurley* to refit his ship, which at length being done, we both set sail with the morning breeze, on the 9th of *Jan.* 1693 for the coast: The negroes of this place, express'd a great affection for the *English*, and as much hatred to the *French*; two of them took Capt. *Shurley's* and my name, assuring us their next sons should be call'd so.

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*Wednesday* the 10th. This morning about 3 o'clock we got under sail, with the morning breeze, steering S. W. till we got well without the cape; then S. and so to S. E. At noon this day cape *Monseradoe* bore off us N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. distant five leagues. Last night Capt. *Thomas Shurley* was taken ill of a fever and ague.

*Thursday* the 11th. From noon yesterday, until 4 in the evening, had a fresh sea breeze at S. W. steering S. E. along shore; at 4 cape *Monseradoe* being just discernable and seeming like an island, bore off us N. N. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. distant 8 leagues; at which time heaving the lead, had 32 fathom water, sandy ground; the high hills over the river of *Junco* bearing then E. N. E. The river of *Junco* is about 14 leagues from cape *Monseradoe*, and lies in the latitude  $5^{\circ} 55'$  N.; there are three great high trees near the mouth of it, and several high hills up in the inland; the river is large, as I have been told, and a very convenient place to wood and water: Having lain by some time for the *East-India Merchant*, which was astern, we steer'd both S. E. by E. all night, with a very small gale: At 8 this morning had 25 fathom water, being about 3 leagues off the shore, which is pretty high and level, and full of trees, only far in the inland; when we were about 20 leagues from cape *Monseradoe*, we saw a high mountain, making in the form of a faddle, and bearing then off us N. E. This morning had many heavy showers of rain, and my poor brother and several of

my men fell sick of fevers. Since noon yesterday we sail'd S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. 20 leagues.

*Friday* the 12th. From noon yesterday we steer'd S. E. by E. and E. S. E. along shore, keeping about 2 leagues off till 6 in the evening it falling calm, we came to an anchor in 13 fathom water, off of *Picinini Setre*, or little *Sestos*; the round hill right over the river *Grand Sestos*, about a mile within the point, and the 3 rocks about 4 miles to the west of the said point, being in one, bore off us E. S. E. 3 leagues off; the outer point of *Sestos* S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. 5 leagues off. The coast along is full of trees and pretty high, till you come towards *Sestos*, then it slopes away lower towards the point: several canoes came aboard us last night to invite us to anchor at *Sestos*, promising us a good trade of teeth, &c. we hoisted their canoes in, and they staid all night with us; at 6 this morning we weigh'd and stood out into 20 fathom, then along shore with a faint little gale; several canoes with 2 negroes coming aboard us, but brought nothing with them but a few fowls, oranges, bananas, and some little elephants teeth, which they would not sell without having more for them than they were worth.

*Saturday* the 13th. From noon yesterday we made easy sail along shore till 4 in the evening, when being off the river of *Sestos*, we came to an anchor in 9 fathom water, the three rocks, which are about a mile off shore to the W. of the river, bearing off us N. N. W. distance 2 miles; cape *Baxos*, or the east point of *Sestos*, which is very low and rocky, bearing S. E. by E. 3 miles off; the mouth of the river, and the hill above it being in one, bore E. by S. 4 miles distance; the outer point of land which I could see to the W. bore N. W. 6 leagues off. This morning I went ashore in my pinnace with some goods to trade, and Capt. *Shurley* sent his with his purser in her, being so ill that he could not go himself.

The going into the river is between the point on the starboard or E. shore, and the rock in the middle of the river; the entrance is about half a cable's length wide, and there are 6, 7, and 8 fathom going in: when you are enter'd, you'll find it a fine large river, where a vessel of 100 tons may ride very safe, as I have been told there often have brigantines and sloops. About gun-shot from the aforesaid point, upon the same shore, close to the river side, is a well of good fresh water, where for a few cowries, and giving them buckets, the negro women will bring water and fill your cask in the boat, as they did ours; and if you give the negro men hatchets, for a small quantity of the aforesaid shells, they

Little Sestos.

River of Sestos.



they will cut you fire-wood enough, and bring it to the boats; but they must have a bottle of brandy now and then among them to encourage them: so that for expedition this is the best place along the whole coast to wood and water at. On the point going into the river, about a cable's length from it, is a negroe town of about 30 or 40 houses, the captain of which is *Dick Lumley*, as he calls himself, having taken that name from captain *Lumley*, an old commander that us'd the *Guiney* trade formerly.

About eight miles up the river is the town where king *Peter* their monarch lives; but I could not spare time to go and visit him, and in truth had no great inclination to venture so far in a boat, having been inform'd that the negroes here are very treacherous and bloody, as some of our *European* traders have found to their cost. The goods in demand here are brass kettles, pewter basons of several sizes, booges or cowries, fuzes, *Welsh* plains red and blue, knives, &c. some of each of which we carried ashore; but they had nothing to traffick with us for them, except a few little calves teeth (for so they call the young elephants) which were not worth our notice, and which they held very dear. We bought some hens, limes, and oranges; were offer'd some rice, but much dearer than we bought at *Mounseradoe* where we had supply'd our selves. While I was looking for trade in the town, our men hal'd the sayne in the river, and caught a great many good fish. Their way of welcoming and saluting here as well as at *Mounseradoe*, is by taking one's thumb and fore-finger between their thumb and fore-finger, and making them snap, in the mean time crying *Acky O! Acky O!* The people here are very furly, and look like villains, so that I was soon weary of their company, and went aboard about four o'clock in the evening, we standing all to our guns till we were got out of the river, and some distance from the shore; for they came down, a little before we went off, in such numbers with bows and lances, that we were in apprehension of some villainy intended us, which hasten'd our departure, contrary to their earnest intreaties; but they offer'd nothing of harm to us. I sounded the road all over, which I found to be good and clean ground, and gradual soundings, so that you may anchor any where therein; but the best anchoring is in 9 fathom water, the mouth of the river bearing E. by S. The distance between cape *Mounseradoe* and the river of *Sestos* is about 36 leagues. The hill upon the east point above the

river of *Sestos* is very remarkable to know it by, there being no other such hill in fifteen leagues of it.

*Sunday* the 14th. Finding no trade to encourage our stay at *Sestos*, we got up our stream-anchor this morning, and set sail with a small gale at W. we standing out S. to give a birth to cape *Baxos*; off which lies a ledge of rocks two leagues or more into the sea; but we met with so strong a current setting to the S. E. that by noon this day it put us three leagues to the E. of cape *Baxos*, which at that time bore N. of us, distant three leagues, and the point of *Baffo* E. S. E. five leagues, and then were in twenty-six fathom water. About three leagues from *Sestos* point we saw a great white rock making like a sail, and about two leagues from that, another rock, from which to *Sanguin* is about five leagues. *Sanguin* makes in a heap of high trees, there being, no doubt, land between *Sestos* and it; but the coast between them is all rocky under twenty fathom water, so that there is no anchoring in less than twenty-five fathom water, in which depth there is oozy ground.

*Monday* the 15th. From noon yesterday we steer'd along shore S. E. and S. E. by E. till two in the evening, at which time came several canoes aboard us from *Sanguin* river, where the *Grain* or *Malagetta* coast begins, but they brought nothing with them; wherefore we continued on our course along shore till six: we let go our anchor in thirty-six fathom water off of *Battowa*, where the land grows higher than between it and *Sanguin*. Here trying the current, found it set three miles in an hour to the southeastward. At six in the morning we weigh'd, having much rain for above an hour. At ten we were off the river *Sino*, about twelve leagues from *Sanguin*, which is easily known by a tree making like a ship with a top-sail loose; from whence came several canoes aboard us with pepper, or, as they call it, *Malagetta*, which is much like our *Indian* pepper, and, for ought I know, as good. It was brought in ozier baskets. I bought 1000 weight of it at one iron bar (value in *England* three shillings and sixpence) and a daisy of a knife or two to the broker. The reason of our buying this pepper is to give our negroes in their messes to keep them from the flux and dry belly-ach, which they are very incident to. About noon this day were off *Croe*, steering away S. E. by E. for cape *Palmas*.

*Tuesday* the 16th. From noon yesterday we have had but little wind, steering S. E. by E. At noon this day we were

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were off of *Wappo*, whence came off to us more canoes with *Malagetta* to sell, of which I bought three hundred weight for three two-pound pewter basons. We might have bought much more, but having enough for our purpose, we turn'd them ashore, and pursu'd our course.

*Wednesday* the 17th. These twenty-four hours we had a fine moderate gale of wind; and a very strong current setting to the S. E. which about noon this day carry'd us to the E. of cape *Palmas*, to which we gave a large birth by reason of rocks that lie far out from it. It is the last place of the *Grain* coast, there being no more *Malagetta* to be had when past it. Yesterday my poor brother grew very ill and delirious; and notwithstanding all the endeavours us'd by my own and captain *Sburley's* doctor for his recovery, about three in the evening this day he took his leave of this troublesome world, and left me full of affliction for the loss of him. He had been sick of a malignant fever about eight days, and many of my men lay ill of the same distemper.

*Thursday*, *January* the 18th. Having yesterday doubled cape *Palmas*, about five in the evening we came to an anchor in nineteen fathom water, where we rode till six this morning. We got under sail, when the coffin being ready, the deceased was nail'd up therein; and our pinnace being hoisted out, he was lower'd into her, and myself, my doctor and purser went in her to bury him, the colours of our own ship and *East India merchant* being lower'd half-mast down, our trumpets and drums sounding and beating, as is customary upon such melancholy occasions. We row'd the corpse about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile from the ship to seaward; and the prayers of the church being read, I help'd to commit his body to the deep, which was the last office lay in my power to do for my dear brother. Then the *Hannibal* fired sixteen guns at  $\frac{1}{2}$  minute distance of time, which was the number of years he had liv'd in this uncertain world; and the *East India merchant* fir'd ten guns. He was buried in twenty-five fathom water, off of *Growa*, which then bore N. W. distant three leagues, and about ten leagues to the E. of cape *des Palmas*: near which cape the land is high and hummocky; and you may easily discern when you are about the cape, by the land's falling away to the northward.

*Friday* the 19th. From noon yesterday we kept under sail till five in the evening, when we let go our anchor in twenty-three fathom soft ground; then had a very hard tornado which lasted

about an hour. About six this morning we weigh'd, and stood along shore till noon. Yesterday in the evening came two canoes off near our ship with several teeth; but no persuasion we could use could prevail upon them to come aboard and trade with us, tho' we shew'd them divers sorts of commodities, and offer'd them brandy; but all would not do, so that they return'd ashore again. As we sail'd along about twenty leagues from cape *Palmas*, we saw several points of land like the going in of rivers; no sooner we open'd one point, but we shut in another.

*Saturday* the 20th. From twelve o'clock yesterday we steer'd along shore till six in the evening, when we had a hard tornado, with dreadful lightning and thunder, which lasted till seven; at which time we came to an anchor in sixteen fathom water off of *Druin*, which is about thirty leagues from cape *Palmas*, and about ten leagues to the east of the afore-mentioned points. It may be easily known by great bushy trees, there being none such between it and cape *Palmas*. In the night we saw two fires made ashore, which are common along this coast where they have goods to trade, being signs for ships that pass along to stop to traffique with them. *Druin* may also be known by a high long tract of land in the inland, the land near the sea shore being low and white sand. About six in the morning we got under sail, steering E. and E. by N. with small gales at W. S. W. At ten this morning we saw the red cliffs, being about eight leagues from *Druin*; and at noon this day were abreast the first. They are easily known by their colour. They are eleven in number, not very high, and most about a cable's length asunder. We have had no canoes come aboard of us since we have come about cape *Palmas*, tho' we anchor'd every night that we might not pass by unseen; and steer'd close along shore with a fore-top-sail in the day.

*Sunday* the 21. From noon yesterday we steer'd E. and E. by N. along shore, with an easy gale at W. S. W. until twelve at night; we anchor'd in sixteen fathom good soft ground. At six we weigh'd anchor, and stood along to the east. At eight were abreast a very low swamp in the land, that is *Coetre*; and a little further is a parting in the land like the going in of a river; a league from which is *Cabala-bo*, there being no other swamp between it and the red cliffs. About ten came two canoes aboard us from *Cabala-bo*, and were follow'd by several others with store of good teeth, which invited

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us to come to an anchor; but ere the negroes in the canoes would come aboard, they requir'd that the captain of the ship should come down the out side of the ship, and drop three drops of the sea water into his eye, as a pledge of friendship, and of safety for them to come aboard; which I very readily consented to and perform'd, in hopes of a good market for their large fair teeth, which I had a longing desire to purchase. Then they came aboard, but seeing so many men on deck, were mistrustful, and went into their canoes again. I was much concern'd at their fearfulness, and with much persuasion prevail'd on them to return, which they did; and having given each that came in a good coge of brandy, I shew'd them some of my commodities, and they brought in some teeth: and while we were busy on both sides a bartering, a great mastiff dog we had aboard, hearing a noise upon deck, run open mouth'd barking out of the steerage. Assoon as they heard and saw the dog, to my great surprize, they in an instant leapt off the quarter deck into the sea, and swam a distance off, their canoes following them, and left their elephants teeth behind them. We intreated them to come aboard, holding their teeth over the ship's side to them, but they would not return. I went down and dropt some more water into my eyes, but to as little purpose; then I made the mastiff dog be brought in their sight, and pretended to beat him stoutly; upon which they came aboard again, but we might read their jealousy and fear in their faces; for there could nothing stir but they were ready to take their spring into the sea, and had their eyes in every corner: however, in their traffique they were subtle enough, holding their teeth so high, that we could not afford to buy many, without giving more than the value for them. They most hideously deform themselves with a sort of dark reddish paint, with which they daub their bodies in sundry places. They pleat some flax to their hair, and so make a sort of small sinnet from each lock, which hangs down to their shoulders; and some tie them up in a roll behind, as our women do their hair; and others on the top of their heads. I was astonish'd when first they came near the ship, to hear no other speech come from them but *Qua, Qua, Qua, Qua*, like a parcel of ducks; from which I presume this teeth coast hath had the appellation of *Quaquaa* coast, it reaching from cape *Palmas* to *Bassam Picolo*, where was the first gold I met with. The negroes of these parts are call'd the *Man-eaters*, and

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that they eat their enemies they take prisoners, and their own friends when dead, as I was told by my old mate captain *Robson*, who had long used this *Guiney* voyage. How true that is I know not; but in truth their looks are very savage and voracious; and all their teeth, I observed, are pointed at the ends as sharp as bodkins, which looks very terrible: and without doubt they reduce them so by art and filing them; for 'tis impossible they should be so naturally more than their neighbour negroes. They are well limb'd, and strong men, but the most hideous in their aspect of any negroes I have met with. Each canoe brought a broker with him, who, assoon as he enters the ship, demands a dashy of a knife or two, for he pretends to bring the trade to you; and every bargain we concluded he expects a dashy, it being, I suppose, his brokerage, the merchant allowing him nothing: and about these dashies they are so importunate, that, for our quiet, we are forc'd to give them. I have no where upon the coast met the negroes so shy as here, which makes me fancy they have had tricks play'd them by such blades as *Long Ben*, alias *Avery*, who have seiz'd them and carry'd them away. The goods they most covet are pewter basons, the larger the better, iron bars, knives, and large screw'd pewter jugs, which they did much affect.

*Monday* the 22d. About three in the evening yesterday our merchants went ashore, assuring us, if we would stay till next day, we should have abundance of teeth off cheap. Upon which encouragement we staid here all night at anchor in fifteen fathom water; but at eleven this morning, seeing no canoes come off, we weigh'd and stood along shore till noon.

*Tuesday* the 23d. Yesterday about one in the evening, standing along shore, we descried three canoes making off to us from *Pikinini-la-bo*, which is about six leagues to the E. of *Caba-la-bo*. We laid our fore-topails to the mast to wait for them. One went aboard captain *Sburley*, and the other two came to us with divers good teeth, of which we bought some, but very dear, they coveting the same sort of goods as at *Caba-la-bo*. We lay by trafficking with them till four in the evening; then they went away, and we made sail till seven, when we let go our anchors in thirty-six fathom water, it deepning much suddenly. At six in the morning we weigh'd, and stood along shore to the E. This was the last place I saw any teeth; and I observ'd every where they brought teeth to us, that they

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would sell none but the small ones and middling ones, tho' they brought very noble large ones with them for shew; but no price would tempt them to dispose of them.

*Wednesday* the 24th. From twelve yesterday we made an easy sail along shore till seven in the evening, when we anchor'd in thirty-six fathom water, and lay there becalm'd till noon this day.

*Thursday* the 25th. These twenty-four hours we lay at the same place becalm'd. At two in the evening yesterday came off to us two canoes from *Bassam Picolo* to trade with gold; of which we took thirty achies for iron bars, two bars for three achies, each achy being about five shillings value. But of the weights, &c. on the gold coast, I shall write hereafter. The gold we took here was all in fatishes, which are small pieces wrought in many pretty figures, which the blacks tie to their hair, necks, arms, legs, &c. for ornament, and are generally very good gold. Dust nor rock I saw none here nor at *Bassam*.

*Friday* the 26th. About two in the evening yesterday, having the sea breeze, we weigh'd and stood to the E. About four a canoe came aboard captain *Shurley*, promising, if we anchor'd where we were until the morning, they would bring off divers slaves to sell; so that at five we came to an anchor again in twenty-nine fathom water, where we rode till noon this day; but no canoes came off.

*Saturday* the 27th. At two in the evening yesterday we got up our anchors, and sail'd along shore until six, when came a four-hand canoe aboard us from *Bassam*, assuring us of good trade of gold and slaves in the morning, if we would anchor, and that they would stay with us all night, which we permitted them, hoisting up their canoe in the tackles, and let go our anchors in fourteen fathom water. In the morning those aboard fell to trade, of whom I took thirty-six achies of gold in fatishes for pewter and iron bars.

*Sunday* the 28th. The negroes yesterday promis'd us a good trade this day if we stay'd. Accordingly this morning came aboard of me two canoes, of which I took sixteen ounces of gold in fatishes, for iron bars, pewter, and knives, viz. for one iron bar  $1\frac{1}{2}$  achy, for a dozen of knives one achy, for a four-pound pewter basin one achy, with several knives for dashes to those that traded briskly. Here the negroes are not so well skill'd in trade as upon the gold coast; for we could put the bank-weights upon them; but to leeward on the gold

coast, they know our *Troy*-weights as well as our selves, and have weights of their own, which they compare ours with. Likewise at this place goods yield a better price than among our factories to leeward, by reason that here they can't supply themselves at all times as they can there; therefore when they have an opportunity of ships passing by, they buy what they want, tho' they give a better price for it; but they have but small quantities of gold to trade with.

*Monday* the 28th. Yesterday about two in the afternoon, the negroes having no more gold to trade with, took their leave and went ashore; then we got under sail, and stood to the E. till seven, then came to an anchor in thirteen fathom water, where we lay till six this morning; then weigh'd and stood along shore till ten; the wind dying away, and the sea heaving us too near the shore, we were forc'd to anchor in twelve fathom. My men are most on the recovery, having lost none by sickness, except my poor brother; but Capt. *Shurley* has had eight dead, and himself with most of his remaining men are very ill. We have a strong current now setting to the W. which is very unusual on this coast. The land all along is full of trees.

*Tuesday* the 29th. At two in the evening yesterday we weigh'd, and it proving little wind, the sea hove us into 11 fathom water, so that were forc'd to anchor again, where lay till morning; then having small land breezes, got under sail, and stood off into 15 fathom, and then along shore till 10; it falling calm we anchor'd again.

*Wednesday* the 30th. At noon yesterday we had the sea-breeze, with which we stood along shore S. E. and S. E. by E. till 6; it fell calm, and we anchor'd in 14 fathom till morning, when weigh'd again, and stood along shore. Last night I was taken with a violent racking pain the right side of my head; and Capt. *Shurley* being very ill of a fever, sent for Mr. *Gordon*, my doctor, to have his advice.

From *Wednesday* to *Monday* the 4th of February. At noon yesterday we anchor'd in 15 fathom, being becalm'd; at night came over us a very thick fog, which continu'd increasing all this day, and so till the 4th of February without intermission, the weather being most intensely hot, without a breath of wind scarcely, and the current setting above two miles an hour to windward, and has continu'd to set so to the W. these ten days, and what small faint breezes we had were at E. S. E. and S. S. E. The thick fog of so long continuance, the violent heat, and eastern breezes, made us very much concern'd, lest it should occasion malignant distempers among

among us, it being what is not very usual upon the coast. About one a-clock on *Saturday* in the afternoon came a ship with the current and small gale at E. close upon us ere we spy'd her; but at first sight we saluted her with a shot thwart her fore foot to come to an anchor, which he not taking notice of, we fired two more into him, upon which he let run his top-sails upon the caps, and let go his anchor, and so escap'd the rest of our broadside, which were ready planted for him, with our top-sails loose, ready to cut our cable, had he prov'd a *Frenchman* (as we by his white paint and built took him to be.) A-stern of us lay the *East-India Merchant*, ready to fire what they could at him, but so many of her men were sick, that they could not have manag'd four guns. Being anchor'd he sent his boat aboard us, with a private commission from king *William*, whereby he appear'd to be a *Dutch* privateer, tho' a trader upon the coast, where he had been above nine months up and down without being able to dispose of all his cargo; he was lately come from *Angola*; the Captain's name was *William Fleming*, the master's name *Stephen Waterman*, the ship's name *Jacob Hendrick*; she had 16 guns and 42 men; the Capt. was sick; they advis'd us, that Capt. *Gubbins* and his doctor in the *Barbadoes-Interloper* were dead; that the country was all in wars; that there was little gold upon the coast, by reason the negro-traders could not bring it down in safety, the passages and roads being stopt; and that the negroes had taken the *Danes* fort at *Accra*, kill'd one of the factors, and much wounded the other. Having lain about two hours with us, he set sail, and stood to the W. saluting each of us with three guns, which compliment we return'd. On *Sunday* the pain in my head increas'd, and I was taken with a dimness in my eyes, that I could not see ten yards off, and a dizziness in my head, that I could not stand nor walk without assistance.

From *Monday* the 4th to *Wednesday* the 6th we lay at anchor in the same place, with the uncomfortable fog still continuing, but the windward current much abated, and the breezes began to reassume their old place at S.W. and to blow pretty fresh, which prompted us to hope for clear weather to proceed upon our voyage. About eight a-clock on *Wednesday* morning we heard several guns fired, whereupon order'd good look-outs to windward. The fog being much dispell'd at that time, about ten we spy'd a ship with all sails set coming upon us before the wind, of which gave notice to Capt. *Shurley*, by firing a gun, and immediately got our ship clear

for fight, and our gun-room guns out, and being every way ready, got under sail and stood towards him; he standing right with me, I laid my fore-top-sail to the mast to stay for him; when he came within gunshot I fired one at him, whereupon he hoisted *Dutch* colours, on view of which we forbore firing any more; he stood close under our sterns and gave each of us five guns and three huzzas, which we return'd; I sent my boat and a mate on board him, to whom he gave an account that he belong'd to the *West-India* company of the *Dutch* at *Amsterdam*, and was bound to the *Mine*; that he had been stopt five months at *Plymouth*, and had been in his passage thence nine weeks; that he had fought a *French* privateer 50 leagues from *Scilly*; and that the earl of *Torrington* was fled from *England*. The last we did not doubt but was *Dutch* news, who have no great kindness for that old experienc'd and gallant sea-officer, since thro' their own rashness and stupidity they were so roughly handled by the *French* fleet off of *Beachy* in 1690. This ship had 24 guns and 80 men, seamen and soldiers; he made all the way he could to the eastward, and we stood so till six in the evening, when judging our selves off of *Albany*, we handed our sails and anchor'd in 12 fathom water. The guns we heard in the morning were fired by this last ship at the *Dutch* interloper that parted from us before, who he fell in with and gave chase to, but the interloper sail'd too hard for him. Here were above a dozen *Dutch* interlopers at this time trading upon the coast, notwithstanding all the *Dutch* are prohibited that trade, except the ships belonging to their *Guiney* company, who have orders to fight and take by force of arms the said interlopers where-ever they meet them upon the coast, who upon such capture become as much prize as any declar'd enemy, the ship and goods being confiscated to the use of the said company, and the men made prisoners in the dungeon at the *Mine*; and, if I mistake not, the captain and other principal officers condemn'd to die, the general of the *Mine* being commission'd and empower'd to try, condemn, and put to death any criminals of that nation, which by a court-martial shall be thought to deserve it, without any appeal to *Europe*; which authority he also extends to the neighbouring negroes, especially those of the *Mine*-town, that are under the cover of its guns, which creates a great reverence and terror in them; whereas our agents can only secure the most heinous malefactor, and send him in irons home to *England* to be try'd, and receive the reward of his villany. The *Dutch* castles have frequently by stratagem seiz'd

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feiz'd some of these interlopers, and us'd them with the utmost rigour, yet it does no whit deter them, they providing themselves with nimble ships, which out-sail the company's, and go well mann'd and arm'd, so that if at any time they be surpriz'd or overtaken, they will fight it out to the last man rather than yield, and both under *Dutch* colours; I have seen 3 or 4 at a time of them lying before the *Mine*-castle for a week together a trading, as it were in defiance of it.

*Thursday* the 7th we lay off of *Astbany*, expecting trade, till the 10th, and saw many canoes passing along shore under a mat-sail, but none came off to us. From *Bassam* to *Astbany* is about 12 leagues; the best sailing is in 17 to 18 fathom, and anchor in 13 or 14 fathom, oozy ground: there appears no double land between these two places till you are about five leagues to the E. of *Bassam*, then you will see 3 or 4 parcels, which shew themselves as you sail in the above depth a little higher than the other land.

The town of *Astbany* stands in a swamp or bog, there being no other swamp between *Bassam* and it. Here having no encouragement to stay longer, we got up our anchors, and stood for cape *Apollonia* the 10th in the evening, which is about 16 leagues from *Astbany*, and makes in three small hills; where we arriv'd the 12th, and anchor'd in 15 fathom oozy ground, about 3 miles short of the cape; thereby intending to have the benefit of trading with two or three towns which lie a little to the W. of it; but our expectations were disappointed, for not one canoe came off to us here more than at *Astbany*, which somewhat surprized us, those two places being formerly noted for plenty of gold, very good, and a quick and beneficial market.

Axem.

*Wednesday* the 13th in the morning we got under sail, and having doubled cape *Apollonia*, in the evening we came to an anchor at *Axem* in 8 fathom water, about 2 miles from the *Dutch* fort. This place is about 10 leagues from the cape. The 14th the *Dutch* factor Mr. *Rawliffon* came aboard us to enquire news from *Europe*, and having told him all we could remember, he stay'd to dine with us; and after dinner we found him to be a boon companion, taking his glass off smartly, and singing and dancing by himself several jiggs, Capt. *Shurley* and I being indispos'd, and in no dancing humour; I was glad to see he could be so cheerful that had liv'd so many years in such a dismal country; but his mirth was suddenly damp'd, upon sight of a great twelve-hand canoe with a flag in it making from the eastward towards

our ships: I was much surpriz'd to see so sudden and extraordinary a change in him, his countenance appearing full of terror and confusion; I often ask'd him what was the cause of his concern, and offer'd to fire upon the canoe, and command her aboard, if he apprehended any thing amiss from her, and to that end presently gave the word for the gunner; but he earnestly intreated me to forbear, and immediately leap'd into a small canoe that was selling fish by the ship's side to our seamen (his own being gone ashore with butter and other small matters he had purchas'd aboard us) and squatting himself down in her flat upon his belly, made the canoe men row away to the west with all the force they could; and having taken a large compass, landed about a quarter of a mile from the castle. I could not then conceive the reason of his consternation and abrupt departure, but after I understood it proceeded from his fear that the great canoe was from the *Mine*-castle, with the fiscal in her, who is a very considerable officer in the *Dutch* factories, whose business is to supervise and inspect all the castles the *Dutch* have upon this coast; to observe what government is kept in them, and how the *Dutch* company's affairs are manag'd, and to search if there be any goods or merchandize in them besides what belongs to the company, which the factors or governors often clandestinely buy of interlopers and *English* ships, and trade with upon their own account, to the great prejudice of the company their masters, whose goods in the mean time lie on hand for want of sale, while they carry on their own private traffick, contrary to their oath and covenant; therefore this fiscal uses all the stratagems he can devise to surprize the castles unawares, and when he is least expected, that the factors may not have time to settle and put things in order, or convey their goods where they may lie conceal'd; therefore he most commonly makes use of the night-time, and lands by break of day, and immediately plants his men at the gates, and other convenient posts, to watch that nothing be convey'd away or hidden; then he searches all the castle over with as much subtlety and rigour as the severest old searcher belonging to our custom-house in *London*, that will not be brib'd (if there be any such) does a rich *East-India* ship, taking account of all the goods in his way; and if he finds any more in quantity or quality than by the factor's invoice and account of sales there should be of the company's, he takes them away with him, and possibly seizes upon all the gold the factor has for the company's use, and carries himself to the *Mine*, where

where he is imprison'd; and the gentlest usage the factors meet with upon such discovery, is to be well mulcted or fined, and be forc'd to carry a musket in the *Mine-castle* like a common centinel, another being substituted in his government; and the same in case of being found remiss in the duties of their post, and negligent in the governments of their castles, such as lying a-nights out of them, or letting black women lie a-nights in them; the last of which, tho' it be a common practice in our castles, yet the *Dutch* seldom or never do it, though they all have black or *Malatto* wives as well as ours, which they change at pleasure. For the above reasons the fiscal is so dreadful to them; and 'twas the panick fear of him that so disturb'd poor *Rawliffon*. The great canoe soon came aboard us, in which was *Frank*, the butler of *Cape-Coast* castle, sent by our agents there to fetch from us the company's letters and packets, together with the factors we had on board for the castles: In their way they call'd on Mr. *Buckerige*, who was chief of *Dicky's* cove, and came along with them to us. By this canoe I receiv'd a letter from our agents, advising me to dispose of as much as I could of my cargo before I came there, where there was no trade nor gold, by reason the country was all in wars; and that there was no probability of procuring any number of slaves upon the gold coast.

The *Dutch* factor *Rawliffon*, some time after he got ashore, sent out a canoe a scouting, by which understanding his mistake, he banish'd his fear, and resolv'd to have t'other jigg with us; and accordingly we soon had him aboard, where he continu'd till late at night, and was carry'd ashore well ballasted with wine and punch; but before he would part, engag'd Mr. *Buckerige*, Capt. *Sburley* and me to dine with him next day at his fort, which we promis'd, more out of an inclination we had to see the castle, town, landing, &c. than any desire of his feast, which we knew must be very indifferent. Accordingly in the morning we went ashore to wait on mynheer *Rawliffon*, and were met at our landing by his second, a young man, and a *Frenchman* that was his doctor, who conducted us to the castle-gate, where we were receiv'd by himself with a salute of nine guns. We took a walk before dinner about the castle, which is old, and built upon a rock after the *Portuguese* fashion, from whom the *Dutch* plunder'd it; it has 4 flankers, and about 18 guns in all, those towards the sea good and long, and some of them brass; the walls are pretty high, and the gate strong which faces the continent. In the midst of the fort is their warehous, kitchen and lodging of the sol-

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diers, over which are 3 or 4 small rooms for the factors, a great part of the roof and wall of that wherein we din'd was fallen down; we had some *Muscovy* ducks, kid, fish, and store of other provisions for dinner; but what I lik'd most was a pudding made of a certain large root call'd a yam, which eat very gratefully, manag'd as it was by the *French* doctor, with sugar and orange-juice; we had plenty of punch and stumm'd *Rbenish* wine; but a drink they had call'd *Cocoro*, looking like thin whey, and is a sort of *Palm-wine*, was prefer'd by me before any other: it was extream pleasant, and in my thought drank like mead, or rather *Verdy*, or white *Florence* wine, as they call it at *Livorno*. Dinner being over, and the king's health, the *African* company's, and our own being drank, each with a salvo of seven guns, we were invited by Mr. *Rawliffon* to take a walk where the negroes use to dance, which was about a quarter of a mile from the fort, under two or three very large cotton-trees, of which their canoes are made; and here note, that this is the best and cheapest place for ships that are bound to *Whidaw* to slave, to furnish themselves with canoes, they being very scarce and dear to leeward. We had seats and liquor brought us, and soon after came the musick, being 3 black fellows, with the like number of hollow elephants teeth, thro' which they made a hideous bellowing, another in the mean time beating a hollow piece of brass with a stick; then came Mrs. *Rawliffon*, the factor's wife, who was a pretty young *Malatto*, with a rich silk cloth about her middle, and a silk cap upon her head flower'd with gold and silver, under which her hair was comb'd out at length, for the *Malatto's* covet to wear it so, in imitation of the whites, never curling it up, or letting it frizzle, as the blacks do; she was accompany'd, or rather attended, with the second's and doctor's wives, who were young blacks, about 13 years of age, as near as I could guess; after we had saluted them, they went to dance by turns, in a ridiculous manner, making antick gestures with their arms, shoulders, and heads, their feet having the least share in the action: they began the dance moderately, but as they continu'd it, they by degrees quicken'd their motion so, that at the latter end they appear'd perfectly furious and distracted. There came several other women and men to dance, among the last were two that had each a jaw-bone of a man ty'd to the wooden handle of their sword, which was stuck into their girdle, and was about half a yard long and three inches broad, in shape resembling a chopping-knife or pruning-bill; the bones they

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told us belong'd to some great warriors they had kill'd in fight, on which they much valu'd themselves. Having tired our selves with their frantick dancing, we return'd to the fort, and, after a glafs of wine, we gave Mr. *Rawliffon* thanks for our entertainment, and took our leaves and went aboard. The town is on the east side of the castle, containing about 100 houses or huts, strait along the banks of a river which empties itself into the sea near the castle, at the mouth of which is the landing-place: I saw above 100 negro men and women with pails on the side of this river, which they told me were washing of sand and dirt, in search of gold dust. Here we had but little trade, therefore after we got aboard we weigh'd, and stood along shore till night, when anchor'd in 18 fathom water, a-breast the *Brandenburg* fort, near cape *Tres Puntas*.

The 16th in the morning we set sail, and got about cape *Tres Puntas*, keeping off in 22 fathom water, to avoid a ledge of rocks that lie a good distance out from the middle cape. About 12 we were off another *Brandenburg* factory, and about 3 in the evening came to an anchor in *Dicky's* cove in 14 fathom water, the town bearing N. W. *Dicky's* cove is about 3 leagues to the E. of cape *Tres Puntas*; here Mr. *Buckerige* was building a small fort upon a great flat rock, about half a mile to the E. of the town; it was not half finish'd at our being there; he had a few small guns planted upon the rock under the fort open, which was all his defence then. The town is pretty large; we went ashore one day and din'd with Mr. *Buckerige*; we fill'd some water here, got a little wood, and some cancy-stones, for our slaves to grind their corn upon; and no trade presenting, we parted thence the 19th for *Succandy*. At *Dicky's* cove is the best and smoothest landing of any of our factories upon this coast. We stood away to leeward, and about 11 in the morning were a-breast *Tagaratha*, which is distant about seven leagues from *Dicky's* cove, and makes in a heap of high trees. Off *Tagaratha* point there lies a ledge of rocks, for which reason we gave it a good birth, keeping in 14 fathom water. This was the last place upon the gold coast assign'd us by the *Royal African Company* in our charter-parties to dispose of our windward cargoes; which article had we observ'd, we must have brought most of it home again, for each of us had 3000 pounds windward cargoes, and had not sold to the value of 200 pounds apiece at our arrival here; so that we were oblig'd to seek a market elsewhere, tho' contrary to our instructions. About 2 we hal'd in, and about 4 came to an anchor in *Succandy*

road in 7 fathom water, about 2 miles off shore. On the point of *Succandy* stands a small *Dutch* fort, much higher, and in gunshot of ours, and commands the landing-place. Succandy Fort.

The 20th in the morning Capt. *Sburley* and I went ashore to our castle at *Succandy*, where we found the factor Mr. *Johnson* in his bed raving mad, cursing and swearing most wretchedly at us, not in the least knowing Capt. *Sburley*, tho' he had a long former acquaintance with him. I pity'd from my soul this poor man, who had plunged himself into this condition thro' resentment of an affront put upon him by one *Vanbukeline*, the copeman or merchant of the *Mine*-castle, which, as we were inform'd by his second (who was a young lad, and had been a bluecoat-hospital-boy) was as follows. One *Taguba*, a noted negro woman in *Cape Corce* town, being got with child by some of the soldiers of our castle there, was brought to-bed of a malatto girl, who growing to be about 11 years old, Mr. *Johnson* a factor, then at *Cabo Corce*, had a great fancy for her, and purpos'd to take her for his wife (as they take wives in *Guiney*) and about that time he being removed to *Succandy*, to be chief factor, to make sure of the girl, took her there to live with him till she was of age fit for matrimonial functions, using much tenderness and kindness to her, and taking great pleasure and satisfaction in her company for two or three years; when she was grown man's meat, and a pretty girl, *Vanbukeline* by bribes and presents corrupted her mother *Taguba*, and prevail'd with her to go to *Succandy*, and under pretence of making a visit to her daughter, to steal her away and bring her to him, he having order'd a swift canoe to lie ready under the *Dutch* fort at *Succandy* for that end. The mother accordingly came, and having been kindly treated by Mr. *Johnson*, who suspected nothing, went with her daughter to take a walk, and being come near the canoe that lay *perdue*, the canoe-men took hold of her and put her *per* force into it, her mother following, and carry'd them both away to the *Mine*-castle, and deliver'd the young one to *Vanbukeline*, who soon crack'd that nut which Mr. *Johnson* had been so long preparing for his own tooth. When I din'd with the *Dutch* general at the *Mine* I saw her there, being brought in to dance before us, very fine, bearing the title of madam *Vanbukeline*. This, and some other old differences between that *Dutchman* and he, did so disturb and vex him, that it threw him into distempers, and quite turn'd his brain. We were entertain'd by the young second as well as he could; and about 3 in the evening we

went

went aboard, where we had not been an hour before we spied a small ship coming away with us afore the wind. About 5 she spake with us, and came to an anchor, being the *Eagle* packet-boat that sailed with us out of the *Downs*, bound with letters for *Gambo*, *Sherborow*, and *Cape Coast*. Captain *Perry* that commanded her then, was dead at *Gambo*, with several of his men, and his mate *Mr. Brown* succeeded him, who came aboard and gave us an account of his voyage, and that agent *Colker* who parted with us in the *Stanier* sloop at *Monseradoe* for *Sherborow*, was refus'd admittance by his second when he arriv'd there; whereupon a scuffle ensued, wherein several were wounded, but at length he got possession again. He soon return'd aboard, and made the best of his way to *Cape Coast*, we designing to call at several places in our way to look for trade. The fort of *Succandy* was built by captain *Henry Nurse* when he was agent for the royal *African* company in *Guiney*, as an inscription upon the wall inform'd us. 'Tis a small white square house, in a large yard, of no great defence. On the terras a-top of it are mounted eight or ten small pop iron guns, good for nothing but to waste powder, being all honey-comb'd within, and the carriages rotten and out of order. I have been inform'd since my being here, that the adjacent negroes, instigated by *Vanbukeline* and the *Dutch* general, had in the night surpriz'd and seiz'd the fort, cut *Johnson* the factor to pieces, and plunder'd all the goods and merchandize.

The 21st in the morning we left *Succandy*, and steer'd along by *Abady* point, which is 2 leagues distant from it; between which and *Shuma* we anchored, and lay all night. In the morning some canoes came aboard, with whom we had a good trade for gold; but the negroe merchants were in great pain and fear lest the *Dutch* should discover them, and seize their goods for trading with us, as they have had the impudence to do often, as I have been inform'd, not only to such as bought of our ships, but also out of our castle at *Succandy*, of which there was a late instance; and the negroes making complaint thereof to our chief merchants at *Cape Corce*, they sent to the general of the *Mine* to demand restitution, assuring him that the goods belong'd to the royal *African* company of *England*. But all they have been able to obtain hitherto, was fair promises without the least performance. Indeed the *Dutch* are very insolent upon this coast, especially since the revolution, endeavouring by all methods to undermine

and ruin our commerce there (upon what presumption I know not) and treating the negroes with great severity which they catch trading with us, tho' we never molest their trade. They have wrested *Comendo* out of our hands (a place that lies the most convenient for the gold trade of any upon the coast) and still keep it, tho' our agents have writings under the kings of the countries hands, which shew an undoubted title to it, as well as our long possession of it formerly. Therefore of late years our agents designing to repossess it, and settle a factory there, and passing by the *Mine* castle with materials for that purpose, the *Dutch* from the *Mine* had the impudence to fire several cannon shot at the canoe in which one of our agents was, notwithstanding he had the king's jack flag flying in the head of her; but he pursued his design, landed men and materials, and fell to intrenching and fortifying; but ere they could raise works sufficient to shelter and secure them, they were so continually attack'd and disturb'd by the adjacent negroes, hir'd and instigated by the *Dutch*, who had supply'd them with arms and ammunition for that end, that they were forc'd to give over the thoughts of settling there, and retire, not without the loss of some men.

The 22d in the evening we got up our anchors and stood along shore; and passing by *Shuma*, came to the high bluff red cliffs, abreast of which we anchor'd, and lay all night between *Shuma* and *Comendo*; from both which places we had a pretty good trade in the morning: but the blacks were in great fear of the *Dutch* still; for tho' some of them would buy two or three bales of perpetuanoes, yet they would never take them whole, but would open them and put them in bags they brought with them, so many in each as was an easy burden for one man to run away with, which they did for their better dispatch in landing, and securing them from the *Hollanders*. Having taken what gold we could in this place, we left it the 23d in the afternoon; and sailing by *Comendo*, came to *Ampeny* point, which is 2 leagues from the *Mine*; between which places we anchor'd, and lay fair for the trade both of *Comendo* and the *Mine* town. Here we had a good trade, and took above thirty marks of gold, each mark being eight ounces troy. The 25th we set sail, pass'd the *Mine* castle, which we saluted with 7 guns, and anchor'd in the middle between it and *Cape Coast*, being about a league distant from each. Here we met with the best trade, the negroes coming up

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Cabo  
Corce  
Castle.

up to us from all the towns to leeward as far as *Cormantine*. Having made the best of our market here, we set sail the 27th in the afternoon, and before night came to an anchor in Cape *Corce* road in 8 fathom water, and saluted our castle with 15 guns, which they return'd, it bearing N. N. W.

The castle of *Cabo Corce* is the chief of all those our *African* company have upon this coast, and where their agents or chief factors always reside; to which all the other factories are subordinate. This castle has a handsome prospect from the sea, and is a very regular and well-contriv'd fortification, and as strong as it can be well made, considering its situation, being encompass'd with a strong and high brick wall, thro' which you enter by a well-secur'd and large gate facing the town, and come into a fine spacious square wherein 4 or 500 men may very conveniently be drawn up and exercis'd. It has four flankers which have a cover'd communication with each other, and are mounted with good guns; and over the tank is a noble battery of fifteen whole culverin and demy cannon, lying low, and pointing upon the road, where they would do good execution upon any ships that should pretend to attack the castle, if there were a sufficient number of men to ply them briskly, that understood the sport. Under this battery is a curious tank or cistern which will contain 400 tons of water, being with great labour cut in a long square out of a rock, and terrass'd over, having a convenient pair of stairs to descend into it to fetch the water. This tank is fill'd every rain time, and not only supplies the castle with water all the year (which no enemy can cut off from them or poison) but frequently the company's agents permit their ships to fill much of their water there. The method of filling it is thus. There are divers channels contriv'd in the large square conveniently to receive the rain water that pours down from the flankers, and tops of the other buildings in the castle; each of which channels have two conveyances, one out of the castle, and the other into the tank. As soon as it begins to rain, the *Bumbay* (an officer so call'd, whose charge it is) makes the negroe slaves belonging to the castle, stop all the conveyances of the water to the tank, then sweep the castle very clean all over; and after it has rain'd about an hour, and wash'd the castle well, the water for that space running out, and carrying the filth and dirt with it, he opens the channels into the tank, where it runs very clear, and in great quantities,

the rains here being generally in long and heavy showers. This tank is strongly arch'd over, upon which, by the afore-said battery, there is a most pleasant walk. Of these tanks every castle upon the coast has one, but very small, and in proportion to the number of soldiers they are allow'd to man them.

In this castle the agents and factors have genteel convenient lodgings; and as to the soldiers, I believe there are not better barracks any where than here, each two having a handsome room allow'd them, and receive their pay duly and justly in gold dust once a week for their subsistence. The castle has in all about forty guns mounted, some of them brass, and commonly 100 white men in garrison, with a military land officer to discipline and command them under the agents. He is the lieutenant of the castle, but is call'd by the title of captain. Every night at eight o'clock the gate is shut, where he appoints a good guard, and comes to the agent or chief merchant for the word. Mr. *Platt*, the chief at that time, us'd sometimes to compliment captain *Shurley* and me to give it, and at other times would give our ships, our owners, or our own names; which the lieutenant having communicated to the rest of the company, after drinking the king's health in a bowl of punch, would take his leave. Captain *Freeman* had this post now, and was a very good officer. The three chief merchants who had the government of all the company's affairs on this coast, were Mr. *Joshua Platt*, a gentleman of good parts and courage, and had been long accustomed to these countries. He was gold-taker, receiving and paying all the company's gold. The next to him was Mr. *William Ronan*, an *Irish* gentleman, who had liv'd long in *France*, and spake that language fluently, as well as the bastard *Portuguese* the negroes use upon this coast. He was a brisk active daring man, a skilful merchant, and of a most obliging temper; and tho a *Roman* catholick by religion, yet I believe the *African* company could not employ any that was more real and zealous for their interest, or would expose himself more to serve them. He was warehouse-keeper, receiving and delivering all the company's goods. The third was Mr. *William Melrofs* a *Scotsman*, a very sober quiet honest man, and understood accounts to perfection. He was Book-keeper. One *Smith* an *Irishman* was chaplain, who, every morning at nine o'clock, read the church prayers to the garrison, and preach'd every *Sunday*. The surgeon was a *Scot*, whose name I have

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have forgot. He had a mate and barber under him, and was supply'd with good medicines from the company in *England* by most of their ships.

In the castle there is one spacious warehouse, and several smaller ones; a convenient trunk or place for the slaves to live in by themselves; a good forge with smiths to make what iron-work is wanted; a large kitchen for dressing the provisions, the factors keeping a very plentiful table, but eat only twice a day, at ten in the morning and four in the evening; which is a very prudent method, the midst of the day being here so intensely hot, that the very scent of the meat is enough to pall one's stomach. There are seldom less than sixteen dine at their table, which is always well cover'd, and, I have been assur'd, stands the *African* company some years from 12 to 1400 *l.* tho' most provisions are very reasonable, there being store of excellent large fish caught of several sorts, and sold for little; plenty of small poultry, and abundance of fine large *Muscovy* ducks at low rates. Mutton and goats are not scarce, but very lean and insipid meat; but beef is a rarity seldom to be met with. The castle is well stock'd with tame pigeons, which have convenient lodgings, and thrive very well. When the tank is low, that ships cannot be supply'd with water thence, they are forc'd to fill it at a standing pool call'd *Domine's* hole, a good distance from the castle, and roll it thence over craggy stones to the landing place, where negroes, who make it their profession and business, attend to swim the water-cask off to the long-boat, which lies about a cable's length off shore at an anchor, not daring to come nearer for the great swell that constantly rolls upon this whole coast from the vast *Atlantic* ocean. The negroe swimmers watch a smooth, then roll the punchions of water into the sea till they float; then each takes his cask and swims after it, sometimes above water, sometimes under water, still pushing it forward before him till it comes to the longboat, who hoist it in; for the further off shore the smoother the water: and for this service we pay the blacks so much a cask when we go away. The merchandize and stores we bring for the castle, we send in our longboat as near the shore as she dare go, and the canoes come and unlade her; which being flat bottom'd, play upon the sea until they perceive a smooth, then with violence run themselves ashore, take out the goods, and launch off again.

There are two gardens belong to the castle, one of which is large, full of

lime and orange trees, but little pot-herbs or salletting, I presume, for want of industry and care; for I saw great variety of both in the garden of the *Mine* castle, which is very spacious and pleasant; and indeed (which I am sorry I have occasion to say) the *Dutch* excel and out-do us in every thing (except honesty) on this coast, their castles being much stronger and better than ours, lie more conveniently, and are better mann'd and govern'd, they sparing no cost upon them to make them strong and delightful, and add to them all the conveniencies that is possible. In the middle of our castle garden is a square summer-house built, where the agents sometimes enjoy themselves. In this garden captain *Shurley* and I entertain'd the agents, factors, and other officers of the castle at dinner before our departure (for they would not venture to come aboard our ships, lest any casualty might happen in their absence) where we enjoy'd our selves plentifully, having each of us six of our quarter-deck guns brought ashore, with powder, &c. and our gunners to ply them; which they did to purpose, and made them roar merrily, firing eleven at every health. The other is nearer the castle, and is call'd *Black Jack's* garden, having nothing therein but cocoa-nut trees. This is the burying place of our factors and white men that die there, except the agents and some others, who, for some extraordinary respects, are buried in by-places in the castle. Mr. *Klayton*, the chief of *Fredericksburg*, or the *Danes* hill fort, a strong healthy man, sicken'd while I was here, and in three days died of a fever, and was buried in that garden with all the ceremony usual upon such occasions. The agents with most of the factors, and a detachment of the garrison, with their arms revers'd, attending the corps. As soon as it was in the grave they fired a volley; which being a signal to the castle, it fired 10 guns, as did each of our ships. The ceremony being ended, Mr. *John Rootsey*, a *Barbadian*, who came over with our ships, was appointed by the agents as successor to the deceased in his government of the *Danes* hill; which he that night took possession of, and treated us next day with a handsome dinner there.

We landed out of the *Hannibal* at this place thirty soldiers for the company, in as good health as we receiv'd them aboard in *England*; but in two months time that we lay here to complete our business, they were near half dead, and scarce enough of the survivors able to carry their fellows to the grave.

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The

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The manner of the  
gold trade.

The way of receiving the gold upon this whole coast, is by weight, of which the several kinds that are us'd, and in which we keep our accounts, are marks, ounces, achies, and taccooes. A taccoo is a small berry as big as a pea, 12 of which make an achy, viz.

|                   |               |
|-------------------|---------------|
| 12 Taccooes are   | 1 achy,       |
| 16 Achies are     | 1 ounce troy, |
| 8 ounces troy are | 1 mark gold;  |

Value about 32 *l. Sterling*. They have other denominations for weights, as a bendy is 2 ounces; a peepe, which is 4 achies; a damby, which is a little black berry, two of which make a taccoo. If they are to purchase a thing of small value that they have no weight little enough for it, they give a grain of gold which they call a *Cracra*. We keep our accounts in marks, ounces, achies, and taccooes only. The gold is most in dust, with some pieces of rock among it; and sometimes in wire, and wedges, and broken fatishes. We first sift and blow the dust gold in copper sifters and pens we carry for that purpose, until it be well clear of dirt (which will blow away, being less weighty than the gold) then it is carefully pick'd, and all the bad or suspicious taken from it by a negroe that understands gold well, and we entertain aboard for that purpose, giving him a gratuity when we have done trading. We likewise carry touchstones to try the gold; and indeed we had need of all the caution imaginable to avoid being cheated by the negroes, which they often endeavour by mixing filings of brass with the gold dust, and filling the middle of their cast ingots with lead; so that we never take any of them without cutting them with a chisel into small pieces, to see that they be the same throughout. The rock gold is generally good, being in such lumps and shape as cannot be easily counterfeited; only there is much dirt in holes and crevices of it, which must be pick'd out ere 'tis weigh'd.

The commodities that are most in demand upon the gold coast, are blue and red perpetuanoes, pewter basons of several sizes, from one to four pound weight, old sheets, large *Flemish* knives, iron bars, cases of spirits, blue sayes, if well dyed, and coral, if large and of a good colour. These goods will seldom or never fail of a good market. I also carried there on account of the *African* company, muskets, niconees, tapseals, bayfadoes, brass kettles, *English* carpets, *Welsh* plains, lead bars, firkins of tallow, powder, &c. None of which did an-

swer expectation, being forc'd to bring back to *England* a great part of them; and those we sold were at a very low rate.

In the mornings early the blacks came aboard to trade, bringing their gold in divers little rags, according to the number of those who employ them to trade for them; which when we have blown and pick'd clean, we return what we dislike, and weigh the rest; for which we deliver them such commodities as they require to the value, which they will cast up by head to admiration. We are always very kind to good traders, giving them store of good punch and brandy; but such as bring very bad gold, we sometimes chastize; and to deter them from the like practice, we pour some *aqua fortis* upon it, which immediately turns all the brass that is amongst it, green, to the great admiration and confusion of the cheats, whom we turn away with severe threats, and sometimes put them in irons. Captain *Sburley*, at *Animabo*, threw two ounces of a negroe's gold over board, because it was very full of brass, and never made the black a farthing satisfaction. Often some of the best traders will come and desire us to give them credit for the value in goods of 2 or 3 marks of gold, promising payment in a certain number of days, when their servants or boys (as they call them tho' they be sixty years old) return from the inland countries, with the produce in gold of such merchandize as they sent by them there to dispose of. Commonly they will leave some pledge in our hands till payment, as great collars of gold, and other large fatishes of exquisite workmanship, which their great men wear, and which they will be sure to redeem: but if we take their words, and they do not come and pay us according to promise, the method we take for satisfaction, is, to piniar or seize upon as many of the negroes of that town where our debtor lives, as we can, or as will come to the value of the debt, which we secure aboard, and threaten to carry away with us if they be not redeem'd; whereupon they send word to their friends and relations where they are, and upon what account they are piniar'd, and how much the debt is. Presently their friends demand a palavera before the king or great capashiers of the town, who oblige the debtor and his friends to provide the sum they owe, to release those that were piniar'd on their account, or else to deliver us themselves in their stead: but this is seldom done, we being very cautious in trusting them for any considerable value.

The

Carelessness  
of the ne-  
groes with  
regard to  
gun-pow-  
der.

The negroes are so little apprehensive of danger, that when we have sold them two or three barrels of powder, and they have got it into their canoe, they have bought a cask of spirits and fallen to drinking and smoaking tobacco till they were drunk, all the while sitting a top of the barrels of powder, and letting the sparks from their pipes fall upon them without any concern, which created a terror in us to see, and by which means they are frequently blown up; so that it is our custom, as soon as we have sold them any powder, to make them take it into their canoe, and put off, and lie about 200 yards from the ship till the rest of their business be completed, lest we might be injur'd by their stupid carelessness.

About 100 yards from the castle is a redoubt built upon an ascent with two or three small guns mounted thereon, wherein two soldiers always keep watch, to give notice to the castle if they perceive any enemy or danger approaching. They get up into it by a ladder which they hale up after them, and keep therein till they descend again, being built after the same manner as the towers that lie along the coast of *Spain*, to give notice of the approach of any *Moors* or *Turkish* pirates; only those do it by beacons, whereas these fire their guns.

In the castle is kept a school to teach the little black children of the town to read and write, and so prepare them to be made christians. But such is the delusion and obstinacy of the negroes in their own superstitious paganism, that they are neither willing to be baptiz'd themselves, nor will be prevail'd upon to let their children partake of that great and inestimable blessing of being listed under the banners of the great captain of our salvation, but bring them up to be the devil's slaves, whom they worship under the disguise of their fatishes.

Near the great gate is a dungeon for the confinement of heinous malefactors, such as murderers, traitors, &c. till an opportunity presents to send them into *England* to be tried, and receive the rewards of their villainy. Which dark apartment one of my trumpeters whose name was *William Lord*, hanfel'd; for being ashore drinking punch with some of the inferior officers of the castle, there happened a difference between him and one of the serjeants, who gave him a challenge to meet him with his sword near the redoubt, which the trumpeter promis'd, and was as good as his word; and both lunging out, it was the serjeant's chance to be thrust into the belly; upon which he

resign'd his sword, begg'd his life, and sunk down. Upon knowledge whereof at the castle, the trumpeter was seiz'd and clap'd into the dungeon, which as soon as I understood, I desir'd the agents that their surgeon and mine might visit the serjeant, search his wound, and consult the consequence thereof, if mortal or not, which they freely agreed to; and in about an hour after the surgeons return'd, and made their report, both concurring that it was not mortal nor dangerous, the sword having only pass'd about five inches glancing into the *abdomen*, without going thro' the belly, or injuring any of the entrails. Whereupon the trumpeter was releas'd; who, after thanks given the agents, immediately repair'd aboard the ship, as his best *asylum*, where he was out of the reach of their power. But tho' he was so lucky this time, yet I suspect a halter will be his fate; for, tho' a stout fellow, he was a most dissolute wicked wretch; and for his villainies and irregularities aboard, I was forc'd, at *St. Thomas's* island, to clap him in irons, hands and feet, and keep him so upon my poop eight weeks till my arrival at *Barbadoes*, where I purpos'd to put him on board one of his majesty's men of war that knew how to handle such refractory sparks; but upon his seeming repentance and earnest intreaty I was prevail'd upon to forbear, to my great vexation afterwards; for he soon got ashore there, and run away from my ship, concealing himself in some of the idle houses in *Bridgetown*, till, by his extravagancies, he had not only spent all his wages, but run so far in debt, that he could have no longer entertainment or credit; whereupon he enter'd himself on board a small *New-England* frigate of twenty guns, and an excellent sailer, which some *Barbadoes* merchants bought and mann'd, and fitted out warlikely, and brought colonel *Russel* the governor to be part-owner with them, who gave her his commission. The pretence of her voyage was for *Madagascar* to purchase negroes; but as I privately understood then, and since have been well assured, her design was for the *Red Sea*, to make the best of her market with the *Mogul's* ships, which having done, and bought a few negroes for a colour, she might boldly and safely return to *Barbadoes* with her treasure, as long as the governor was interested, and a party concerned, and so near of kin to the *English* admiral. I sold a certain judge and merchant there then, a large parcel of fire-arms for her use, more than was customary or necessary for such a small vessel to carry only for her defence on a trading

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trading voyage. What became of her since I know not. My trumpeter's entring aboard her led me to speak so much of her; who being entertain'd in the governor's service, I found it was in vain to have him and several others of my men restor'd, who were tempted to desert me. The rest of the merchant ships there then, heavily felt the effects of fitting out that ship, by the loss of their men; which, together with the plague that violently reign'd there, the pressing for the king's service to complete the men of wars numbers, &c. were grown so scarce, that an ordinary fellow would demand thirty pounds pay for the voyage thence to *England*, which is generally made in six weeks, and to be discharg'd at the first port in *England* we put into. Captain *Sirclair*, commander of the *Leere* frigate, in my hearing, offer'd to pay captain *Thomas Sheirman*, commander of his majesty's ship *Tyger*, under whose convoy he was to come home, the sum of one hundred pounds down presently, upon condition he would lend him ten of the worst men he had to help to sail his ship home, and likewise pay the men what wages they should demand; which captain *Sheirman* absolutely refus'd upon any terms whatsoever.

At *Cabo Corce* we took in part of the *Indian* corn order'd us for the provision of our negroes to *Barbadoes*, the allowance being a chest which contains about four bushels for every negroe. It is charg'd the company at two achies *per* chest, and bare measure; but we could buy better of the blacks at an achy and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and heap'd measure. Here is some palm oil, but it is cheaper at *Wbidaw*, tho' the island of *St. Thomas* is the cheapest place, and where there is most plenty of it.

The company had here a small brigantine, commanded by one *Bradshaw*, for the use of the castle, she being chiefly employ'd to carry stores and merchandize, &c. to the other factories upon this coast.

While we lay at this place, the king of *Sabo*, and *Nimpha* the general of the *Arcanys* arrived here, with about 20000 blacks, in their return from the wars against the king of *Futtoo*, whom they had routed out of his country, and forc'd to seek protection at the *Mine*-castle, and made his brother king, who soon follow'd them to *Cape Corce* castle, where he took the fatish to be at constant enmity with his brother, to be ever true to the *English* interest, and not to molest the *Arcanys* in their trade, which was the occasion of the war with his brother. But of this I shall say more when I come to give an account of their fatishes.

While we were here there happened a wedding, as follows. The gunner of the castle, either tir'd with, or disliking his present wife, turn'd her away, and, while we were here, took to him another, being daughter to captain *Amo* one of the castle capashiers; the wedding being concluded with only giving a treat to the castle officers, and some of her jetty relations, and a cloth to herself, they were man and wife; but when they came to the point of consummation, the girl being not above twelve years old, found it so painful that she could not bear it; which fretted the gunner to that degree, that he grew angry with his new wife; but finding that prevail'd but little, he bought three or four yards of red flower'd silk from our ships; which shewing his wife, promis'd to give it her for a cloth, upon her passive obedience, and not otherwise. The beauty of the silk so dazzled the eyes of the girl, and so sooth'd her pride, as that night it seems the gunner made a breach with his cannon; for the next morning the lady was in her silks, and both good friends.

The gold coast is more healthy and hilly, and less woody than any other part of *Guiney*, being cover'd with thick shrubs and furzes, so that I could not go half a mile into the inland, and therefore can give no account of it.

When a factor sends a black upon an errand to another factor, tho' forty miles distant, his passport is only the factor's cane, which he delivers him; upon shewing of which he is permitted to pass any where unmolested, and has credence given him, and confidence repos'd in him by the person he is sent to. The kings and great capashiers here are very fond of canes, and 'tis the greatest present the *African* company can make them, each of our castle capashiers having one as a badge of his office; and the king of *Sabo* had one given him about six foot long, thick, and with a large silver head, which he much esteem'd, and carried always with him.

Having landed all the castle cargo, which took us up a great deal of time, the *East-India Merchant* and our ship having each 300 tons of goods, and no boats to load it in but our own long-boats, which could not work both at the same time; and sometimes the sea so high, that we could do nothing for six or seven days together, the canoes not being able to come off to fetch the goods, which occasion'd our long stay here, together with filling our water, disposing of our windward cargo as much as we could, the castle refusing to take the remainder

mainder ashore on any terms, settling accounts with the company's chief merchants, taking corn aboard, &c. All which having at length effected, on the 24th of April about 5 in the evening I took my leave of the company's worthy factors here, who had heap'd upon me abundance of civilities during my stay with them, and whose candour I shall always gratefully remember, as well as that of all the honest gentlemen of our nation upon this whole coast, who endeavour'd to outvie each other in their favours and kind entertainments of us in their several factories, being overjoy'd at our arrival, and no less troubled and concern'd for our departure. But go we must; and accordingly, after a great many reciprocal endearments, I wish'd them all a merry *Christmas*, and took boat, having two chests of gold for the *African* company in *London* with me in her. I had order'd the ship to be got under sail, and stand off and on in the road to expect us; but before we could reach her, we were overtaken by a very severe tornado, which, for fear of sinking the boat, the sea running very high, made us row right afore it, blowing extremely hard till 10 o'clock at night, by which time we were drove half way between *Cape Corce* and the *Mine-castle*; but then having less wind, we turn'd the boat's head, and rowed to the east to look for the ship, which, about one in the morning, we found at anchor off of the *Danes-hill* fort, which is about gun-shot from *Cape Corce* castle, to the east, on the top of a round steep hill. It has ten guns, and is impregnable by its situation, if it has men and provisions sufficient. We got it from the *Danes*, and now Mr. *John Rootsey* was factor there for the company, with about twelve soldiers in garrison. It has a very good garden belonging to it at the foot of the hill, which produces a vast quantity of limes and oranges.

When we came aboard we got in the chests of gold, and hoisted our pinnace upon the booms, but was acquainted by my mate, that when he came to an anchor with the small-bower in the tornado, bringing up the ship, the cable broke, so that he was forc'd to let go the best-bower, by which we rid all night.

April the 25th. This morning we took our leave of the castle, paying our respects in 15 guns, which they return'd, it being too late to salute them last night: About 8 o'clock sent our long-boat on the buoy to weigh the small-bower anchor, and get him aboard, but he was so settled in the ground with the tornado, that in heaving a strain the buoy-rope broke, and the boat drove to leeward; we after sent our boats

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with a taw-line and double-headed shot to sweep for him, but to no purpose, for they could not find him all day, therefore were forc'd to leave him behind; Captain *Shurley* got into *Animabo* this day, but the seeking for our anchor hinder'd us.

The 26th at 6 in the morning we hove up our best-bower, and stood to the East for *Animabo*; we pass'd by *Maury*, or fort *Nassaw*, possess'd by the *Dutch*; 'tis about a league from *cape Corce*; it lies high, and looks like a handsome small modern fortification, of about 16 or 20 guns; but I was not ashore there, therefore can say no more of it. About 9 o'clock we were abreast *Anisben*, which is a thatch'd-house, where our *African* company have a small factory, and lies about a league short of *Animabo*, where about 10 a-clock we arriv'd, and anchor'd in 7 fathom water, about a mile and half off shore, the castle bearing N. W. which we saluted with 7 guns, and were return'd the same. We moor'd our ship with ketch-anchor and hauser; and after dinner I went ashore to Mr. *Searle* the factor here, to know where and when we should send for the corn assign'd us here by the chief merchants at *cape Corce*, there being not enough to supply us there, and therefore were to call for the rest at this place, and *Aena*, to compleat our quantity of 700 chests each. Mr. *Searle* immediately order'd what quantity he had to be delivered us whenever our boats came for it, and entertain'd us very lovingly till night, when Capt. *Shurley* and I went aboard. *Animabo* lies in the kingdom of *Fantine*, is a pretty large town; the negro inhabitants are accounted very bold and stout fellows, but the most desperate treacherous villains, and greatest cheats upon the whole coast, for the gold here is accounted the worst, and most mix'd with brass, of any in *Guiney*; it lies about 4 leagues to the East of *Cabo Corce*. Our castle is pretty strong, of about 18 guns, where we were very kindly entertained by Mr. *Searle* some days, and by Mr. *Cooper* at *Aga* on other days. *Aga* is a small thatch'd house, about half a mile to the east from *Animabo*, on the sea-shore, having little or no defence except a few muskets. It has a large yard and fine pond for ducks. Mr. *Cooper* the factor, who is a very ingenious young gentleman, gave us a cordial reception, having the company of his wife (as he call'd her) to dine with us, as we had of Mrs. *Searle's* at *Animabo*, being both *Mulattos*, as was Mr. *Ronons's* at *Cabo Corce*. This is a pleasant way of marrying, for they can turn them off and take others at pleasure; which makes them very careful to humour their husbands in washing their linen, clean-

PHILLIPS.  
April,  
1694.

Fort Nassaw.

Anisben.

Animabo.

Aga.

H h h

clean-



PHILLIPS. cleaning their chambers, &c. and the charge of keeping them is little or nothing.

May, 1694. We lay at *Animabo* until the 2d day of *May*, when captain *Sburley* and I having each of us got off 180 chests of corn, fill'd two boats of water, and dispos'd of what we could of the remainder of our windward cargo, we took leave of Mr. *Searle* and Mr. *Cooper*, and got up our anchors, and stood to the E. along shore about 2 leagues distant; and at night came to an anchor in 15 fathom water. While we lay at *Animabo* we had frequently the company of Mr. *Fasleman*, the Dutch governor of *Cormantine* castle, to dine with us, and were handsomely treated at dinner one day by him at his castle of *Cormantine*, and the next day he and our factors favour'd me with their company aboard the *Hannibal*. *Cormantine* is a pretty neat fort of about twenty guns, lying much higher than ours, and about a league to the east of it. During our stay here, Mr. *Henry Nurse*, eldest son to agent *Nurse*, a very hopeful young gentleman, departed this life aboard the *East-India Merchant*, where he was third mate. Out of respect to him captain *Sburley* and I sent our boats and officers to attend the corpse to *Cape Coast* castle to be buried. When it put off from our ships we fired each 20 guns at half a minute's distance, as usual in such cases. He was interr'd in a by place in the castle very decently, as we were inform'd by our officers that return'd at night, and had all rings given them, as had all the factors of the castle. I had two little negroe boys presented me here by our honest factors, and two before at *Cape Corce*, with good store of *Muscovy* ducks, and other fresh provisions.

Cormantine.

May the 3d. This morning we got under sail, and stood along shore for *Winiba*. We had several canoes come off, which occasion'd our lying by often in hopes of trade, but found little, they wanting gold. At 8 in the evening we anchor'd lest we should out-shoot our port.

May the 4th. This morning at 8 made sail, and at 11 came to an anchor at *Winiba* in 9 fathom good ground; and having moor'd ship after dinner, went ashore to see for our canoes, which Mr. *Nicolas Buckrige*, the factor here, had promis'd to procure us for our use at *Whidaw*.

Here we got each of us one five-hand canoe, and set our canoe-men and carpenters to work to fit them with knees and timbers to strengthen them. We hal'd our long-boat ashore and trim'd her, being leaky, and much worm-eaten. We fill'd some water and cut good store of fire-

wood by the queen's permission. This queen is about fifty years old, as black as jet, but very corpulent. We went with Mr. *Buckrige* to pay our respects to her under a great tree where she sat. She receiv'd us very kindly, and made her attendants dance after their manner before us. She was very free of her kisses to Mr. *Buckrige*, whom she seem'd much to esteem; and truly he deserv'd it from all that knew him, being an extraordinary good-humour'd and ingenious gentleman, and understood this country and language very well. We presented her with an anchor of brandy each, and some hands of tobacco, which she receiv'd with abundance of thanks and satisfaction; and so bid her good night. She was so extremely civil before we parted, to offer each of us a bed-fellow of her young maids of honour while we continued there, but we modestly declin'd her majesty's proffer, and that night lay ashore with Mr. *Buckrige*. Next day we were forc'd to keep a fast; for the cook being dressing of dinner, among which there was a young pig roasting at a quick fire, the flame of it reach'd the dry palm branches that thatch'd the kitchen, which immediately took fire, and spread so in an instant, that, in less than a quarter of an hour, our dinner and kitchen were converted to ashes. Mr. *Buckrige* liv'd here in a little thatch'd house with mud walls, without any defence, and was often in great fear and hazard of being destroy'd and plunder'd by the *Quamboers*, who are an inland people, and frequently make ravages towards the sea-side for booty, and had sent him some threatening messages, tho' the queen assur'd him, that she would lose her own life before he should receive any injury; but he little depended upon that, but was very glad our ships were there for a safe retreat upon occasion. And one night being alarm'd with a rumour that the *Quamboers* were upon their march towards the town, he pack'd up all the company's goods ready to come aboard us, but that he was inform'd soon that it was a causeless report. He was building of a fort for his security about a musket shot from the sea-side, upon an eminence, and had rais'd the walls about eight foot high, square, and dug a tank within; but not having workmen nor other necessaries from *Cape Corce*, as he expected and wanted, the building went on but slowly, to his great vexation, who had now cover'd the tops of the walls with palm branches, against the rainy season, to keep the water from soaking in to decay them. He made bricks here, but sad crumbling unserviceable trash: and, as he told me, necessity had forc'd him

him to pound oyster-shells into powder, to serve for lime to make mortar, there being store of oysters on this coast, and the said oyster lime would fasten and cement very well; there was not above 20 houses in this town: round it are pleasant fields inclos'd with good hedges, and full of *Indian* corn and good grass, this country lying low; about a mile from the town towards the inland are divers large lakes or ponds of water; on the sides of which we saw many *Guiney* hens, and great diversity of other fowls, but the best sight was the vast herds of wild deer, which rang'd the plains about these lakes; of which I can modestly affirm, that I have seen 500 at once, but so very wild that they would not suffer us to come within shot of them, being inform'd by Mr. *Buckrige*, that the negroes method of killing them, was to lie perdue near the fountain where they came to drink in the night, and so take their conveniency of shooting them; and we being desirous to regale ourselves with a haunch of venison, lett my gunner and the gunner of the *East-India Merchant*, with guns and ammunition near the lakes to make wars with them in the night, at their own instance, who promis'd to victual our ships with venison by next day, having both been old deer-stealers in *England*, and understood the trade; but they were now it seems out of their element, for next day they return'd to us loaden with excuses, but no venison.

Here are a vast number of over-grown large baboons, some as big as a large mastiff dog, which go in droves of 50 and 100 together, and are very dangerous to be met with, especially by women; who I have been credibly assured they have often seiz'd upon, ravish'd, and in that kind abus'd one after another, till they have kill'd them. Here is plenty of wood, and good watering, but both about a mile to the east of the town.

Mr. *Buckrige* had a good trade here for gold, and were the fort that is begun compleated and arm'd, for the defence of the company's goods and factors, as well as the town and traders from free-booters, it would certainly turn to the *African* company's great advantage, there being no other nation near to molest or interfere in the trade, nor will the queen permit any other nation to settle here, tho' she complain'd that our agents at *Cape Coast* did neglect her in not sending her a cane, and a piece of silk for a cloth, according to promise, the same goods are in demand here as to windward on the gold coast.

Our business being compleated at *Winiba* by the 9th instant, we went aboard and got our ships under sail for *Acra*, Mr. *Buckrige* going my passenger, to pay a

visit to Mr. *Bloome* the factor there. Capt. *Sburley* has been long sick of a flux and fever, and is now very ill, and I troubled with violent convulsions in my head, that I can get no sleep without opiates, and so giddy that I cannot walk without assistance; we stood along shore all day with an easy sail to the east, and at night came to an anchor in 14 fathom water, with our stream-anchor and cable, which we have chiefly used along the whole coast for the easiness of weighing him.

May the 10th. This day had a fine gale at S. W. steering within two leagues of the shore along to the east till night, when chopt to an anchor in 11 fathom clay ground.

May the 11th. This day we lay be-calm'd.

May the 12th. We weigh'd early this morning, with a small breeze at W. S. W. and at 10 saw *Acra* fort; and at 12 let go our anchor in eight fathom water, about two mile off shore: Here Mr. *John Bloome* the factor order'd us the remainder of our corn, to compleat 700 chests apiece, which we got aboard, fill'd some water, and had pretty good trade, which encourag'd us to stay till the 17th, in which time we took 14 marks of gold, and 13 more in our way from *Cape Corce* here, having taken in all upon the coast for produce of as much of my windward cargo as I could dispose of, 113 marks gold, for account of the royal *African* company, and the owners of the ship. I bought a five-hand canoe here of the black general, who had surpriz'd and seiz'd the *Danes* fort here, forced the *Danes* general to fly to the *Dutch* to save his life, murder'd his second and several of the soldiers, and now trades with the *Dutch* interlopers, and supplies them with water and other necessaries, which they can get no where else, except the islands of *St. Thomas* and *Princes*. When the castle was surpriz'd there was store of merchandize of all kinds therein, and above 50 marks of gold, as I was inform'd by the *Danes* general, who soon left the *Dutch* and came to *Cape Corce* castle, where he was very kindly receiv'd and entertain'd by our agents; but finding no ships of his own nation arrive, he accepted of the offer I made him of his passage, gratis, with us to *Europe*, tho' he own'd he was in great fear of being call'd to an account in *Denmark*, for the loss of the castle, it being surpriz'd by a parcel of negroes that were admitted in, under pretence to trade, but were privately arm'd, and while his second was shewing them goods, one of them stabb'd him behind, and then disperfed to secure all the others in the castle, having a party lying conceal'd without,

PHILLIPS.  
May,  
1694.

The Danes  
fort taken  
by the  
Blacks.



PHILLIPS.

May,  
1694.

out, to assist them upon signal given; the general hearing a disorder in the castle, came out of his chamber with his sword in his hand to see what was the matter, and was immediately assaulted by two blacks, against whom he made good his ground for some time, calling to his second and soldiers for assistance, but finding none come, but in their stead more arm'd blacks, he betook him to a window, whence he flung himself out, and fled to the *Dutch* as before, but not without receiving several wounds, one of which had disabled his left arm; he was a young man about 26 years of age, which possibly may occasion the more reflections upon him; for what accidents happen to old men are pass'd over, and look'd upon as not to be avoided, whereas the same happening to a young man, are generally imputed to his ignorance, carelessness, or intemperance, tho' he may have more sense, care, and sobriety, than many of the formal long-beards.

The black  
general's  
entertain-  
ment.

This black general sent two of his servants to invite Mr. *Bloome*, Mr. *Buckrige*, and myself, to dine with him, which we accepted, and were carried there in hammocks he had sent to attend us; when we came to enter the castle the guard demanded our swords, which Mr. *Bloome* and *Buckrige*, and the rest deliver'd, but I refus'd, at which they seem'd concern'd, and went to acquaint the general, who himself came to receive us, and told me it was always the custom, that all who enter'd there left their swords at the gate, I reply'd that might be, but that it was never the custom of *English* commanders to part with their swords, upon any account whatsoever; in which finding me resolute, he seem'd satisfy'd and led us in; he shew'd us the way into the dining room, which was by climbing up a ladder, and entering thro' a hole, or scuttle: when we were ascended he drank to us in a glass of brandy, and all the guns in the fort were discharg'd; after we had walk'd about a quarter of an hour in the castle, I pull'd off my sword of my own accord, and gave it my own boy to hold, which I perceiv'd he took very kindly.

We were treated at dinner with plenty of punch and victuals, and indeed pretty well dress'd, considering the swinish manner 'tis the custom of the negroes to eat; but we were oblig'd for it to the experience the black general got in one of our factories, where he had served some time in quality of cook, and now went very often into the kitchen to give the necessary orders, tho' at dinner he was in great state, having a negroe boy with a pistol on each side him for a guard: He drank the king of *England's*, the *African* company's, and

our own healths frequently, with volleys of cannon, of which he fired above 200, during our stay there: The flag he had flying was white, with a black man painted in the middle brandishing a scymiter: The castle is old and much out of repair; it has about 16 guns, but much out of kelter; it lies about four miles to the east of our castle; in our return from thence we kill'd four hares with clubs, of which vermin here are vast numbers, in the sedge and furzes, which are hereabouts very thick: Mr. *Bloome*, with a little spaniel he had, would in half an hour's time take three or four of them when he pleas'd; but I thought them very insipid meat: The next day after our being with the black general, arrived at *Acra* two *Danish* ships of 26 guns apiece; as they pass'd by our ships they saluted us with 9 guns each, which we return'd, and they came to an anchor about a mile to the east of us; they were sent on purpose from *Denmark* to compound with the black general for the surrendering of their fort, and to settle it again, for which end they had brought with them a governor, soldiers, provisions, ammunition, merchandize, &c. They made some propositions to the black general while we were here, but his demands were so exorbitant, that they would not comply with them; tho' since I understood that the fort was deliver'd to them, upon signing an instrument, to quit all pretensions of reparation, or satisfaction, from the black general and his accomplices, for seizing the castle, and for the merchandize and 50 marks of gold that were in it, at the time of seizure, and pay down 50 marks of gold more upon delivery of the castle; all which they perform'd, and having resettled it, went for *Whidaw* to purchase slaves, and in their voyage thence to the *West-Indies*, put into the island of *Princes* for water, where *Avery* the pyrate fell in with them, fought, took, plunder'd, and burnt them, which was the unhappy end of their voyage. The poor *Danish* general went from us aboard his country-men, but not without reluctance, and fear of being harshly treated in *Denmark*; but it seems *Long Ben* (as they call'd that rogue *Avery*) prevented that.

Capt. *Thomas Shurley*, commander of the *East-India Merchant*, my consort, departed this life here, having been long sick of a fever and flux; he was handsomely bury'd in *Acra* castle, *a la Soldado*, his own ship firing guns at half a minute distance, during the time the corpse was rowing ashore: Mr. *Bloome*, myself, Mr. *Buckrige*, and the chief of the *Dutch* factory, held up the pall; after he was bury'd, according to the service of the church of *England*, his own ship fired 30 guns, the

Captain  
Shurley  
dies.

Hannibal

*Hannibal* 26, *Acra* fort 20, and the *Dutch* and blacks fort 16 each: He was very averse to making a will, and took it amiss when I urg'd him to it; he left the command of his ship to his first mate, Mr. *Clay*, and as to his own concerns, said his purser, Mr. *Price*, knew how all lay.

*Acra* fort.

*Acra* fort has about 20 guns, but a thin garrison, not consisting of above 12 white men; it is in form square, having a bastion or flanker at each angle, on which the cannon are mounted; the south flanker fell down while we were here, the rain having soak'd in, and wash'd away the clay and mortar from the stones, for want of lime therein, and were now building it up after the old careless rate. The *Dutch* fort of 16 guns, lies about musket-shot from ours, much higher, so that it looks into our fort, and would be able to do it a great deal of mischief, in case of a war; for there could no men ply our guns but they could pick off with their small shot: The town here is very small, not consisting of 20 houses, but in the inland is grand *Acra*, and other large towns, whence we have a good trade for gold, which is perfectly good and pure; hereabouts there are more lions, tigers, leopards, muscats, and other ravenous creatures, than in any other parts of *Guiney*, as I was inform'd by Mr. *Bloome*, who had sent hence a young tiger to Mr. *Ronan* at *Cape Corce*, which was very tame, and he presented me with, and I kept him in a wooden cage aboard, feeding him with guts of fowls, and other garbage, for he would eat nothing but flesh; he was so very gentle, that any of our white men might play with him thro' the cage with their hands, but at the sight of the blacks he would be outrageous; I have frequently put my hand in his mouth, taken him by the tongue and paw, without offering me the least injury, but wantonly playing, and permitting himself to be stroak'd like a cat, which he did in all kinds resemble, but that he was finely spotted like a leopard, and about the size of an ordinary greyhound, and as slender in his limbs and body, but he at length discover'd himself to be a true tiger, and that there was no changing of nature, as by the sequel will appear. I had purchas'd two civet-cats, which exactly resembled one of our foxes, except that their colour was a light grey, being about the same size; they were kept in wood coops, and fed with flower and water boil'd, but the civetty scent they so strongly emitted, was so offensive to me, that I never car'd to come near them. We bought several monkeys, baboons, and parrots, for a piece of eight each of a *Dutch* interloper, who was come from *An-*

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*gola*, where are accounted the best green parrots.

May the 16th. We had a very extraordinary fierce tornado, when riding only by our stream anchor, and being near the *East-India Merchant*, and in her haufe, lest we should drive aboard her, if the stream cable gave way, my mate let go the best bower anchor, by which he rid till the storm was over; then going to heave it up again, the cable broke; the longboat then was sent upon the buoy, but in heaving a strain, the new buoy-rope, of eight inches, broke also; we then swept him with a new shroud hauser of seven inches, but that broke as the rest; we swept him again with the new end of our stream cable of 12 inches, and brought it to the capstern, and hove the ship apeak, then heaving a mighty strain to weigh him, the stream cable broke likewise, then, as our last effort, we resolved to try what could be done with the sheet cable, the end of which by the help of negroe divers, we got past under the shank, then clapt a hitch upon it, which being well seiz'd we brought the cable to the geer capstern, and hove right up and down a great strain, then clapt on stoppers, and resolv'd to let the ship bob at him at all night, to waken and loose the anchor in the ground; having good flat service in the haufe, we got aboard our stream anchor, being now well fast, and resolving to venture no more anchors aground here, if we could not get up our best bower, having only the sheet and stream anchors to trust to.

May the 17th. In the morning we went to work, having the *East-India Merchant's* men and boatswain to assist us. We brought the sheet-cable to the geer-capstern; a violl, with runners and tackles, to our main-capstern, and had the greatest strain with both that I ever saw, steaving in *Turkey* being nothing to it. I expected every minute when something would give way; and immediately the cable broke within three feet of the haufehold, being a new cable of sixteen inches, and never wet before. This is the most holding ground that ever I knew: We being oblig'd to weigh our stream-anchor every night and morning, lest it should settle so far into the clay as not to be able to get it up. Few ships come here but leave their anchors behind 'em, as we were forc'd now; for having compleated all my business on shore, I set sail, and stood off and on all night, to wait for the *East-India Merchant*, which join'd me next morning: by which time, the current had drove me above four leagues to the east of *Acra*, notwithstanding I did my best to keep up to windward; so that

I i i

PHILLIPS.  
May,  
1694.  
A tornado.

PHILLIPS.

May,  
1694

I was forc'd to part from *Acra* without taking leave of honest Mr. *Buckrige* and *Bloome*. The *East-India Merchant* left her best bower-anchor behind as well as I, their cable breaking in weighing it, and not having time to endeavour its recovery.

May the 18th. We steer'd all day within two leagues along shore, (which is low and very woody) with a brave top-gallant gale at W. S. W.; at twelve at night were off the river of *Volta*, where our water shoal'd very much, which occasion'd us to steer off and keep the lead going every glass; but when we were over the bank of sand, (which the violent stream of that vast river has carry'd with it above three leagues into the sea) we deepen'd our water again. I was told, that the strength of the current of this river, where it exonerates itself, occasions the water to be fresh at sea for two or three leagues, and for satisfaction, when we were upon the bank against the boak of it. I had some sea-water taken up and tasted it, but found it as salt as any where else.

May the 19th. Steering along shore within three leagues, with fine easy gale, we spy'd a canoe making off towards us, whereupon we lay by and staid for her; when she came aboard the master of her brought in three women and four children to sell, but they ask'd very dear for them, and they were almost dead for want of victuals, looking like meer skeletons, and so weak that they could not stand, so that they were not worth buying; he promis'd to procure us 2 or 300 slaves if we would anchor, come ashore, and stay three or four days, but judging what the others might be, by the sample he brought us, and being loth to venture ashore upon his bare word, where we did not use to trade, and had no factory, we sent him away, and pursu'd our voyage; besides that we were upon the *Alampo* coast, which negroes are esteem'd the worst and most washy of any that are brought to the *West-Indies*, and yield the least price; why I know not, for they seem as well limb'd and lusty as any other negroes, and the only difference I perceiv'd in them, was, that they are not so black as the others, and are all circumcis'd, which no negroes else upon the whole coast (as I observ'd) are: The negroes most in demand at *Barbadoes*, are the gold coast, or, as they call them, *Cormantines*, which will yield 3 or 4 l. a head more then the *Wbidaw*, or, as they call them, *Papa* negroes; but these are preferr'd before the *Angola*, as they are before the *Alampo*, which are accounted the worst of all.

Arrival at  
Whidaw.

May the 20th. This morning about 9 o'clock we arriv'd at *Wbidaw*, being

about 60 leagues from *Acra* to the east, and let go our anchor in eight fathom water, about two miles off shore, and moor'd with our stream anchor right against the landing place, a little to the west of the great thick tuft of trees that looks like a barn, and other trees at the east end of it, making like a tower. This day got our canoes and all things else ready, in order to go ashore to-morrow to purchase our slaves.

May the 21st. This morning I went ashore at *Wbidaw*, accompany'd by my doctor and purser, Mr. *Clay*, the present Capt. of the *East-India Merchant*, his doctor and purser, and about a dozen of our seamen for our guard, arm'd, in order here to reside till we could purchase 1300 negroe slaves, which was the number we both wanted, to compleat 700 for the *Hannibal*, and 650 for the *East-India Merchant*, according to our agreement in our charter-parties with the royal *African* company; in procuring which quantity of slaves we spent about nine weeks, during which time what observations my indisposition with convulsions in my head, &c. would permit me to make on this country, it's trade, manners, &c. are as follow, viz.

*Wbidaw*, or *Quedaw*, lies in the latitude of 6° 10' N. latitude, being the pleasantest country I have seen in *Guiney*, consisting of champaigns and small ascending hills, beautify'd with always green shady groves of lime, wild orange, and other trees, and irrigated with divers broad fresh rivers, which yield plenty of good fish; towards the sea-shore it is very marshy, and has divers large swamps.

Our factory lies about three miles from the sea-side, where we were carry'd in hamocks, which the factor Mr. *Joseph Peirson*, sent to attend our landing, with several arm'd blacks that belong'd to him for our guard; we were soon truss'd in a bag, toss'd upon negroes heads, and convey'd to our factory; and this way of travelling being rarely used any where except in *Africa*, I think it may not be amiss to give some description of it.

The hamock is a large cloth made of cotton generally, but the factors have them very fine of silk, or broad-cloth; it's about nine foot long, and six or seven broad, slung at both ends with several small cords or ribbands, which draw up the ends of the hamock like a purse; at the end of which is a noose fitted to slip over the ends of a pole, about nine foot long, which cloth or hamock the traveller gets into, and either lies along or sits as he is dispos'd, then he is mounted on the heads of two negroes, which have small rolls of linnen betwixt

Manner of  
travelling  
in hamocks.

betwixt the ends of the pole and their heads, and away they will walk and run as fast as most horses can trot, chearfully singing in parts to each other till they are quite tyr'd, when, upon notice given, they are reliev'd by two fresh, and they in course by two more, there always being six negroes to attend the hammock, which are still'd hammock-men; and of these there are several sets, like our hackney's, to be lett at easy rates, to such as are not able to keep sets of their own, as the capparshiers and great men do, who use often to compliment us with their hammocks, to carry us from the king's town to our factory, which use to cost us more than if they were hir'd, their slaves incessantly importuning and dunning us for brandy and other dashes, which for our quiet's sake we were forc'd to give them, tho' they reap'd but small benefit thereby, their patroons taking all from them at their return. This country admits of no other kind of travelling for *Europeans*, by reason of the extraordinary and violent heat of the sun, in which an *Englishman* can scarcely walk half a mile without fainting; but the hammock travelling relieves us much; for as we sit or lie in that, there is a thin cloth thrown over the pole, which keeps the sun heat off, and lying down hollow on each side the hammock, with the motion of the negroes, attracts a fine cooling air; I have often taken pleasant naps in them travelling, and the generality of people in the *West-Indies* sleep in them of nights.

When any capparshier or man of puncto travels, he has ten or a dozen blacks, with guns, to attend his hammock, making great huzzaings according to their way, and firing along the road; and when arriv'd at his journey's end they fire a volley, which is the utmost of his grandeur.

Here are some horses, but very small, wild, and of no use but to eat, which the negroes do greedily, as well as dog's flesh, esteeming the last their greatest dainty.

Our factory, built by Capt. *Wiburne*, Sir *John Wiburne's* brother, stands low near the marshes, which renders it a very unhealthy place to live in; the white men the *African* company send there, seldom returning to tell their tale: 'tis compass'd round with a mud-wall, about six foot high, and on the south-side is the gate; within is a large yard, a mud thatch'd house, where the factor lives, with the white men; also a store-house, a trunk for slaves, and a place where they bury their dead white men, call'd, very improperly, the hog-yard; there is also a good forge, and some other small houses: To the east are two small flankers of mud, with a few pop-guns and harquebusses, which serve

more to terrify the poor ignorant negroes than to do any execution; while we were here the factor made a wide deep ditch, round the factory, and had my carpenters to make a draw-bridge over it, which has render'd it now pretty secure; for before it was enterable every rainy time, the walls being wash'd down, and when the rains were over, built up again. And here I must observe that the rainy season begins about the middle of *May*, and ends the beginning of *August*, in which space it was my misfortune to be there, which created sicknesses among my negroes aboard, it being noted for the most malignant season by the blacks themselves, who while the rains last, will hardly be prevail'd upon to stir out of their huts, and myself and poor men found it so by dear experience, the rains that fall down then being more like fountains than drops, and as hot as if warm'd over a fire.

The factory is about 200 yards in circumference, and a most wretched place to live in, by reason of the swamps adjacent, whence proceed noisome stinks, and vast swarms of little flies, call'd musketoos, which are so intolerably troublesome, that if one does not take opium, laudanum, or some other soporifick, 'tis impossible to get any sleep in the night; and that one I lay there was the most uneasy that I ever felt, for I had not lain down above an hour in the factor's bed, but I was so vex'd and tormented by those little malicious animals, that I was forced to get up again, and dress myself, put gloves on my hands, and tie a handkerchief over my face till day-light, which notwithstanding these troublesome devils would sting thro'; and the place so stung would be much inflam'd, and rise into a knob, much provoking the exercise of a man's nails; and had king *James* the first been there some time, he would have been convinc'd that scratching where it itches was not the greatest pleasure in the world, as 'tis said was his opinion. The best means I could find to allay the inflammation, was to rub the parts affected with lime-juice, or vinegar, which tho' for the present it produced a smart, the ease it gave, in a short time, made abundant recompence; therefore to shun the spight of this cursed little fie as much as we can, as well as to give us some cool air, (that which is confin'd in a close place in this country, appearing as intensely hot to an *European*, as if he suck'd in the heat at the mouth of an oven in *England*) we have negro boys to fan us all night with large fans made of skins. This factory seated as 'tis, proved very beneficial to us, by housing our goods which came ashore late, and could not arrive at the king's town (where

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(where I kept my warehouse) ere it was dark, when they would be very incident to be pilfer'd by the negro porters which carry them, at which they are most exquisite; for in the day-time they would steal the cowries, altho' our white men that attended the goods from the marine watched them, they having instruments like wedges, made on purpose to force asunder the staves of the barrels, that contain'd the cowries, whereby the shells dropt out; and when any of our seamen that watch'd the goods came near such porters, they would take out their machine, and the staves would insensibly close again, so that no hole did appear, having always their wives and children running by them to carry off the plunder, which with all our threats and complaints made to the king, we could not prevent, tho' we often beat them cruelly, and pinia'd some, but it was all one, what was bred in the bone, &c. whatever we could do would not make them forbear.

The factory prov'd beneficial to us in another kind; for after we had procured a parcel of slaves, and sent them down to the sea-side to be carry'd off, it sometimes proved bad weather, and so great a sea, that the canoes could not come ashore to fetch them, so that they returned to the factory, where they were secured and provided for till good weather presented, and then were near to embrace the opportunity, we sometimes shipping off a hundred of both sexes at a time.

The factor, Mr. *Peirson*, was a brisk man, and had good interest with the king, and credit with the subjects, who knowing their tempers, which is very dastard, had good skill in treating them both civil and rough, as occasion requir'd; most of his slaves belonging to the factory, being gold coast negroes, who are very bold, brave, and sensible, ten of which would beat the best forty men the king of *Whidaw* had in his kingdom; besides their true love, respect and fidelity to their master, for whose interest or person they will most freely expose their own lives.

From the factory to the king's town is about four miles, thro' very pleasant fields, full of *India* and *Guiney* corn, potatoes, yams, in great plenty, of which they have two harvests yearly.

On the road to the king's town are several little villages, or parcels of houses, which the negroes call *crooms*, and have each of them a captain, few of the houses being above five yards high, having no light but at the door, except the chief houses, which may have a hole bor'd thro' the walls; they are much like our sheep-houses in *Wales*, having for most part but

one room, where they eat and sleep together, the generality on the bare ground; the cappa-sheirs may have a mat spread under them, and a stone or hard bundle for a pillow. As soon as the king understood of our landing, he sent two of his cappa-sheirs, or noblemen, to compliment us at our factory, where we design'd to continue that night, and pay our devoirs to his majesty next day, which we signify'd to them, and they, by a foot-express, to their monarch; whereupon he sent two more of his grantees to invite us there that night, saying he waited for us, and that all former captains used to attend him the first night: whereupon, being unwilling to infringe the custom, or give his majesty any offence, we took our hammocks, and Mr. *Peirson*, myself, Capt. *Clay*, our surgeons, pursers, and about 12 men arm'd for our guard, were carry'd to the king's town, which contains about 50 houses. When we came to the palace (which was the meanest I ever saw, being low mud walls, the roof thatch'd, the floor the bare ground, with some pools of water and dirt in it) we were met at the entrance by several cappa-sheirs, with the usual ceremony of clapping their hands, and taking and shaking us by ours, with great demonstration of affection: when we enter'd the palace-yard they all fell on their knees near the door of the room where the king was, clapping their hands, knocking the ground with their foreheads, and kissing it, which they repeated three times, being their usual ceremony when they approach'd his majesty, we standing and observing till they had done; then rising, they led us to the room where the king was, which we found cover'd with his nobility upon their knees, and those that introduced us fell on theirs, and crawl'd to their several stations, and so they continued all the time we were with the king then, and all other times when we saw him.

When we were enter'd, the king peep'd upon us from behind a curtain, and beckon'd us to him; whereupon we approach'd close to his throne, which was of clay, rais'd about two foot from the ground, and about six foot square, surrounded with old dirty curtains, always drawn 'twixt him and his cappa-sheirs, whom he will not allow the sight of his handsome phiz. He had two or three little black children with him, and was smoaking tobacco in a long wooden pipe, the bole of which, I dare say, would hold an ounce, and rested upon his throne, with a bottle of brandy and a little dirty silver cup by his side; his head was tied about with a roll of coarse callicoe, and he had a loose gown of red damask to cover him; he

he has gowns and mantles of rich silver and gold brocaded silks, trimm'd with flowers of small party-colour'd beads, which were presents made him, as he told us, by white captains, who traded there, and his variety of which he often shew'd us; but he never wore shirt, shoe, nor stocking, in his life.

We saluted him with our hats, and he took us by the hands, snapt our fingers, and told us we were very welcome, that he was glad to see us, that he long'd for it, and that he lov'd *Englishmen* dearly, that we were his brothers, and that he would do us all the good offices he could; we returned him thanks by his interpreter, and assur'd him how great affection our masters, the royal *African* company of *England*, bore to him, for his civility and fair and just dealing with their captains; and that notwithstanding there were many other places, more plenty of negroe slaves that begg'd their custom, yet they had rejected all the advantageous offers made them out of their good will to him, and therefore had sent us to trade with him, to supply his country with necessaries, and that we hop'd he would endeavour to continue their favour by his kind usage and fair dealing with us in our trade, that we may have our slaves with all expedition, which was the making of our voyage; that he would oblige his cappaheirs to do us justice, and not impose upon us in their prices; all which we should faithfully relate to our masters, the royal *African* company, when we came to *England*. He answer'd, that the *African* company was a very good brave man; that he lov'd him; that we should be fairly dealt with, and not impos'd upon: But he did not prove as good as his word; nor indeed (tho' his cappaheirs shew him so much respect) dare he do any thing but what they please.

He desir'd us to sit down upon a bench close by him, which we did; then he drank to us his brother the king of *England*'s health, the *African* company's, our welcome, &c. in brandy, and pitto, which is a pleasant liquor made of *Indian* corn, soak'd in water, some so strong that it will keep three months, and two quarts will fuddle a man; it drinks much like new ale. We had not staid long before there came a repast on a little square table, with an old sheet for cloth, old batter'd pewter plates and spoons, with a large pewter bason of the same hue with his majesty's complexion, fill'd with stew'd fowls and broth, and a wooden bowl of boil'd potatoes to serve instead of bread; we had no napkins, knives, nor forks, laid us, nor do they ever use any, but always tear their meat; and indeed we had no oc-

casion for any, for our fowls were boil'd to such mash, that they would not bear carving. We had no great stomach to our dainties, however, in complaisance to his majesty, we supp'd two or three spoonfuls of the broth, which was very well relish'd with malagetta and red pepper; we often drank to the king out of a cup made of a cocoa-nut shell, which was all the plate I saw he had, except a little silver dram cup. He would bow to us, kiss his hand, and burst out often in loud screaming laughter. When we had signify'd to his majesty that we had satisfy'd our stomachs with his dainties, he gave some of the fowls out of the broth, with his own hands, to the little children that were with him, and the rest among his nobles, who scrambled for it on their bellies like so many dogs, making spoons of their hands, which they would dip into the broth, and then lick'd them, which sight did affect my stomach so much, (tho' it is not very nice) that I had much ado to refrain making them an addition of what I had eaten.

When they had done, the king ask'd for Capt. *Sburley*, and we acquainted him that he died upon the gold coast at *Akra*, when of a sudden his note was chang'd from laughing to a loud howling and crying, wringing his hands and often wiping his eyes, (tho' no tears came out) saying that *Sburley* was his great friend; that he was exceedingly troubled for his death, and that the gold coast negroes had given him something to drink which kill'd him; then he told us of mortar pieces, pictures, silks, and many other things, Capt. *Sburley* promis'd to bring him for presents: when Mr. *Clay* told him there were no such things on board, he seem'd to be angry, and told *Clay* that he was sure they were brought, but because *Sburley* was dead he would keep them for himself; but to appease him we promis'd to present him with blunderbuffes, silks, &c. which we had from the royal *African* company for that purpose; so after having examin'd us about our cargoe, what sort of goods we had, and what quantity of slaves we wanted, &c. we took our leaves and return'd to the factory, having promised to come in the morning to make our palavera, or agreement, with him about prices, how much of each sort of our goods for a slave.

According to promise we attended his majesty with samples of our goods, and made our agreement about the prices, tho' not without much difficulty; he and his cappaheirs exacted very high, but at length we concluded as *per* the latter end; then we had warehouses, a kitchen, and lodgings assign'd us, but none of our rooms

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had doors till we made them, and put on locks and keys; next day we paid our customs to the king and cappasheirs, as will appear hereafter; then the bell was order'd to go about to give notice to all people to bring their slaves to the trunk to sell us: this bell is a hollow piece of iron in shape of a sugar loaf, the cavity of which would contain about 50 lb. of cow-ries: This a man carry'd about and beat with a stick, which made a small dead sound.

We were every morning, during our stay here, invited to breakfast with the king, where we always found the same dish of stew'd fowls and potatoes; he also would send us a hog, goat, sheep, or pot of pitto every day for our table, and we usually return'd his civility with three or four bottles of brandy, which is his *sum-mum bonum*: We had our cook ashore, and eat as well as we could, provisions being plenty and cheap; but we soon lost our stomachs by sickness, most of my men having fevers, and myself such convulsions and aches in my head, that I could hardly stand or go to the trunk without assistance, and there often fainted with the horrid stink of the negroes, it being an old house where all the slaves are kept together, and evacuate nature where they lie, so that no jakes can stink worse: there being forced to sit three or four hours at a time, quite ruin'd my health, but there was no help.

Capt. *Clay* and I had agreed to go to the trunk to buy the slaves by turns, each his day, that we might have no distraction or disagreement in our trade, as often happens when there are here more ships than one, and the commanders can't set their horses together, and go hand in hand in their traffick, whereby they have a check upon the blacks, whereas their disagreements create animosities, underminings, and out-bidding each other, whereby they enhance the prices to their general loss and detriment, the blacks well knowing how to make the best use of such opportunities, and as we found make it their business, and endeavour to create and foment misunderstandings and jealousies between commanders, it turning to their great account in the disposal of their slaves.

When we were at the trunk, the king's slaves, if he had any, were the first offer'd to sale, which the cappasheirs would be very urgent with us to buy, and would in a manner force us to it ere they would shew us any other, saying they were the *Reys Cosa*, and we must not refuse them, tho' as I observ'd they were generally the worst slaves in the trunk, and we paid more for them than any others, which we could not remedy, it being one of his majesty's pre-

rogatives; then the cappasheirs each brought out his slaves according to his degree and quality, the greatest first, &c. and our surgeon examin'd them well in all kinds, to see that they were sound wind and limb, making them jump, stretch out their arms swiftly, looking in their mouths to judge of their age; for the cappasheirs are so cunning, that they shave them all close before we see them, so that let them be never so old we can see no grey hairs in their heads or beards; and then having liquor'd them well and sleek with palm oil, 'tis no easy matter to know an old one from a middle-age one, but by the teeth decay; but our greatest care of all is to buy none that are pox'd, lest they should infect the rest aboard; for tho' we separate the men and women aboard by partitions and bulk-heads, to prevent quarrels and wranglings among them, yet do what we can they will come together, and that distemper which they call the yaws, is very common here, and discovers itself by almost the same symptoms as the *Lues Venerea* or clap does with us; therefore our surgeon is forc'd to examine the privities of both men and women, with the nicest scrutiny, which is a great slavery, but what can't be omitted: When we had selected from the rest such as we liked, we agreed in what goods to pay for them, the prices being already stated before the king, how much of each sort of merchandize we were to give for a man, woman, and child, which gave us much ease, and saved abundance of disputes and wranglings, and gave the owner a note, signifying our agreement of the sorts of goods; upon delivery of which the next day he receiv'd them; then we mark'd the slaves we had bought in the breast, or shoulder, with a hot iron, having the letter of the ship's name on it, the place being before anointed with a little palm oil, which caus'd but little pain, the mark being usually well in four or five days, appearing very plain and white after.

When we had purchas'd to the number of 50 or 60 we would send them aboard, there being a cappasheir, intitled the captain of the slaves, whose care it was to secure them to the water-side, and see them all off; and if in carrying to the marine any were lost, he was bound to make them good, to us, the captain of the trunk being oblig'd to do the like, if any run away while under his care, for after we buy them we give him charge of them till the captain of the slaves comes to carry them away: These are two officers appointed by the king for this purpose, to each of which every ship pays the value of a slave in what goods they like best for their trouble,

ble, when they have done trading; and indeed they discharg'd their duty to us very faithfully, we not having lost one slave thro' their neglect in 1300 we bought here.

There is likewise a captain of the sand, who is appointed to take care of the merchandize we have come ashore to trade with, that the negroes do not plunder them, we being often forced to leave goods a whole night on the sea shore, for want of porters to bring them up; but notwithstanding his care and authority, we often came by the loss, and could have no redress.

When our slaves were come to the sea-side, our canoes were ready to carry them off to the longboat, if the sea permitted, and she convey'd them aboard ship, where the men were all put in irons, two and two shackled together, to prevent their mutiny, or swimming ashore.

The negroes are so wilful and loth to leave their own country, that they have often leap'd out of the canoes, boat and ship, into the sea, and kept under water till they were drowned, to avoid being taken up and saved by our boats, which pursued them; they having a more dreadful apprehension of *Barbadoes* than we can have of hell, tho' in reality they live much better there than in their own country; but home is home, &c: we have likewise seen divers of them eaten by the sharks, of which a prodigious number kept about the ships in this place, and I have been told will follow her hence to *Barbadoes*, for the dead negroes that are thrown over-board in the passage. I am certain in our voyage there we did not want the sight of some every day, but that they were the same I can't affirm.

We had about 12 negroes did wilfully drown themselves, and others starv'd themselves to death; for 'tis their belief that when they die they return home to their own country and friends again.

I have been inform'd that some commanders have cut off the legs or arms of the most wilful, to terrify the rest, for they believe if they lose a member, they cannot return home again: I was advis'd by some of my officers to do the same, but I could not be perswaded to entertain the least thoughts of it, much less to put in practice such barbarity and cruelty to poor creatures, who, excepting their want of christianity and true religion, (their misfortune more than fault) are as much the works of God's hands, and no doubt as dear to him as ourselves; nor can I imagine why they should be despis'd for their colour, being what they cannot help, and the effect of the climate it has pleas'd God

to appoint them. I can't think there is any intrinsic value in one colour more than another, nor that white is better than black, only we think it so because we are so, and are prone to judge favourably in our own case, as well as the blacks, who in odium of the colour, say, the devil is white, and so paint him.

Near the king's palace on one side is a town, consisting of about 40 houses wall'd round, in which are kept the king's wives, to whom none are admitted but an old cappaheir, who is captain of them; and the king himself. I have been assur'd by the interpreter here, Capt. Tom, (who is a sensible gold-coast negroe, and liv'd a long time with one of our factors, as his boy, and thereby learnt the *English* language, and is now one of the greatest men in the king of *Whidaw*'s court) that the number of the king's wives are near 3000; and considering the custom of that country, it's very probable, for each cappaheir has from 10 to 20 wives, more or less, as he pleases, and can maintain; all which, together with his goods, fall to the king at his death, there being no regard had to his children, they having nothing but what is privately convey'd away by stealth during their father's sickness, nor do the king's sons after grown to any stature come near him but in private, for fear of giving umbrage to the great cappaheirs, who expect next to be elected king, and to them the king's sons give as much respect as the meanest subject: When the king dies all his wives and estate fall to the next king by election. The present king often, when ships are in a great strait for slaves, and cannot be supply'd otherwise, will sell 3 or 400 of his wives to compleat their number, but we always pay dearer for his slaves than those bought of the cappaheirs, his measure for booges being much larger than theirs, and he was allow'd accordingly in all other goods we had.

For every slave the cappaheirs sold us publicly, they were oblig'd to pay part of the goods they receiv'd for it to the king, as toll or custom, especially the booges, of which he would take a small dish-full out of each measure; to avoid this they would privately send for us to their houses in the night, and dispose of two or three slaves at a time, and we as privately would send them the goods agreed upon for them; but this they did not much practise for fear of offending the king, should he come to know it, who enjoins them to carry all their slaves to be sold publicly at the trunk with his own; sometimes after he had sold one of his wives or subjects, he would relent, and desire us to exchange for another, which

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of blacks.

we freely did often, and he took very kindly.

Their marriages are as in the primitive times. When a man fancies a young woman he applies himself to her father, and desires her for wife, which is seldom refus'd; then he gives her a fine cloth, and bracelets and necklaces of rangles mix'd with coral for her arms and neck; invites her friends and his to a treat of pitto, and the ceremony is over, never having a farthing portion with her.

Their women are most employ'd in making *Whidaw* cloths, mats, baskets, canchy, pitto, and in planting and sowing their corn, yams, potatoes, &c. The *Whidaw* cloth is about two yards long, and about a quarter of a yard broad, three such being commonly joyn'd together. It is of divers colours, but generally white and blue. For a pound of leaf tobacco, be it never so rotten and bad, we could buy one of these cloths, which would yield a crown in *Barbadoes*; also one for eight knives, value prime cost eighteen pence. To make these cloths, especially the blue streaks, they unravel most of the sayes and perpetua-noes we sell them.

Close by the king's palace is an old rotten house he calls his armory, wherein are six old iron minion guns, about five hundred weight each, most dismounted and much out of kelter. These he values himself much upon, tho' they are fit for no service, but to create an esteem and dread in his poor ignorant subjects, by firing them sometimes as they lie upon the ground, which was done to welcome us upon our first arrival. His physician and gunner is a *Portuguese* negroe, and pretends to be a christian, and is called *John Fernando*. He can neither write nor read; however, he makes these poor people think him a brave fellow. When we first came here, he accosted us, and, in broken *English*, desir'd us to tell the king, That he was a good gunner, and he would serve us in all kinds, which (he pretending to be a christian) we promised; and it was not unpleasant to see with what impudence he would brag of his skill to the king, having had our promise not to detect him, which he would, by a wink, often put us in mind of.

Wars.

The *Whidaw*s are constantly at wars with the *Arda* and *Allampo* men, the *Quamboos* and *Achims*, and all the plunder is men and women to sell for slaves. I have seen nine or ten bags full of men, women, and childrens heads at a time brought to the king's town, when the soldiers return'd from ravaging, which they in great scorn and disdain would fling

and kick about, with shoutings for joy of their success against their enemies: and there are few of them but have a jaw-bone or piece of scull of some great man they say they have kill'd, hanging at the handle of their swords, which much resembles one of our pruning bills.

About the year 1692. the king of *Whidaw* was in great dread of one *Afferry*, a neighbouring prince, and a brave bold warrior, who us'd to trade with the *Europeans* on the *Allampo* coast for slaves, and I have been told was in great esteem with them, being of a more generous and noble disposition than is usual among the negroes. Upon some disgust this *Afferry* made wars with the *Whidaw*s, gain'd many battles over them, and declar'd, before he would sheath his sword, he would have the old *Whidaw* king's head and country, which put the old monarch in great terror; and finding his forces not able to withstand this furious invader, resolv'd to piece out the lion's skin with the fox's tail, and what he could not effect by strength, to accomplish by treachery: to which purpose he set all his engines at work; and at length, by frequent and large presents, and larger promises, corrupted two negroes in *Afferry*'s army to poison their gallant leader; who being ignorant of such base degenerate practices himself, was the less suspicious of others; and without any apprehension swallow'd the fatal dose, which put a period to all his conquests, and he died by the villainy of two mercenary traitors of his own, who slighted the appearance of the greatest *Whidaw* army in open field, and thereby the old trembling *Whidawer* was secur'd on his throne; tho', when I was there, I observ'd, he could not hear his name mention'd without some consternation upon his spirits. And, since 'tis come in my way, I shall insert all that, by the strictest inquiry, I could learn concerning their poisoning, so much dreaded and talk'd of in the world.

I have taken one cappaheir at a time *Poisoning.* privately to my warehouse, where, after I had well warm'd him with brandy and other strong liquors (the key of most secrets) express'd abundance of kindness to him, and made him some presents, I have desir'd him to be very ingenuous and free with me, and give me a full account how, in what manner, and with what they use to poison the white men that were not good, as I term'd them, to induce them to the greater freedom; if it was a common practice in their country, and what antidote they knew most prevalent to dispel the malignity. All that I could screw from them, was, that there was

was poison to be bought far up in the inland countries, but that it was so dear, that as much as would serve to poison a man would cost the value of three or four slaves; that it was their common way, as they were inform'd, to do it in water or other liquor the party drank; that generally the small ball of poison was stuck under the nail of their little finger (which indeed they wear at a great length) and insensibly drop'd into the callibash or cup drunk out of, and it would instantly dissolve, and was of that prodigious strength, that nothing would prevail against the venom if it was right made. They added, That they never knew it practis'd in that country, and believ'd the chief reason was the scarcity and dearness of it. When I was first with the king, I desir'd he would order and take care that we should have no foul play offer'd us by poison; at which he laugh'd, and said there was no such thing in his dominions; tho' we could observe, that he was so cautious himself, that he would not drink out of the same cup as we and his cappsheirs did all the time we were there, but kept a little silver one by his side on purpose; nor would he taste of our brandy out of the bottle till we drank first; but his cappsheirs were not so squeamish, but would drink out of any cup, or any liquor we would give them; and we seldom fail'd of their custom three or four times a day, when they must each have a large glass of brandy, which they drank as freely as we do claret. When we went to the trunk we were oblig'd always to carry three or four bottles of brandy to drink at our bargains; and they would often beg brandy of us under pretence they had married a new wife, and must make merry, which we always gave them to keep them in good temper. And here I cannot forget a story of the uxorious old king of *Whidaw*, who sent for me one night to come privately to him; which having done, he told me that he had married a pretty young girl that he had a great kindness for, and was that night to bed her, and therefore desir'd me to present him with a rundlet of brandy to give her friends to be merry with, and to order my doctor to prescribe him something to make him lusty, and perform his task vigorously; but to be sure that what he gave him should do him no harm. Being willing to indulge him in his humour, I promis'd the brandy, and that I would order my doctor to attend him; and if he gave him any thing, he would pawn his life it should not damage him; whereupon I took leave, and wish'd him

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a merry christmas. I sent the brandy and my surgeon to him, who gave him a dose of *Spanish* flies, which so heated the old man's reins, that next morning he bragg'd to us, that he never had a pleasanter night, nor behaved himself more gallantly, making large harangues upon the charms of his mistress, and other impertinences relating to his last night's adventure. He gave the doctor many thanks, and presented him with two good cloths.

In the island of *St. Thomas*, lying under the equator, subject to *Portugal*, the inhabitants are so exquisite at poisoning, that it has been affirm'd to me, they will cut meat from the same joynt, with the same knife; that piece they carve their enemy shall be poison'd, the rest not, one side of the knife only being poison'd. How true this is I know not; but I verily believe the *Portuguze* in these islands to be greater rogues and villains than the negroes are, being most of them banditti, banish'd *Portugal* for murders and other heinous crimes; but when I touch'd there in my passage to *Barbadoes*, I cannot say that either myself or men receiv'd any injury in that kind.

Provisions at *Whidaw* are good and plenty, viz. cows and hogs; the first very small, sold for five, six, or seven bars of iron each, value about twenty shillings in *England*. The hogs are large, and make excellent pork, it eating sweeter and whiter than ours in *England*. And indeed it cannot but be good, for the poorer sort of negroes have more regard to their hogs than to themselves, and feed them better. For a well-grown well-fed hog we use to give seven bars, which went as far in victualling our men aboard, as two kine of five and six bars each. Here are goats and sheep, but very small and poor; also some tame fowl of the bigness of our chickens, of which we could buy three or four for a gullina of cowries, or one for a knife. Here are some *Muscovia* ducks, but not in that plenty they are upon the gold coast. The fresh rivers afford store of good fish; some very large, of which the king would often present us. The negroes admire dog flesh before any other, of which I have seen many very fat brought to market to be sold. Their bread is made of *Indian* or *Guiney* corn ground, which they do between two stones call'd the *Cancy* stones, and *Rubber*, and is made as follows. First they place the cancy stone, which is smooth and broad, shelving in a frame; then put on it thirty or forty grains of *Indian* corn after it has lain some time soaking in water;

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ter; then with the rubber (which is a small stone big enough for one to grasp in his hand) they bruise the corn, and continue rubbing it till it is reduc'd to a meal (much as our painters grind their paint, often sprinkling water thereon to moisten it. Of the said meal temper'd with water they make round lumps like dumplings, which they boil in an earthen crock, or bake o'er the fire on an iron or stone; and this they call cancy, which, with a little palm oil, and a callibash of pitto, a few yams or potatoes, is the diet of the generality.

At *Whidaw* are several fairs or markets, but the largest is about a mile from the king's town, to the N. E. in the fields, under a tuft of trees, where twice a-week, I think on *Wednesdays* and *Saturdays*, there is a great congress of men, women, and children. Their chief wares to sell are *Whidaw* cloths, mats, baskets, jars for pitto, callibashes of all kinds, wooden bowls and cups, red and blue pepper, malagetta, salt, palm oil, cancy and such stuff. In this country the women go stark naked as they were born till they are married; then they cover their *pudenda* as a token of it; but 'tis the sign of a virgin to be bare; and they go so without any apprehension of shame or immodesty, of which I have seen above 200 at a time so. The young men do the same; so that of both sides they may see how they like their tackle before they go to work, and not, as we are forc'd to do, take wives at all adventures, without knowing their bodily defects and infirmities, which are cover'd and conceal'd by their cloaths.

The king's wives have liberty to come to this fair to sell their cloaths, &c. in making of which they employ most of their time. When they appear, all other negroes relinquish the path; and if any of us happen'd to be walking in their way, they would stop, call to us, and make signs with their hands for us to go aside, which we always readily did: and as they pass'd, they would salute us by bowing their heads and kissing their hands, laughing often very loud, and staring on us as if we were so many monsters.

Myself, doctor and purser once taking a walk with the *French* factor here, came to the king's wives town, and look'd over the wall, and saw many of them at work, and spake to them, and they in their dialect to us. Then the *Frenchman* (being too forward, as most of his countrymen are) went to open the gate, which was fasten'd with withs; whereupon all the women ran screaming away, and immediately came some cappaheirs from the king,

and desir'd us to forbear and come away thence, which we willingly did, but the *Frenchman* could hardly be perswaded.

Next morning when we came to breakfast with the king, he took occasion to tell us mildly of our miscarriage, and that it was against the laws and custom of his country for any to go near his wives town, but that he excus'd it in us being strangers, and consequently ignorant, and desir'd us to desist for the future, which we promis'd, and express'd a concern for having unknowingly disoblig'd him; but he resented it highly from the *Frenchman*, who, he said, knew the law, and might have inform'd us, and not led us there, and that he should suffer for it. To excuse the poor *Frenchman* I took all the blame upon myself, and assur'd the king it was I led him there accidentally; that the *Frenchman* was against it, and that I had no other end in looking over the wall, but to see what a brave town he had for his wives, that I might give an account of it when I came to *England*; but that none of us would come near it more. Then he took me by the hand, and said, If that was all, he was sorry he had mention'd it, and would not be angry with the *Frenchman*.

This poor *French* factor and a second live in a little mud house near the king's. There had not been a *French* ship there in three or four years, so that they were much dejected and poor, having no livelihood but from the king's bounty, and no opportunity to go thence. They din'd with us almost every day, and I gave them some provisions, and offer'd them their passage *gratis* to *Barbadoes*, whence they might soon get passage to *Martinico*; but fearing the usage they might meet with at *Barbadoes*, being enemies, they would not venture.

Near the king's town are thirty or forty large trees planted in some order and line; and there is the pleasantest walk in that country, the branches being so thick that they keep the sun off, and attract a fine cooling air. Under these trees I spent most of my time while I staid, where there was a small market kept; and, among other things in it, I observ'd an ordinary, which, for the novelty of it, I shall describe.

It was kept at the foot of one of the largest trees: the master thereof had for a table a piece of flat wood, about a yard diameter, which was placed on the ground. The meat was beef and dog flesh boiled, wrap'd up in a raw cow hide, and placed on one side, and an earthen crock with boiled cancies in it, to serve

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serve for bread on the other. When any one came to eat, he would down on his knees by the table, and lay eight or nine cowry shells thereon; then the cook would very dexterously cut him the value of what he pitched on in small bits, and give him his piece of cancy and some salt; if that did not satisfy his stomach, he would lay down more shells, and accordingly have more meat. I have seen eight or nine round his table at once, and he serve them all, and receive their money with great dexterity, and without the least confusion; but there was no need to change money, which was a great ease to him. For drink they went to the river; nor do the negroes usually drink till after their meat.

*Alligators.* As to strange beasts (except the natives) I saw none but alligators and snakes, tho' they told me there were great store of elephants, lions, tigers, leopards, &c. up in the country. Near adjoining to the king's palace are two pretty large ponds full of alligators, which the king highly esteems as a piece of great magnificence. Of these I have seen several on the banks of the ponds sunning themselves, and others with their snouts out of the water. The largest I saw was not above four yards long, and I think there is nothing they resemble more in shape than a lizard. We have sometimes thrown a lump of earth (for I don't remember I saw a stone, except cancy ones that are brought here, in this country) at those on the banks; and when struck they would gape very wide, scream out, run to the edge of the pool, and plunge in. We have thrown a dead goat in among them, and they have in an instant tore it to pieces, fighting very vigorously for it. I would have shot at some of them with ball, but the negroes would not give me leave; and I was loath to disgust them in any kind, lest they should avenge themselves by poison, which I was in great fear of, they having daily opportunities, for we had all our pitto and water from them. The blacks have a great respect for this hideous monster, it being their neighbour the king of great *Arda's Fatish* or god, as the snake is the god of the *Whidawers*: and here are vast numbers of snakes of a prodigious bigness, and black colour, I having seen one as big as an ordinary man's thigh. I never heard they were ravenous or did any harm, no more than the alligators in this country; and the blacks assur'd me they would not, and that I need not fear them. I have often had the snakes in the room where I lay, coming in thro' the holes in the walls

and thatch, and sometimes they have crawl'd upon the bed while I lay in it, which almost frighted me out of my senses; but the negroe boys, three or four of which always lay by my bed side, upon the least call would come and take them in their arms, and carry them into the next field, and put them down very gently; so they would if they saw them lying in the paths in our way. They worship this type of the devil, and deluder of mankind, with deep devotion here; and I have been told, the killing one has cost the lives of some white men.

Here are great plenty of turtle doves, in shooting of which I had good diversion when my head-aches would permit. There are a prodigious many monstrous bats lodge themselves in the day-time in the great trees afore-mentioned; among which once shooting at random with bird shot, there drop'd down above a dozen, which were most hideously deform'd, and as big as one of our black-birds.

Their musick here is much the same as *Musick.* to windward, consisting of a loud grating bellowing noise like a company of bulls or ass-negroes, which they make thro' hollow elephants teeth, of which four or five joyn'd with one that beats a piece of hollow brass or iron with a stick, makes their discord: and to this ridiculous musick they dance as untowardly, the whole being only an antick continued jumping of one at a time, with odd gestures of head, arms, and body.

The king had two little dwarfs which would often come begging cowries of us, which we durst not refuse them, tho' they deserv'd hanging more from us; for we were every night constantly disturb'd by them with a most unnatural sort of houlung they kept all night under the trees by our lodgings, which we could never prevail with them to forbear upon any terms, they saying it was praying for their king to the *Fatish*, who often spoke to them (and certainly I think all the devils in hell could not make a worse noise) out of a great wooden image by the king's palace, which they had endeavoured to carve like a man, but resembled more a devil. I having been often told, that that figure spoke every night to the cappasheirs and others its devotees, gave them to understand, that I would gladly hear it, and to that end I would go along with them when they pleas'd. They answer'd, It was in the night-time it spake, and about the usual time promis'd to call me if I would venture with them. I thank'd them, and assured them I would sit up on purpose to expect them. Accordingly about mid-night they came,

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came, and I went with them; but, for fear of tricks, took four of my men with me, well arm'd with pistols and cutlasses. When we arrived at the image they made abundance of profound bows and other reverences to it, while I did nothing but look on, expecting the voice. After I had waited half an hour, I ask'd them why it did not speak? They reply'd, It would speak presently. I stay'd two hours longer, but not a word from the stock; at which the blacks seem'd to be much surpriz'd, saying, They never knew it so long without speaking before. I began to grow impatient of waiting so long, therefore ran the ferrel of my cane into the mouth of it, and turn'd it therein several times, which they wish'd me to forbear for fear it should do me harm. I told them, That I saw nothing to be afraid of but a piece of wood, and that if it could speak, I was resolv'd to make it. Whereupon I took out one of my little pistols (I always carried loaden in my pockets in this country for fear of surprise) and fir'd at the ill-favour'd image, and the bullet went in under its left eye. When the negroes saw me going to shoot, they all run away and left me and my men there, where we stay'd about half an hour after, but not a syllable of complaint of the wound or any thing else could we hear: so we e'en left the image with the bullet in his buggilog, and went to bed. But next morning those that were with me, and others that heard what I had done, were astonish'd to see me alive. When next I saw the king I told him of it, who assur'd me it spake every night to the blacks, but would not to the white men. I answer'd, That if it could have spoke, it certainly would when I shot it; but that he knew it was a piece of wood, and it was impossible for it to speak. He reply'd, That he knew the figure was wood, but that it was most true, that the *Fatish* or god us'd to speak out of it; that himself had often heard it, and wish'd it might do me no mischief for abusing it. I told him, If his subjects did not do me harm by poison, I did not fear the *Fatish* at all; and he assur'd me I need not fear the other. I have often seen little figures of clay about their houses, with oil, rice, corn, and other offerings before them; also goats ript open, spread and hung on trees, as sacrifices to the *Fatish*. And in truth they have so many things they call *Fatishes*, that I could never understand the true meaning of the word. On the gold coast when they make any solemn promise or oath, they take about six spoonfuls of water mix'd with some powders of divers

colours, which the *Fatishman* puts into it; which potion is to kill them the very minute that they break or violate the oath or promise they took it on, and which they firmly believe. Captain *Sburley* us'd to make his negroes aboard take the *Fatish*, that they would not swim ashore and run away, and then would let them out of irons. His potion was a cup of *English* beer, with a little aloes in it to imbitter it, which operated upon their faith as much as if it had been made by the best *Fatishes* in *Guiney*: for my part I put more dependance upon my shackles than any *Fatish* I could give them. When I was at *Cape Corce* castle, as I hinted before, I saw the *Fatish*, in all its circumstances, given to the new king of *Futto*, by Mess. *Platt*, *Ronan*, and *Melrofs*, the *African* company's three chief merchants there, the king of *Sabo*, and *Nimpha* the general of the *Arcanys*. The occasion of which, as well as I could learn it, is as follows.

The *Arcanys*, who are the best traders Arcanys. to our ships and castles, and have the purest gold, are an inland people; so that to come to the sea-side to our factories and shipping, they were oblig'd to pass thro' the territories of other princes with their gold to buy, and back with the commodities purchas'd; which tho' very troublesome because of the distance, yet they underwent it with great alacrity. Among others they were to pass thro' the king of *Futto*'s country, which they did for some time without interruption; but at length the *Futtoers* designing to make a prey of the *Arcanys* (instigated by our no-friends the *Dutch* at the *Mine-castle*, refus'd them passage thro' their country to our castles and ships, but would force them to buy the goods from them at their own rates, which they had bought from the *Dutch*, and which the *Arcanys* could buy cheaper and better at our castles; so that both they and we suffer'd by this obstruction: and the *Futtoers* would, upon refusal of the *Arcanys* to deal with them, abuse the traders, and plunder them of their gold.

This treatment the *Arcanys* so far stomach'd and resent'd, that some of their principal merchants resolv'd to unite together with lives and fortunes to reduce the king of *Futto* to justice. To effect which they made war against him, and chose one *Nimpha*, the most eminent of their traders, and for fortune, experience, and courage the best qualified, for their general. And having communicated their resolutions to our chief merchants at *Cape Corce*, they receiv'd from them all due encouragement to forward their

their generous design, with a promise to supply them with arms, ammunition, and other necessities of war for their expedition. The *Arcanys* pursued their resolutions to raise an army; and, to render it the more formidable, hired the king of *Sabo* and his subjects into their service. And indeed that prince is one of the most majestic and warlike negroes that I have seen; and I have been assur'd his actions in the field do well answer his aspect and port. The *Arcanys* joyn'd by the *Saboers*, and several *Cape Corce* negroes our chief merchants sent to assist them, under the command of captain *Hansico*, captain *Amo*, and others of the castle cappaheirs, made an army up of 20000 blacks, and march'd directly against the king of *Futto*, who, for defence of his country, had raised much such another army. They had many small skirmishes, pickeering with each other, the negroes not caring for a fair set battle, but watch to get advantages by ambuscades and surprizes, in which the *Arcanys* and *Saboers* were so successful, that they reduc'd the king of *Futto* to great streights, and at length forc'd him to abandon his chief town, and flee to the *Dutch* general at the *Mine* for protection, who gave him sanctuary. In the interim *Nimpha* and the king of *Sabo* entred his town triumphantly, plunder'd and burn'd most of it, and constituted his brother king in his stead; and having oblig'd all the great cappaheirs in *Futto* to take the *Fatish* to be true to their new king, they brought him along with them to *Cape Corce* castle, there to take the *Fatish* to be a true friend to the *English*, and promote their interest in all kinds; to be at eternal enmity with his brother the late king; to preserve an inviolable friendship with the *Arcanys*; and to suffer them to pass thro' his country to and from our factories with their gold and goods, without any molestation. Which articles ingraven on parchment in the name of the royal *African* company of *England*, *Nimpha*, and the king of *Sabo*, the king of *Futto* signed by making his mark, and captain *Sburley*, myself, and divers of our factors and the castle cappaheirs witnessed them. Then the king of *Futto* took the *Fatish* on his bare knees to keep them inviolably, which was six spoonfuls of water, in which the *Fatisher* had put about a dozen sorts of powders, which none but himself knew what they were; and having stirr'd them well, gave the king of *Sabo* his potion, assuring him, that, upon the least infringement of the articles he took it upon, he would in the twinkling of an eye drop down as dead as a door-nail, which he

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seem'd firmly to believe. This new king of *Futto* had a very dull dronish aspect and mien, and was carry'd every where upon a negroe's back, his foot being fore with a worm.

When the king of *Sabo* and *Nimpha* came to our castle first in their return from the war, it and our ships saluted them with nine guns each, and they us with their small shot. They walk'd under canopies with several horse-tails tied to them, having constant shooting before them till they came to the castle gate, where having flourish'd their swords antickly, they entred, and with great respect kiss'd all our hands, we taking and shaking them by theirs, and bidding them welcome. Our agents order'd a hog'shead of brandy to be set on end without the castle, and the head knock'd out, for all the army to drink the *African* company's healths.

The king of *Sabo* had two wives always accompanied him to the wars, and were with him now, often picking his head publicly, and eating the lice, which is a common custom here; nor is it any shame to be lousy among them. I have given the best account I can of this sort of *Fatish*, and the occasion of it. They have little pieces of gold exquisitely made in divers figures, which, for ornament, the blacks wear tied to their hair, and about their necks, wrists, and small of the leg, and these they call *Fatishes*: also every negroe has some creature or other he pays his devotions to, and admits and supposes to be his guardian, to take care of him and keep him from all harm, which he calls his *Fatish*. That of general *Nimpha* was a cow; and our factors having kill'd one to entertain us before our departure, which, by the way, is the greatest token of respect and welcome that can be shewn a friend in this country (and which the *Dutch* general at the *Mine*-castle shew'd Mr. *Ronan*, captain *Sburley*, captain *Freeman*, and myself, when he invited us to dine there, a cow being kill'd and dress'd all at once) when we came to dinner at *Cape Corce*, we could not persuade *Nimpha* (who, together with the kings of *Sabo* and *Futto*, us'd to have the favour to sit at table with us) to touch a bit, nor so much as come to look on the meat; and his reason was, because it was his *Fatish*, which he was sorry we had kill'd, and would not eat of. Others have a dog, sheep, leopard, or what else they fancy for their *Fatish* to keep them from harm. So ignorant and superstitious are these poor creatures, that when I was at *cape Mounseradoe*, observing a negroe of some quality wear a slip

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of leopard skin about his arm, I enquir'd of him the reason of it? and he inform'd me that it was his *Fatish* to keep him from the thunder, which indeed is very dreadful there, captain *Shurley* having lost his fore-mast thereby, as I before noted. Others wear tigers teeth, goats horns full of a reddish paste, bones of fishes, &c. all which have their peculiar virtues to defend them from some imminent danger or other; and this is all I could learn of their *Fatishes* during my short stay on this coast.

The *Whidawers* much admire white men, and say, That God loves them, because they have such plenty of all sorts of commodities; and are much puzzled to think how we find the way thro' the sea into their country. The king's *Fatishman* here pretends to great power and skill; as for instance, we happening to be there in the rain seasons, when the sea is most turbulent, it chanc'd to be one time so grown and exceeding boisterous, that our canoes were not able to bring us any goods ashore for 18 days, which made the cappartheirs backward in selling us slaves, by reason we had no goods ashore to pay for them; whereupon we made our complaint to the king, that it was a great hinderance to our business that they would not give us credit till our goods could be brought us, of which we had great plenty of all kinds, and that the violent raging of the sea was the reason we had not them ashore; that, if they would trade with us, we would give them our notes for what we bought, and honestly pay them as soon as the sea was calmer. The old king desir'd me to be easy, and he would make the sea quiet next day. Accordingly he sent his *Fatishman* with a jar of palm-oil, a bag of rice and corn, a jar of pitto, a bottle of brandy, and a piece of painted callicoes, and several other things to present the sea to appease it. When the *Fatishman* came to the sea-side (as I was inform'd by my men that were there and saw the ceremony) he made a speech to it, assuring the sea that his king was its friend, and lov'd the white men; that we were honest fellows, and come to trade with him to supply his country with what he wanted, and that he requested the sea not to be angry, nor hinder us to land our goods; and told it, That if it wanted palm oil, his king had sent it some; and so threw the jar with the oil into the sea, as he did with the same compliment the rice, corn, pitto, brandy, callicoe, &c. It happen'd the next day that the sea was somewhat smooother, and we got ashore some goods, which the old king was very proud of,

and appropriated to his *Fatishman*, tho' it really proceeded from the moon's being near the wain, at which time, in all these southern countries, the gales are more faint, and the sea calmer, than at full and change. However, we let him indulge himself with the fancy, being glad we had our goods to trade. This *Fatishman* told me he could make it rain corn or salt if he pleas'd. I promis'd him large gratuities if he would shew me one instance of his skill in that kind; but he was too conscious of his inability and deceit to accept them, or attempt it. The following story I had from Mr. *Pierfon*, factor here for the *African* company, who was sent here from *Cape Corce* to be second to Mr. *Smith* then chief factor. Soon after his arrival Mr. *Smith* fell very ill of the country malignant fever; and having little prospect of recovery, resign'd his charge of the company's affairs to *Pierfon*. This Mr. *Smith* had the character of an obliging ingenious young gentleman, and was much esteem'd by the king, who hearing of his desperate illness, sent his *Fatishman* to hinder him from dying; who coming to the factory, went to Mr. *Smith*'s bed-side, and told him, That his king had such a kindness for him, that he had sent him to keep him alive, and that he should not die. Mr. *Smith* was in such a languishing condition, that he little regarded him. Then the *Fatishman* went from him to the hog-yard, where they bury the white men; and having carry'd with him some brandy, rum, oil, rice, &c. he cry'd out aloud, *O you dead white men that lie here, you have a mind to have this factor that is sick to you, but he is our king's friend, and he loves him, and will not part with him as yet.* Then he went to captain *Wiburn*'s grave who built the factory, and cry'd, *O you captain of all the dead white men that lie here, this is your doings; you would have this man from us to bear you company, because he is a good man, but our king will not part with him, nor you shall not have him yet.* Then making a hole in the ground over his grave, he pour'd in the brandy, rum, oil, rice, &c. telling him, *If he wanted those things, there they were for him, but the factor he must not expect, nor should not have, with more such nonsense; then went to Smith, and assur'd him he should not die; but growing troublesome to the sick man, Pierfon turn'd him out of the factory, and in two days after poor Smith made his exit.*

After we are come to an agreement for the prices of our slaves, ere the bell goes round to order all people to bring their slaves to the trunk to be sold, we are



are oblig'd to pay our customs to the king and cappaheirs for leave to trade, protection and justice; which for every ship are as follow, viz.

Customs  
and duties.

To the king six slaves value in cowries, or what other goods we can persuade him to take, but cowries are most esteem'd and desir'd; all which are measur'd in his presence, and he would wrangle with us stoutly about heaping up the measure.

To the cappaheirs in all two slaves value, as above.

The usual charges here which we pay at our departure when we have finish'd our trade, in any goods that remain, are

One slave value to the captain of the trunk for his care of our slaves while there.

One slave value to the captain of the sand for his care of our goods.

One *ditto* to the captain of the slaves who conducts them safe to the sea-side.

One *ditto* to captain Tom the interpreter, for his trouble.

One *ditto* for filling water.

Half a slave, or as much cowries as the cavity of the bell can contain, to the bell-man.

Besides all which our factory charges, victualling the negroes after bought till they get aboard, and hire of porters to bring up the goods from the sea-side, which is seven miles at least, and the stoutest fellow would not bring above two bars of iron at a time, and make but one trip in a day, took up great quantities of our cowries, we paying these last charges in nothing else but these shells.

Goods.

The best goods to purchase slaves here are cowries, the smaller the more esteem'd; for they pay them all by tale, the smallest being as valuable as the biggest, but take them from us by measure or weight, of which about 100 pounds for a good man-slave.

The next in demand are brads neptunes or basons, very large, thin, and flat; for after they have bought them they cut them in pieces to make anilias or bracelets, and collars for their arms legs and necks.

The other preferable goods are blue paper stetias, cambricks or lawns, caddy chints, broad *ditto*, coral, large, smooth, and of a deep red, rangoes large and red, iron bars, powder, and brandy.

With the above goods a ship cannot want slaves here, and may purchase them for about three pounds fifteen shillings a head, but near half the cargo value must be cowries or booges, and brads basons,

to se toff the other goods that we buy cheaper, as coral, rangoes, iron, &c. else they will not take them; for if a cappaheir sells five slaves, he will have two of them paid for in cowries, and one in brads, which are dear slaves; for a slave in cowries costs us above four pounds in *England*; whereas a slave in coral, rangoes, or iron, does not cost fifty shillings; but without the cowries and brads they will take none of the last goods, and but small quantities at best, especially if they can discover that you have good store of cowries and brads aboard, then no other goods will serve their turn, till they have got as much as you have; and after, for the rest of the goods they will be indifferent, and make you come to their own terms, or else lie a long time for your slaves, so that those you have on board are dying while you are buying others ashore; therefore every man that comes here, ought to be very cautious in making his report to the king at first, of what sorts and quantities of goods he has, and be sure to say his cargo consists mostly in iron, coral, rangoes, chints, &c. so that he may dispose of those goods as soon as he can, and at last his cowries and brads will bring him slaves as fast as he can buy them: but this is to be understood of a single ship: or more, if the captains agree, which seldom happens; for where there are divers ships, and of separate interests, about buying the same commodity they commonly undermine, betray, and out-bid one the other; and the *Guiney* commanders words and promises are the least to be depended upon of any I know use the sea; for they would deceive their fathers in their trade if they could.

Sayes, perpetuanoes, knives, old sheets, pewter basons, muskets, &c. which are the best goods on the gold coast for gold, are in no esteem here; for they would have four perpetuanoes for a slave, which, at prime cost in *England*, came to 4 *l.* 15 *s.* so of the rest, especially salempores or fine callicoes, of which they would have four for a slave, which were charged to us by the *African* company at six pounds first cost; so that it was great loss to send such goods; for we could buy for ten ounces of good coral, 300 in number of good red rangoes, or fourteen bars of iron, which did not come to above forty-five shillings, as good a slave as for four pieces of callicoes that cost six pounds *Sterling*.

The only money they have here are these cowries or shells we carry them, being brought from the *East-Indies*, and were charg'd to us at four pounds *per cent.* of which

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which we gave 100 *lb.* for a slave; as soon as the negroes have them, they bore holes in the backs of them, and string them on rushes, 40 shells on each, which they call a foggy; and five of such foggys being tied together, is call'd a galina, being 200 shells, which is their way of accounting their shell-money. When they go to market to buy any thing they bargain for so many cowries, foggys, or so many galinas, and without these shells they can purchase nothing.

King of  
Whidaw  
describ'd.

The king of *Whidaw* is about 60 years of age, as near as I could guess; for none of the negroes know their own age, nor do, or can they keep any account of time: He is of a middle stature, and spare, his hair and beard grey, his aspect but very ordinary and mean, and I believe so is his heart; he seems of a good free temper, and full of mirth and kindness, especially when he intends to beg a boon: He never went out of his palace while we were there, but in his palace-yard would walk bare-foot thro' the mud and water, with as little concern as any of his poor subjects; of which I have been told he can raise 40,000 in 24 hours.

His chief cappasheirs were Capt. *Springgatba*, I judge about 80 years old, and a politick blade; he expects to be king next, and governs the king now as he pleases. We found more difficulty, opposition, and quirkings from him in settling our trade, than from the king and all the other cappasheirs.

The next is Capt. *Charter*, the king's great confidant, who formerly was a boy to Mr. *Charter*, one of the *African* company's factors that was here, whose name he took, and is now very proud of. He is a very handsome sensible black, about 30 years old, and a generous trader. He sold us more slaves than all the other cappasheirs put together; all the blacks have their eyes on him, *Springgatba* being very old. Next *Charter* is Capt. *Tom*, the interpreter, Capt. *Biby*, Capt. *Agwa*, king *Tom*, who is brother to the king of great *Arda*, (and for some crimes banish'd his country, takes sanctuary here) and divers others, that attended the king when we were with him. About half a mile from our factory is a croom of negroes, which call themselves *Mine-men*, and assist the *Dutch* ships that come here in their business, but the *Dutch West-India* company seldom order their ships for slaves, but chiefly mind their trade on the gold coast, where they have more and better castles than we, and more advantageously seated, the *Mine* and *Com-mendo* being in the very direct path of the gold trade.

Except the afore-mention'd negroes, the

*Dutch* have no factory at *Whidaw*, nor any house: Some *Dutch* interlopers, when they have goods lying on their hands, that will not vend for gold, have orders to fall down here and dispose of them for negroe slaves, which they carry for *Surinam* and *Curisoa*, in the *West-Indies*.

At the island of *St. Thomas* I met with one that had 200 negroes aboard for *Surinam*, but had the misfortune, as well as we, to have a great sickness and mortality among them, which, together with their stink and nastiness, so fretted *Claufe* the *Dutch* skipper, that he swore sacrament, that notwithstanding his owners were brave and generous merchants, yet if he liv'd to come to *Holland* again, he would deliver them their ship; and if they would give him 100 *l.* pay *per* month to go and carry negroes again, he would not take it, but would sooner go elsewhere a common sailer for 20 guilders a month.

The road where our ships ride is very good and clean ground, and gradual soundings; the best anchoring is in eight fathom water, against a great tuft of trees that make like a barn, about a mile and a half off the shore, on which there runs such a prodigious swell and surf, that we venture drowning every time we go ashore and come off, the canoes frequently over-setting, but the canoe-men are such excellent divers and swimmers, that they preserve the lives of those they have any kindness for, but such as they have any displeasure to they will let shift for themselves, therefore 'tis very prudent for all commanders to be kind and obliging to them, their lives lying in their hands, which they can make them lose at pleasure, and impute all to accident, and they could not help it; and there are no amends to be had: The canoes we buy on the gold coast, and strengthen them with knees and weatherboards fore and aft, to keep the sea out, they plunging very deep when they go against a sea: They are made of the trunk of the cotton tree hollow'd, from a two hand to a 12 hand canoe, the largest being not above four foot broad, but 28 or 30 foot long; those that are most fit for the use at *Whidaw*, are five hand or seven hand canoes; of which each ship that buys many slaves ought to carry two, for they are very incident to be staved by the great sea when they overfet, and here is none for supply, and without them there is no landing or coming off for goods or men: The canoe-men we bring from *Cape Corce* being seven in number, of which one is boatswain, and is commonly one of the most skillful canoe-men in *Guiney*; he commands the rest, and always steers the canoe,

canoe, and gives his orders to the rest, when to row or when to lie on their paddles, to watch a smooth or shun a great sea, they see coming; their pay is certain and stated, half of which we pay them in gold at *Cape Corce*, and the rest in goods when we have done with them at *Whidaw*; 'tis also customary to give them a canoe to carry them back, and cut up the other for fire-wood, unless an opportunity offers to sell it, which is very rare. They lost us six or seven barrels of cowries, above 100 bars of iron, and other goods, by the over-setting of the canoes in landing them, which we could never recover, or have the least satisfaction for, but were forced to give them good words, lest they should, in revenge, play us more such tricks; we kept two men ashore here constantly to fill water, which lay and eat at the factory, which fill'd our small hog-heads in the night, and roll'd them over the sand to the sea-side, ready to raft off in the morning, before the sea breeze came in, which is the only time, we having no other way to get it off but by rafting, and in haling off to the longboat the great sea would often break our raft, and stave our cask, whereby we lost a great many. The longboat was chiefly employ'd in bringing water aboard, which we started into our butts in the hold, and sent the small cask ashore again next morning, of which we had two gangs on purpose; we had a little deal yaul which did us great service in bringing off cows, hogs, slaves, letters, &c. from the canoes, with only two boys in her: When our slaves are aboard we shackle the men two and two, while we lie in port, and in sight of their own country, for 'tis then they attempt to make their escape, and mutiny; to prevent which we always keep centinels upon the hatchways, and have a chest of small arms, ready loaden and prim'd, constantly lying at hand upon the quarter-deck, together with some granada shells; and two of our quarter-deck guns, pointing on the deck thence, and two more out of the steerage, the door of which is always kept shut, and well barr'd; they are fed twice aday, at 10 in the morning and 4 in the evening, which is the time they are aptest to mutiny, being all upon deck; therefore all that time, what of our men are not employ'd in distributing their victuals to them, and settling them, stand to their arms; and some with lighted matches at the great guns that yaun upon them, loaden with partridge, till they have done and gone down to their kennels between decks: Their chief diet is call'd dabbadabb, being *Indian* corn ground as small as oat-meal, in iron mills, which we carry for that pur-

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pose; and after mix'd with water, and boil'd well in a large copper furnace, till 'tis as thick as a pudding; about a peckful of which in vessels, call'd *crews*, is allow'd to 10 men, with a little salt, malagetta, and palm oil, to relish; they are divided into messes of ten each, for the easier and better order in serving them: Three days a week they have horse-beans boil'd for their dinner and supper, great quantities of which the *African* company do send aboard us for that purpose; these beans the negroes extremely love and desire, beating their breast, eating them, and crying *Pram! Pram!* which is, *Very good!* they are indeed the best diet for them, having a binding quality, and consequently good to prevent the flux, which is the inveterate distemper that most affects them, and ruins our voyages by their mortality: The men are all fed upon the main deck and fore-castle, that we may have them all under command of our arms from the quarter-deck, in case of any disturbance; the women eat upon the quarter-deck with us, and the boys and girls upon the poop; after they are once divided into messes, and appointed their places, they will readily run there in good order of themselves afterwards; when they have eaten their victuals clean up, (which we force them to for to thrive the better) they are order'd down between decks, and every one as he passes has a pint of water to drink after his meat, which is serv'd them by the cooper out of a large tub, fill'd before-hand ready for them. When they have occasion to ease nature, they are permitted by the centinels to come up, and go to conveniency which are provided for that purpose, on each side the ship, each of which will contain a dozen of them at once, and have broad ladders to ascend them with the greater ease: When we come to sea we let them all out of irons, they never attempting then to rebel, considering that should they kill or master us, they could not tell how to manage the ship, or must trust us, who would carry them where we pleas'd; therefore the only danger is while we are in sight of their own country, which they are loth to part with; but once out of sight out of mind: I never heard that they mutiny'd in any ships of consequence, that had a good number of men, and the least care; but in small tools where they had but few men, and those negligent or drunk, then they surpriz'd and butcher'd them, cut the cables, and let the vessel drive ashore, and every one shift for himself. However, we have some 30 or 40 gold coast negroes, which we buy, and are procur'd us there by our factors, to make

N n n

guardians

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guardians and overseers of the *Whidaw* negroes, and sleep among them to keep them from quarrelling; and in order, as well as to give us notice, if they can discover any caballing or plotting among them, which trust they will discharge with great diligence: they also take care to make the negroes scrape the decks where they lodge every morning very clean, to eschew any distempers that may engender from filth and nastiness; when we constitute a guardian, we give him a cat of nine tails as a badge of his office, which he is not a little proud of, and will exercise with great authority. We often at sea in the evenings would let the slaves come up into the sun to air themselves, and make them jump and dance for an hour or two to our bag-pipes, harp, and fiddle, by which exercise to preserve them in health; but notwithstanding all our endeavour, 'twas my hard fortune to have great sickness and mortality among them.

July 27.

Having bought my compliment of 700 slaves, viz. 480 men and 220 women, and finish'd all my business at *Whidaw*, I took my leave of the old king and his cappaheirs, and parted, with many affectionate expressions on both sides, being forced to promise him that I would return again the next year, with several things he desired me to bring from *England*; and having sign'd bills of lading to Mr. *Peirson*, for the negroes aboard, I set sail the 27th of *July* in the morning, accompany'd with the *East-India Merchant*, who had bought 650 slaves, for the island of *St. Thomas*, with the wind at W. S. W. At noon we had good observation in lat.  $6^{\circ} 18' N$ . the trees of *Whidaw* that seem like a barn, then bearing N. by W. about six leagues off, being just discernable; from which take my departure; we got in our longboat and bent a new fore top-sail.

Departure  
from *Whidaw*.

*Saturday* the 28th. We have had the winds constantly between the S. and W. we making use of all opportunities to get as much as we could to the southward, tho' were often forc'd to bear down and lie by for the *East-India Merchant*, which sail'd ill, and was very leewardly.

August,  
1694.Prince's  
island.

*Thursday* the 2d of *August*. We spy'd the island of *Princes*, bearing S. eight leagues off, and at noon were in latitude  $1^{\circ} 50' N$ . the south end of *Princes* bearing then S. S. W. six leagues off and the N. W. end S. W. by S. being a very high mountainous island; we made casting to this day noon from *Whidaw*, 297 miles, or 99 leagues.

*Friday* the 3d. We past by the island of *Princes* with the wind at S. S. W. and S. W. and at 6 o'clock on *Saturday* morning fell in with the land, it bearing E. S. E.

three leagues off, having then 12 fathom water, we tack'd off and lay W. and W. by S. the other way till noon, when we had good observation of the latitude, in lat.  $00^{\circ} 57' N$ . The land we fell in with was a low even tract full of trees, with a small island at the south end of it; I took it to be cape *St. John's* in the *Bight*.

*Sunday* the 5th. We ply'd along shore to windward, standing in to 14 fathom water, then off again; but our ship being very light would often refuse to stay or keep to; therefore this day we fill'd all the empty butts we had in the hold with salt water, and brought her somewhat more by the head. To day I had a fetton made in my neck, for the ease of my head, having often us'd blisters and other remedies to no purpose. We lost sight of the *East-India Merchant* last night, she having tack'd in the night, by reason of two grampus's, the men that look'd out saw a head of the ship, which they took to be two rocks, as we understood since. Of these grampus's there are great numbers in this sea, being as big as small whales, and are much enamour'd with the ships, which they will follow and wantonly play about, supposing it, I presume, some great giantick brother of their watry element. We use to have good diversion in seeing a fish, call'd a thrasher, combat these grampus's; for where-ever they meet they quarrel; as near as I can guess 'tis about four yards long, but very slender: When it engages it raises itself an end, quite out of the water, and falls upon the grampus with such violence, that we could hear the noise, and see the breach in the sea the blow made, above a mile; we observed the latitude this day, in  $00^{\circ} 25' N$ .

*Monday* the 6th. Plying to windward along shore in the morning, we spy'd a ship at an anchor under the land, and in less than an hour she got under sail, and stood off to us; we made a clear ship for her, but it proving hazey weather we lost sight of her. This morning we cross'd the line, being by our observation at noon in 10 minutes S. latitude; at which time our negroes being all upon deck at their dinners, a young tiger I had aboard, which was given me by Mr. *Ronan*, at *Cape Corce* castle, and which I kept in a wooden cage upon the quarter-deck, broke out of it, seiz'd upon a negroe woman's leg, and in an instant, before any of us could come to her rescue, tore the calf quite off, which as soon as one of our quarter-masters perceiv'd, he ran to him, and giving him a little blow with the flat of a cutlass, the tiger couch'd down like a spaniel dog, and the man took him up in his arms, dragg'd him

him along, and without any resistance, or harm, pent him up in his coop again.

'Twas strange to me to observe this ravenous wild creature, that he would be as familiar with our white men as a spaniel, letting them play with him, stroak him, take him by the tongue or paw, and would wantonly lick their hands, pat them with his foot like a cat, without offering the least injury; but when he saw a black, tho' at a distance, he would grow raving mad, bounce and leap in his cage as if he would break it to pieces, and his eyes would look like perfect fire, so that I was forced to get a larger and stronger coop made for him: and always hang an old sail before it to blind him, while the slaves were at victuals, else there was no appealing of him; but at last he shew'd himself a true tiger to us, and that nature is not to be chang'd, as I shall observe hereafter.

*Tuesday* the 7th. This Day we ply'd along shore to the south, taking the opportunity of the land breeze to stand off with, and the sea breeze to stand in; which we boldly did into 12 fathom in the day-time, and 15 in the night, as may be done all

along this coast without any danger. We <sup>PHILLIPS.</sup> were at noon this day in latitude  $00^{\circ} 24'$  south. <sup>August, 1694.</sup>

*Wednesday* the 8th. Yesterday at twelve we tack'd to the south, and lay up S. by E. with a fine fresh gale at S. W. by W. till four in the evening, when heaving the lead we had but 10 fathom water, tho' we were above four leagues off shore, the pitch of cape *Lopus* being then just discernable, bearing S. W. by W. six leagues off: We were then abreast of a great white sand upon the shore, which reach'd far up on the land, which I judge to be about the river of *Gabon*, and which the *Dutch* waggoner takes notice of, and calls the *Grote White Pleken*, of which there runs a sand a great way into the sea, which made us have such shoal water at that distance; but there is no danger, being gradual soundings all along into the shore. We made several trips to windward till noon this day: we were by our observation in latitude  $00^{\circ} 35'$  S.; cape *de Lopo Gonzales*, bearing then due south five leagues off, being a low land, and seeming as underneath.



*Thursday* the 9th. From noon yesterday we stood off shore, lying up W. by S. and W. S. W. till four; then in again, lying S. S. by S. till six; when reflecting on the time it might cost me to endeavour to get into cape *Lopus*, (where I design'd to wood and water) by reason of the uncertainty of the winds, and the current setting us to leeward; which together with my negroes dying very fast, and the want of some provisions I was in, made me resolve to stand over for the island of *St. Thomas*, about 40 leagues distant, not doubting fetching of it, being so far to the south of the line: Accordingly at six tack'd to the W. cape *Lopus* then bearing S. S. E. distant seven leagues. We lay up west, W. by S. and W. S. W. at night, till six this morning; when the wind scanted to S. W. by S. and S. W. so that we could lie but W. by N. and W. N. W. till noon this day, when had good observation in the latitude  $00^{\circ} 19'$  S.

*Friday* the 10th. These 24 hours we have had the winds at S. by W. and S. S. W. we lying up for most part W. by S. until 12 this day; when I much admired we could not see the island, having by our reckonings run the length of it; but the weather was very dark and hazey, so that we had no observation.

*Saturday* the 11th. From noon yesterday we lay up W. by S. and W. S. W. till two in the evening, when our men from the top-mast head, saw the island to the N. W. of us: At three I saw it off the deck, the south point bearing W. by N. the north point N. W. by W. and the *Cabras* N. W. distant about six leagues. At four had but little wind till eight, then small breeze at S. by W. we lying up W. by S. till 12, when being near the island we tack'd off, lying S. E. till four; then in again, and lay by till seven, when being clear daylight we bore up along the island for the town, having gradual soundings from 14 to seven fathom water; but a little to windward of the town, on a sudden we had but five fathom; upon which I edg'd off, and as I went off still shoal'd my water to four fathom and half, which so frighted me that I let go my anchor in four fathom and a quarter, right abreast the castle; but here is no danger, it being no less water in two mile round, but deeper into the shore, as I found afterward by sounding.

*Sunday* the 12th. Yesterday at noon, after having anchor'd, I went ashore to visit the general, but he being dead, I was conducted to the governor, who receiv'd me civilly; and after having ask'd me some

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some questions of form, understanding that I wanted only wood and water, and some provisions, gave me free liberty to supply myself: He express'd an admiration at my lying so far off at an anchor, hinting as tho' he believed I was unwilling to come under the command of the castle guns, as other ships did, assuring me there was the usual and best road; wherefore to remove his jealousy, this morning I got under sail, and stood in till I came within musket-shot of the castle, and there let go my anchor in five fathom, moor'd my ship, saluted the castle with five guns, and put all the negroe men into irons, lest they should swim away, being so near the shore: the castle bore off us S. by E. About four days after my arrival, came in here the *East-India Merchant*, having pass'd by the island to the south without seeing it, therefore when they found their error, were forced to stand back again in quest of it, and at last found it.

Island of  
St. Thomas.

The island of *St. Thomas*, inhabited by the *Portuguese*, lies under the equator, the middle of it being in  $00^{\circ} 10' N.$  about 45 leagues W. N. W. from cape *Lopus*, and 40 due W. from the river of *Gabon*: It is full of high mountains, which are cover'd over with thick groves of tall trees; and during the time I was ashore I don't remember that I ever saw the tops of them free from great heavy clouds, which occasions a continual mist or drizzling rain upon them; and from their constant droppings are derived fine small rivulets of water, which irrigate and moisten the vallies underneath.

The town lies on the north-east side of the island, in the bottom of a fine bay; may contain about 200 houses, large and well built, but most of boards and rafters only, with galleries and great open windows round about them, for conveniency of air, &c. There be some houses built of good square stone, but very few. Thro' the town there runs a small fresh brook into the sea, over which is built a little bridge of one arch, which they say lies directly under the equinoctial; and that in passing from one end of the bridge to the other, you cross the line: In this little river we fill'd all our water, which to my taste and apprehension seem'd very good, tho' the distempers and mortality that afterwards happen'd among my men and slaves, made me suspect it did partake of some of the malignity of the island thro' which it runs.

The most convenient time to fill it is in the night, by reason the women of the town are washing cloaths, and otherwise dirtying and defiling the water all the day-time, along the river above the place where we fill: therefore we left our cooper and

two seamen every night with our cask ashore to fill them, and roll them to the sea-side, ready for the longboat to hoist in in the morning and carry aboard; the cooper and other men, when they had done their business, for the rest of the night were lodg'd in the house of Signior *Lorenzo de Soozo*, a native of *Tercera*, one of the western islands, and now marry'd here, and captain of a small *Portuguese* vessel belonging to this island, with which he uses to go and trade upon the coast of *Guiney*, for gold and slaves, and sometimes to *Brazil* for sugars, &c. He was very obliging and assistant to us in our business, and testify'd a great deal of affection to us and desire to serve us, for which we gratefully requited him: One of our men arm'd was constantly oblig'd to watch the cask in the night, else the *Portuguese*, who are the greatest thieves in the world, would steal all their iron hoops off. Fire-wood is here plenty, and very good round wood, of which for 11 dollars I bought my longboat, that would easily carry 12 tons, as full and deep as I durst load her: I was supply'd with it by *Emanuel Fernando*, who was a negroe *Portuguese*, but one of the greatest men for quality and riches in the island, being chief secretary to the king of *Portugal* here: His negroes cut it, and his canoes brought it to our longboat, so that we had no trouble in the least, but to load her as deep as she could swim aboard.

This island affords the best pork that ever I tasted, it being impossible for any flesh to be more palatable, or eat sweeter; and here is such plenty of it, that for three dollars we could buy a fine large young hog, fit for salting, which at a crown *per* dollar is but 15 s. Here are all other provisions in great plenty; their kine are but small, which we could buy for five dollars *per* head: They have fine large poultry, 10 of which we could buy for a dollar; and the market is daily stock'd with good fresh fish. We supply'd ourselves with some *Indian* corn, figolas, or kidney-beans, plantins, yams, potatoes, cocoanuts, limes, oranges, &c. for the use and refreshment of our negroes, at the following rates, *viz.*

*Indian* corn at two alcars *per* dollar.

Figolas, or kidneybeans, at dollars three *per* chest, which would contain near four bushels.

Plantins at dollars two and a half *per* thousand, by tale.

Yams, which are great large roots, and eat very sweet, much like a potato in taste, at dollars 25 *per* thousand, by tale.

Cocoa-nuts at dollars 10 *per* thousand nuts.

Limes,

Limes, oranges, limons, bananas, &c. for little or nothing; so that this island is well supply'd with all things for the use of man in great abundance: but the unhealthiness of it, lying under the torrid zone, palls the delights of the inhabitants, and imbitters all their plenty; for the climate is so sickly, especially in *December, January, and February*, that most of the white people severely feel the effects of it, being seldom free from agues, fevers, and fluxes ten days together; the last of which is the most reigning and dangerous distemper. To prevent which, when I was enquiring of the governor and some other gentlemen of the island, the properest method, they very kindly advised me, as a secret, every night, before I went to sleep, to wash clean, and dabble my fundament with luke-warm water for half a quarter of an hour, and asur'd me, it was their own constant custom every night. I gave them thanks, and put it in practice; but tho' it preserv'd me possibly from the flux, yet it could not guard me from a fever, which soon seiz'd me, and of which I had a most violent fit; but by the blessing of God, and care of my honest doctor Mr. *Gordon*, who continually ply'd me with vomits, bleedings, blisters, glisters, and what else he thought proper, I at length recover'd.

The town may contain about 200 white inhabitants, who all look like shadows, and seldom any of them arrive at the age of fifty years, tho' the negroes which are here in great numbers, agree well enough with the climate, which is so very malignant, that few or none of the *Portuguese* would come to live here but such as are forc'd to flee, or are banish'd their country for some villanies. They told me that I happen'd to come here in the healthiest time of the year, tho' my poor men and negroes, by their sickness and mortality, made it appear unhealthy enough; and if that was their best, the Lord deliver every body from their worst seasons.

The sugar that is made here is very coarse and dirty, and seldom well cured; but they have often supplies of very good from *Brazil*; tho' at this time the island was so bare, that I could not furnish myself with an hundred weight that was fit for man's use, at any price.

They make store of rum here, but 'tis sad stinking raw stuff. There are a great many plantations and houses well built, which, as we sail'd along the island, look'd very delightful. This island, as well as *St. Jago*, breeds great quantities of monkeys and baboons, which, I have been told, have a certain place where

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they meet daily to truck with each other, one bringing a plaintain, another a yam, another an orange, banana, potatoe, or some other merchandize, and so each exchanges what he has with some other baboon for what he wants or likes better, and after repair home to their quarters. I have nothing to say to the truth of this, having never been upon their exchange, nor seen their traffick; but I have seen such actions from these creatures, aping mankind, that were very surprizing. Parakets or green birds are here in such numbers, that for half a dollar we could buy a cane cage with forty of them in it. I purchas'd near 500 of them, but could not bring above a dozen alive to *Barbadoes*, the least cold killing them.

The castle lies about a quarter of a mile from the town upon a neck of land at the entrance of the bay. It may have about twenty old guns, some mounted, and some dismounted, the walls being very ruinous and weakly mann'd, so that it serves more for a scarecrow than any thing else; for I would have undertaken to have brought off, burnt or sunk every vessel they had in the port, with my own ship and boats only, in spite of what resistance the castle or town could make. And I believe the reason why the town is not more molested or taken from them, is the poverty of it, there being nothing to be got but provisions, together with the unhealthiness of it. Here are great quantities of palm-oil made, of which we could buy a barrel containing twenty odd gallons for six dollars, which in *Barbadoes* would yield three pounds. The road where the ships lie is good and clean ground: about a league to the N. E. of which lie two large rocks or little islands, about a mile off shore, call'd the *Cabras*; a little to leeward of which is good riding, close to the shore, near a fine river to fill water, and there you may cut your wood your self for little or nothing, and the country people will bring you down all necessaries that you want, besides, that you save the customs that you are oblig'd to pay if you lie at the town, which for every ship, little or great, is one negroe slave to the general, or who is deputed by him, for leave to wood, water, &c. eight dollars to the captain of the castle, and one dollar to the argusite, who comes aboard you, none of the inhabitants daring to come, or to trade with you in the least, without permission from the governor. The island is about twelve leagues long, N. and S. and about ten leagues broad.

Having completed all my business ashore in fourteen days that I lay here, yesterday-

O o o

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The castle.

Aug. 25.



yesterday in the afternoon I came off with a resolution to go to sea. Accordingly about six in the evening we got up our anchors, and set sail for *Barbadoes*, being forc'd to leave the *East-India merchant* behind, who could not get ready to sail in nine or ten days; which time I could not afford to stay, in respect of the mortality of my negroes, of which two or three died every day, also the small quantity of provisions I had to serve for my passage to *Barbadoes*. We stood off E. and E. by N. with a small breeze at S. W. till 8, when we had a fine fresh gale at S. steering off N. E. N. N. E. and N. till 10 o'clock, when we were abreast the *Cabras*, then hal'd up N. N. W. and N. W. till 12, at which time it fell stark calm, and continued so till noon this day. We were forc'd to go away to leeward of the island, because the

winds here are between the S. and W. S. W. constantly, and the current sets strong to the N. so that there was no plying against wind and tide.

Sunday the 26th. Yesterday at two in the evening sprung up a fine breeze at S. S. W. but soon veer'd to W. S. W. we keeping up W. N. W. and N. W. the wind often shifting a point or two. At noon this day the island of *St. Thomas* being in latitude  $00^{\circ} 10'$  N. bore off us S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. distant 14 leagues, from which take my departure for *Barbadoes*, we being then 27 miles to the N. and 33 miles to the west of it, as appears by the following table, which I have rather chose to annex, shewing the course of our sailing every day, than write every 24 hours work down at large, which had been tedious, since nothing extraordinary occur'd to us in our voyage but what I shall briefly recount afterwards.

A TABLE of our Voyage from the Island of *St. Thomas* to *Barbadoes*, shewing what Course, Distance, Difference of Latitude, and Departure we made every Day during our Passage, with account of the Observations and Winds.

| 1694.<br>Mont. Days. | Course.                   | Dist. | N.                   | S. | E. | W.  | Latitude.              | Winds.              |             |
|----------------------|---------------------------|-------|----------------------|----|----|-----|------------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| August 26            | N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    | 43    | 27'                  |    |    | 33  | R. $00^{\circ} 37'$ N. | S. W.               |             |
| 27                   | W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.       | 60    |                      | 4  |    | 59  | R. $00 33$             | S. by W.            |             |
| 28                   | W. $\frac{3}{4}$ S.       | 59    |                      | 8  |    | 58  | R. $00 25$             | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. |             |
| 29                   | W. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. | 74    |                      | 18 |    | 71  | R. $00 07$             | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. |             |
| 30                   | W.                        | 71    |                      |    |    | 71  |                        | S. by W.            |             |
| 31                   |                           | 76    |                      |    |    | 76  |                        |                     |             |
| Sept. 1              | W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.       | 78    |                      | 6  |    | 77  | R. $00 01$             | S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. |             |
| 2                    | W. $\frac{3}{4}$ S.       | 48    |                      | 7  |    | 47  | R. $00 06$ S.          |                     | Cross'd the |
| 3                    | W. by S.                  | 54    |                      | 10 |    | 53  | R. $00 16$ S.          | S.                  | line to the |
| 4                    | W.                        | 62    |                      |    |    | 62  |                        | S. by W.            | southward.  |
| 5                    |                           | 58    |                      |    |    | 58  |                        |                     |             |
| 6                    |                           | 41    |                      |    |    | 41  |                        | Various.            |             |
| 7                    |                           | 61    |                      |    |    | 61  |                        | S. by W.            |             |
| 8                    | S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.    | 74    |                      | 46 |    | 58  | R. $01 02$             | S. E. by S.         |             |
| 9                    | W. S. W.                  | 118   |                      | 45 |    | 108 | R. $01 47$             | S. E.               |             |
| 10                   |                           | 114   |                      | 43 |    | 105 | R. $02 30$             |                     |             |
| 11                   | W.                        | 122   | 10                   |    |    | 122 | Ob. $02 20$            | S. S. E.            |             |
| 12                   |                           | 127   | 10                   |    |    | 127 | Ob. $02 10$            |                     |             |
| 13                   |                           | 124   |                      |    |    | 124 |                        |                     |             |
| 14                   | W. by S.                  | 120   | 9                    | 19 |    | 118 | R. $02 29$             | S. E.               |             |
| 15                   | W.                        | 113   |                      |    |    | 113 |                        | E. S. E.            |             |
| 16                   |                           | 99    |                      |    |    | 99  |                        |                     |             |
| 17                   | N. W.                     | 84    | 59                   |    |    | 59  | R. $01 30$             | S. E.               |             |
| 18                   | N. N. W.                  | 106   | 98                   |    |    | 40  | R. $00 08$ N.          |                     | Cross'd the |
| 19                   | N. W. by N.               | 130   | 108                  |    |    | 72  | R. $01 56$             |                     | line again  |
|                      | Correct by ob.            | 74    |                      |    |    | 20  | Ob. $3 10$             |                     | to the N.   |
| 20                   | N. W. by W.               | 100   | 55                   |    |    | 83  | R. $04 05$ N.          | S. E. by E.         |             |
| 21                   | N. W.                     | 63    | 45                   |    |    | 45  | Ob. $5 00$ N.          | S. S. E.            |             |
| 22                   | N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.    | 95    | 73                   |    |    | 60  | R. $06 13$             | S. by E.            |             |
| 23                   | N. N. W.                  | 90    | 83                   |    |    | 34  | R. $07 36$             | S.                  |             |
| 24                   | N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.    | 118   | 90                   |    |    | 75  | Ob. $9 20$             | S.                  |             |
| 25                   | N. by E.                  | 33    | 32                   |    | 6  |     | R. $09 52$             | Various.            |             |
| 26                   | N. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. | 16    | 14                   |    | 7  |     | Ob. $10 09$            | N. W. by W.         |             |
| 27                   | N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.    | 30    | 21                   |    |    | 22  | R. $10 30$             | Various.            |             |
| 28                   | N. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. | 140   | 134                  |    |    | 40  | Ob. $12 45$            | S. W.               | Stormy.     |
| 29                   | N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.       | 28    | 27                   |    | 2  |     | Ob. $13 12$            | Various.            |             |
| 30                   | N. by W.                  | 9     | 8                    |    |    | 2   | Ob. $13 20$            | Various.            |             |
|                      |                           |       | Carry'd over 15 2293 |    |    |     |                        |                     |             |

| 1694.                              |                                |       |      |    |    |                                  |               |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|------|----|----|----------------------------------|---------------|
| Mont. Days.                        | Course.                        | Diff. | N.   | S. | E. | W.                               | Latitude.     |
|                                    |                                |       |      |    |    |                                  |               |
| October                            | 1 Calm.                        |       |      |    |    |                                  | R. 13° 20' N. |
|                                    | 2 Calm.                        |       |      |    |    |                                  |               |
|                                    | 3 Calm.                        |       |      |    |    |                                  |               |
|                                    | 4 S. by W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.    | 38    |      | 36 |    | 9                                | Ob. 12 44     |
|                                    | 5 W.                           | 15    |      |    |    | 15                               |               |
|                                    | 6 W. by N.                     | 36    | 6    |    |    | 35                               | R. 12 50      |
|                                    | 7 N. W. by W.                  | 81    | 45   |    |    | 67                               | R. 13 35      |
|                                    | 8 N. W. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. | 64    | 30   |    |    | 56                               | Ob. 14. 03    |
|                                    | 9 N. W.                        | 29    | 20   |    |    | 20                               | Ob. 14 24     |
|                                    | 10 W. N. W.                    | 12    | 4    |    |    | 11                               | R. 14 28      |
|                                    | 11 W.                          | 50    |      |    |    | 50                               |               |
|                                    | 12                             | 42    |      |    |    | 42                               | Ob. 14 16     |
|                                    | 13                             | 78    |      |    |    | 78                               | Ob. 14 20     |
|                                    | 14                             | 72    |      |    |    | 72                               |               |
|                                    | 15                             | 70    |      |    |    | 70                               |               |
|                                    | 16                             | 59    |      |    |    | 59                               | Ob. 14 5      |
|                                    | 17                             | 56    |      |    |    | 56                               |               |
|                                    | 18                             | 48    |      |    |    | 48                               | Ob. 13 50     |
|                                    | 19                             | 12    |      |    |    | 12                               |               |
|                                    | 20                             | 30    |      |    |    | 30                               |               |
|                                    | 21 W. by S.                    | 78    |      | 15 |    | 76                               | Ob. 13 34     |
|                                    | 22                             | 104   |      | 20 |    | 102                              | Ob. 13 12     |
|                                    | 23 W.                          | 78    |      |    |    | 78                               | Ob. 13 14     |
|                                    | 24                             | 66    |      |    |    | 66                               | Ob. 13 17     |
|                                    | 25 W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.         | 93    |      | 9  |    | 92                               | Ob. 13 7      |
|                                    | 26 W.                          | 124   |      |    |    | 124                              |               |
|                                    | 27                             | 60    |      |    |    | 60                               | Ob. 13        |
|                                    | 28 W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.         | 76    | 7    |    |    | 75                               | Ob. 13 8      |
|                                    | 29 W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.         | 82    | 4    |    |    | 81                               | Ob. 13 12     |
|                                    | 30 W.                          | 80    |      |    |    | 80                               | Ob. 13 15     |
|                                    | 31 W. by S.                    | 70    |      | 13 |    | 68                               | Ob. 13 5      |
| Novemb.                            | 1 W.                           | 68    |      |    |    | 68                               | Ob. 13 2      |
|                                    | 2                              | 52    |      |    |    | 52                               | Ob. 13 15     |
|                                    | 3 W. S. W.                     | 28    |      | 10 |    | 25                               | Ob. 13 4      |
|                                    | 4 W. by N.                     | 21    | 4    |    |    | 20                               | 13 8          |
|                                    |                                |       |      |    |    | 1797                             |               |
| Brought over from the other side   |                                |       | 15   |    |    | 2293                             |               |
|                                    |                                |       |      |    |    | 4090                             |               |
| Eastings deducted is               |                                |       |      |    |    | 15                               |               |
| Total westing made to Barbadoes is |                                |       | 4075 |    |    | miles, 67° 54', or leagues 1358. |               |

This TABLE is so plain, that it needs no illustrating; only, that in the column of latitude, where R. is against the latitude, 'tis meant latitude by dead reckoning; and where Ob. is against the latitude, 'tis meant latitude by observation.

I shall now proceed to recount what extraordinarily occur'd to us in our voyage, exclusive of the course of sailing, &c. supply'd by the above table; beginning where we left off, viz.

From Sunday the 26th of August we us'd all our diligence to get to the southward of the equator, for the steady S. E. winds that constantly blow that side, but were so held by the nose with S. S. W. and S. W. winds, that we could not cross the line till Sunday the 2d of September, having then made W. departure from the island of St. Thomas 492 miles, or leagues 164.

We continued creeping to the southward for fresher gales till Monday the

10th, when I found we were in latitude 2° 30' south, having a brave stiff gale at S. E. and S. S. E. smooth water, and clear weather, but felt it very cold, considering where we were. I observ'd, that the more we went to the southward, the stronger we had the winds, and the more they veer'd to the eastward; but esteeming our selves southerly enough, and having as much wind, and as fair as we did desire, we steer'd away W. keeping about the same latitude, with the winds always be-

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between the S. by E. and E. by S. till Sunday the 16th, when judging that we had run a sufficient distance west to the southward of the line, we alter'd our course to N. W. and N. N. W. to cross it again to the northward; which we did upon the 18th, finding our selves at noon that day by our observation in  $00^{\circ} 8'$  north latitude, having then made meridian distance in all from the island of St. Thomas to the westward  $30^{\circ} 40'$ , or leagues 613, of which we ran 449 leagues, or twenty-two degrees and an half, on the south side of the line.

We now made it our care to get to the N. for the other trade-wind, keeping our course N. N. W. and N. W. having our old wind still attending us at S. S. E. and S. E. but blowing fainter every day till Monday the 24th, when we being in latitude  $9^{\circ} 20'$  N. it took its final leave of us, having then made westing in all from St. Thomas  $37^{\circ} 9'$ , or leagues 743. The winds came about to W. N. W. and W. with many showers of rain, and dirty squally weather; from which time we had faint whiffing various winds, and tedious troublesome calms, till the 4th of October, being in  $12^{\circ} 44'$  north latitude, it settled at W. and S. W. with dirty stormy weather; therefore being apprehensive of a long passage, I put our men to short allowance of provisions, and to two quarts of water a man *per* day, boiling our provisions in salt water.

We continued perplexed with calms (in which the heats were most intense and unsupportable) small gales, between the W. and S. W. till the eleventh, we were in  $14^{\circ} 28'$ , being then to the W. of St. Thomas  $42^{\circ} 21'$ , or leagues 847, much admiring that we did not fall in with the N. E. trade wind, being we were so far north; but that evening sprung up a small gale at N. E. which continued shuffling between the N. E. and S. E. blowing gently till the 20th, when it began to freshen, continuing between the aforesaid points, we steering W. by S. and W. for Barbadoes, and keeping as near as we could in  $13^{\circ} 12'$  N. the allowed latitude of that island, till the 4th of November at noon we descried it, bearing off us W. by N. distant 7 leagues. I had then very good observation in  $13^{\circ} 4'$  N. so that I make the island to lie in  $13^{\circ} 8'$ , and  $68^{\circ} 49'$  meridian distance west of St. Thomas: and whatever some pretend, that 'tis but 60 or 62 degrees west longitude from Cape Lopez, I must beg their excuse, if I believe they are mistaken, notwithstanding their positiveness and magisterialness in asserting it; for I am sure we kept our reckoning with

all the care and art that navigation could furnish us with. We stood in till 4, when being within 3 leagues of the island, we laid the ship's head off, and lay by till morning, when we fill'd our sails, and bore away along the island for Carlisle bay. About 5 in the evening we got about Needham's point, and soon let go our anchor in 20 fathom water, having not time to birth our selves that night; but next morning we warp'd into 8 fathom, and moor'd our ship secure; for which mercy God be prais'd.

We spent in our passage from St. Thomas to Barbadoes two months eleven days, from the 25th of August to the 4th of November following: in which time there happen'd such sickness and mortality among my poor men and negroes, that of the first we buried 14, and of the last 320, which was a great detriment to our voyage, the royal African company losing ten pounds by every slave that died, and the owners of the ship ten pounds ten shillings, being the freight agreed on to be paid them by the charter-party for every negroe deliver'd alive ashore to the African company's agents at Barbadoes; whereby the loss in all amounted to near 6560 pounds sterling. The distemper which my men as well as the blacks mostly died of, was the white flux, which was so violent and inveterate, that no medicine would in the least check it; so that when any of our men were seiz'd with it, we esteem'd him a dead man, as he generally proved. I cannot imagine what should cause it in them so suddenly, they being free from it till about a week after we left the island of St. Thomas. And next to the malignity of the climate, I can attribute it to nothing else but the unpurg'd black sugar, and raw unwholesome rum they bought there, of which they drank in punch to great excess, and which it was not in my power to hinder, having chastis'd several of them, and flung over-board what rum and sugar I could find; and was forc'd to clap one Lord, our trumpeter, in irons, for his being the promoter of their unseasonable carousing bouts, and going in one of his drunken fits with his knife to kill the boatswain in his bed, and committing other enormities: but tho' he remained upon the poop day and night in irons for two months, without any other shelter than the canopy of heaven, he was never troubled with any sickness, but made good the proverb, *That naught's never in danger, or that he who is born to be hang'd, &c.* I have given some account of him elsewhere, therefore shall say no more here.

The

The negroes are so incident to the small-pox, that few ships that carry them escape without it, and sometimes it makes vast havock and destruction among them: but tho' we had 100 at a time sick of it, and that it went thro' the ship, yet we lost not above a dozen by it. All the assistance we gave the diseased was only as much water as they desir'd to drink, and some palm-oil to anoint their sores, and they would generally recover without any other helps but what kind nature gave them.

One thing is very surprizing in this distemper among the blacks, that tho' it immediately infects those of their own colour, yet it will never seize a white man; for I had several white men and boys aboard that had never had that distemper, and were constantly among the blacks that were sick of it, yet none of them in the least catch'd it, tho' it be the very same malady in its effects, as well as symptoms, among the blacks, as among us in *England*, beginning with the pain in the head, back, shivering, vomiting, fever, &c. But what the small-pox spar'd, the flux swept off, to our great regret, after all our pains and care to give them their messes in due order and season, keeping their lodgings as clean and sweet as possible, and enduring so much misery and stench so long among a parcel of creatures nastier than swine; and after all our expectations to be defeated by their mortality. No gold-finders can endure so much noisome slavery as they do who carry negroes; for those have some respite and satisfaction, but we endure twice the misery; and yet by their mortality our voyages are ruin'd, and we pine and fret our selves to death, to think that we should undergo so much misery, and take so much pains to so little purpose.

I deliver'd alive at *Barbadoes* to the company's factors 372, which being sold, came out at about nineteen pounds *per* head one with another.

A hurricane.

About three weeks ere I arriv'd at *Barbadoes* there happen'd a very severe hurricane, which had put most of the ships in the road ashore, of which I saw about 8 or 9 beat to pieces among the rocks. The *Bristol* man of war captain *Gurney* split his cables, and got out to sea ere the violence of it came, and return'd after it was over. The *Play-Prize*, captain *Bowls*, with two or three more ships, rid it out; and the *Tiger* captain *Sberman*, who had parted hence with col. *Kendal*, the late governor, for *England*, met with such violent storms, that he lost

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his mast, and was forced to put back for this island to refit.

I shall pretend to give no account of this island, which is so well known, being one of our own plantations, but only observe, that tho' it be a pretty pleasant spot, and inhabited by a great many worthy hospitable gentlemen, yet it was it's fate now to be violently infected with the plague, so that in the late war it proved a perfect grave to most that came there, all new-comers being generally seiz'd with the pestilence; of which very few recover'd. Capt. *Thomas Sberman*, in his majesty's ship *Tiger*, in two years that he lay there, bury'd out of her 600 men, as he told me, tho' his complement was but 220, but still pressing new out of the merchant ships that came in, to recruit his number in the room of those that died daily. I lost about 18 of my men by it, and, in truth, did not expect to escape myself, and therefore was so indifferent, that there was not a friend or acquaintance of mine seiz'd with the distemper, but I freely and frequently went to visit him, which possibly was the reason that I escaped it, by having accustom'd myself to the town, and most infectious air, from the beginning, which I did by advice of the ever honoured and worthy Col. *Kendal*; to whose kindness and affection I was beholden for a great many benefits and good offices here (being myself a stranger to the island,) while those that kept in the country, in better air, for fear of it, were commonly infected when they came on any business to town. Here died about 20 masters of ships during my stay here; of which number were poor Capt. *Gurney* and *Bowls*, that commanded his majesty's ships *Bristol* and *Play-prize*. I was lodg'd in *Bridgtown*, at the house of Mr. *William Shaller*, from whom I receiv'd a great deal of civility and assistance in my business, upon the account and recommendation of my honest old friend, Mr. *Roger Shaller* of *London*, his brother; and indeed I receiv'd a great deal of respect and kind treatment from all the honest gentlemen in the island, who are very generous, and for whom I shall ever entertain an honourable esteem.

Having got aboard near 700 hogheads of sugars, at nine and ten shillings *per* hundred freight for *Muscovadoes*, and 11 for *Clay'd*; some cotton at 2 *d. per lb.* and ginger at 8 *s. per cent.* we got all clear to sail against the 2d of *April*, the *Tiger* man of war being then ready to carry Col. *Kendal* to *England*, and to take under her convoy such ships as were ready to sail at that time, of which there were small and great about 30, 7 of which were merchant-men of 28

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guns and upwards each, and were order'd by Capt. *Sherman* to make the line of battle, in case we met an enemy, he being pleas'd to appoint me, in the *Hannibal*, to lead on the starboard tack, and Capt. *Buttrom*, in the *Faulkenberg*, on the larboard tack, in case of engaging, while himself kept the centre; and the other ships of the line were dispos'd for seconds. Col. *Kendal* having disengaged himself from the multitude of gentlemen that came to attend him, and wish him a good voyage, the 2d of *April* in the evening got aboard the *Tiger*, with a discharge of all the cannon round the town; and the 3d in the evening we set sail for *England*, with the *Chester* man of war in our company, which Col. *Cotbrington*, the general of the leeward islands, had sent from *Antigua* to *Barbadoes*, to strengthen our convoy, till we were past *Diseada*, upon advice he had receiv'd, that there was a Squadron of *French* men of war from *Martinico*, waiting for us thereabouts.

*Wednesday* the 3d. Yesterday about 4 in the evening we got under sail, and stood out of *Carlisle* bay, and then laid our foretop-sail to the mast, and drove to leeward to wait for the rest of the fleet: At seven were abreast the hole. We had great popping sea, but little wind at night, till this day at noon.

*Thursday* the 4th. From noon yesterday we had but little wind till six in the evening, at which time had a small gale at E. the island of *Barbadoes* then bearing S. S. E. distant seven leagues.

From *Thursday* the 4th, until *Sunday* the 7th, the *Chester* kept us company, when esteeming ourselves clear of all danger, she stood away for *Antigua*. We have had the winds at E. and E. by N. lying up N. N. E. and N. by E. until *Friday* the 12th of *April*, the wind veer'd to S. E. by E. and S. E. fine gales; and *Monday* the 15th to S. S. S. W. and S. W. we steering N. N. E. and N. E. by N. with good weather, till *Thursday* the 18th. At noon we were in latitude 29° 24' N. having then made from *Barbadoes* 80 miles easting, the sea being cover'd over with a yellowish sort of weed, like rushes, drove from the gulph of *Florida* with the violent current there.

*Friday* the 19th. In the morning 'twas my unhappiness to be seized with violent convulsions in my head, together with a vertigo, so that I could not stand, and all things I look'd on turn'd round; the vertigo was much allay'd soon, but the convulsions continued so severe upon me, that I was forced for most part to keep my bed, till we made the island of *Scilly*, which was upon the 22d of *May*, in which time

the hearing of my left ear was much impair'd, I having lost the hearing of my right ear upon the coast of *Guiney*, by a former fit: And now having none to look after me, (my doctor having died of the plague in *Barbadoes*) my deafness increas'd daily. There was nothing remarkable in our passage, but the death of madam *North*, Col. *Russel's* daughter-in-law; and the misfortune befell one of my cabin boys, who playing with the tiger in his cage, with his hand, a long time without any offence; at length he scratch'd his hand against the point of a nail, so that it bled a little; as soon as the tiger saw the blood, he seiz'd upon his hand, and in an instant tore it to pieces, almost as far as the wrist ere we could disengage him, the ends of the nerves and torn sinews hanging about like strings, most dismal to behold. I fired a gun for the man of war to lie by, and sent for his surgeon, who dress'd it, till with a north-east wind we put into *Falmouth*, on the 24th of *May*, where I left him ashore with the best surgeon in the town for cure, and parted thence the 28th, with the wind at N. W. but coming out of the harbour, my mate run the ship aground, as an earnest or omen of what follow'd after. With the assistance of my friend Capt. *Sherman's* boat, she was soon got afloat again, without any damage, and join'd the rest of the fleet. The 29th in the morning we were off of *Plymouth* sound, and in the evening that day off the *Start*, we join'd the homeward bound *Bilboa* fleet, under convoy of Capt. *Hughs*, in the *Rochester*, and Capt. *Guy* in the *Crown* men of war, with whom we continu'd till we came to the east of *Beachyhead*, when the wind taking us short at E. N. E. we thought to tide it into the *Downs*; accordingly the first of *June*, plying to windward with the tide of flood, and my mate, who was drunk, standing with the ship off shore, and Capt. *Gillum*, a *New England* man, of 28 guns, standing in, the two ships drawing nigh, and both, thro' obstinacy and folly, refusing to bear up, or tack in time, they run aboard each other, our stemlings in her midships, and beat her side in so, that he was forc'd to bring his ship upon the heel with his guns, to keep her from sinking, but he carry'd away our ship's head and boltsprit, foremast and foretopmast, sunk our three boats that were astern, and had not the *Hannibal* been a strong well-built old ship, 'twas enough to have sunk her too: I was in my bed extremely sick, and knew nothing of the accident, till my steward came running into my round-house, with his hands lifted up, tears in his eyes, and terror and confusion in his face: I could not hear what he said,

nor

nor imagine what was the matter, but full of consternation, twenty mischiefs presented themselves to my thoughts at once, as fire, running aground, the enemy, foundring, &c. but getting out of bed as fast as I could, and crawling to the cuddy door, I saw the sad disaster, and the poor ship like a wreck floating in the sea, with her mast and rigging dangling about her ears. I caus'd them immediately to make a weff with our ensign, and fire guns for help; and the *Rochebster* and *Crown* men of war very kindly bore down to us, and my old acquaintance Capt. *Guy* (who had formerly been lieutenant of the *Hannibal*, when she was employ'd as a 4th rate in his majesty's service) took the end of our stream-cable into his gun-room-port, and tow'd us after him for *Spithead*, where all the ships were now crouding for, the wind being contrary, and looking like dirty weather: He likewise sent his lieutenant, boatswain, and 30 able seamen to help right up my ship, and fix some jury masts; we were forced to cut away and loose our boats, and most of our broken masts and rigging, my old drunken beast of a mate *Rohson*, that was the occasion of it, lying dead drunk asleep upon the forecattle, while ours and the men of wars men got down the maintop-mast, and fitted him for a jury foremast, and the maintop-gallant-mast for a foretop-mast, making a boltsprit of an old boom we had; we set our mainsail, and with that and our small sails afore, together with the *Crown's* tugging of us, we got safe to *Spithead*, where all the rest of the ships were come before.

This last unexpected accident, so near home, did so grieve and afflict me, that my convulsions grew more violent than ever, whereby before we reach'd *Spithead*, my hearing was quite gone: When our ship was anchor'd, I sent an account to Sir *Jeffrey Jeffreys*, and other owners, of our disaster, and of the ship's and my own condition, requesting they would please

to send down a commander, mate, and boatswain, to take care of their ship, and refit her for her passage to *London*, I being render'd incapable to do it, thro' my deafness and indisposition, and had discharg'd my mate as soon as we came to *Spithead*. Accordingly Capt. *John Hereford* was dispatch'd with proper officers down to *Portsmouth*; to whom by my owners direction I resign'd the command of their ship; and after having deliver'd two chests of gold I had aboard, to the royal *African* company's servants, who came with a guard for it, I went along with them in the coach up for *London*, in order to recover my health and hearing, having taken some physick and let blood in the arm and forehead, for my giddiness at *Portsmouth*.

When I came to *London*, thro' the kindness and good-will of my friends and acquaintance, who were sorry to see me return in that condition, I was advis'd to a great many applauded physicians, who all pretended they would cure my deafness: I went under the care of several of them, who were the most celebrated in that famous city, by whose orders I was tormented by the apothecaries, with doses of nasty physick every day, for four or five months time, and butcher'd by the surgeons with blisters, issues, setons, &c. and spent about 100 guineas among them, without receiving a farthing benefit; wherefore I did conceive it more prudence to bear my deafness as contentedly as I could, than any longer to undergo so much misery and charge, to no purpose; accordingly I shook hands with the doctors, and being render'd unfit for my employment, by my deafness, I settled my affairs in *London*, took my leave of it, and came down to *Wales*, among my relations in *Brecknock*, my native town, there to spend the rest of my life as easily as I can, under my hard misfortune.

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