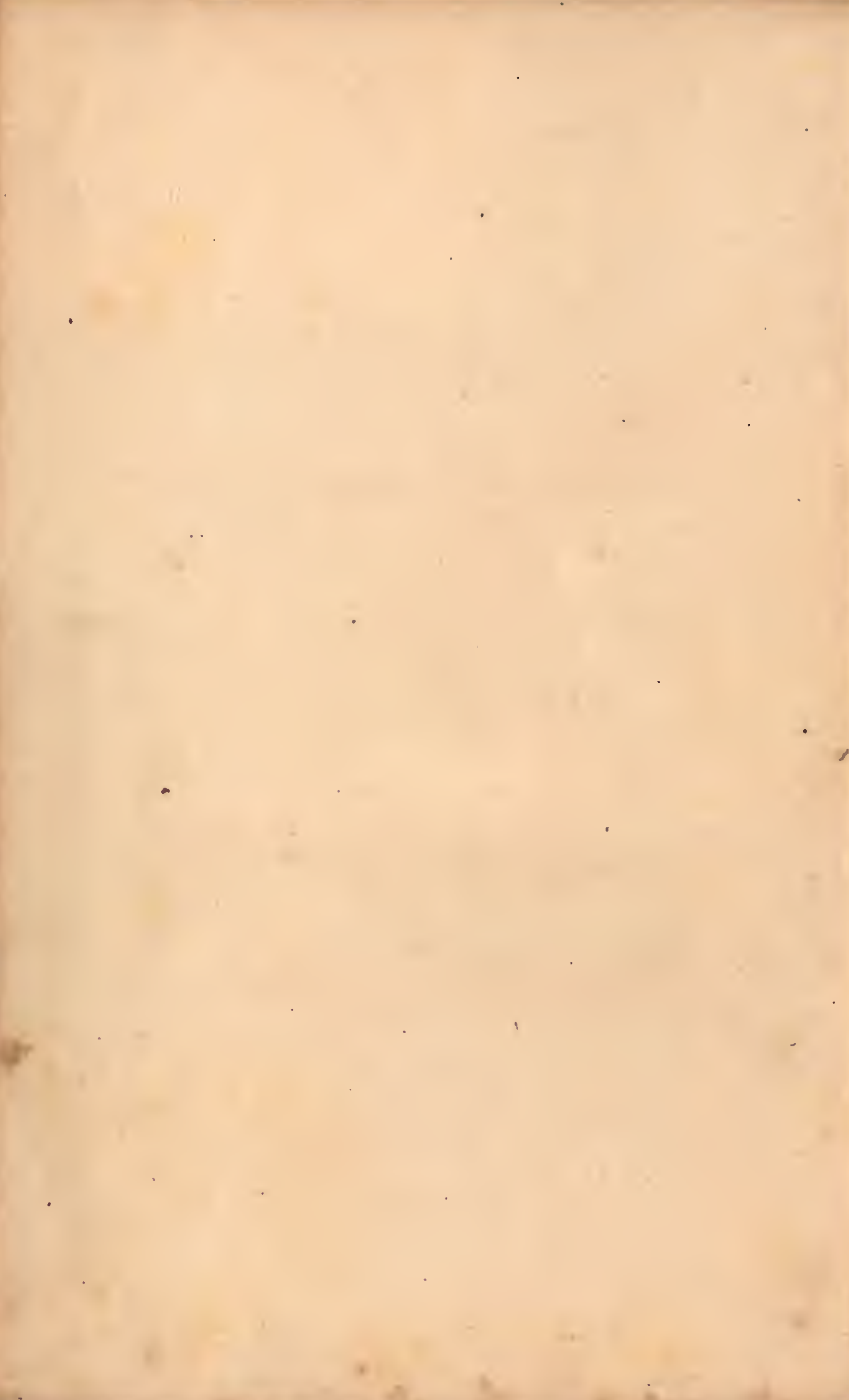


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TRAVELS
IN THE
INTERIOR OF AFRICA.

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The AUTHOR in CAFFRARIA.

Published Jan: 1869, by Longman & Co., Paternoster Row.

TRAVELS
IN THE
INTERIOR OF AFRICA,
FROM THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
TO
MOROCCO,
FROM THE YEARS 1781 TO 1797;
THROUGH
CAFFRARIA, THE KINGDOMS OF MATAMAN, ANGOLA,
MASSI, MONCEMUGI, MUSCHAKO, &c.
LIKEWISE ACROSS THE
GREAT DESERT OF SAHARA,
AND THE
NORTHERN PARTS OF BARBARY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF
CHRISTIAN FREDERICK DAMBERGER.

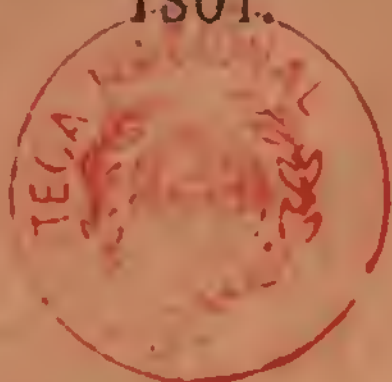
ILLUSTRATED BY A MAP AND COLOURED PLATES.

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1801.



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TRAVELERS

INTERIOR OF AFRICA

BY

W. H. RICHARDS

WITH

BY

W. H. RICHARDS

WITH

BY

W. H. RICHARDS

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BY

W. H. RICHARDS

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PREFACE.

NOT the empty pride of being enrolled among the authors of this literary age, but the wishes of my friends and patrons, to see the science of geography and the history of nations enlarged by a narrative of what I have seen and learnt during my travels, are the motives that have led to the publication of the following work. Many indeed are the writers, who having made an excursion of forty or fifty miles from their native place, are eager to see their travels in print; boast of the dangers and misfortunes they have encountered; or describe cities and towns, of which they have taken but a very cursory view, and which they praise or dispraise according to their caprice. Yet their works are not only read, but they are urged to write more. Now as I may assert, without presumption, that no native of Germany has ever undertaken so hazardous an expedition, in this hitherto almost unknown land, in the interior of which I have travelled on foot during sixteen years, entirely alone, I venture to hope, that I am rendering a real service to the public, by communicating the facts and observations that occurred during its continuance. And although

these observations may not bear the stamp of science and erudition, yet I can solemnly aver, that I was an *eye-witness* to all I have related, and have adhered in all things most strictly to truth. When I have found occasion to correct the errors of former travellers, which have been received as facts on their authority, as, for instance, those of M. Le Vaillant, or supply what they have omitted, I have acted from no other motive than the love of truth; for those I have myself committed, I hope I shall meet with candour and indulgence. The names of the nations, towns, and countries I visited may elsewhere be written otherwise than I have spelt them; but I governed myself by the pronunciation of the natives; for in most of these countries nothing written is to be found*. I have adopted the names of many towns and places as laid down upon maps; but many are totally wanting, not only in charts, but in all geographical works. These defects will be in a great measure corrected and supplied, in the map annexed to the following sheets. Of countries already fully

* The translator has followed his author, except by changing the *w* into *f*, the *j* into *y*, the *k* sometimes into *c*, the *ä* into *e* or *é*, the *eu* into *ei*, &c. according to the pronunciation of the German language; and in the second volume the *w* is often changed into *v* for the same reason: the vowels therefore here printed should be pronounced as in all European languages, except English. The *ch* being a guttural could not be expressed better than as in the original.

and accurately described by others, I have said little, to avoid repeating what is already known. Some objects which required the illustration of drawings, I have endeavoured to design with as much fidelity as I could, and the artist has succeeded in the execution to the life itself.

Should this work be so fortunate as to meet with a favourable reception from the public, it is my intention, provided I remain in Europe, to write, as a sequel to it, a full and accurate geographical account of the least-known countries and kingdoms of which I have treated; as, for instance, Bahahara, Haoussa, &c. &c*.

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK DAMBERGER.

August, 1800.

* The translator has sometimes reminded the reader, that the author, in speaking of apparently short distances, reckons by *German miles*, which are explained the first time they occur. This he has done by introducing the word *german*, which, however, does not occur in the original, and therefore the larger numbers of miles occasionally mentioned are probably *german* also.

In all the speeches of the original the pronoun of the second person singular is used, but this being a *germanism*, and it not being said expressly to have been actually employed, the translator has more familiarly rendered it by the plural.

ERRATA.

Vol. I. page 64, in note, for *calitz* read *antelope*.
79, note, for *put into* read *founded in*.
94, note, after *and* add *who might perhaps take*
it from me.—*Delete* the rest of the note.

Vol. II. page 13, line 8, for *rangers* read *rhinoceros*.
Antepenuit, for *western* read *eastern*.
And penult, for *camping-houses* read *factories*.

TO THE BINDER.

The author in Caffraria	-	-	-	-	<i>facing the title.</i>
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Longitude East from London.

Scale of 30 days Journey with Camels
at 4 1/2 Geog. Miles E. between the Latitudes of 18 & 36.
Scale of 30 days Journey of C.F. Damberger at 8.1 Geog. Miles per day
from his own laying down E. for Latitude 15°

A MAP
of
AFRICA
for C.F. DAMBERGER'S Travels

Laid down according to Major Rennell's last Map
of North Africa, Forster's of South Africa,
Arrowsmith's Map of the World
D'Anville Vaugondy &c. by
C.F. Goldbach.

Longitude East from Ferro I.

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author

author remains in the next village, as the patient of a Jew, to complete his recovery; after which he continues his route with some Moors on horseback, through the territory of prince Akumba Niahometh (maps rectified) to Tegerarin; where the Moors sell him to a slave-dealer, for whom the author is obliged to make joinery-work, and who transports him, on the 20th of February, 1790, with four young f. male slaves, to Omozab, and sells him to a Mofselemis. — Account of the journey, and of the little town Omozab. — Journey to Mezzabath. — Description of that town. — The author is bartered away to a native of that place; who, after keeping him four months, disposes of him to a merchant of Marocco, with whose caravan he travels to Marocco page 229

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TRAVELS

IN THE

INTERIOR OF AFRICA.

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ON the 2d May 1781, I set out from my native home, and traversing the bishopric of Munster arrived on the 26th at Amsterdam, where I lodged at the sign of the city of Frankfort, near the old reformed church. Here I met with six persons who had a few days before my arrival entered into the service of the east-india company, and were feasting and drinking with the bounty-money they had received. The next day I gave them

to understand that I was inclined to take a voyage to the East-Indies myself, at which they seemed to rejoice much, and all took great pains to strengthen and confirm my resolution. Meanwhile some of them brought wine and biscuit, pressed me to drink with them, and in the evening took me to a house of amusement, called a *spielhaus**, where we staid till midnight. The next morning (2d June) I went with my landlord to the east-india-house, and offered to enter into the service. I was immediately accepted as a soldier, and entered into articles for seven years, and to hold myself in readiness to sail to Batavia in the Morning-Star, on board which ship my new friends were also to be embarked. I received as earnest forty-two

* To these houses women of pleasure resort three times a-week, in the dusk of the evening, when the landlord lends them clothes and takes care that they set themselves off to advantage; after which, they make their appearance in the dancing-room, and, if wanted, join in the dance. Every man who dances pays a gilder, but no one is allowed to behave indecently to any of these women, or even to treat them like what they are; for they only appear there as dancers. Their partners may, indeed, afterwards attend them home, but they soon lose the inclination; for when the borrowed decorations are restored to the landlord, the enchanting fair appears in her true colours, her clothes frequently consisting of mere rags.

gilders*, with which I purchased a chest, some tobacco, tea, coffee, clothing, &c. to assist me in which my landlord was very assiduous, and the apparent sincerity of his conduct induced me to place implicit confidence in him; but at the expiration of a fortnight, when we were about to embark, he presented me a bill, making me a hundred gilders in his debt. Being without money, I was obliged to give him a draught on the company for that sum, afterwards to be deducted from my pay.

On the 16th June we embarked, to the sound of music, on board a three-decker which lay off Helvoet-Sluis, and sailed on the 21st. Our officers were captain Gray, a brabantier; Volkers, a dutch-man, captain's mate; Rindolfi, an italian, second mate; and Koch, a native of Koningberg, assistant mate. Our whole crew consisted of three hundred and sixty men, one-half of whom were germans. We had on board twenty head of cattle, twenty-four pigs, forty sheep, seventy fowls, and thirty pairs of pigeons. Three other ships took their departure three days before us, but the Heusterspeuth, a three-decker, sailed with us.

On the 24th we entered the British channel, and on the 29th were in the bay of Biscay.

* A gilder is about one shilling and ten pence sterling.

On the 9th July we met with a storm, in which we lost our foremast and mizen-mast, but suffered no other damage of importance.

Our voyage now grew rather tedious, nor did we arrive till the 16th of the same month off St. Jago, where we might have gone on shore; but the captain was unwilling to separate from the other ships, or to pay the customary tax of two hundred guilders for casting anchor; so that we still proceeded under our jury-masts. On the 4th August we passed the line, but some old experienced sailors declared that the heat was much less than they had felt before. Our crew now became very sickly. On the 20th August we had lost seven and had one hundred and twenty-one sick, most of whom were confined to their beds by the scurvy or an inflammatory fever. I myself was once attacked by the former, but soon recovered. On the 19th September we got sight of the Cape of Good Hope, and came to an anchor on the 21st. But it was with great difficulty that our captain obtained permission for us to come into the road; for the physician of the Cape declared we had a contagious disorder on board, and ought therefore to land on Roggen-island, which is three leagues from the Cape. Thus we lay two days at anchor before any one was permitted to bring us fresh provisions,

and

and had not our captain gone ashore without permission, and represented our situation to the governor, we must still have continued to endure innumerable evils though at anchor in the neighbourhood of the Cape. But now refreshments were brought to us, and our sick taken to an hospital. I was myself of this number, being again ill. As soon as we came ashore, the slaves of the company carried us to the hospital in chairs. The number of the sick was then eighty-four, and we buried three who died the day before we cast anchor.

The old sailors had often drawn a melancholy picture of the wretched attendance given in the hospitals of this place; but we found them not only in this, but in every other respect, more miserable than the description we had heard, or any idea we could form. On our arrival every one received a coarse horse-rug swarming with vermin, and a wooden bed was assigned him, on which lay a wretched mattress stuffed with sheeps' wool. Our chests and hammocks were taken to a warehouse, but no one cared whether in safety or otherwise; and very often when any of the sick, on recovering their strength, were able to crawl thither to take any thing out of their chests, they either found them gutted, or the chests had entirely disappeared. The attendants on

the sick were the persons who commonly committed these thefts, and when any one enquired for his property, they answered that his chest was perhaps taken to a wrong place by mistake, and would soon be found. This, however, never happened; and if a man positively insisted on the restitution of his property, search indeed was again made, but always without success, and he incurred a risk of being punished, by ill-treatment, for his fruitless trouble; for the attendants audaciously asserted, that the complainant had brought no chest on shore, and that this was only a knavish art by which to obtain one.

To every patient without distinction are allowed six ounces of bread, half a pound of meat, and half a kan* of rice or barley-soup; the portions of those who are too ill to eat are taken by the attendants. Those, who are in a state of extreme weakness, live entirely on tea. When they recover so far as to require more nourishment and fresh air fully to re-establish them, they are often wholly deprived of these advantages, which can only be obtained by those who are able to purchase their liberty by bribing the attendants. Their food is the same throughout the year, except that the

* A kan (or kenne) is a german measure containing about two quarts.

meat is varied, being three days in a week mutton, and the other four beef, which however is very bad, and sometimes quite unfit for use, besides its black colour, arising from being drest in iron pots.

Three times a day the physicians*, accompanied by two of the attendants, a surgeon, and two slaves carrying medicines, visit the sick and enquire into the state of their health. According to the account

* At that time there were three physicians; the first named Madens, from Alsace, a man of no knowledge or experience whatever, who had never studied physic, nor perhaps, even read a single book on the subject: in a word, a mere empiric. This was evident, not only from his conduct in his profession, but from his former course of life. He had long been servant to a physician at the Cape, with whose wife he was intimate, and after the death of her husband married her. This woman had influence enough to procure him permission to practise in cases of external disorders and injuries, and even in the internal complaints of some slaves, who chanced to recover. This obtained him an appointment of assistant at the hospital, and thus at length he was dubbed a doctor; here, though he possessed not the slightest medical knowledge or skill, he rose at length to be the first physician. The second was Dämpfle, a native of Switzerland, and equally ignorant of medicine. The third was Mader, of Erlangen, where he had acquired some medical knowledge, to which he joined a good heart; but he attended rarely, being very much occupied with the practice of midwifry.

they give of themselves, various medicines are prescribed by the physicians, and administered by the surgeon; but this is done with the utmost irregularity, for the surgeon constantly attends with the physicians to receive their orders by word of mouth, and in his hurry, either gives wrong medicines or none at all. When the physicians are gone, some of the patients; who have had no medicines, apply for them, and receive the same as their neighbours; scarcely ever those prescribed for them, but the first dose that comes to hand. In the evening a preacher of the reformed church reads one of the psalms, and sings a verse of a hymn, in each ward.

When any of the patients die, they are laid in the state in which they expired. dressed or undressed, on a bier covered with cloth, and carried away by four slaves who are ordered to bury them; but, as no one overlooks these men, they often throw the body behind a hedge, or into a ditch, to save themselves the trouble of interment. Those who recover are obliged, either to serve in the *linienwache* (the line-guard*,) or

* Also called the *schanzwache* or fort-guard. Without or rather before the castle is a long building, in which twenty privates, two subalterns, twelve artillery-men, and a bombardier, keep guard. They are placed there more especially to

or if any dutch vessels lie at anchor, are sent on board.

In this hospital I lay four weeks, after which I was sent to the linien-wache, and having staid there a fortnight was erased from the muster-roll by the post-halter and president of the common council, Mr. Braud, who took me to his post at False-bay*. Here I remained
 six

to overlook another neighbouring building, in which the convalescents are received, till the ships appointed to take them away arrive. But I have seen men just come out of the lazaretto treated like slaves, and obliged to go out with wheel-barrows to mend the ways; meanwhile they were kept on very bad fare, if not active enough, were beaten by the subalterns, and were obliged to sleep all together on benches and platforms. I do not mean to deny, that the company have made provision that these men should be better fed and better treated, but they ought to demand a stricter account from their servants at the Cape, that their honour and dignity may not thus be disgraced and degraded. Their officer Schall, who had the super-intendance there, was a worthy good kind of man, but the numerous abuses that prevail were concealed from him; for it was not the custom that he should visit the buildings themselves, but merely receive a periodical report.

* At False-bay are considerable buildings, of which and of the surrounding country M. Le Vaillant has given a full and accurate description. There is a guard, consisting of a serjeant, two subalterns, twenty-eight privates, and a still larger number of sailors. The subalterns then stationed there were Helmer, from the electorate of Hanover, and Cosky, from the Netherlands. The serjeant's name was Schnecko, a german. My employer had the general super-
 intendance

six months performing a variety of offices, consisting, among others, of the following; when ships arrived, I assisted in unloading and loading their cargoes; when they had sailed, I cut wood on the mountains, hewed stone out of the rocks, and the like. However, this did not continue long, for I succeeded to another office owing to the following incidents; my master's maitre d'hotel, named Rapeh, originally a taylor from Bremen, who, though a very worthy honest man, loved drink, was once so intoxicated that he could not perform his duty, which consisted in attending on foreign visitors, although there was a great deal of hurry in the house, as some english vessels lay at anchor, and the officers were coming on shore. My master's son therefore came to fetch me from my work, and I was made maitre d'hotel instead of the good Rapeh, who had lived in the house six years. In fact, I was by no means qualified for the office; for I only knew my native language, nor could I converse with foreigners or understand them when they asked for any thing. My master's son generally helped me

intendance over the whole post, and for that reason was called post-halter, (or commandan',) having the rank of captain; in addition to which he was president of the common council.

out

out of these difficulties, and thus, by degrees, I learnt the meaning of many phrases in various languages.

I had filled this office during nearly a twelve-month to the perfect satisfaction of my master and his children, when some dissensions arose. My mistress was never partial to me, because I was silent, and therefore endeavoured to injure me in all things; and even when I was quiet in my room, often said to her husband, "The german is surely losing his shirt, he stays so quietly in his room; Mannus," so they called Rapah, whose name was Hermannus, "was a much better servant, for he was always cheerful and conversible." This, and other similar speeches, somewhat irritated me, and I spoke of them to my master's son; but he, as well as his father, advised me to be peaceable and quiet, and not to suffer such remarks to make me unhappy.

My master was proprietor of a house in Cape-Town, to which, as no more ships were expected, he now removed his family and myself. Here I had a room to myself, and as I had but little business in the family, my master gave me some dutch copies for me to practise writing. His son performed the office of tutor to me, and corrected my exercises. Thus I learnt not only the principles of writing, but became more familiar

miliar with the dutch language. This pleased my master, who encouraged me to pursue these exercises that he might in future employ me in a way by which I might gain a handsome livelihood. I afterwards found, however, that this promise was not fulfilled, though merely, because the mistress of the house was by no means favourable to my interest.

As post-halter my employer had a great variety of business, being, as it were, the chief agent at the Cape; for all that was imported or exported passed through his hands: he paid the troops stationed there, superintended the transport of them to other parts of the world, and was, as it were, a general commissary for the land-owners and planters, with regard to the commodities and produce they bought and sold. He kept two clerks, who were frequently obliged to work day and night when there were several ships in the road, and to these he added my services, to read and dictate to them invoices and accounts while they wrote.

I had now lived two years with this family, and was perfectly content with my lot, endeavouring always to cultivate my mind, and enlarge the sphere of my knowledge. This induced my employer to entrust me
with

with a variety of business which he used to perform himself, and he set me to draw up several small accounts which I did to his satisfaction. I was also often appointed to deliver out the monthly allowances from the company's magazines to their servants, distributing to them rice, cotton, &c. in which I was so fortunate as to commit no mistakes.

My employer also possessed an estate * three days journey from the Cape toward the warm baths. At this estate he spent a week every year, to make the necessary arrangements, and give instructions to his steward, whose name was Barensmahl, from the Bishoprick of Munster. This man was a rough hardy fellow, who, previous to my arrival, had been accused of a murder. I should have been very glad to have been of the party thither; but as, besides his two eldest daughters and Lieutenant Müller †, my master's son also went, I was left at home to superintend a variety of business, write out several accounts, and in case of their not returning by the beginning of the next month, give out

* This estate was given out to belong to his son; for though the company's servants may each possess a house in Cape-town, they are not permitted to hold lands. Even for their houses they must find vouchers from among the residents at the Cape.

† An ingenious butcher from the Bishoprick of Wurtzburg.

the monthly allowances from the company's magazine.

I soon began to fear that during their absence I should have very few peaceful hours, and so indeed it proved. The very next day after their departure I had a dispute with my employer's wife. He had entrusted me with the key of his private counting-house, and ordered me, in case his wife or the clerks desired to go in, always to accompany them. This lady, however, was desirous that I should give her the key, and remain in my room. I told her I must obey the orders of my master and therefore must accompany her. This reply threw her into a violent passion; she forced the key from my hand, pushed me back, and abused me as if she had been the lowest slave. All this I bore with patience, and returned to my room to consider what I ought to do. At length I determined to leave the house and go to my employer at his estate; but as I was about to put this in execution, his third daughter Kitty came to me. Having told her what had happened, and the resolution I had formed, she urged me very pressingly to stay, adding, that if I would meet her in the company's garden she had matters of importance to communicate.

This young lady was then fourteen years of age, beautiful and full grown. She seemed desirous

sirous of finding employment wherever I happened to be, and was particularly fond of hearing me talk German. After dinner I went out to the castle to Major Blüner *, an intimate friend of Mr. Brand, and told him how I had been treated. He recommended patience, and at length offered me in case of further mal-treatment an asylum in his house till the return of my employer. At four o'clock I went to the company's garden to hear what matters of importance Kitty had to communicate. I met her near the entrance; she leant upon my arm, and we walked round the garden. What she communicated was unimportant; but the flattering expressions she used led me to suspect I was not wholly indifferent to her. She said that in time I should become a man of consequence if I continued with her father, and chose a wife out of some rich and considerable family; for this was the course by which her father had risen so high †. As she was about to
tell

* An ingenious baker from the country of Hesse.

† He came to the castle at the Cape as a common soldier, but was so fortunate as to be made army-messenger to the governor, to practise reading and writing, and become acquainted even at that time with his present wife, then with child by an english officer. She formed a partiality for him, which when the governor, who loved him much, perceived, he endeavoured to put him forward still more, till at length the match
took

tell me what her mother had determined to do, we met her walking with her two youngest daughters, and as they saw us we could not possibly avoid them. I felt extremely alarmed, especially when, as she approached, I could read her heart in her eyes. I accosted her, begged pardon for thus presuming to walk with her daughter, but said that chance had brought it about; for as I came from the castle I met her in the garden, and had asked her permission to accompany her home. Contrary to my expectation I received a gracious answer, and was asked to continue with them, and to accompany them to the Rothe-blume, a beautiful vine-covered hill near Cape-Town*. I accepted the invitation, and we conversed on various topics; nor did we return till evening, when I had the honour of supping with the family. After supper I left the room and returned to my chamber, where I employed myself during some hours on my accounts. I was deeply engaged

took place. Mr. Brand being an englishman by birth was now appointed a clerk, and employed in counting-houses where business was carried on with english ships, in which he gave so much satisfaction that he continually rose, till at length he became post-halter and president of the common-council.

* Under the Löwenkopfe or Lions-head mountain.

in this occupation when a female slave brought me a message to come immediately to my mistress. I went, and was received very cordially. At length she said, "Now we have nobody by, tell me the truth. Did you not meet my daughter in the garden by appointment, and have you not a design upon her, for I have remarked that she often goes to your room?" I knew not what to say, but at length repeated what I had said in the garden, and excused myself as well as I could, endeavouring to convince her that her daughter always came to me accompanied by her brother, and talked only of indifferent matters, especially my quiet mode of conducting myself. My apology, however, was not accepted, and she said "My daughter has confessed all: I know your secret; and you only hurt yourself by endeavouring to conceal it from *me*, who alone can serve you and make your fortune." To this she added alternate threats and flattery; but I adhered to what I had said, and at length having wished her a good night left the room; upon which she called out, "I'll make you leave off this hypocrisy and be more complaisant."

From what had passed, and from the whole of her conduct taken together, I perceived she had views of a particular nature on me, and therefore determined to act still more prudently and

circumspectly to avoid any misfortune, by being first inveigled to gratify her passion, and ultimately falling a victim to her persecution: for similar examples had frequently happened since my residence at the Cape. By relating one of these I shall best pourtray the character of its female inhabitants.

A gentleman of consequence, whose name was Münch, had a beautiful and amorous wife. Through prudence, therefore, and to avoid giving her an opportunity to deceive him, he never received strangers into his house. He kept, however, a tutor for his three children, whose name was Lampmann, a native of Prussia*. This man the wife endeavoured to seduce. One day, having finished his lesson with the young people, he went into the garden behind the house and employed himself in pruning the vines, when that lady saw him from her window, called to him, and asked him, as he seemed at leisure, to come and sit with her. He accepted her invitation, and through haste or absence took his pruning knife with him. The lady immediately bolted the door, and made advances which he could not resist; when sud-

* From Hausbergen, a small town about a league from Minden in Prussia, where his father was forester. By the intervention of Colonel Gordon, he was at length made army-messenger.

denly and unexpectedly they heard the husband return. To save her reputation, therefore, this base woman began to scream and call for help. The husband immediately ran to her assistance, but found the door bolted, which the wife pretended to be unable to open. Upon this he called some of his slaves, who broke it open. Here he beheld the tutor in whom he had hitherto placed an unlimited confidence quite stupified with confusion, while his wife came crying to him and pointing to the pruning knife said, "With that knife this wretch threatened to murder me unless I would yield to his shameful solicitations. I was obliged to exert all my strength to force it from him, and frustrate his murderous purpose.—You have saved my life."

Meanwhile the unfortunate tutor was speechless through terror, which confirmed the husband in believing his wife's story. He therefore ordered four slaves to take him to the prison called the Drunk, and an indictment to be preferred against him, in consequence of which he was condemned to thirty years banishment in irons to a neighbouring island. Fortunately for him this sentence was afterwards reversed; for Colonel Gordon interested himself for him, and knowing Mrs. Münch's character, placed full confidence in the tutor's story. He there-

fore endeavoured to gain her waiting-s^lave, to whom he promised secrecy and protection, and thus acquired a confirmation of the tutor's assertions, whom he now received into the castle. Meanwhile he informed his judges that he had learnt from indisputable testimony, that the tutor was far less culpable than was believed; and that if the sentence pronounced were executed, he would send home a full account of the transaction and the witnesses of the facts. Münch as a husband would not retract; but his wife apprehending she might ultimately be put upon her defence and punished, brought the business to a conclusion, under pretence that a further investigation would cost a very heavy sum of money, and the vile tutor would some other time no doubt suffer the just punishment of his crimes. To this the husband agreed, the proceedings were stopped, and the tutor set at liberty. I could relate other similar incidents, but must now proceed with my own story.

My breakfast, which was usually brought me at seven o'clock, was the next morning omitted till I enquired for it, at ten, by a slave of my mistress. She sent it together with a message, that in future I should myself fetch that and whatever I wanted. After dinner I was ordered to decant the wine, but some of the bottles
having

having been cracked by the slaves in cleaning, broke, on which I was violently scolded and threatened with a box on the ear. Indignant at this treatment, I threw the bottle I held in my hand on the floor, hastened to my room, changed my dress, and left the house. I went to the castle to major Blüner, and having informed him what had happened, he advised me to stay with him till my employer's return. This advice appeared to me good; but I went home once more, packed up my effects, and sent them away. I also wrote a short letter to my mistress, and told her I was going to my master, that she might not denounce me to the governor as a deserter.

I considered it my duty to go to my master, although I clearly perceived that I could not long continue in his service, since his wife hated me, and he was entirely under her command; for I must here observe, that in the whole course of my travels I never knew a country where the women were so absolutely masters of their husbands. The major also gave me a letter, and thus I set forward, rejoicing that I had escaped from the ill treatment of a vile woman. On the road I reflected that as my articles stipulated that I should serve five years more, it was best to request my master either to restore me to my original situation or to the *linienwache*.

My master was astonished at seeing me, and made me immediately relate the occasion of my journey, which I concluded by requesting him to put an end to my late employments, and restore me to my original situation or to the *linien-wache*. “I cannot now, said he, decide on any thing. Stay with me here for the present, and when we return to Cape-Town I will make other arrangements.”

On the fifth day after my arrival came a dispatch, with intelligence that three english ships had come to an anchor, upon which my master immediately set off, and we arrived in town the next day at noon. When I entered the house no one took the least notice of me; my room was locked, and no one offered to open it. I stood there, however, till my master came out of the parlour, and seeing me, asked why I did not go into my room; to which I replied that the door was locked. He immediately fetched the key, and went into his office, while I retired to my room, where I found all things in the greatest disorder, and was setting them to rights when my master called me. His manner showed, something had happened, and he bid me follow him into the counting-house. To my great astonishment every thing there was in still greater disorder; letters, accounts, invoices, every thing thrown about in the utmost confusion.

For

For this I was called to an account; but I replied, that long before I had left home the key had been taken from me. I assisted him in sorting and placing them, but we found that several papers were missing, at which my master was so angry that he showed me the door and locked up the counting-house. He now called his wife to an account; but she had long prepared her story, having taken the papers away on purpose to do me an injury. She boldly said, that immediately after his departure I went into his counting-house, searched every corner, and as she secretly observed, put several papers in my pocket, which was the reason she took away the key; and now she came running up to me like a fury, and would have seized my hair and mal-treated me. Her husband who followed her endeavoured to keep her back, assuring her he would punish me severely, but she rushed forward again, seized me by the hair, and boxed my ears several times. This enraged me, I sprang forward, seized her, threw her down, and ran with precipitation out of the house to the castle.

Major Blüner not being at home, I applied to colonel Gordon, told him what had happened, and requested him to take me into the army; but he replied, that he must first make enquiry of my master, and if he spoke in my favour,

favour, he would soon provide for me, meanwhile he ordered me to remain with serjeant Schuster. This man informed me how I should be treated. He told me I should not remain in the castle, but be sent by the first ship to Batavia, where I must serve out the whole term of my articles, the time I had served being reckoned as nothing; and he described the place and service in such horrid colours, as entirely to discourage me. Lieutenant Von Baalen*, who presently joined me, confirmed this report, adding, that I might have made my fortune, and become a man of consequence at the Cape, if I had but flattered Mrs. Brand, and better understood her inclinations.

What then was to be done? To stay at the Cape was under the present circumstances impossible; nor was I more inclined to go to Batavia, after the description I had heard. I therefore resolved to desert. But whither could I go? This was now my most important enquiry. On board an english ship I dared not trust myself, for as soon as Mr. Brand should hear of it, I should certainly be delivered up; and, therefore, without considering the extreme labour

* He had gone to sea from Holland as a common sailor, and had been eight years before promoted to a lieutenancy.

and fatigue attending such an enterprize, the innumerable dangers I must encounter, and the misery I should suffer, I resolved to return to Europe by land. This plan I put in effect in the following manner.

Toward evening I went to my master, and requested him to keep me in his service, but to send me back to False-bay, as he saw I could not remain in the same house with his wife. At first he refused, but afterwards consented, on my saying I had rather serve the company than live under the power of such a woman. I was desired, however, to stay one day longer, as some english officers were expected at the house, and Rapeh, who had been sent for from False-bay to take my place, was not yet come. On the following day six officers arrived, as did Rapeh toward evening.

On the 4th November, 1783, I set off for False-bay, sending my box by the company's waggon, and having sold my twelve months arrears of pay, as also whatever was useless for my intended expedition. In the garrison at the Meisenberg was a corporal named Martens*, a native of the electorate of Hanover, who

* Of this man M. Le Vaillant has spoken much, and from him he probably procured the map, which he has given as the result of his own observations. Whoever is at all acquainted with the

who having accompanied colonel Gordon in a journey in-land as far as Caffraria, had laid down a map of the country, and sent it to the company, in expectation of receiving a handsome reward: but he only received an order never to draw another, if he wished to avoid being condemned to thirty years imprisonment. This, however, did not deter him from pursuing his labours, and he frequently the Cape, knows that it is very difficult to obtain permission even to go a journey in-land on foot, without baggage, carriage, or beasts of burden; yet at a time when Holland and France were not on good terms, M. LeVaillant pretends to have travelled with a great cavalcade: whereas every one knows that a French regiment stationed at the Cape in the service of the company was obliged to leave it, merely because the officers often spent several months with the planters, though without once entering on such enquiries as M. LeVaillant pretends to have made. That writer endeavours to excuse himself by saying, he travelled out of the usual road, and purposely avoided the planters' houses; but were this a fact, something more must have been heard at the Cape of his expedition at the time he performed it; nor do his specimens of natural history prove that he was really there; for these may be bought in Cape-Town of the planters, the slaves, and the Hottentots. I will further add, that the governor gave M. LeVaillant permission to visit some of the planters. To me it appears highly probable, that he has appropriated to himself the journey undertaken by Colonel Gordon in the governor's name: for I must here observe, that every new governor is obliged to perform a journey in-land as far as the company's territories extend, and that Governor Plettenberg sent Colonel Gordon in his stead.

applied

applied himself with his door locked to completing his map. I sought his friendship, and soon obtained it; but he always hid his papers as soon as I came. Once, however, I said to him that I well knew what he was drawing, but that he had no reason to fear I should betray him, for I was extremely fond of such pursuits, and he would do me the greatest favour by shewing me a map of the interior of the country. This request indeed he refused, but permitted me to take copies of his other drawings. Upon this I immediately set to work, and found these studies assist me much in preparing for the execution of my project.

I was now ready for the enterprize, but could not immediately quit my present situation. At length, on the 24th of December, I asked and obtained permission of the commanding serjeant Schnecko to go to the Cape. I therefore left the bay at noon, taking the road to Stielensbusch, a plantation so called from a former governor, whose name was Stiel. But before I proceed to speak of my arrival at that place, and to relate the sequel of my travels, I will here give a statement of the receipts and expenditure of the company, which I hope will be useful to those readers who interest themselves in the company's concerns and the commerce of the Cape: for my account is accurately
taken

taken from authentic documents. Much I saw myself, and the remainder I have extracted from the papers of my employer.

Receipts and Expenditure of the Dutch East-India Company in the Year 1782.

RECEIPTS.	Dollars*.
Farming of wine paid by Chr. Bamm	43,000
—— of meat by Maier, a native of Wurtzburg - - - -	19,300
—— of tobacco, coffee and sugar, paid by Gottfried Jan - - -	8,600
Contributions on the houses at the Cape and Stielens-busch - - -	3,272

N. B. Every house in which any trade is carried on pays eight dollars a-year; their number is four hundred and nine. Besides this each burgher is obliged to pay an excise on every thing consumed in his house. He must also keep a uniform, and other accoutrements; and every one is obliged in case of war to serve as a soldier. The greater part of the burghers keep horses and form a body of cavalry; the rest serve on foot at the new battery called New-Amsterdam.

* The author probably means rix-dollars, which are worth about three shillings sterling.

Residents,

Dollars.

Residents, not being burghers, emancipated slaves and servants of the company, who have houses of their own, (but of which a burgher is the ostensible owner) pay twelve dollars a-year for every house, and these being one hundred and ten, amount to	- - - 1,320
Every planter is obliged to pay a tenth of his income in ready money, which tax produces as follows:	
From the low-lands, where most of the gardens are	- - - 2,007
From Great and Little Konstanz	- - - 1,240
From Steinberg, Rund-busch and Rothblum	- - - 2,370
From Schwarz-land, Roth-sand and Wagenmacherrevier	- - - 1,790
From Falso-bay, Schlangenkopf, Northenhück and Drey-kopfen	- - - 2,076
From Stielens-busch, which is the largest colony, and contains one hundred and six burghers, a church, and an officer called a landdrost	- - - 3,007
From French-brook, Hottentot's island and Seekuhthal	- - - 1,090
From Schafberg, Mottergaat, and Battabay	- - - 970
2.	From

	Dollars:
From Drakenstein, Pferdeberg and Silbergrube - - -	1,212
From Simonsthal, Perlberg and Wagenthal - - -	1,309
From Rietbeck's Castle, Barracken-berg and Honnigberg - - -	2,080
From Piquetberg, the hand-mills, and as far as the twenty-four rivers -	1,958
The rest of the planters who live farther inland, also pay contributions: In 1782 they amounted to three hundred and thirty-eight, of whom twenty-seven still enjoyed the privilege of free-years - - -	7,340
For every slave purchased by a burgher or planter, a tax of ten dollars is paid, and they generally buy about fifty	500
The annual capitation tax of five dollars for every slave, their number being reckoned at eight thousand, amounts to - - -	40,000
Total receipts, dollars	144,441

Further, every planter is obliged to sell certain articles to the company at fixed prices, viz. a hundred pounds of barley, wheat, beans, pease, &c. for twelve groschen*.

* About eighteen-pence sterling; twenty-four groschen make a rix-dollar.

The butchers are also obliged to sell all the meat required by the company at fixed prices, viz. a sheep for twelve groschen, and an ox for one dollar eight groschen.

The company also pay the planters very low prices for wine: for a *lager*, for instance, of eight hundred kans, twelve dollars.

The sums paid by foreign ships for anchorage are received by the company, but cannot be brought into the account, because the company pay similar contributions in other parts; so that the receipts and expenditure balance each other.

EXPENDITURE.

	Dollars.
For repairing the fortifications and batteries - - - - -	2,000
Governor's salary - - - - -	25,000
N. B. He is obliged to keep four clerks and twelve horses.	
Deputy governor or vice-president	10,000
Company-master, or intendant of the shipping - - - - -	15,000
The chief intendant of the city or president of the common-council, who is obliged to keep two clerks and six horses - - - - -	18,000
The fiscal - - - - -	8,000
	The

Dollars:

The rest of the persons having appointments under government are called assistants, and generally receive a thousand dollars and their allowances, (the oldest receive somewhat more). The pay of twenty-seven amounts to	30,000
The officers who do not serve in the regular military force, and called <i>bas</i> , (or <i>bas-officiers</i>) have a small stipend, generally two hundred and forty dollars; they are fourteen in number, and receive	3,360
The subalterns who do not serve in the regulars receive much less; generally fifty-nine dollars each. They are twenty in number	1,180
The work-people employed by the company, as smiths, rope-makers, &c. receive fifty-nine dollars each, and being thirty in number their pay amounts to	1,770
Two quarter-masters and ten ship-carpenters, at seventy dollars each	840
Sailors constantly stationed at certain posts, viz. on the quays, on the Meisenberg, at False-bay, &c. receive from three to six dollars per month, and their allowances	6,943
	The

	Dollars.
The landdrost's salary - - -	2,500
Two land-bailiffs - - -	600
Three reformed clergymen in the service of the company - - -	900
Three physicians at the lazaretto -	3,000
Maintenance of one hundred and forty slaves belonging to the company	1,000
Police-officers, viz. the executioner, runners, &c. - - -	1,500
Twelve caffres employed in the house of correction - - -	300
One hundred and sixty foldiers employed about Cape-town in cutting wood, burning lime, and as porters, &c. not included in the regulars. They receive from nine to twelve gilders monthly, and even more according to the work done - - -	16,880
The garrison, consisting of five hundred foldiers, a hundred and eighty engineers, &c. - - -	183,100
Total expenditure, dollars	331,873

The hospital costs the company nothing; being stocked with beds, cooking-vessels, mattresses, and the like; and every patient giving his pay for his maintenance: even if he stay but a day, he is obliged to give a month's

pay. For the reception, maintenance and attendance of the sick from foreign ships, each captain must himself provide by paying for every patient a dutch gilder per day, immediately on his arrival, for fourteen days to come.

For rice and arrack, which the company bring hither from the East Indies, they receive in exchange bread and wine for their ships.

The reader will be much surpris'd to observe the small amount of the company's receipts at the Cape, and the great extent of their expenditure; but he should remember that this establishment is necessary to them, in order to provision their ships with water, wine, and other articles. I have even omitted a large object of expenditure which the company must bear, namely, the maintenance of a foreign regiment stationed there; for the usual garrison being deemed insufficient for the defence of the Cape against the attack of an enemy, the company have for several years, taken a french regiment into their pay. It may be easily imagined how heavy an expence such a regiment, consisting of from twelve to fourteen hundred men, must require; besides which, as it is usual from time to time to send them home and replace them by another, to prevent their forming too intimate connections at the Cape, or assimilating their manners with eastern customs, the expence of transports causes
a considerable

a considerable addition to the charge. Within a few years, no less than four french regiments have been successively in garrison there.

The company might derive many other advantages from their establishment at the Cape, and diminish their expenditure considerably, if their servants were more honest, or would improve those circumstances which might so easily be rendered beneficial.

On the affairs of the Cape, and the manners of its inhabitants, M. Le Vaillant and others have published many important and useful remarks.

CHAP. II.

The author sets out for the interior of Africa—purchases a new carbine of the landdrost at Stielen's-busch—obtains powder and ball, partly as presents, and partly provides himself with these and other necessaries by other means—passes the nights at first in some of the planters' houses, but afterwards shuns them, and rests in the kraals of the Hottentots, or sleeps in the open air, lighting a fire for security.—The author often contradicts M. Le Vaillant's assertions, and maintains that he did not perform the journey he pretends.

ON the 25th December, I arrived in the evening at Stielen's-busch, where I knew the landdrost, who had often seen me with Mr. Brand. I therefore went boldly to his house, and met with a good reception. He enquired the object of my journey, to which I replied, that I had some business at Mr. Brand's estate. Here I bought a new carbine, which was the more readily sold me, as I said I wanted it for protection, in case Mr. Brand's overseer Barensmahl, against whom many complaints prevailed, should treat me ill. On the 26th, I travelled with both the sons of the landdrost

landdrost two leagues and a half farther, to the estate of another gentleman I knew, whose name was Münch. He was on the point of going to Cape-town, which alarmed me much; but I endeavoured to conceal my fears, and as I said I was going to Mr. Brand's estate, I had a very good reception. Having shewn Mr. Münch my carbine, I requested him to let me have a pound of powder, offering either to pay for or return it. He made me a present of two pounds, and thirty balls, and promised, after his return from the Cape, to call on me sometimes, and go a shooting with me. At this I expressed great pleasure, and promised to contribute as much as possible to his amusement. After taking some refreshment I left him, requesting, however, that he would not mention at the Cape my having been at his house; though, as it is deemed useless to pursue those who run away in-land, I had little need to request silence.

On the 27th, I arrived in the neighbourhood of Mr. Brand's estate, but kept myself concealed till night, when I went into the slaves' house to avoid being seen by the overseer, and desired the slaves not to mention my arrival, because I intended to set off the next morning. I ate some rice and fish, but could not sleep, owing to my numerous cares. I arose before

day-break, and took the cowherd as a guide to Gerard Hüter's settlement, which lay four miles farther. Before I parted from my guide, I requested him to let me have some powder as I had lost mine, and promised to return him double the quantity he should lend me at Cape-town; upon which he gave me half a pound, keeping only a small quantity to drive the wild beasts from his cattle. My road lay through a wood, where I saw several tigers, basking in the sun, and stretched upon the rocks. I was much alarmed when I perceived they saw me; yet none of them moved from the place where they lay. Meanwhile I saw plantations both to the right and left, but avoided them, though much pressed by hunger and thirst.

At length, being quite overcome, I went to Mr. Hüter's house, and walked immediately to his room where he was taking some refreshment, having just returned from shooting. He received me in a friendly manner, enquired after my master, the object of my journey, and many other things. I told him the news of the Cape, and said, I was ordered by Thomas Dreyer to settle some business relative to skins*. My account of myself seemed

* This man, formerly an ingenious huntsman, possessed a considerable estate, and seventy-six slaves. Mr. Brand bought his skins, and so far cured them as to bear a voyage to England.

to be satisfactory; I had a good reception, and the next morning was set forward on my journey in a friendly manner. Mr. Hütter also lent me a horse to go to Thomas Dreyer's, which was two miles and a half farther, where, on my arrival, I delivered it to the Hottentot who accompanied me. Mr. Dreyer was not at home: his wife told me he was gone to Stielen's-busch, and would not return within six days; meanwhile she invited me to stay at the house as long as I pleased. I accepted her offer, and staid three nights, preparing myself more and more for my journey.

I now resolved to enter no other planter's house lest I should be taken up as a deserter, but to keep always at a distance from every inhabited place. At night I took up my lodging near the house of a planter, named Meybach, in a place where cattle had formerly been fed. I slept peaceably, but was waked toward morning by the howling of wolves. My clothes were wet with dew, and I was very cold, but set off, and after two hours came to the fields of a man named Mühlmann, where I met with his slaves, and asked them for something to eat; upon which two of them gave me their allowance of rice and fish; I gave each of them a dutch gilder, and proceeded on my way. Toward evening I came to Satini-Bay, climbed the mountains

that furround it, and beheld a vast extent of land and sea. I made a fire, by which I slept without fear; and at day-break, setting forward on my journey, soon arrived in the neighbourhood of an estate belonging to one Woltman. I was desirous of speaking to his slaves; but on entering their house met the master of the plantation, who took me to his room and enquired the object of my journey*. I replied, that my master had given me leave to make an excursion of pleasure to Blettenberg-bay. Here I staid three days, and then set off in company with a slave, who was sent with me for protection, and to carry my baggage as far as Mr. Spittler's estate, which lay three miles from Satini-bay, on the salt-river. Having refreshed myself, I traversed woods and trackless places to avoid all houses; but, when pressed by hunger, went to the slaves in the pastures and fields, and bought provisions of them. The small rivers were in general dried up, so that I could cross them without danger.

M. Le Vaillant asserts, that in this country he met with an extraordinary number of wild

*Most of the planters had known me at Cape-town, as my employer generally received their produce, which he set me to measure or weigh; each planter was also invited to dinner once or oftener during his stay in the town.

beasts, but every one who knows the country is aware how numerous the planters are, and how much they exert themselves to diminish the number of these intruders; and must, therefore, be convinced of the falsehood of M. Le Vaillant's account. I will here describe some particulars relative to the planters, and then proceed in the narrative of my travels.

In regard to money they are poor, their chief riches consisting in cattle and slaves; of the latter, the most inconsiderable planters have at least ten, which are furnished them by the company on their first settling, for an annual rent of ten dutch guilders each during five years. If they wish to make them their own they must pay two hundred dutch guilders per head, which they need not do till ten years are elapsed, when they must pay for them in money or produce. Most of the planters spend much time in shooting, and receive yearly of the company four pounds of powder and one of shot, as also a bounty, if they deliver to the company the skins of the animals they kill, according to the following scale:

			Rix Dollars.	Groschen
For an elephant	—	—	3	
A rhinoceros	—	—	2	12
A camel	—	—	2	12
A wild buffalo	—	—	1	18
				An

			Rix Dollars.	Groschen.
An elk	—	—	2	12
A lion	—	—	1	12
A tiger	—	—	1	
A zebra	—	—	1	
A wild boar	—	—	2	
A goat	—	—		6
A wild dog	—	—		16
A tiger cat	—	—		12
A hyæna	—	—	1	12
A giraffe or camelopardalis			2	

But if they sell the skins to traders from on board ship, they receive a higher price. It is remarked, that many of the wild beasts change their haunts either at coupling time, or when water happens to fail them; but the assertion that herds are seen, consisting of several hundred wild beasts, is wholly without foundation. This, however, may possibly refer to the animal called calitz.

The untrod path on which I now entered was extremely irksome, for it lay among woods, precipices, and rocks, which rendered it almost impassable. Yet this was the very fame which M. Le Vaillant pretends to have gone with his caravan; but I will venture to assert he never was there; for the whole country is so rough and trackless, that the traveller must work

work his way with extreme labour, and overcome the greatest obstacles: as for example, at the place called Hohlen Kluft, where I was obliged to climb the rocks amid the greatest dangers: I thought I had overcome every obstacle when I had reached the summit, but soon found I was much mistaken, as I had to descend steep precipices and the most craggy rocks. I was compelled, however, to brave every danger, and was frequently near falling, being obliged to hang to the rocks and drop, and spring from one to another, unable to reach them with my feet. Fortunately, however, I at length got safely to the bottom.

On the 19th of February I arrived at Blettenberg-Bay, and went to the house of Mr. Vogtmeyer, but found only his wife at home, who informed me her husband was gone to Schwellendam, and would not return for three days. She pressed me to stay till he arrived, and shewed me to a room in an adjoining building. This offer I readily accepted, made observations on the country, and endeavoured to learn from the Hottentots of the house the particulars of my road, and to procure several necessaries for my journey. I also obtained a calabath*, a few pounds of powder, a fusil, ful-

* A fruit resembling a gourd, which being hollowed and dried in the sun, is used as a water-bottle,

plur for matches, &c. This spot is so beautiful and fertile, that I wonder a town has never been built there; for within a circuit of two hundred miles are found the best water, plenty of timber and fire wood, fruits of extraordinary size and beauty, and a harbour that would contain fifty ships. Danish, portugueze, and french vessels frequently visit this bay in preference to the Cape, because they find provisions cheaper; but the company do not permit foreign ships to put in there unless driven in by strefs of weather, nor to take in more than three days water and provisions, because they would otherwise lose the anchorage-money paid by vessels at the Cape; for which reason they keep a serjeant and six privates on guard there; but these men attend only to their own interest, and accept presents to suffer the inhabitants and ships' crews to trade with each other. At that time the serjeant stationed there was Von Schell, a native of Denmark, who had served in the prussian army.

On the 25th February, Mr. Vogtmeyer returned and received me in a very friendly manner; but at the same time told me he well knew I was a deserter, and would carry me back to Capetown, where Mr. Brand would give him thirty guilders for his trouble. At this I was extremely
alarmed,

alarmed, and began to reflect on the ill treatment I should be exposed to; but my fears were soon banished; for he told me, that even could he gain a hundred gilders, he would not betray me, but rather, if I would frankly tell him my plan, employ all his exertions to serve me. I told him I was resolved to traverse the continent of Africa, be the consequences what they might. At this he laughed, called me fool-hardy, and endeavoured to change my resolution; but as he could not prevail on me to give it up, he wished me success, and provided me with a calf-skin knapsack, a hatchet, and several other small utensils.

On the 26th February, he set me on the road to Caffraria, and took leave of me as of a friend. I had now twenty-seven german miles* to go to the frontiers, having already travelled seventy-four. I shunned every plantation, and took a south-east course, by which I left them all on my left. I traversed vast forests, climbed immense mountains, and on the following day arrived at the first hottentot craal, consisting of twenty huts, and called from its chief Wahhab's craal. A cowherd saw me, and hurried into the craal to publish my arrival;

* About four and a half english miles. Fifteen german miles are equal to a degree or sixty-nine and a half english.

upon which three large and strong, but young Hottentots with javelins came out, looked at me, and then approached me, enquiring whether I came alone, whether I belonged to the planters, and whither I was going. Having answered these questions, I was conducted into the *craal* to the *montur*; for so the chief was called. He ordered me some milk, and gave me himself a head of indian corn roasted on the coals, for which I paid him a dutch gilder. I asked also for a night's lodging, which was readily granted; and I was invited to stay as long as I pleased, with a promise that I should be properly taken care of.

Toward evening most of the inhabitants of the *craal* assembled on a green before the hut of the chief, where they sang and danced. After a while some young women came into our hut and asked us to join them, which we did. Here I saw naked girls jumping round about the young men, many of whom were equally in a state of nature*. Knowing that a league farther

* The unmarried hottentot women go entirely naked, but the married wear a small apron. Many of the girls, especially if pretty, are betrothed at eight or nine years old; after which no unmarried man is allowed any familiarities with them. Against fornication, they seem to have no laws; for under certain restrictions, they permit even married men, and still more the single,

ther was Walther's plantation where brandy was made, I wrote a few lines to the owner, which I sent with three gilders, desiring him to send me their value in brandy, and gave it to the chief. He sent it by a man, who returned a few hours after with a small cask containing twelve kans of brandy, and brought back the three gilders, together with a note requesting me to go thither myself the next day. The chief to whom I delivered the brandy gave a little to every one present, and ordered the rest to be carried into his hut. At midnight we retired to rest. I slept in the back part of the hut on a very good mat; and about eight o'clock in the morning the master of the hut waked me, brought me some milk and a piece of mutton broiled on the coals, and asked

gle, to have connection with unmarried women. M. LeVaillant is mistaken in representing the young women of this country as particularly virtuous and chaste. Adultery, indeed, on the woman's side is punished severely by the whole horde; but the men are allowed to keep company with girls when their wives are lying-in. M. Le Vaillant errs also as to the beauty and cleanliness of the hottentot women. Among the bastard Hottentots, indeed, are many beautiful and cleanly women and girls, but I observed very few such among those who live in the kraals; high foreheads, sunken eyes, flat noses, projecting lips, and woolly heads, are not constituent parts of beauty.

me to stay some days longer with him, which I promised to do.

Toward noon I paid a visit to Mr. Walther, who received me well, and asked me no questions relative to the object of my journey. When I was taking my leave, I offered to pay for the brandy, but he would not accept the money, replying, that when he should come to the Cape he would ask a favour of me in return, which I accordingly promised. When I returned to the kraal, I learnt that most of the men were gone a hunting, and found no one in the hut of my host except his daughter, a girl eight years old. At first I could not comprehend her uncommonly bold behaviour, but I soon discovered that she had paid a visit to the brandy, and was intoxicated. She treated me as a hottentot and an old acquaintance, embraced me, and at length fell on the ground. I endeavoured to quiet her, and she fell asleep till the evening. Meanwhile I lay down on the grass before the hut. When her father came from hunting, he enquired after his daughter; but I told him I had lain down as soon as I returned, and did not even know whether she was in the hut or not. He went in, but did not observe what had happened.

I continued nine days with this herde, among whom I formed to intimate an acquaintance,

ance, that they asked me to live with them and choose myself a wife. This I declined under various pretexts, but promised to come and visit them again. I had now an opportunity to pursue my journey in company with some hottentots from another craal, who came for sheep. My companions were very melancholy at parting with me, and I wished it had been in my power to shew my gratitude, by rendering some important benefit to these kind and good-hearted people. Our road lay over the Milk-mountain; but we had great difficulties to encounter, and the long rush-grass impeded us so much, that, although we went scarcely two leagues the first day, we were extremely fatigued. We passed the night on the banks of Silver-river*, but did not sleep, because the wolves collected round us to rob our flock; and we could not venture to light a fire, lest we should set the high half-dried grass in a blaze. The

* This river indeed is small, but does not diminish throughout the year; yet M. Le Vaillant takes no notice of it, although he pretends to have passed the other neighbouring rivers. The water is well tasted, and of a silver colour, which, according to the hottentots, is the origin of its name.

Hottentots, therefore, employed themselves as long as the moon shone in making mats of the rushes*.

In the morning we reached the summit of the Milk-mountain, where, finding good grass, we let our sheep pasture, and took our breakfast. I had scarcely begun to eat, when I looked round, and perceived a party of ten men coming quickly toward us. As my four companions did not seem to observe them, I asked if they knew who those men might be who were hastening toward us so fast? But they were so alarmed, they could give me no answer. After repeated enquiries, I learnt that they were Bushmen†, who were coming to rob them of their sheep. I endeavoured to encourage them, prepared for our defence, loaded my carbine, and told my companions how to act. I fired, and one man fell; the

* They cover their huts with them, for they are so thick that water will not penetrate them. This also is true of the baskets made of this grass, which are used for keeping milk. M. Le Vaillant errs in saying, the huts are covered with skins; though, possibly, some might be hung up to dry, at the time he made his observation. The hair is scraped off with sharp bones, particularly the skulls of sheep and oxen, after which they are covered with fat and hung up in the sun.

† Robbers living in the woods.

rest, having thrown some javelins at us, went away*. My companions now rejoiced extremely, and gave me to understand, both by their words and manner, that they entertained a high esteem for me. Having left the mountain, we soon arrived at a craal, where we stopped only to take some refreshment; and the night being fine pursued our way.

In the morning we arrived at the craal of my companions, where being extremely fatigued, through having passed several sleepless nights, I sat down before a hut and fell asleep. When I awoke, I missed my watch and carbine, at which I was much alarmed, and ran immediately into the hut, but could learn no tidings of them. At length, one of my companions came to me, conducted me to his hut, and

* These Bushmen (Boschimannen) are represented by many travellers as bastard Hottentots. Even M. Le Vaillant is of this opinion; but I can positively assure the reader, that among them are as many persons of other nations as Hottentots. Even Europeans sometimes take refuge with them; namely, deserters from ships, or from the garrison, who rob and plunder whatever they can, until they meet with an opportunity of entering on board other ships. Even in the neighbourhood of Cape-town, in the Wasserkluft, between the Table-mountain and the Löwenkopfe, a similar gang, formed from various nations, subsist by similar means, and often do great injury to the inhabitants of the town, from which their fires may be clearly distinguished at night.

produced both the watch and the carbine, saying, he had taken them away through precaution, that I might not be robbed of them while asleep. He then brought me some milk and broiled meat.

While I was eating, the chief entered the hut in his best apparel, bowed to me several times, and thanked me for the assistance I had given his friends; adding, that the same plunderers had a few days before robbed the craal of thirty sheep. On enquiry, I was informed they were thirty men strong, and lived on the mountain called Schlangenberg, about a league off, where they had entrenched themselves with wood, and raised a mound of stones to secure themselves from sudden attack. I said it was by no means impossible to subdue them, and offered to lead on a party provided they would support me. The chief was much pleased with my proposal, especially as the stolen sheep might probably be recovered; yet he made several objections, all which I answered, and he then strongly coincided in my plan, encouraged his associates to join me, and represented to them, that unless these robbers were driven away, they must expect further losses. Thus about twenty of the eighty inhabitants of the craal resolved to march under my orders against the Bushmen.

I gave

I gave them instructions how to conduct themselves, and ordered each of them to provide himself with a stick, a bundle of dried grafs, and some dry faggot-wood.

Thus prepared, we fet off as foon as it was night; and, without fpeaking a word, approached the mountain. Here I divided my men into two bands, leading the one myself, and giving the command of the other to the chief. Thus we approached the first entrenchment, and having fet fire to it, the wind spread the flames fo rapidly that the whole mountain feemed prefently in a blaze. We now posted ourfelves once more at the foot of the mountain, at the part where we imagined the enemy would attempt to efcape; nor had we ftaid long before we heard a miserable howl, and faw feveral men run half-burnt through the fire. To encrease their fright, and give the hottentots the preconcerted fignal for the attack, I fired among the run-aways, on whom the hottentots now fell and deftroyed them. Thus was this gang of robbers exterminated; and in the morning, my friends not only recovered their own fheep, but carried off many more belonging to the adverfary, which we found on the other fide of the mountain. How many of the enemy were killed, or how many efaped, could

could not be ascertained. The mountain continued burning all the following day.

On our return to the craal we were received, by both sexes, with general shouts of joy, which was the greater in consequence of their receiving back their sheep, and learning that the enemy were partly killed, and the rest driven away. I was fatigued, and reposed myself in the chief's hut, but the hottentots rejoiced and made merry throughout the night.

I continued with these good people a fortnight, highly honoured and beloved by them, and every man vying with his neighbours in feasting me with milk and meat, and the best possible fare. But this being the most favourable season for travelling, I resolved to set forward, and take advantage of the winter, as it is called, which then commenced in the month of April, showing itself by some rains and a cool atmosphere.

CHAP. III.

After resting at another craal, the author takes his course eastward toward Fish-river; and to make the greatest use of the coolness of the winter for travelling, eagerly pursues his way, skimming the craals and plantations, and leaving the territory of the company.—Manners and customs of the Hottentots.—Le Vaillant contradicted—Arrival at the plantation of Mr. Habrath; and at length, on the 29th March, in Caffraria.—Manners, customs, and ceremonies of the Caffres.—The author's hopes to get to Europe.—He takes a journey to the sea in company with twenty-seven Caffres, to seek a stranded french vessel; makes some booty, and by this successful expedition, obtains the favour of the whole craal, who choose him under-mampa, and invite him to spend his life with them.

ON the 25th March, I left the craal, and directed my course to the eastward toward Fish-river. I was obliged, however, to be very cautious, lest I should fall in with planters' houses, of which there are many in this part. I passed by one craal, but took up my lodging for the night in another, where I was well received and kindly treated. This was the last craal on the territory of the company; for although the frontiers of Caffraria are a whole day's journey farther, yet, on the direct road thither, no more craals occur. Planters are grown too

prudent to extend their settlements here; for in their perpetual wars with the Caffres, whole troops of Hottentots have lost their huts and cattle. The craal here mentioned lies on Fish-river, near its division into two streams, one of which flows between the mountains and the colonies, and the other takes a south course till it falls into Silver-river.

M. Le Vaillant has copiously described the manners and customs of the Hottentots; but as he is by no means always accurate, I will also say something on this subject.

The chief of each horde is called *montur*. This office, however, is not hereditary, but elective, being given to the man who has most distinguished himself by acts of heroism, as the destroying a furious wild beast, victories over enemies, &c. To every craal, whether it lies within or without the company's territory, they present a large stick with a silver head, on which are engraved the arms of the company; which is kept by the chief, and used by him on all public solemnities. Each Hottentot also annually receives two pounds of tobacco, and two kans of brandy; in return for which, he is obliged to learn more or less of the dutch language. Those who live among the planters acquire it easily; but those who live at a greater distance, are obliged to exert themselves

themselves to learn it by other means; as for instance, when the *monturs* go to Cape-town, they are obliged to bring a man of their horde to hew wood in the castle, and perform other services, so as to learn the language from the inhabitants and soldiers. If the *montur* visits the Cape the following year, he brings another, and takes back the former to his *craal* *.

The Hottentots are very filthy in their persons, being, perhaps, the laziest nation upon earth; besides which, in many places they have a want of water. They are so inactive, that the most fertile spots are suffered to lie uncultivated, though here and there a little indian corn is seen. They chiefly employ themselves in breeding cattle and hunting; but to the latter they only recur when compelled by hunger, and other provisions fail. They fish very little, though they might, without much trouble,

* Foreigners cannot easily learn to pronounce the hottentot language as it is spoken by the natives, nor can the proper sound and pronunciation be communicated by writing, so as to become the object of a printed grammar. To be imitated, it must be heard. The lisping, and the singular motions of the tongue required, render it very difficult, and constitute its characteristic peculiarities. As M. Le Vaillant very justly remarks, no one can overcome the difficulty attending the pronunciation of the consonants.

especially

especially in winter, catch a great quantity of fish. Nor are examples wanting, that they had rather fast several days than thus easily procure themselves food. The company has made repeated offers to give them nets, grain, &c. and to remove them to spots nearer the Cape; but these they never accept, because they fear they shall be obliged to labour and fatigue themselves. They prefer living miserably in deserts, like their cattle; and through mere laziness, suffer themselves to be driven about, sometimes to the southward by the Caffres, and sometimes to the eastward by the Bushmen; though, when they become seriously enraged, their enemies soon learn what they can do; but their characteristic trait is, to take no care for the future.

The women are very active and industrious in household affairs; but rather vain of their persons, which they employ a great portion of their time in adorning. Mothers are extremely fond of their children, and consider them so much as a treasure of their own while sucking, that during that period the husband dares not even take them in his arms, although in other respects his wife is his slave. This privilege arose from a species of cruelty formerly practised by the men. When the Portuguese first visited this country, many fathers sold
them

them their infant children for a little brandy or tobacco; in consequence of which the women assumed the above-mentioned right. They suckle their children during four months; carrying them by day on their back, and at night wrapping them in a sheep-skin and placing them before. But after that time they are laid on mats in the grass, and eat the same food as the rest of the family.

The women also pay particular attention to the cattle; but the singular practice M. Le Vaillant describes when they milk their cows is unfounded. In like manner, I can by no means confirm his assertion, that the skins of calves which die naturally are bound on to other calves. That the Hottentots are too prudent to do this, appears from the custom prevalent among them, of burying all such cattle at the distance of a league from their craal.

Their mode of treating their dead pleased me much. No one is buried till attempts have been made to recal him to life; and those who die after a long illness, they beat with their fists, give them thrusts in the ribs, and shake them, when if no signs of life appear, the corpse is buried in the evening of the same day, though not till another attempt has been made to recal it to life. But when a young person dies,

dies, especially if it happen suddenly, other essays are made. The soles of the feet are scratched with a *hassagay**, red hot iron is held to the nose, the body is rubbed, and if no signs of life appear, it is buried on the following evening. The corpse is immediately carried out before the hut, and watched there by persons of the family, which is also continued twenty-eight days after burial, to prevent wild beasts from grubbing it up. With regard to their ceremonies, and other usages, M. Le Vaillant may be consulted; for I have only described those which I found wholly different from the account given by that author.

On the 25th I changed my course, directing it toward the great Fish-river, and observed to the right and left several crails, which are here in great abundance, owing to the good pasture and water they enjoy; but farther on I saw no more. I passed the night in a wood on the bank of the river, ate the meat I had with me, and lighted a fire. The next morning I came near Mr. Hobrath's plantation, which I endeavoured to pass unnoticed, but was dis-

* Their points are not poisoned, except when used in war.

covered in the wood by Mr. Hobrath himself, who was hunting. He seemed very friendly, and pressed me to come to his house. From this I endeavoured to excuse myself, because I thought it might endanger the success of my plans. He perceived my embarrassment, and said he knew I was a deserter, but would not detain me. I replied, that if he did he should not carry me alive to the Cape. Upon this he asked me to stay with him some time, and to supply the place of master*; which was vacant. I promised to do so, but requested him to permit me first to take a journey into Caffraria. To this he consented, and I set off. The first place I arrived at was called Bruynoogte, or Bruyntjes-oogte, where I fell in with a horde of Hottentots. To the southward I also saw the last of the plantations, near the borders of Caffraria; where I beheld a very fine country, forming a beautiful plain, four miles long, and one and a half broad, extending to the Caffre-mountains.

On the 29th I entered Caffraria; and here I found my dangers and obstacles encrease. I was obliged to climb steep mountains, and had

* This office unites those of schoolmaster and of overseer to the slaves of the plantation.

great difficulty to descend before night into the valley, where I met with several empty huts, one of which I chose for my resting place. The inhabitants had apparently deserted them through want of water. At day-break I was awakened by the howling of a small herd of wolves, who were near my hut, but soon after went away. I now took a north-east course, and passed over a small mountain overgrown with rock-rushes, by which I was very much impeded. I then crossed a river six feet wide and four deep, flowing from east to west, and of which the water was reddish and somewhat acid.

On the 1st of April I had a fine road through a most beautiful and fertile valley, between two ranges of mountains; and at noon descried on the south-side of the mountain some huts, toward which I went, and reached them in the evening. At a short distance I was met by three armed Caffres, who accosted me; and, as I judged partly by some of their words, and partly by their gestures, asked the following questions. Whither would you go? Whence come you? Are you a planter? I replied in words of their own and the hottentot language, that I came from the Cape, and was a deserter. They now invited me into the craal; but I gave them to understand by words and gestures, that they
1 must

must not take my gun from me. The craal consisted of twenty-two huts, and seemed comparatively very populous. The inhabitants were standing before their huts to look at me, and some of them approached me, and seemed to enquire of my companions who I was, and what I wanted. The manpa or chief, who was a young man, examined me from head to foot, and at length asked me if I would drink some milk. I pretended not to understand him; but he took me by the hand and led me into his hut, where a mat was spread, on which he made a sign for me to sit down. He now offered to take my gun and set it in a corner; but I did not give it him, making a sign that it was loaded. I then drew the charge, and laid it in a corner near me. I wondered that my host was so indifferent to this, and attributed it to his being unacquainted with such weapons. On the following day, however, I was undeceived. His wife now brought me a very fine lattice-work basket of milk, and two heads of roasted indian corn. When I had satisfied my hunger I lay down on the mat, and a buffalo-skin was given me for a covering; I used my knapsack as a pillow, and thus slept softly and peacefully amid a race of men described as savage, barbarous, and cruel, and at whose very name men shudder.

I did

I did not wake till eight in the morning; when I found none of the inhabitants in the hut, and on looking over my effects missed my carbine, together with the powder and ball. At first I imagined they had been removed to another part of the hut, and therefore sought them every where, but in vain. I was now going out to look for my host, but had no sooner passed the door than the mampa came up to me with the gun, and burst into a loud laugh, making such motions with it as showed that he knew well how to use it. I was rejoiced to see my carbine once more, with which I also received the powder and ball.

Meanwhile warm milk and broiled mutton were brought in for breakfast. While I was eating, my host talked to me; and though I did not understand him, yet I could perceive he spoke of shooting, by his often putting himself in the attitude of firing. At length two of his friends, who also lived in his hut, brought an *umripat**, in which I could perceive the wound caused by the ball †; this explained

* A species of calitz, resembling our european chamois, but with coloured spots like a tiger.

† My carbine took a two ounce ball like most of the barrels at the Cape, to ensure hitting the game. These and others which take balls of from three to four ounces are brought from England.

what my host had been saying. The beast was then skinned, cut up, and a part broiled on the coals.

After this meal I would have set off, but was pressed to stay longer, and go out hunting. Four more Caffres also joined us, and we set off. One of them, who understood something of dutch which he had learnt at the Cape, asking me to shoot a goat, I replied, we should soon find better game; but if the mampa wished to make an essay, my gun was at his service. He accepted my offer with joy, and shot an old and a young goat out of a herd of about twenty, which afforded him great pleasure. On my enquiring where he had learnt the management of fire-arms, since I had seen none among his countrymen, the man who spoke a little dutch informed me, that they once exchanged some sheep for fire-arms, powder, and ball, with their neighbours, the Tambukins; but that as they had long been at enmity with that nation, they no longer received from them either powder or ball; and therefore had, with great labour, converted their fire-arms into arrows.

On our return to the craal, the mampa, attended by myself and some other persons, made a procession to invite the inhabitants to a feast, which was to be held on the following day, in commemoration of a victory gained over

their enemies three years before. During the evening all remained perfectly quiet; but very early the next morning I heard people talking and moving about, while in our hut no man was yet stirring. I attempted to open the door, but in vain, it being fastened in a peculiar manner; for in this country doors are not secured with iron locks and bolts, but with several pieces of wood. After a short time, the people knocked and sang at the door of our hut, and at every other where the inhabitants were still asleep. All was now in motion; and when we went out, we found our hut and the ground before it covered with palm-branches. The people then surrounded the mampa, and stuck two palm-branches in his girdle with which he had entwined his hair, so that he seemed to bear on his head the horns of a stag. They also placed two other branches in his hands, and the procession immediately began to move. They went thrice round each hut, which employed about two hours; a large fire was then lighted in the middle of the craal, and most of the inhabitants sat round it and sang.

Hitherto the women had no share in this solemnity; but as soon as the men were seated they appeared, each bearing two palm-branches, which the married women gave to their husbands, and the unmarried to the un-

married

married men, with many ceremonies and various attitudes. They now danced all together round the fire, and at length threw their palm-branches into it. Upon this the women returned to their huts and fetched milk, which the men, who had resumed their seats, drank. Two young men and two young women were now placed within the circle to be married, which was done in the following manner. The mothers leading their daughters in one hand, and holding in the other two baskets of milk, approached the fire, about six paces from which they stopped. Upon this the fathers of the two young women came forward, to take off the small aprons which their mothers had tied upon them, and led them naked to their future husbands, who received them, and were informed what portions they were to have; these consisted of a few sheep, buffaloes, and the like. During the treaty relative to the portions the mothers stepped somewhat nearer, and gave each of the bridegrooms a basket of milk, upon which the nearest relations also stepped forward to settle and complete the business of the portions. As soon as they were agreed, they drank in turn all round out of the baskets of milk, and the fathers delivered the aprons to their sons-in-law, who tied them on their wives with many ceremonies, tending to show that no man had now

a right to tie them on or take them off. A sheep was then killed, broiled, and the meat distributed to all the company, who amused themselves with dancing and singing till a late hour of night. The two brides returned to their fathers' huts, and on the following day, as I was informed, a hut was to be built by the nearest relations for each of the new-married couples, and covered with skins, until the proper covering of rushes woven into mats should be prepared, upon which the bride and bridegroom, accompanied by the relations and the portion of the bride, were to take possession.

The oldest of every family accommodates and decides small disputes and misdemeanours; but on great crimes the whole horde gives judgment.

Although the mampa appeared my friend, yet I was not one of the company at the above solemnity, but remained sitting before the hut, where I could see all that passed. Meanwhile the young man who spoke a little dutch brought me some milk and meat, and said, I could not assist at the feast because I was a stranger. At night I lay down behind the hut, and having reflected for several hours on my future destiny, fell asleep till day-break; when I perceived my host had covered me with a buffalo-skin. I arose, and determined to set off; but the hut-door being fastened I could not get my effects.

effects. The sun had risen in splendour high above the horizon, when at length the hut-door was opened, and the woman came out to milk her cows. I requested her by signs to bring out my effects, but she gave me to understand she could not comply without the consent of her husband, who was still asleep. Meanwhile she invited me to accompany her, which I did without reflecting that it might be prejudicial to me, husbands being here very jealous. She called at the neighbouring huts, from which also the women accompanied her to milk their cows.

The herd, which was pasturing about a quarter of a mile from the craal on a beautiful plain, was numerous, and far excelled in appearance many of those I had before seen. In milking, two persons are employed; the one holding the beast while the other milks it with the greatest rapidity; and hence two housewives generally go a milking together, and alternately assist each other. The cows do not here give much milk, and my hostess scarcely obtained five kans from six beasts, though this was the season when they usually give most; a circumstance which may, in a considerable degree, arise from the intense heat of the climate. The cowherds are also extremely fond of milk, and often rob their masters. The Caffres have a custom of

twisting the horns of their cows into various shapes, and cutting figures in them. This they do for a very useful purpose; the various herds being sometimes disturbed and driven into confusion by wolves and tigers, on which occasions these figures show to what craal they belong. Sometimes the horns are split, and each part twisted; every one endeavouring to give them a different shape from those of his neighbours.

During my absence the mampa had sought me throughout the craal, and when he saw me again showed great joy, coming up to meet me, and enquiring by gestures where I had been. When I told him, he laughed, took me by the hand, and led me into the hut, where he bid his wife give us all some warm milk, and brought out a piece of meat, which he pressed me to eat. Here I must observe, that in eating and drinking the Caffres are very temperate; and that on many days I could have willingly consumed somewhat more than the portion of milk and meat offered me.

When I had breakfasted, I gave them to understand that I wished to set off, and offered the mampa two gilders, which he contempered for a long time, after which he returned them; and as I persisted in my determination, took my baggage from me, and requested me at least to stay that day. He then delivered my effects to his wife,

wife, and led me out by the hand, which at first I resisted, but at length determined to go voluntarily.

He took me to a small wood where several men were at work, tearing off branches, and cutting down thick stems of trees. I was also set to this work, tore off enough for some bundles of faggot-wood, took them on my shoulders, and followed the rest, who carried partly branches and partly timber. Of these, in the space of two hours, huts were built for the two new-married couples: after which every one abandoned himself to rejoicing, danced and sang, formed a circle round each hut, and used various other ceremonies. Oghang (plumbs), batoni (a species of millet), and melis (indian corn), were then distributed for food, and the same articles hung on the ends of the hut as marriage-presents. To distinguish myself on this occasion I hung up two gilders, and perceived that my presents gave great pleasure. At this I was much gratified, and was only sorry that I did not understand their language. I danced with a caffre girl, and sang some german songs, to which the company listened with great attention. I had at first taken by the hand a young married woman, but was prevented dancing with her by her husband, who would perhaps have maltreated me, had not the mampa explained

that I was unacquainted with the customs of the place, upon which an unmarried caffre girl without an apron was brought me, with whom I might dance freely.

I now made serious preparations to pursue my travels. The next morning I presented the mampa two gilders, which he refused, and as I declined taking them back, transferred them to his wife; but as I afterwards gave her two more, he took them again, and thanked me heartily. He made me a present of some roast meat, and accompanied me about a league to the borders of his territory, from which I took my way toward the Eirekoha, or great Baboon-mountain.

The horde I had just left consisted of twenty-two huts and about three hundred inhabitants. It lay on the right bank of Fish-river, between that and a chain of mountains whose length is about eight days journey; being several times intersected by the river, which here and there divides into several streams that afterwards reunite*. This day I crossed that river, its depth
being

* M. Le Vaillant describes the course of this river erroneously. It proceeds from the mountain of Hahoromto, which lies opposite the Snowy-mountain, flowing with many sinuosities as far as that of Yakata, the highest within a circuit of three hundred miles, and thence in a straight line to the sea. M. Le Vaillant pretends to have quitted his course to
pursue

being then about three feet; and on the other side passed the night beside a small wood on a hill, where I made a fire, procured some muscles from the river, and roasted them for my supper. During the night I perceived a large fire farther up the mountain, and therefore imagined I was near a *craal*, the cowherds of which had probably lighted it to protect their cattle from wolves and tigers. This gave me pleasure; and I fell asleep till eight in the morning, when I travelled onward, and at noon arrived at the place where I had observed the fire. I first met two young Caffres, who did not stop till I cried out *tabahara* (I am a good friend). From them I endeavoured to learn how far distant their horde might be, in reply to which they showed me that it was very near, and almost behind the mountain. The younger of them accompanied me thither; and when we arrived, cried out *o ma hara tuko, o ma hara tuko*, (a white friend, a white friend); upon which above fifty persons of both sexes came running out of their huts. An old man held out his hand to me while yet at a distance, and asked, *hogasamay*

purſue that of the river; but this is improbable, as he muſt then have travelled ſix or eight days over a great chain of mountains, in the vallies of which are immense ſwamps. The river he ſaw could not be this, but Blood-river.

zuko, (whence come you, friend)? to which I replied, *bikagari knatuore*, (I am a dutch deserter). My young guide now took me to this inan's hut, where a rush mat was given me, upon which I sat down. Old and young stood around me, staring at me, and laughing, and at length began to nod at me; then one touched me with a finger, another pulled my hair, a third my clothes, and the like. This somewhat disconcerted me, and I knew not what to do, but at length pointed to my carbine; which however had no effect. The old man now seemed to observe that this treatment was disagreeable to me, spoke kindly to me, and said, as nearly as I could collect, that no one meant to offend me, but that the curiosity of the spectators was excited because they had never before seen a white man. This encouraged me; and when they began to pull me again, I seized a young girl by the arm and kissed her; upon which all the company burst into a laugh. Several of them cried *naghairti, naghairti*, (very well, very well); meanwhile the girl remained quietly in my arms, and seemed much pleased. When the old man brought me melis and milk, she hastened out to fetch a basket full of good goat's-milk. It appeared also that she then told her mother I had kissed her; for the latter came hastily in, and I could perceive by her manner

manner was pleased with me. She offered me a hut, and gave me to understand by her gestures that she wished me to live here, which the old man also seemed to desire. I replied, that I wished first to travel over the country, and would then return if the country-people did not kill me. This pleased them; but they advised me to avoid the Tambukins, who infested the country, and would for a very trifling object murder even the natives. I afterwards found the contrary to be the fact, and met with other nations more addicted to robbery than the Tambukins.

In this place I was very cautious with regard to money, to avoid giving occasion myself to being plundered. Meanwhile I became constantly more depressed, when I considered how I was surrounded by savage nations, by whom I was hourly in danger of being murdered; in addition to which I must expect to encounter far greater labours than I had yet endured. Totally ignorant of the roads, knowing but a few words of the language of the country, and unacquainted with the roots and vegetables it produced, my clothes were going to rags without a possibility of procuring more, my small stock of gunpowder could not last long, and I had no other means of defence against either human enemies or voracious beasts. The apprehension of
all

all these dangers robbed even my food of its relish, and thus my strength began to fail. I perceived, however, that unless I determined to live with the Caffres I must pursue my journey; but I threw myself upon the will of Providence, and became more tranquil.

Before I set off on the following morning the old man said, he had *lago oiup* (sixteen full moons ago), seen in the *coro khaia* (the Salt-mountain) some persons who resembled me in colour, dress, hat, &c. On my enquiring in what country that mountain was situated, he pointed to the east, where a small chain of mountains lay before me, and added, that we were five journeys from the sea, whence they came. My anxiety was now converted into joy; for I hoped shortly to fall in with a party of Europeans, and pursue my travels in company with them. Meanwhile I must apprise my readers, that when I describe myself as conversing with the Caffres, it must always be understood that we explained our meaning to each other partly by a few detached words, but still more by signs and gestures.

To arrive at the place described, I was obliged to return back half a day's journey in order to cross Fish-river, and passed the night on the spot where I had slept previous to my arrival at this horde. I then crossed the chain of mountains,

tains, where I had many obstacles to overcome, being obliged to climb from rock to rock in the most intense heat, and every moment in danger by a false step of falling and dashing myself to death. If I met with a spot adorned by trees, I had to force my way through high rushes; and if I wanted a cup of fresh water, could not find it. 'Tis true, that under rushes I sometimes met with swamps; but the water had a horrid stench, and swarmed with insects. I therefore shot a goat, and allayed my thirst with his blood. I also took a leg with me; but was obliged to throw it away the next day, because the smell attracted the wolves and tigers.

On the third day I descended from the mountain into a fertile plain, but still found no water. Among the trees, however, which were numerous, I found one resembling an oak, that bore a fruit similar to our yellow plumbs. At this I rejoiced extremely, and ate six or eight, which at first I found pleasant, but at length so rough that blood came in my mouth. I took some, however, with me to use in case of extreme necessity, and in the evening laid them on the coals, which very much improved their taste. I afterwards found in the interior of the country many of these trees, but was then more prudent in the use of their fruit, which in
many

many parts is called *ohagma*, while others out of Caffraria name it *ogheyhe*.

Being now quite exhausted, I desired nothing so ardently as to meet with a good fountain. At length looking around I descried a large craal, which gave me hopes I should also soon find water. I sought out the spring, where I threw myself on the ground to quench my thirst, and this water tasted more delicious to my palate than the most costly wines. I should not have ventured to enter the craal, partly because I was apprehensive of mal-treatment, and partly because I was desirous of joining the above-mentioned Europeans; but just as I was about to pass it, a number of young girls came for water, who no sooner saw me than they let fall their water-pots, set up a loud scream, and ran into the craal. When I had filled my water vessel, I followed them. At a small distance from the huts came twenty Caffres armed with clubs, one of whom asked me of what nation I was; in reply to which, I pointed to the west. This man now seized my carbine, which I let go without resistance, but gave him to understand it was charged. He took it very cautiously in both hands, held it up, and beckoned me to follow him. I was now conducted to a green spot in the midst of the craal, where I sat down, and in a short time several hundred persons

persons collected round me. During this assemblage my companion having gone off with my carbine, I stood up, looked round for him, and enquired by signs of the company where he was gone. They pointed to his hut, and endeavoured to pacify me. I then sat down, and asked for something to eat; upon which a piece of cake * was brought me that was full of coal and ashes, and tasted very ill; but being very hungry, I ate it.

Meanwhile two Caffres approached me, and some of the company made signs that one of them was the man who had taken my carbine. I looked at him, and his manner was so friendly, and he made such signs as induced me to think he had only taken care of the gun, and did not mean to keep it. His companion, who was somewhat older, but a much taller and stouter man, was still more kind. He desired the company to give me some drink, and not to expose me thus to the heat of the sun. At length he made a sign with his club that I should follow him, which I did. He then led me behind his hut into the shade, where I sat upon a bank,

* It was made of a species of millet called *myluofa*, which is put into vessels formed of hollowed trunks of trees, then boiled with milk and water, and exposed on leaves in the sun to dry, after which it is laid on the coals and baked.

and some milk was brought me by a caffre-girl, in a vessel formed of a piece of wood hollowed out.

When I was satisfied, I explained that I wished to travel onward; upon which my host sent out the girl to fetch my carbine. She brought it; and at the same time came a man who spoke a little dutch, and asked me whence I came? whither I was going? and many other questions. I replied, that I came from the Cape, and was going to that part of the world from which ships come*: at this my host burst into a loud laugh, and told, me by means of our interpreter, that I could not pass through the other nations without risk of my life, and therefore I had better stay here, where every one would take an interest in my welfare.

The interpreter further informed me, that a short time before a ship had been wrecked near this place, and that several of the crew had escaped hither; but that as they travelled farther they were robbed, and at last killed by the neighbouring nations †. My host now
went

* This horde being situated not far from the sea were not unacquainted with ships.

† Like most seafaring men, they were very imprudent in exposing their riches, and this was the cause of their fate. A short time before I left the Cape the planters brought in two sailors,
lors,

went into his hut, and fetched two swords, a pistol quite new, and some pieces of gold, which he had received from them. All the pieces of money bore the arms of France, and I most ardently desired to meet with their former possessors. To learn, therefore, whether the neighbouring nations were really so cruel as they were represented, I determined to remain here a few days longer. And as the inhabitants seemed partial to me, treated me very kindly, and frequently pressed me to take up my abode with them, I suffered four weeks to elapse before I left them; by which means

lors, prisoners, who came from on board this vessel, but could not describe the place where it had been wrecked. They related that a mutiny had broken out on board, in which all the officers lost their lives; that upon this they ran the ship on shore, and, taking out the money and other valuables, went up the country; that during two months the whole troop continued revelling in various parts, till at length they were attacked by a large body of Africans, by whom they were robbed and killed with javelins, except four, two of whom died a few days after of their wounds, so that these two alone made their way to the Cape. In the mutiny, they asserted, they had taken no share; but, on the contrary, were for that reason often in danger of being massacred by their enraged comrades. The french consul, however, ordered them to the island where prisoners are detained, and soon after sent them to France, where they probably suffered the just punishment of their crimes.

I became acquainted with many of their usages and customs, and the police of the horde; but of these I shall only relate such particulars as do not agree with the narrative of M. Le Vaillant.

That writer pretends, for instance, that the Caffre women made earthen-ware; whereas that manufacture is unknown within a circuit of five or six hundred miles. It is made, indeed, at the Cape; but no where else between that and the coast of Congo. Instead of these vessels are used baskets, hollowed trunks of trees, and calabashes. M. Le Vaillant, however, not only attributes to these nations what they never possessed, but that which they have used for centuries he pretends to have taught them. Thus he takes to himself great credit for showing the Caffres the use and method of making bellows; but this is a gross error; for they used them at the time when governor Van Stiel established the colony named, from him and a neighbouring wood, Stielen's-busch*. They also made hammers, pincers, (or smith's tongs,) chains, and other articles, with which they went in caravans to the Cape, and exchanged them for raw iron, kitchen-utensils, brandy, glass-beads, &c. As the dutch plan-

* Called by M. Le Vaillant Stellembosch.

ters extended their plantations, the Caffres were driven back, three days journey farther from the great Fish-river, which then formed the frontier of their country; and being harassed by the planters and Hottentots, left off trading in, and for the most part manufacturing, these wares. Afterwards, when governor Dulbach, from Batavia, came to the Cape, he concluded a truce of twenty years with the Caffres; of which one condition was, that they should annually send twelve young men to the Cape, not to be treated as slaves, but to be appointed servants of the company; and who should, at the expiration of the year, be relieved by others. These men learnt, not only the dutch language, but the art of manufacturing several useful tools. Must not then many of the Caffres have seen bellows, and observed enough of their construction to imitate them when they returned home?

The same may be said of the art of manufacturing iron, which has long been known in Caffraria. In the year 1739, a portugueze vessel was stranded on the coast of that country, and forty-three of the crew who escaped lived among the Caffres till the year 1743. These men gave them the iron, from the ship and various articles on board, -and taught them the art of forging spanish spears, many

of which are still preserved at the Cape. These weapons, however, did not long continue in use; being found inconvenient to the Caffres, who, therefore, converted them into javelins. I may add, that in most of the caffre-hordes I have met with smith's-shops, furnished with the most necessary tools; as for instance, a stone anvil, several hammers, broad on one side and chissel-form on the other, also several pairs of tongs, &c. For files they employ certain stones, which are nearly as useful. Their huts resemble those of the Hottentots, and, like them, are covered with mats.

The assertion of M. Le Vaillant, that the Caffres never bury their dead, but leave them in a fosse without the craal, to be devoured by wild beasts, is also erroneous; for, on the contrary, every corpse is interred in a separate grave, and care is taken to prevent it from being grubbed up by wild beasts.

The weapons and the dress of this nation are accurately described by M. Le Vaillant; but it is far from true, that the Caffres have a king, and that the office is hereditary, as he asserts. At the Cape, indeed, it is often said, of any man who is remarkably dirty in his person, "He is a caffre-king;" but this is no proof of the existence of such a dignity among that nation.

nation. More than seventy years ago, several kraals had a common chief, who might, perhaps, have been not improperly called a king. The last who filled the office was named Pharao, and was killed during an irruption of the planters into Caffraria. At the time of M. Le Vaillant's travels, very few even knew the name of Pharao; but then no one was living who had personally known him. I saw a picture of him at the Cape, in the possession of colonel Gordon. Every horde has a leader or chief; but the office is not hereditary, the bravest and the most worthy being elected to fill it. That circumcision is not here customary, I can also positively aver. I shall hereafter say more of the manners, customs, and policy of this nation; for here I have only corrected the errors of M. Le Vaillant.

The horde among whom I lived so long consisted of a hundred and twenty-seven huts, containing one thousand four hundred inhabitants; three hundred and nineteen of whom were fighting-men. By way of pastime I fetched wood into the huts, for which the women gave me milk. The men take very little concern in domestic affairs, pay no attention to procuring wood, do not look after the cattle, and trouble themselves very little about their children. All these occupations are left to the wife,
G 3 who,

who, when ill, must procure some other woman of her family to attend to her business; and should she die, her relations must take care of the domestic affairs, till the widower has chosen another wife. For this, however, they inherit the cattle of the deceased. If there are children, the man keeps the males, and these relations take the females.

During my stay I learnt where the shipwrecked frenchmen had met their fate, and that the ship itself still lay two days journey off. I therefore resolved to go and visit it, spoke of my intention to the Caffre who generally went about with me, and asked him to accompany me. He was not disinclined to go, but said, that if the ship lay to the eastward, it would be very difficult to get to her without being attacked and murdered by the Muhotians, who infest the neighbouring country; and if she lay in a convenient place we should be no gainers, as we could make no use of her. However, I did not suffer myself to be dissuaded; but, on the contrary, excited him still further, by representing that we might break off some iron which he might take for himself. This rendered him more willing to go, and he even endeavoured to induce several of his friends to accompany us. He also communicated his intention to the mampa and other Caffres.

who

who encouraged both him and others to put it in execution; so that, at length, twenty-seven men declared themselves ready to join the expedition. These armed themselves with javelins, and I took my carbine, some pincers, hammers, and crows.

Thus equipped, we set off on the 27th April, and crossed a chain of mountains toward the place where the ship was supposed to lie. As we seldom rested, we arrived before evening at the last mountain toward the sea; where we lighted a fire, and lay down around it. During the night, my companions perceived at a distance another fire at the foot of the mountain; upon which they talked with one another, and I observed that they were alarmed, believing there were robbers near. I endeavoured, however, to re-animate their courage, and began to think, these, perhaps, were the Europeans from on board the ship. We set off very early, and went toward the fire, at some distance from which my companions began to cheer up; for they now discovered, the party were not robbers, but Caffres. When we came up with them, we perceived they had also been to the ship; for they had a considerable quantity of iron, glass, little boxes, pieces of copper vessels, &c. They showed us the place where the ship lay,

and invited us to pass the night in their horde on our return.

As we advanced I could scarcely keep up with my companions; for they had now recovered from their alarm. We passed a river, and toward evening arrived at the wreck, which lay between the great Fish-river and that of St. Lucia, in a creek formed by the sea behind a mountain. She was a brig, and her name, as I perceived on the taffarel, was St. Wemburg. We found on board several putrescent bodies, which had been repeatedly stabbed, casks, kitchen-utensils, shirts, and other articles; also cotton and silk manufactures, which, however, were now rendered useless by seawater and sun. My companions seemed most eager for the iron, and therefore endeavoured to extract the nails, cramp-irons, and bars, from the wood; in which they employed all their force. Meanwhile I lighted a fire, to which I brought some fragments of the ship, and prepared our supper, consisting of some meat we had brought with us. When it was ready, I called to my companions and showed them that I had, without much trouble, procured a considerable quantity of iron; for I had brought on shore planks and beams containing pieces of that metal, and by burning them in

3

the

the fire obtained the iron unincumbered. When they saw this, they ran and fetched very large beams, which are usually fastened together in pairs with strong iron-bars, and laid them on the fire. The next morning they sought for the iron among the ashes, and a great quantity was collected.

This day we examined the beach and found a cask, which the sea had covered with sand, containing seventy stand of fire-arms, but which being unfortunately much injured by rust, we laid them on the fire to burn away the wood. We also dug out of the sand some soldier's-swords, on which were the arms of France*. At noon we were ready to depart; but several of the Caffres pleading their great fatigue, we resolved to stay and rest ourselves till the next day; meanwhile some of them strolled about on the beach, and found many trifling but useful articles. At length I joined them, and found a putrid body, which, however, I could distinguish to have been a young man. His clothes proved him to be a person of distinction, and I observed some badge of honour, probably a cross of St. Louis, attached to them. My companions showed great compas-

* The privates in the dutch, and most of the german troops, wear swords. T.

sion toward him, especially when they saw he had received two wounds in his breast, and his right hand was cut off. I expressed a wish to bury the corpse, and every one was ready to assist me. We therefore dug a deep grave by a wood close to the shore, in which having laid him, some of them went and fetched four more dead bodies, which with great emotion they also laid in the grave, and covered with a mound of earth. My companions now washed themselves near twenty times with ashes and sea-water, and did not take food that day; but I could not learn whether through disgust or from religious motives. Toward evening they again lighted a fire, and every one rolled himself in sand up to the neck, after which we went quietly to sleep.

Early in the morning each took up his appointed burden, and we began our march; during which we consulted, whether we should go to the horde that had offered us a night's lodging, or pursue the road by which we came. Most of the party were for passing the night with the horde, to which, therefore, we bent our way. The heat was very oppressive, and the road bad; yet we arrived in good time at our resting place, and were very kindly received. Here we found a great store of the remains of the ship, clothes, shoes, whole pieces

pieces of silk and cotton manufactures, several new fire-arms and swords, two large copper kettles, stew-pans, pots, bottles, and a great deal of money. Of these treasures presents were given us, and, particularly, one of the great kettles, which, however, the four men who carried it were near leaving by the way; so much did it impede them in climbing the mountain.

We learnt that the crew of the ship had staid here a long time; after which they set off for the kingdom of Monomotapa, in order to seek the aid of the portugueze there. Among the presents I received was a compass, which had not been damaged, and which gave me the greatest pleasure. The next day, as we approached our craal, the women and children came out to meet us, and when they perceived the booty we brought, burst into a cry of joy, as though we had conquered a whole kingdom. The same was repeated when we entered the craal.

This enterprize having proved so successful, raised me very high in the esteem of the horde; wives and maids rivalled each other in bringing me good milk, and I had no want of any thing my friends possessed. They even made me under-mampa, in order to in-

duce me to stay with them, and were desirous of building a hut for me, and supplying me with the requisite furniture; but this I refused in a manner which seemed to satisfy them; for I promised to return as soon as I had travelled over the neighbouring country, after which I would choose a wife among them, and pass my life there. I also made myself beloved by other means; for instance, a fat young buffalo being killed in the hut where I lived, the blood would have been suffered to run to waste had I not held a vessel to receive it. The entrails too would have been buried*, had I not prevented it, cleaned them, minced the flesh, and made sausages, which I dressed in the kettle we had brought home. This dish was very much liked by the Caffres, who said they would follow my example in future, and thanked me very warmly for showing them how it was made.

* That the smell might not attract wild beasts.

CHAP. IV.

The author quits the above-described friendly Caffres, and proceeds on his travels. — Description of various dangers and difficulties he encounters. — He is conducted by other Caffres to their craal, and gives them assistance against the Tambouki robbers. — True limits of Caffraria, and of some of the neighbouring nations. — In another caffre-craal the author is robbed of his property, but recovers it through the intervention of the chief, except his carbine, which a Caffre had already broken in pieces. — Craals of the Yamatians, and their customs.

ON the 20th May, I took my departure from this worthy people, who gave me roast meat and calabashes full of milk, and frequently reminded me of my promise to return soon. Several of them accompanied me about a league from the craal as far as the mountain; where I took a north-east course, always travelling over rocks till I came to an arm of the great Fish-river by which I rested a little while, and then proceeded, partly climbing over mountains and partly walking through vallies.

Early on the next day I came to a beautiful plain, covered with fine rushes and adorned with woods and trees, among which many bore the before-mentioned yellow plumb. At length
I met

I met with another craal, where I passed the night. Here the inhabitants gave me milk and a piece of meat, but took possession of my carbine*. In the morning I was accompanied by a number of children about a league across the plain to a small hill. This arose rather from suspicion than curiosity, because their fields lay in that quarter; for as we passed some indian corn, perceiving I was about to take some, they cried *gonorum daropusy camd cru-yulsay*, (let it alone, or my father will shoot you).

On the mountain, called by the Caffres *psuadoh*, or Salt-mountain, I found much common salt and saltpetre; and at the foot of it a small river, which on the plain divides into two branches. Probably 'tis here the last-mentioned horde fetch their water, which tasted somewhat brackish; but whether it derives this quality from its original source, or from the rocks over which it flows, I cannot determine.

I now came to a wood which I attempted to traverse, but in vain; and, being obliged to go round, employed half a day in passing it. By this wood I saw a herd of about forty elephants, at which I began to be uneasy, as

* This was done for the general safety, to prevent those who knew not the use of fire-arms from accidents, and, perhaps, that I might not have it in my power to use it myself.

they

they had dispersed themselves over the part where my road lay. I was fortunate enough however to escape them, and passed the night beside the wood, where I made a large fire, but was much disturbed by wolves and lions, which came very near though they did not dare to attack me.

This wood which I reckoned seven or eight german miles long, consisted of cacolay and monapack-trees. The fruit of the former resembles our wild chefnuts; but is red within, and tastes rough; that of the latter is a kind of core-apple*, the kernels of which are about the size of a lupine, and have a sweet flavour. I was obliged to continue long beside the fire, the wild beasts retiring late to the wood; and I thought it not prudent to pass between them.

Toward noon a dreadful storm arose, though indeed to me it was a most desirable event, as it cooled the air, which was intensely hot. I could not, however, proceed more than two german miles farther; for I often came to standing water, which I could neither ford nor go round; and besides the wild beasts came thither from the wood to quench their thirst. During the following night also I was obliged to keep constantly on the watch to repel their attacks, as I could not venture into the wood to get fuel.

* In the original *kernä;f:l.*

For this reason I did not sleep all night, but walked to and fro, and ate some pieces of meat, which, however, began already to have a bad smell.

At day-break I ascended the rocky mountain before me, which ran from west to east. Here I found bare mountains, and barren plains, destitute both of trees and bushes, and only bearing high rushes burnt black by the sun. I met wild beasts every where, and found rain-water in the hollows of the mountains. The next day toward evening I shot a goat; but as I only wounded him, he ran off, and though I pursued, I could not catch him. I now proposed to pass the night beside a small wood I saw before me; but could not reach it. I therefore sat down on a sand-hill, and deliberated whether in future I should change my course to some other country, or pursue the road I had taken. My stomach called out for food, which I could not find, and I began to be much discouraged.

At length I heard voices, and, looking round, perceived a troop of men armed with javelins and clubs coming toward me. Had I not been extremely hungry I should have taken to flight, but now I was pleased at seeing them. They all stopped about ten paces from me, and one of them asked me in the caffre language, what was my business there; to which I replied, that I was hungry. "Have you no food?"

food?" said another. — "No," answered I; "give me some." — "Who are you?" said a third. "I am a west-countryman, who has been shipwrecked." — "Whither would you go?" continued he. "To my native country." They asked me some other questions, partly by words, partly by signs, particularly whether I had come hither alone; all which I answered, and repeated my request for food. They made a sign for me to go with them; but I assured them I was so tired and faint I could not walk. Upon this they talked one with another, and I perceived the substance of what passed to be as follows: one said I must be compelled to go with them; another advised to throw javelins at me and kill me; which a third, more compassionate, opposed. I was now much alarmed; at length one of them seized me by the arm, and made a sign that I must go with them. I therefore accompanied them voluntarily through a wood, where they lighted a fire and passed the night. One of them gave me a piece of raw meat, which I laid upon the coals; and others asked me to drink out of their water-vessels. I was now inclined to sleep, and laid my bundle under my head; upon which they took it from me, to see what it contained. They found powder, ball, a knife, scissors, and two shirts. The knife and the scissors they kept, but returned the rest. It

was very fortunate for me that I had sewed my money into my waistcoat, and thus escaped being robbed of it.

I now fell fast asleep till morning, when I was awakened early to accompany my plunderers. They took a north-east course, but ran so fast that I was always behind; in consequence of which one threatened me with his club, and toward evening another gave me several blows on my back, which he threatened to repeat if I did not keep up with them. I felt great pain from the blows, and the blood ran down on my field-shoes as they are called*. We climbed over rocks, and laboured through thick woods and high rushes. It was dark before we arrived at a craal, where I was conducted to a hut, and milk and cakes made of indian corn were given me.

Hitherto I knew not whether I was among Caffres or robbers; but imagined the latter, because I had never been ill-treated by Caffres before; in addition to which it occurred to me, that I had been warned in several other craals not to fall into the hands of the Muhotian robbers, in whose power I thought I now certainly was. This totally discouraged me, and though I was

* They are cut out of raw undried ox-skin, and fitted to the feet.

very tired, I did not sleep all night; for as often as I heard any thing move in the hut, I expected to be immediately murdered. When day began to dawn, a thought struck me of making my escape, as my guards were fast asleep, and I heard no voices without. I resolved, however, to stay and see what might happen, reflecting that if I were seen running away, I might be overtaken and brought back; besides which, my bundle and carbine had been carried to another hut. I therefore lay down again on my mat, fell asleep, and should have long continued so, had not a girl waked me to give me milk and cakes. Except myself and her there was no one in the hut. I therefore entered into conversation with her, and asked the following questions.—“Are you a Caffre?”—“Yes.”—“Where are the people of the hut gone?”—“I know not.”—“When will they return?”—“I know not.”—“I will go out also,” said I; “give me my gun and my bundle.”—“You cannot go; my father has carried your gun to another hut.”—“Why should I stay here?”—“Because you are so beautifully white.”—“Does your father intend to kill and eat my flesh?”—“We have buffaloes; and I know not whether your flesh is eatable.” She then left me, and bolted the door on the outside.

Hitherto I knew not what fate to expect, and imagined it was intended either to murder me privately, or keep me till some appointed day, and kill me publicly. With these thoughts I lay down again on the mat and fell asleep. Meanwhile the male inhabitants of the hut returned, and having heard from the girl what I had said to her, one of them took me by the foot and shook me. Being half asleep, I uttered a loud scream; for I dreamed I was about to be put to death. All the spectators laughed, and one of them, putting on a severe look, ordered me to rise and pull off my clothes, as he was about to kill me. I rose very slowly, in order to have a full view of the man who thus threatened to take away my life; but I was not insulted, and on the contrary received a piece of broiled meat from him, and some milk from the girl. He also assured me I should not be put to death, as their nation were not accustomed to eat human flesh.

The hut being full of smoke, we went out, and having seated ourselves on the ground, I was desired to relate my travels; which I did more by signs than words. He, who had on the road given me the blows, was now very friendly, and said—“You must stay here with us, and no evil shall befall you; for we are Caffres, who never kill strangers, but their enemies. Stay here

here, and we will protect and maintain you. Do not go; for the Muhotian robbers will certainly kill you if you fall into their hands. But if you will not stay with us, stop at least till *gocuh mahkay* (a full moon) is past; for then the robbers quit the country through which you are going." I was happy to hear such kind offers made me, and began to recover from my alarm, as I perceived I had mistaken the character of this people.

I now employed myself in fetching wood for the hut, hunting, and cutting little toys in wood, which were very favourably received. Every four days twelve men went out to scour the country two or three leagues round, and watch whether the robbers were inclined to attack the herds belonging to the craal. If they met with no robbers, they employed themselves in hunting wild beasts, so as to bring something home. The mampa appeared also to be attached to me; for he took me with him, gave me my carbine again; and after a fortnight had elapsed sent me out with the scouts, on which occasion I was so fortunate as to render my friends a service. Having taken a south-east course, where most of the cattle pastured, and passed through a wood about a mile long, we saw several men coming toward us. My companions immediately perceived they were



Tambouki robbers, who would probably attack us; and advised me to fight with them, that we might not be beaten. Having a charge of powder in my carbine, I instantly added eight small shot, which I had made out of balls, and, as soon as they came near, fired among them; upon this they stopped, and I employed the pause to load and fire again, which made them run away in haste, leaving behind two of their number, who were wounded in the belly. These we took with us, and, although their mortal enemies, the Caffres did not use them inhumanely. Their wounds were cured, and the men employed in fetching wood and water.

This event procured me great consideration, and every one endeavoured to render my stay as agreeable as possible. This horde, which consisted of four hundred and ninety-three persons, one hundred and sixty of whom were fighting-men, is the last in Caffraria-proper toward the north-east, being a day's journey from the boundary which separates their country from that of the Yamatians. These last, it is true, call themselves Caffres, but are not therefore to be confused with that people, many of whose usages and customs differ much from theirs.

Here then I shall say somewhat further of the manners and customs of the true Caffres. The tract of land which in maps bears the name of Caffraria, ought to be divided into five parts, according to the number of the nations by which it is inhabited. These hordes, it is true, generally change their situation annually; but always take care not to pass their neighbours' boundaries. The true or south-caffres inhabit a tract of land extending from Bruyn-oogte to the river Tumbo, in length about one hundred and forty miles, and in breadth, viz. from the sea to the kingdom of Biri, from fifty to seventy miles. But as several other nations pretend to be Caffres, or desire to be thought so, we must not be surpris'd if the accounts of the length and breadth of Caffraria, given in books of geography and of travels contradict each other. On a tract of land two hundred and twenty miles in length, from south to north, extending from the river Tumbo to Francis-river, and from eighty-six to a hundred miles in breadth, dwell the following nations. 1. The Yamatians, who border on south Caffraria, or Caffraria-proper, to the south-west. 2. The Muhotians to the southward of Caffraria, and the westward of the Yamatians. 3. The Kamtorrians to the northward of the Muhotians, and the eastward of

the Birians; their country forms a triangle. 4. The Birians, or kingdom of Biri; which is sub-divided into three nations, viz. the Birians-proper, the Gohawafers, who have removed hither from more southerly countries, and the Tamboukis. 5. The Kaminrukis*, a very patient race, and much harassed by the neighbouring nations. 6. The Monikans, or kingdom of Monika. This nation, which is very strong and numerous, borders on the north of the kingdom of Biri, and on the west of the 7. Yamampaus. These last subsist by robbery and plunder; for which reason they were driven out of the country of Monomotapa, and their very name Yamampau signifies a robber. 8. The Inhambans, a small kingdom on a river of the same name. They have received among them the Huiyamins, who formerly inhabited a fertile tract of land on the river Aroe, from which they were driven by the Batantzans. 9. The kingdom of Sabla. 10. The kingdom of Sofala. 11. The Inham-

* I was much surprised to find that M. Le Vaillant mentions these nations, and pretends to have been among them, although they are situated at a distance of two hundred miles from the route he describes. But even were I to admit that he had made an excursion, leaving his caravan behind, yet it would be impossible he could have penetrated so far.

This nation, which is very weak, comprises three thousand souls, and is violently hated by the South-Caffres.

mois.

mois. 12. The Inhamasibas. The four last have entered into a compact to defend each other against hostile attacks; and carry on perpetual war against the king of Monomotapa, who wishes again to subjugate them. 13. The kingdom of Chikaro, comprising four nations, formerly governed by one king, viz. the Makubis, a warlike people; the Kainuquos, who breed cattle; the Matinapius, who were driven out of the kingdom of Butua, where they refused to pay tribute and attempted to murder the king; and the Monglans, a mild yet courageous people. Their king sold many of his subjects as slaves to the French, because they could not pay him the tribute due; upon which they rose and killed him.

Among the hordes here enumerated are many smaller, who have manners, customs, and a police of their own; but in affairs of importance are obliged to govern themselves according to those of the more powerful nation among whom they live. All the above-mentioned are by many writers considered as Caffres, and some even include the inhabitants of Monomotapa, thus extending the limits of Caffraria to the river Chireyra. Others also have made different divisions, and drawn various boundaries; but the nations I have here specified are, in a wide sense, reckoned among the Caffres by the inhabitants

habitants of most of the countries where I travelled.

Caffraria on the whole is fertile, although in many parts mountainous and swampy. Were the soil sufficiently cultivated, it would be second to few countries of Europe in productiveness; for spots overgrown with rushes, when cleared, yield the best of corn. Nor is Caffraria deficient in mineral productions, although these are not turned to account; the inhabitants being wholly ignorant of the mineralogic arts. Of domestic animals and wild beasts there is a superabundance; as also of herbs and plants, which are little known in other countries.

Having shown that the country commonly called Caffraria is inhabited by various hordes, I shall here describe the manners, customs, and mode of life of the nation with whom I became so intimately acquainted, and from whom the country is denominated South Caffraria. The Caffres then believe in a Supreme Being; they also worship the sun and moon; but have neither priests nor houses of prayer; every one worshipping the Deity, according to his own ideas, without force or compulsion. The oldest persons in each family, as well males as females, instruct the youth; the grandfather teaching the boys, and the grandmother the girls. In the covering of their bodies the Caffres resemble the
Hottentots,

Hottentots, wearing an apron and a kroos made of sheep-skin, which they hang over their shoulders. The long strong hair of the women is platted and bound on the head in a tuft; but the men braid theirs in tresses, which hang over their shoulders.

The chief man of the craal, who is called the mampa, decides on small disputes; but affairs of importance are determined by all the men of the craal; as for instance, cases of adultery, in which the woman is punished very severely, but the man very slightly; they are even permitted to have more than one wife.

In war the Caffres are very brave, and rarely retreat, but rather sacrifice their lives; and if they are worsted in battle, it is not through want of courage, but the superior strength of the enemy. They are fond of war, and therefore often endeavour to provoke their neighbours. Their arms are hassagays and clubs. In the year 1709, when they were oppressed by the dutch planters, they alone sent an army of near forty thousand men into the field; and had the other nations, from the dutch plantations to the kingdom of Biri, sent their auxiliaries sooner, an army of from eighty to ninety thousand men might have been set on foot, and Capetown forced to surrender. When a war breaks out, the intelligence is communicated to the surrounding

rounding hordes by means of a tree*, stripped of its bark and branches, which being covered with fat, is set upon a hill and burnt: upon seeing this signal they immediately send forth their fighting-men.

Dancing, singing, and gaming, are the favourite amusements of the Caffres; for which reason they often make holidays, and especially when the nights are clear and the moon shines. But they never begin dancing or gaming till sun-set, lest they should offend that luminary. They always make a feast when they vanquish an enemy, kill a furious beast, choose a mampa, &c.

To appoint the time when a feast is to be celebrated, the mampa fixes palm-branches on the top of his hut. At many of their feasts the young men, who are not yet able to bear arms, are not permitted to assist, nor are children allowed to be present when their parents dance.

The year is divided according to the moons, ten of which make a year. Hence the seasons are never uniform.

Notwithstanding women are here treated with so little respect, and considered as slaves, yet the

* For this purpose they choose a tree which bears a fruit resembling our gooseberries. It also bears a species of greenish wax, which the planters manufacture into lights.

law of the land confers on them several privileges. When a woman is brought to bed, the husband must not enter the hut where she lies during three days. If the child be a son, the father must give a feast; but if a daughter, the mother gives it. To this the members of the family alone are invited. Each *craal*, and sometimes each family, has certain huts in which the women are delivered, and which no man is permitted to enter. Divorces are allowed, but in this the man has the greater power; for the wife is compelled to live with her husband as long as he chooses. If she insist on a separation it is granted, but then she is obliged to quit the *craal*. The law forbids men to beat their wives, in which the *caffre* fair enjoy an important advantage over the more civilized nations of Europe, who look down on them with contempt. The man who should violate this law would be considered as an unworthy member of the community, and despised by the whole *craal*. During my stay with this nation, I never saw or heard of any one quarrelling with his wife, or even scolding her; for the parties discharge their separate duties regularly, and according to their abilities. If the husband be ill, another man of his own family looks to his affairs; and if the woman be indisposed, a female of hers affords her the same assistance.

I had

I had now continued six weeks with this horde, during which I collected much information how and where I might travel with the greatest safety. On the 11th July I left the craal, taking an easterly course, although the Caffres had advised me against it. My object was to pursue that route into Egypt. This day I had a tolerably good road, and neither saw men nor craals. I climbed a chain of mountains that was covered with wood, and passed the night there. Here were a great many chamois-goats, and whole herds came to the fire by which I lay. I was so fortunate as to kill one with the but-end of my gun, which supplied me with a good meal. Of water I found a super-abundance, being obliged to wade through it in several of the vallies, where it often reached above my knee.

The next day at noon I left this ridge behind me, having in front a fine plain above two german-miles long, and intersected by a stream seven feet broad, of which the water, though it tasted somewhat brackish, was drinkable. Here I rested a few hours on account of the intense heat, and bathed. When I arrived toward evening at the end of the plain, I saw several huts at a distance, but too far off to reach them before night. I therefore sat down on the grass, and
having

having at length determined to pass the night there, laid my head upon my bundle.

I had remained in this posture about an hour, when something seized me by the foot; but having laid my carbine between my feet, and taken the precaution of holding the strap in my hand, I instantly raised it, and without rising myself, fired. I then stood up, and saw four men, who, frightened by the report, had started back. Finding they did not venture again to approach me, I called to them in the caffre-tongue, saying—"What do you want with me?" Upon which they asked—"What do you want in our country? whence do you come?" I again enquired, in reply—"Are you Caffres?"—They answered—"Yes."—"If you are as kindly disposed," said I, "as your countrymen, tell me whether I may freely go in and out of your craal, and take a night's lodging with you?"—"We must first know who you are," replied they, and were now going away. "I am a west-countryman," said I, "and am going to my native home."—"Come with us," cried they; "but first give us the *yakahyudma* (the instrument of death)." Upon this I gave them my carbine, and accompanied them.

They brought me in front of a hut in which lay a sick old man, whom I imagined to be their chief. When they had spoken with him, they showed me a buffalo-skin at the door of
the

the hut, on which I lay down, and began to consider how I was likely to be treated; for I suspected they would murder me to plunder my bundle. Sleep, however, overcame me, nor did I wake till morning.

An old woman now brought the sick man some milk and indian corn. I accosted her, but she looked at me, gave me no answer, and quitted the hut. An hour after came the man who had conducted me hither the preceding evening. I asked him for some milk; but he made a sign to be patient, and having spoken with the sick man, went out of the hut. I then approached the invalid, to communicate my request to him; but all I said was in vain; for he only shook his head, and did not say a word. I now determined to go into another hut; and, taking my bundle, went to that which was nearest, where I asked a man who stood before it to give me something to eat, and more especially some milk; but he referred me to his wife, whom I could not find. I therefore sat down before the invalid's hut to look for the man who had taken my carbine, and enquired for him of every one that passed; but no man answered. In a short time I had collected a crowd round me, who took away my bundle by force. I cried out, but in vain. I therefore seized the man, who had it by the hair, but was obliged to let

let him go, as I was attacked on all sides. I cried out again vehemently, but this only increased the laughter of the spectators. I was now in fear for my life, and expected every moment to receive my death-wound, when a man with a club sprang forward, and dealt his blows not only on my assailants but on myself also, and at length threw me so violently into the hut that I was deprived of my senses; after a while I recovered, but concluded, as I could not obtain any food, that I should certainly soon be murdered. The invalid was angry; and said many things, of which, however, I did not understand a word. At length the above-mentioned old woman brought some milk and a head of indian corn, set them down, and went out; when, although I knew not for whom they were intended, I took both, and dispatched them almost instantaneously.

Toward noon three of those who had brought me to the craal entered the hut, when recollecting the man who had taken my carbine, I asked him to fetch it, as I was about to set off, telling him at the same time of the robbery of my bundle. He said not a word, but went out, and soon returned, together with the man that had struck me and thrown me into the hut. They talked a long time in a language I did not understand; after which I was informed,

in the *caffre-tongue*, that my effects should be restored. Some of the company told me that he who struck me was the *cauyutu*, (or vice-chief); that to this man I owed my life; for perceiving I should be mal-treated, he hastened to the spot to put an end to the dispute; and that the spectators did not intend to keep my bundle, but only wished to see what it contained.

My deliverer asked me to stay here while he recovered the effects I had been robbed of, which he accordingly did, and toward evening fetched me to his hut; where, on my complaining of hunger and thirst, a piece of broiled meat was given me; I also received my carbine and my knapsack, which he desired me to look over immediately, to see if any thing was missing. When I assured him all was right, he said—
“You may now go where you please, but if you are willing to stay here, you may live in my hut. If you go, and should you again meet with men of our nation, let them freely examine your bundle, for they will not take any thing away. If, you travel to the eastward, you will find five more *craals* of our friends. Stay in my hut, and when you go I will show you the road.”

The evening began with rejoicings. A number of men assembled at our hut, and receiving their leader in the midst of them, went out in front of the *craal*, where a large fire was lighted,
and

and they began to sing and dance. This amusement continued three hours, after which they returned home, having first conducted the *cauyatu* to his hut, on which every one stuck a green branch. This feast is celebrated every full moon that is not obscured by clouds, and is called *micaphikm*, or God's day; but if the moon be hazy, the people are dejected, and imagine the deity is offended. Thus also they argue as to the sun, which they likewise worship. When it rises in clouds, they think the nation over which he then is has offended him; but if the clouds disperse at noon when it is over them, they rejoice greatly, believing they have reconciled him by good deeds; and celebrate a feast. But on the contrary, if the sun rises clear and is obscured at noon, they are unhappy, and immediately proceed to try and punish those who have violated the laws. If the sky then becomes clear, the judge is thought to have decided truly; but, if after this last gleam, a storm ensues, which in this country often happens, he is deemed to have judged falsely, and must beg pardon of those he has punished.

Being attacked during the night with violent pains in my bowels, I got up, and would have gone out of the hut; but, to my great alarm, fell over my host, who screamed aloud. Having begged his pardon, and told him my misfortune,

hé was pacified, got up, made a fire, looked for some dried leaves which he bid me chew, and conducted me out of the hut. A vomiting soon took place, and the pain ceased.

The next morning I set off, accompanied by my host, who showed me the way, and gave me some more of the above-mentioned leaves, which I afterwards found extremely useful. Till near noon I had a good road through a wood, where I met with abundance of yellow plumbs and pomegranates*, and at length arrived at a branch of the river Tumba or Tambu, which is called by the inhabitants *mh-kyfah*. It was so full of fish, that I took several with my hand, and having lighted a fire broiled them, and made a very favourable meal. To the left I saw huts; but as I needed neither victuals nor drink, I avoided them, and turned somewhat to the north-east.

Toward evening I saw before me thirty huts, to which I went, and meeting a young woman, accosted her in the caffre-tongue; but she gave me no answer. I then made a sign that I was thirsty, and she pointed to the river from which I had come. I made another sign, that I wished to sleep in a hut; upon which she pointed to the grass where we stood. I now offered to accompany her, but she pushed me back;

* Kernäpfel, a provincial name for that fruit: see page 95.

I therefore

I therefore let her go on, and followed behind. At the first hut stood near thirty men armed with clubs: I asked them whether they intended to kill me; to which they replied, "Provided I were a robber." This I denied; upon which they came nearer, examined my gun, took my bundle from my shoulder, and threw every thing it contained about. One took the hatchet, another my gun, and then they all went away. I collected my dispersed effects, and went to the first hut to enquire for the *cauyatu*; but instead of receiving an answer, a young man sprang out, gave me two blows with his club, and sent me away. At the next hut I met with the same treatment. Hence, as night was coming on, and I received blows instead of hospitality, I was forced to leave the *craal*, and lie on the grass before it. I could not sleep, however; but considered how I must proceed to recover my gun and hatchet.

At dawn of day some men came out of the *craal*; when, thinking they came to seek for me, I stood up, went toward them, and accosted them very respectfully, requesting to have my gun and hatchet again, as I wished to set off. Upon this they asked me whence I came, and whither I would go; and when I had answered these questions, returned into the *craal*. Meanwhile I lay down on the grass to wait for the event;

but as no one came, I took courage, and went into the craal to seek for my gun and hatchet. I had scarcely entered, when I saw the men I had spoken with, who threatened me with their clubs; but I would not be repulsed, and drawing my hanger threatened them in my turn; after which I went directly toward the huts. Probably these men had some fears of me; for as I advanced they retired, but called out *bokatotago cokmahos*, if you come into our huts, we will kill you. However, I did not turn round, but continued going forward.

It now occurred to me that the best step was to apply to the chief; and as I knew that the chief's hut was generally decorated with branches on holidays, I looked about, and observing that the fourth hut was thus adorned, I ran to it as fast as I could; for a band of armed men were following behind, and I was unwilling to wait their attack. Even the children were hooting at me, and I was in the greatest peril.

When I arrived before the hut, the chief sprang out with a large club, and came up to me. I begged him to help me, and save my life; for his companions were about to kill me, because I demanded my property, of which they had robbed me the preceding night. He heard me attentively, led me to his hut, and made a
sign

sign for me to sit down on the grass. Having done so, he asked me, "Whence I came, and whither I would go?" I told him all, and particularly that I had passed six months among his countrymen, by whom I had every where been received kindly, and had never met with such treatment as here in his craal. "I would not," continued I, "have come hither, had not the neighbouring chiefs given me the assurance that also with you I should find protection and support." This speech had a good effect; and he said, "Here too you shall be safe, your effects shall be restored to you; stay here; I will go and seek them. He now spoke a few words to the persons present in a language I did not understand, and went out.

After a short time he brought the hatchet, and the gun-stock and barrel of my carbine, which, however, was already broken in pieces to make hassagays. I rejoiced to recover my hatchet; but complained that my gun was rendered totally useless by the barrel being broken. Upon this he sent for the man who had it, spoke with him, and would have beat him with his club, but that I sprang up, fell on the chief's neck, and begged him to spare the man; upon which he was pacified, and laid down his club.

This conduct I was induced to adopt in order to render the spectators my friends, and lest they should way-lay me when I set off. Having eaten some milk and plumbs, I left this, to me, most hateful craal, in company with the chief, who set me in the right road.

Toward evening I reached the river Tambu, where I saw craals both to the right and left; but though my stock of provision was very small, having only a little meat and a few plumbs, I did not venture to visit them, but lay down by the river-side, where I felled a tree to pass it on instead of a raft.

The next morning I got safe over, and staid by the river-side to catch fish with my hand; but could not take any, as the water was too deep, and I had no fishing-line. I collected, however, a few muscles, laid them on the coals, and found them very nice when roasted.

A plain lay before me, where the soil was alternately bare sand and rushes; but I preferred that road, because on the chain of mountains to the eastward were huts which I was desirous to avoid. Crossing a sort of meadow, and in a sand hill, I found an ostrich-nest containing seven eggs, which gave me great joy; and though I had only travelled two german miles, I passed the night there, partly in order to dress

some of the eggs. While getting wood I also found several pomegranates, and thus obtained provisions enough for two days.

During the night I was visited by wolves, tygers, and elephants; which, however, did not so much alarm me as a pack of wild-dogs that were chasing some buffaloes a few paces from me. To avoid attracting their notice, I lay as close to the fire as I could bear, and constantly stirred it, that the sparks might fly far and wide. Thus I escaped their observation, but was obliged to keep awake all night.

Toward morning I took some rest, and slept a few hours; after which I pursued my way. Having travelled two hours, I again came to a branch of the Tumba; but toward the north-east discovered the river itself again, and beside it, in various places, huts which I could not possibly avoid. I therefore pursued the road I had taken, and toward five o'clock in the afternoon reached the river, which had, within a short time, swollen and overflowed its banks so as to inundate the country; it being here by no means uncommon for a river, that appears almost entirely dried up, to overflow its banks in the space of three or four hours; so violently does it rain after a storm.

I now came to some huts near the river, where finding the inhabitants employed in
fishing,

fishing, I asked them if they would permit me to sleep between their huts, as I had been for several nights harassed by wild beasts; but one looked at another, and gave me no answer. My bundle being burdensome, I laid it down, and endeavoured to assist them in fishing, which they suffered me to do. When they had done, they gathered their tackle together and went to their huts. At length one of them spoke to me; but as I did not understand him, he appeared angry, and hurried after his companions. I followed them, and addressed several of them, but no one answered. I now endeavoured to express my wants by signs and looks, asked for milk, and received a pottle. For this I gave the person who brought it an ostrich-egg, which he at first refused, but afterwards accepted.

I now seated myself on the sand near the hut, and was soon surrounded by a great crowd of people, who, however, did me not the least harm. I was much concerned that no one understood me; for otherwise they would doubtless have shewn me a great many other kindnesses. I made signs, however, that I wished to sleep on this spot, and laying my bundle under my head, stretched myself on the ground. Upon this some girls immediately ran and fetched some sheep-skins, and made signs that I should lay some under me, and
3 cover

cover myself with the rest. Perceiving, therefore, that every one was kindly disposed toward me, I took hold of one of these young women, and pulled her on to the skin; at which she was alarmed, and screamed; but the spectators bursting into a laugh, she was pacified. I then let her go, but the company pushed her to me again, and thus I kept her beside me till toward evening, when she hurried away with the rest. Although very hungry I then fell asleep, having watched several nights on account of wild beasts. Very early in the morning the same girl waked me, to give me milk and a broiled fish. When I had dispatched these, she made me a sign to follow her, which I did without further deliberation. She conducted me to a hut, where a number of people assembled round me, and gave me milk in abundance. A young man also asked me, by signs, to stay as long as the river was overflowed, which I promised to do. The girl then took my bundle into her hut, where, perceiving there was a fire, I followed her, and laid an ostrich-egg upon it to roast. Meanwhile her mother returned from milking, gave me warm milk, and treated me very kindly. She was a widow, and was permitted by law to receive a stranger under her roof; but I must confess, I wondered much at being so well received here,
as

as this horde belonged to the same nation with that which had treated me so roughly and so cruelly.

I helped in fishing, hunting, cutting up game, &c. and made of fishing-nets* a different kind from those in use here, by which means I acquired great favour. Meanwhile I daily enquired whether I could pass the river, but learnt that the men who infested the adjacent country were very savage, and owing to the badness of the soil lived very wretchedly: but being desirous of taking the shortest road, I determined to run the risk, and after a stay of nine days crossed the river with the assistance of my friends. I then took a north course, knowing I should fall in with some hordes of the same nation with that I had left, and by whom I should probably be kindly treated.

The girl above-mentioned and three men accompanied me as far as a mountain, where they took a most affecting leave of me. From the summit I beheld the sea at a great distance, before me an immense chain of mountains, and here and there some huts. As I descended to-

* Theirs were from six to nine feet long, by four broad, very ill made of sheep-skin thongs matted, and in the form of a dripping-pan.

ward a narrow plain, I saw to the right six lofty huts, to which I directed my steps. Having reached the first, and seeing no man, I called aloud, but received an unintelligible answer, and no one appeared. At length I took courage, and came in front of the hut, where I heard a man's voice interrupted by groans. I then asked who was there, but received no answer. As I was going away, a man came crawling out on his hands and feet, and hideous to behold. He had the small-pox*, and worse than I had ever beheld in Europe; in addition to which, the white and red pustules formed a singular contrast with his black body. At first I was struck with horror; but my alarm soon changed to compassion, and I gave the sick man an ostrich-egg, after which I hastened away to find the huts of the healthy. These six were appropriated to the sick, who, however, through mere fear, are very ill-attended; for their countrymen consider this as the most horrid of disorders, and those who are unfortunately attacked by it, are obliged to quit the horde and live in solitary huts, where no one visits them.

* Probably this was not the true small-pox of Europe, but some national epidemic cutaneous disorder peculiar to these countries.

Thus.

Thus, if they be not well stocked with provisions, or should they be too weak to go out and seek for food, they must miserably starve to death. I myself, being unable to afford relief, was obliged to hasten away, lest the inhabitants of a craal at some distance should see me, and either send me back or mal-treat me, merely because I had been at the huts of the sick.

When I approached the craal, which contained near seventy huts, a crowd of people surrounded me, so that I could not advance a step. At length came the chief, a young and handsome man, who conducted me into the craal, and opened an empty hut, which I entered. When I spoke to him, I found to my great joy that he understood many expressions of the caffre language, and told him whence I came, and whither I was going. He heard me with attention; but looked from time to time at my bundle, so that I thought he wished for something from it, and having three dutch schillings in my pocket, I gave them to him. At this he shewed great joy, often looked at them, and seemed more willing to serve me. I asked him for milk, upon which he went away; and shortly after a young woman brought me milk and cakes, which when the rest saw, they also brought me milk. In
the

the evening I began to prepare a bed, but this they would not suffer me to do, the late inhabitants of the hut having had the small-pox. I therefore came out before it, and several of the company brought skins to cover me.

The next morning I felt pains in my head, had such a shivering that I could scarcely stand, and at length a fever came on. I continued lying in expectation of perspiring, but was surrounded by a crowd of people, several of whom seemed to think I had the small-pox; for which reason I showed them the pock-marks on my body and face. I also told the chief, who understood me pretty well, that the plumbs I had eaten the preceding day, and on which I had immediately drunk milk, had caused this disorder. The next day I recovered; I reduced, however, to powder some of the leaves I had formerly received from a mampa, and the benefit of which I had already experienced, which having taken, they operated as a powerful cathartic, and I had no further attack of the fever. I should doubtless have been pressed to stay longer, but that some of the inhabitants were anxious for my departure, considering every fever as a contagious disease. I therefore set off, after receiving as presents two large pieces of buffalo-flesh. In front of the craal I saw several fields of millet and indian corn.

My

My road lay across a fertile valley, five german miles in length, between two chains of mountains. Here I found many fruit-trees, but did not taste them, the intense heat of the day having taken away my appetite. At night I lighted a fire beside a brook that flows through the valley, and determined to pass the night there; but could not sleep a single moment, there being near a hundred snakes, both great and small, by the fire, and toward morning as many baboons, several of which were three feet and a half long. They sat on the neighbouring trees, and would not be disturbed either by pelting or hallooing; but answered me as it were with *Ho*, and many of them came quite up to me and stared at me. These beasts prevented me from setting off early, for I was obliged to stay till they had disappeared. When I quitted this vale, I came to a beautiful plain, with here and there huts interspersed. Not far from this is the boundary of the Yamatians and Muhotians, being about half a day's journey from the river Makumbo. I went to the next horde, consisting of about forty huts, where I met a good reception. The inhabitants danced round me, brought me milk and millet-cakes, and behaved very kindly. I particularly remarked, that the young girls rivalled each other

other in bringing me plumbs, pomegranates, cakes, &c. thus I had company till midnight. At length I was shown to a spot before the chief's hut, where skins were brought me for a bed.

When I awoke, a crowd of people were already assembled round me, and I had a plentiful breakfast. I would willingly have made a return; but having sewed up my money in my waistcoat, I thought it imprudent to take any out in presence of so many spectators.

I determined to stay here some days, in order to obtain as much information as possible relative to the neighbouring nation, which had been described to me, in other traals, as a cruel race of robbers; but I learnt, the very first day, that although it was true they were robbers, they never did any harm to strangers who came within their territory.

An old man, who made himself very busy about me, seemed particularly to admire my dress, and showed a great desire to put on my culotte. I consented, and he drew them on with the greatest pleasure; but those I wore being full of vermin, I took a clean pair made of linen from my bundle, which he received with joy. To his daughter, a well-made girl from thirteen to fifteen years old, who had brought me some milk, I gave a shirt, and put it over her, at

which all the company were delighted, and endeavoured to be more and more complaisant.

Here I made myself an apron of two sheepskins, which covered my whole body; and, that no vermin might harbour in it, rubbed it with fat from the tail of the sheep. This dress I found very convenient, and very serviceable. I also practised throwing the javelin, under the tuition of the same old man, went a hunting, and endeavoured to learn something of the language.

During my stay the inhabitants pressed a fruit called *gegahoguha**, which yielded a kind of must of a very pleasant taste; but I, unawares, drank so much that I became intoxicated, and began to sing and be very gay. When this was known in the craal, a great number of girls came crowding round me, and vied with each other in giving me the same kind of juice, which they brought in hollowed gourds, and pressed me to drink. Thus they intoxicated me so much, that I took several of them, kissed them, jumped about with them, and committed many other follies. This was quite to their taste, and procured me great favour among them, so that from that time I was loaded with victuals, and much honoured; if I seemed

* A kind of plumb of the size of a hen's egg.

dejected,

dejected, the company grew melancholy, if I was gay, they were joyful and happy.

In this place it will be proper to speak of the origin, manners, and customs, of the Yamatians: especially as they, and some other nations, have been represented as extremely cruel and savage. Very little, however, is known of them in Europe; and, besides, the whole nation is judged by the conduct of a few individuals.

The Yamatians, together with their neighbours, conquered the kingdom of Angola from the South Caffres; but the date of this event cannot now be accurately ascertained. They themselves say it happened *auroreup*, or three hundred years ago; which, however, do not agree with our years, as theirs only consist of ten moons. Others say, this conquest took place four hundred and fifty years ago, but without adducing any data for their assertion. The most probable opinion is, that its true date was about the time when the Portugueze first landed in Africa, and attempted to establish Christianity by fire and sword.

The language of this nation is far from pure, being intermixed with many words and expressions of the South Caffres, several of whose customs they have adopted. The following are, however, peculiar to themselves: The chief is an almost unlimited sovereign of the horde, to

which he gives laws, and administers justice; but the days of trial, as in Caffraria, are generally those when the heavens are overcast. In war every man is equal, except the chief, each following his own judgment. Sometimes forty or fifty unite and rush upon the enemy together; but if the chief be killed, or severely wounded, they choose the next man, in whose judgment they have confidence.

This nation may be estimated to consist of about thirty thousand individuals. The men follow the chase, and the women attend to household affairs and cattle. Fathers educate their sons, and mothers their daughters, in the usual business and occupations of life; but the grandfathers and grandmothers give them instruction in religious ceremonies and morals. Circumcision is here unknown.

Their marriages are attended with this peculiarity, that the bridegroom cannot receive his bride till he has given proof of his bravery, by killing a furious beast, or some other courageous act; after which, he may take two, three, or more wives. Adultery is punished with death, especially in women; who are better treated here than among many other nations, especially if their first child be a boy. Divorces very seldom happen, though sometimes complaints are made of sterility in
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the wife. In this case, the husband mentions it to his grandfather and grandmother, or if they be dead, to those of his wife. These communicate it to the chief, who generally orders that the wife shall, for a time, have permission to choose another man. If she then bears, the husband who made the complaint must, in presence of the whole community, beg pardon of his wife, and implore the gods not to punish him for his injustice.

The women bring forth their children with great ease. If they suffer any pains, they are removed to huts appointed for that purpose, where their female friends attend them, and where no man, not even the husband, is allowed to enter. After four days the wife returns to her husband; by which time, if the child be a boy, he has made preparations for a feast; but if a girl, the woman gives an entertainment to her female friends, at which no man can be present.

The Yamatians, in common with many other nations of Africa, are accused of idleness; but I am convinced, that were european labourers transplanted hither, they could not bear to work more than the natives; for the heat is so oppressive, that it often entirely exhausts their strength. To this must be added, that most of these nations are destitute of proper tools and

implements, such as spades and rakes; while the ground is frequently so hard, that it is necessary to break it with a hatchet. The cultivation of the small plots of ground, where indian corn and millet are sown, employs a great length of time, and costs the labourers innumerable drops of sweat. I myself saw, that two strong active men could not dig up, in a day, more than a piece of ground six feet square. The new-sown land is covered with sand two inches thick, that the intense heat may not dry up the moisture too soon, and that in case of rain, followed by hot weather, the ground may not crack. But the breeding of cattle is more advantageous, and costs very little labour; as may also be said of hunting and fishing.

To stealing the Yamatians are indeed too much addicted, but they never commit murder, and still less do they eat human flesh; although several Europeans*, who have visited them, maintain that they devour it with great avidity. This, however, is false; and a traveller, who understands their language, has nothing to fear, especially if he be ill clothed, and has no valuables about him. Even should they take any thing from him, he may be af-

* Kolbe, Sparrmann, Patterson, and others.

ured that as soon as he asks for it, they will give him something of their own in return.

The dead are buried at a distance from the craal, and the relatives keep up a fire over the grave during three days, that wild beasts may not smell the body. In the craal itself few people die, the sick being sent to separate huts, because all disorders are believed contagious: and the healthy think it their duty thus to avoid them.

CHAP. V.

The author leaves the country of the Yamatians, and enters that of the Mubotians, where, at first, he is treated rather roughly, but is every where favoured by the women. — The bodies of five murdered Europeans are shown to him. — Being mal-treated by the chief's son-in-law, he runs away, and comes to another mubotian craal, where he is suffered to travel on without impediment. — He arrives at the river Makumbo, which had overflowed its banks, and enters some villages of the Kamtorrians. — Description of that nation; their character, manners, customs, language, &c.

AFTER a stay of three weeks I resumed my journey, and took leave, not only of this craal, but of the nation to which it belonged; and pursued a course more to the northward than the eastward, hoping thereby to arrive more easily at the river Makumbo. My road lay across a fine plain, three german miles long, and three leagues wide. Toward evening I passed the river, upon a raft which I prepared, and took up my lodging for the night on the other bank. Here I burnt my clothes, which abounded with vermin, keeping only my waistcoat, in which my money was secured. Some goats came to the fire, and I was so fortunate

as to kill one with my hatchet, of which I broiled a part.

Toward morning I set off, and climbing a chain of mountains, which formed the boundary between the Yamatians and the Muhotians, reached the highest ridge by noon. About evening I left them behind me, having in front a plain of sand, in which I buried myself, and slept undisturbed.

The next day I had not travelled far when I saw, for the first time, a party of Muhotians. They were six in number, and hunting; but would not have seen me had I not called after them, upon which they made a stand. As I approached, I addressed them in the caffre language, asking if they had met with any success in hunting; to which they replied, "Yes; for we have caught a singular wild beast;" by which they meant myself. I observed also, that they had altogether a rough and savage look. They had killed a large roebuck, which they obliged me to carry; but my strength forsook me, and I fell down several times, yet was compelled by blows to proceed with my burden two leagues through woods and high rushes, at which my companions laughed and made merry.

In the evening we reached the craal, which was situated on a plain beside a branch of the
Makumbo,

Makumbo, and consisted of about forty very indifferent huts. Upon a cry uttered by my companions, most of the inhabitants came out, and desired to see the wonderful beast I was described to be. As soon as I had laid down the roe-buck, they also examined my bundle, and even took off my apron to make a show of me. Many of the women and girls said to the other spectators, that I was a fine man, and begged I might have my apron again; but they were told I looked better without it.

In the evening milk was brought me in the remotest corner of a hut, that I might not run away, and only one skin was given me to sleep on. I was now much disheartened, as I feared I should meet with no good here; but was compelled to resign myself to my fate.

Being extremely thirsty I asked for milk, which was brought me, together with some millet-cakes. When I had refreshed myself by sleep, and felt my strength return, I determined to resist the repetition of the rough treatment I had hitherto experienced, even though it should cost me my life. When most of the company had left the hut, I got up; and as my apron had not been restored, fastened the skin, on which I had slept, round my body; then going out of the hut, I met the woman belonging to it, whom I asked to let me have my effects

effects again. She could not answer me, but made signs that I must stay there, or her husband would beat me. However, I repeated my request; upon which she made signs, that my effects were taken care of in the hut, but that they must not be delivered to me by her. Meanwhile she gave me milk and millet, both which I swallowed with the greatest avidity. After this I took the roe-buck, and cut it up in the manner I had seen practised in Europe.

My host finding me engaged in this business, appeared much pleased; but would have taken off my apron had I not resisted. This startled him, and seemed to please him; he went, however, into the hut for his club, with which he threatened me. I took courage, and menaced him also with the knife* with which I had cut up the animal. This imprudence might have cost me my life; for the spectators burst into a loud laugh, which so provoked him, that he rushed upon me, and would have knocked me down, had I not parried the blow, and, rushing upon him, forced his club from him, with which I was about to strike him in my turn; but at this moment several persons seized me, and took

* These knives are a foot long by two inches broad, and have a strong resemblance to the *cutting-knives* of our shoemaker in Germany.

me away, while my host followed, crying aloud, and endeavouring to fall upon me.

I was now taken to another hut, where I saw an old man who seemed to be the chief, and who observed me narrowly, lifted up my apron, and at length turned to my antagonist, with whom he spoke for some time with much warmth; though I could only understand a few words of what he said. When things seemed more tranquil, the old man offered to conduct me into the hut; but I requested him first to procure me my property, and particularly my hatchet. He did not, however, understand me, and only stared at me without making any answer. At length my persecutor told him what I wanted, and immediately sent a boy, who presently brought back my effects.

I now entered the hut to avoid the intense heat of the day, the crowd by which I was surrounded, and to rest myself. But they still continued to talk of me before the hut: and I gathered from the conversation, that I must stay here at least long enough to have a white child by one of the young women of the craal.

At night I was conducted to a spot behind the craal, where the girls danced, and the old man encouraged me by signs to join them; but I was so tormented by hunger, that

I felt too much exhausted to follow his advice, and stood quite still. He continued, however, to press me, and pointed out a beautiful girl, whose hand indeed I took, but did not offer to dance with her. She looked at me, and seemed, as it were, to invite me to dance. I therefore gave her to understand, by signs, that I was very hungry; upon which she immediately ran to the old man, who sent for a good piece of meat and some millet-cakes.

When I had refreshed myself, I jumped up, took hold of the girl, and mingled with the group. About half an hour after, the old man returned into his hut, whither I followed him; and my partner accompanied me, and staid all night.

Very early the next morning, I was secretly setting off, when my bedfellow discovered my intention, and betrayed me: upon which, the old man would have beat me, had he not interceded for me. I was forgiven, but had no breakfast; and, by way of punishment, was sent to fetch wood for the hut. I now made a second attempt to escape, which succeeded. Having brought one load of wood, I pretended to go and fetch more, but ran away to another part of the country, where I soon arrived at a
mountain,

mountain, and thus was safe from pursuit; though I had nothing with me but my waistcoat and hatchet. I rejoiced, however, at escaping, and ran as fast as I could; which so fatigued me, that I could not reach a craal that lay before me, and was obliged to stop, and lie down within sight of it.

Hungry, thirsty, exhausted with fatigue, and uncertain of aid or relief, I once more raised myself up, and descried a herd of cattle. I therefore exerted all my remaining strength, and went toward them, to ask the cowherd for a little water. When I accosted him, he was about to strike me; but on my shewing him a gilder, which I had taken from my waistcoat, he was more civil; gave me milk, and millet cakes, and suffered me to stay all night with him. As soon, however, as day began to dawn, I withdrew to a wood, that lay somewhat in a north-east direction. At noon I had passed it, and entered on a plain, where I found rushes and plumb-trees. Here I would have staid till morning; but being hunted by a herd of elephants, was obliged to travel all night.

At sunrise I reached the extremity of the plain, and saw mountains and huts on either side; when, being much fatigued, I lay down on the grass, and deliberated whether I should
approach

approach or avoid the huts. I determined on the latter: but it was necessary to seek for water, to quench my thirst; and concluding that, as I saw huts, I should soon find it, I turned somewhat to the eastward. I sought, however, in vain.

I had just determined, to direct my course to the north-east, when I saw some people coming across, toward the path I intended to go from west to east; and observing they had water-vessels, I ran as fast as I could to meet them: but soon perceived they were also coming directly toward me. They were four women; who asked me, by signs, whence I came, and whither I was going: in answer to which, I made signs that I was seeking water. Upon this, one of them gave me her water-pot, which I nearly emptied. She observed me narrowly, and beckoned me to come into the craal. To this, at first, I had no inclination; but, being extremely hungry, complied.

On our arrival, I was surrounded by a great crowd; among whom, however, were but few men. These handled me all over; and behaved just as the inhabitants of the craal I had come from had done; pulling me here and there, and every one wishing to get me into his power. I therefore sat down, and determined to resist any further mal-treatment. The women remarking that
that

that I was hungry and thirsty, brought me meat and milk; and continued walking round me, while I was eating, to prevent the men from disturbing me. At length appeared the chief, a very old man; who, having looked at me, ordered the women to take me up, and carry me to his hut; for he imagined I was unable to go alone. He also ordered me meat and milk; and when I had eaten, asked me to accompany him and his son-in-law to a wood, about half a league from the craal. Many reflections immediately occurred to me, as to what they intended to do with me; and I was quite disheartened.

Having arrived at the wood, my conductor stopped at a sand-heap that was covered with branches, which he removed, and exposed to view a most dreadful sight! five dead bodies of white men, covered with stabs, and apparently killed with javelins! I was so struck with horror, that I nearly sank upon them, and imagined my companions were about to murder me also. They both asked me, whether I knew these men; which I answered in the negative. However, I closely inspected the bodies, to discover to what country they belonged; but found no distinguishing marks, except that on the right arm of one was burnt in* as it were a cruci-

* As is often practised by foreign sailors and others. It is done by pricking the flesh and rubbing in gun-powder, which leaves a blue picture with a clear outline.

fix, under which were the letters I. E. M. and the date of 1779; but the putrefaction had advanced so far, that I could not turn them about, to examine them farther. We therefore returned to the hut; after which I proposed to set off, but this was refused, and I was obliged to stay; though, at the same time, I resolved, that if the inhabitants showed a disposition to kill me, I would anticipate them, by stabbing myself to the heart.

I was employed in fetching wood and water, and in cutting up game; but a guard always accompanied me, who was generally the old man's son-in-law. As I discharged these offices with activity and dispatch, I had every day plenty of leisure time to go and look about me in the craal, where I was treated kindly; and determined to stay some weeks to become acquainted with the country and language. I was soon obliged, however, to alter my resolution; for being in the woods with my accustomed overseer, to get fuel, he made me a proposal that filled me with horror; and on my refusal, threw me down, and beat me so, that I was covered with bruises. At length, finding neither persuasion nor force could prevail, he desisted: but although I was scarcely able to walk, made me take a load of wood on my back to the craal. Here I was about to inform the

old man what had happened ; but the son-in-law threatened to kill me with a javelin, and told him, I had attempted to run away, and because he would not permit me, would have killed him with a log of wood. Hence I had no breakfast, and was treated with great neglect. At length, when the old man was alone, I made him acquainted with the conduct of his son-in-law ; at which he only laughed, as at something perfectly common. This led me to re-consider the conduct of the inhabitants on my arrival at the craal : in addition to which I learnt, that the Europeans, whose bodies I had seen, had been the subject of a great contest between this horde and a horde of the Kamtorrians ; each party wishing to rob them, and mal-treat them, as they would have treated me. At length, the enemy killed and plundered them, and left the bodies exposed ; which the Muhotians removed to the spot where I had seen them, and covered with branches. This hostile nation, inhabited a tract of land to the north-east, and were described as very savage and cruel ; for which reason, and because they were at war with the Muhotians, I did not venture into their territory. Nor could I travel toward any other country, as I could not pass the broad and deep river Lorenzo.

Indications

Indications of similar conduct, however, being repeated, and fearing I might one day be murdered in the woods on that account, I resolved to take the first opportunity to depart. Nor did I wait long. Such an occasion was offered by a war-feast*; at which time the inhabitants abandoned themselves in the evening to dancing and rejoicing, without paying any particular attention to me. I therefore took my hatchet, and hastening to the wood from which I was accus-

* This was a feast, wherein war was resolved on and the horde enquired whether it was likely to be successful. On these occasions they proceed as follows:—If a neighbouring nation has declared war against them, or if their provisions fail, while their neighbours have abundance, the oldest of the inhabitants assemble at the chief's, and deliberate how they are to act, in order to vanquish the enemy, or take from them what they want. If they agree upon war, two of their best shooters are sent out to kill two goats, which, on the following day, when the war-feast is celebrated by all the craal, are broiled whole; during which the chief declares the resolution formed by him and the old men some days before, exhorts the people to bravery, and at length falls upon the broiled goat, crying out—“ I fight for you, and for your good; and as I cut this wild beast in pieces, and consume a part thereof, so will we cut our enemies in pieces, and consume them in flames.” Upon this every one of the audience cuts off a piece of the animal, repeats the words of the chief, and eats the meat. The bones are then thrown into the fire, and they dance around them. From that hour they prepare for battle; and a few days after march against the enemy.

tomed to fetch fuel, happily effected my escape, after a stay of seven weeks.

I soon reached the mountain, hurried quickly over it, and the night being clear, continued travelling on, although wild beasts frequently crossed my way: nor till the sun was risen did I seat myself on a rock among the mountains, where I ate the little stock of meat and rice-cake I had brought with me. Having rested an hour, I hastened on, and came to a very fertile valley, interspersed with fruit-trees, where I allayed my thirst with the *Gegahoguha*-fruit, for want of water. At noon I reached a small river, eight feet wide, and from three to four deep, which, as I afterwards learned, was called *Quapakaop*. This river takes its rise from a mountain to the westward, and pursuing a south-east course, forces its way as it were, with innumerable windings, among the mountains; after which it discharges itself into the river *Makumbo*.

At the end of the valley I saw a craal, which I was desirous to avoid; but being very near it, and seeing, scarcely twenty paces from me, two men, who prepared to receive me with javelins, I threw myself on the ground, and called out as they approached, *Taper orihakoh* (the gods bless you!). When they came up to me, I perceived they were *Muhotians*; and, therefore, taking

taking courage, asked them for water; on which they conducted me to a fountain beyond their huts, where I laid myself down on the grass, and drank. In a short time above a hundred persons had collected round me, and seemed to compassionate me; for one gave me a piece of meat, another millet-cakes, a third plumbs; and made signs to invite me to their huts. I pretended, however, not to understand their signs, and continued lying on the grass, till some of them endeavoured to take me by force; upon which I grew angry, and attempted to defend myself with my hatchet; but was immediately seized, robbed of my hatchet, and carried into the craal. Here they contemplated my dress; and disputed to what nation I belonged. I understood but little of what they said; but perceived the majority took me for a *Watadulihao*, or cannibal; and advised either to kill me, or keep a sharp watch over me, that I might do no harm to their children. The latter opinion prevailing, they brought me plenty of food, and determined to take me with them against the enemy, that I might do them much harm. But I gave them to understand, I must travel on; to which they made no opposition, but on the fourth day after my arrival, three men conducted me out of the craal, shewed me the

L 3

country

country whither I was to go, and suffered me to depart in peace.

From the 26th September, the day on which I set off, to the 1st October, I met with four more craals of this nation, crossed another mountain, and came to the river Makumbo, which was so swollen, that I could scarcely see the opposite bank; beyond which plains of several german miles extent, were entirely covered with water.

On the 2d October I first saw some of the Kamtorrians, a nation inhabiting a tract of land on the river Tumba, where they live chiefly by hunting, and breeding cattle. The men are mostly small, and have short curly hair. The complexion of this nation is somewhat lighter than that of the three last mentioned, to whom in number they approximate, but exceed them in courage; for which reason they are always at war with them; and being very dexterous with the javelin, are generally victorious. They have from six to seven thousand fighting-men and women: the latter being larger made, and very bold and courageous. They consist mostly of individuals, stolen from other nations, or taken prisoners; for when a woman is delivered of a girl, the child is immediately destroyed. This nation have no priests, although it may be admitted

mitted that they have a religion; but neither circumcision, nor any similar custom, is known. The oldest man of the village (for the word *craal* is not here in use) is usually the chief and judge. Polygamy is allowed; and should the first wife, who generally enjoys more consideration than the rest, have no children by her husband, she is permitted to choose another; if she has a boy by him, she may become his wife.

The Kamtorrians are very superstitious; and the most trifling misfortune induces them to remain from two to four days in their huts in total inactivity. If one of their countrymen is wounded or killed by a wild beast during the day, they imagine he has offended the great goddess; or if by night, especially while the moon shines, the little goddess; and that therefore he is punished. In dull weather, every one lies inactive in his hut, and the women attend only to the most necessary offices. If a woman dies in childbed, which, however, rarely happens, she is buried in a separate place, and her family must quit the village during six months, and live in separate huts, without holding communion with other men. If a woman be delivered of a boy in dull weather, or when the moon does not shine, it is inferred that the father has offended the gods, and that

the boy is unworthy to become an honourable member of the nation ; for which reason, when grown up, he is devoted to menial offices, such as cutting wood; tending cattle, &c. But if a woman be delivered of a boy at a lucky season, the father eats a goat with the friends of the family.

The dead are usually buried by their relations at the foot of a tree; and on the day of interment a fire is lighted, in which the furniture of the deceased is burnt, and the ashes thrown into the grave; after which the fire is kept burning till the next full moon.

Whoever steals a married woman, or a girl, may take her for his wife, and if she refuse, sell her; for which he generally receives a sheep, or from two to six hassagays, according to her beauty. Toward strangers this nation is hospitable and kind.

On the origin of the Kamtorrians various opinions are espoused. Some say they sprang from prince Nampagango, a tyrannical sovereign, who drove them out of his territory, toward the south; upon which they applied to the king of Brigudis, and, with his assistance, killed their tyrant. Others maintain, that they came from Congo, having been driven out of that country. Their language, however, opposes this last hypothesis; for I did not hear them use
a single

a single word that is common in Congo; in support of which argument I here annex a few words in both languages, and particularly the numbers, in which many nations have a resemblance, but which, in this instance, are totally different.

Kamtorrian.		Congo.
<i>Tiné</i>	One	<i>Alag</i>
<i>Silké</i>	Two	<i>Mazay</i>
<i>Ghehésé</i>	Three	<i>Cariy</i>
<i>Kutiy</i>	Four	<i>Prigo</i>
<i>Jahiy</i>	Five	<i>Abyet</i>
<i>Mihita</i>	Six	<i>Wuifu</i>
<i>Jahiau</i>	Seven	<i>Emghiy</i>
<i>Ajada</i>	Eight	<i>Mahtzo</i>
<i>Lujah</i>	Nine	<i>Benyoo</i>
<i>Tehsa</i>	Ten	<i>Nades</i>
<i>Jahkaro</i>	Father	<i>Akalayah</i>
<i>Mohara</i>	Mother	<i>Eguanda</i>
<i>Jujuh</i>	Good	<i>Kalruh</i>
<i>Bryito</i>	Bad	<i>Luharahyé</i>
<i>Adulo</i>	To steal	<i>Pallakah.</i>

When the letter *o* occurs at the end of a word in the language of Congo, it is pronounced as *u*. The Kamtorrians pronounce *j* as *ie**.

* Probably as *y*, the letter *j* being so pronounced in German, and the letter *y* having nearly the effect of *ie*.

CHAP. VI.

Description of the customs of the Kamtorrians in war. — Departure for the kingdom of Biri. — Arrival at Buhagari, the first town of that kingdom. — Observations on this nation, and their mode of life. — They give the author a kind reception. — He continues his travels to the river Makumbo. — Character of the Gohawans. — Description of the kingdom of Mataman. — National character, manners and customs of the inhabitants. — Journey to Seenhosa, the seat of government of that kingdom. — The author is received into the king's household; but fearing to be sold as a slave, makes his escape. — In his flight he wounds his foot against a stone; in consequence of which an inflammation takes place, and is increased through the cruel treatment of two men from Drosah; but is cured by the care and attention of one of the inhabitants.

ON my arrival at the huts, where I perceived a few men of the Kamtorrian nation, a great crowd ran hastily together, showing great joy, and most of them jumping round me and singing. Having made signs that I was hungry and thirsty, they brought me a handful of millet-meal, and half a gourdful of sour milk. This I was going to drink, but one of the company took the vessel from me, stirred in the meal with a piece of buffalo's rib, and returned it to me.

This mixture at first I did not like; but for want of something better, swallowed it.

The sun having now risen high above the horizon, I offered to proceed on my journey. At this proposal, many of them seemed dejected, and those who understood the Muhotian tongue, pressed me to stay with them; but I answered partly by words, and partly by signs, that I had a long journey to perform, and therefore could not stay. My excuse, however, was in vain; they still pressed me to stay, showed me to an empty hut, and gave me a buffalo-skin for a covering.

The next morning they brought me some meat and four milk, and again urged me to stay. Most of those who bore arms, both men and women, now marched into the field, to give the Muhotians *otako* (battle). The troop consisted of four hundred persons; and I was pleased to see they kept better order than I expected. The *woolika* (chief) delivered an harangue; after which a war-song was sung, and the troop began to move. It was four men deep; the largest and stoutest marching first, then the lesser, and all were armed with javelins, and battle-axes three feet long, and made only of hard wood. The married women followed; and after them, the young men and women who were
able

able to bear arms, with battle-axes. I remained behind, under the inspection of a good old man, who was always talking to me, though I could not answer him. He gave me a new calash, but wanted my waistcoat in return, which made me very uneasy, my money being sewed up in it. I therefore pretended not to understand him, and he pressed his request no farther. I now took a view of the village, which consisted of one hundred and thirty-four well built huts, and was situated in a fertile country, called Afetchayi, where the water was good.

On the third day after the departure of the warriors, we heard in the distance a song, at which those who had remained at home demonstrated great joy. It was a song of victory, and served also to show, the troops were on the return, that meat might be prepared; which accordingly was done. I ran out to see the victors, who came in perfect order, having seven killed and forty wounded; but brought with them sixteen prisoners, among whom were five women.

A circle was now formed in the middle of the village, where the chief delivered an harangue; after which milk and meat being brought, were eaten amid songs of joy and great rejoicings. The prisoners also had a plentiful

tiful share, and were very well treated. The wounded were washed with a certain juice*. This meal being concluded, some boys brought palm-branches, which were given to those who had distinguished themselves in the engagement. After this the company danced, and from time to time sang. The female prisoners became the property of their captors, and were from that time treated like other wives; to the males were given huts, and they also were treated as natives. I was further informed, that when both husband and wife are taken prisoners, they continue together, and a hut and cattle are given them. At this feast I was only a spectator, not being permitted to make one of the company, though I received the same portion of meat as the natives.

On the 1st October I had liberty to proceed on my travels, and three persons accompanied

* It is expressed from a fruit resembling the *bunde pflaumen*, and borne by a tree called *ogmatome* and *culanite*. The pips are about the size of grape-stones, and the fruit is best tasted when going to decay. It is gathered, however, before it is ripe; and having been laid on leaves from eighteen to twenty-four days, till it decays, is then pressed. The juice resembles our must of wine, but, when kept during some months, becomes as strong as the sharpest vinegar, and is used as a lye to dress skins. It is also poured on wounds, and heals them.

me out of the village. At noon I came to a plain, bordered on both sides by villages; all which I avoided. In the evening I climbed a mountain on my road to the kingdom of Biri, passed the night there, and the next day, at noon, arrived at the chief town of that kingdom, called *Buhagari*, containing about seven hundred huts, and situated on a branch of the river Makumbo.

The various hordes of this kingdom are by no means so savage as they are described by their neighbours. They receive strangers kindly, and treat them humanely. The king of the country has very few privileges more than the chief magistrates of towns and villages; in the former there are generally two, called *monihaya*, (judges,) who are also priests, instructors of youth, soothsayers, &c. and enjoy the exclusive privilege of wearing cloaks made of the skins of tigers and zebras, and called *algehara bumkara*, (the prophets dress), which procure them many marks of respect; those who meet them, putting their right hand on their head, the left on their breast, and standing still till the magistrate has passed. When important disputes arise, the chief magistrate of the place must report them to the king, and give him an account of the judgment thereon.

In war, to which the Birians are much addicted, their chiefs take the command of the troops; but the king remains at home, at his usual residence, Buhagari; and should that place be threatened, removes to another frontier-town, called *Azahhaia*, which borders on the *Kaminankais*, who are under his protection. The number of the inhabitants of this kingdom is sixteen thousand.

Though the greater part of the land is fertile and well cultivated, the breeding of cattle continues to be their chief support. This nation also derive many advantages from a salt mine, of which they exchange the produce with other nations for young cattle. The men are fond of hunting, but employ themselves also in agriculture. They are large and strong made, and wear aprons of palm-leaves. The women, who are short and thick, in addition to their aprons, cover their breasts also with palm-leaves, which are bound together with thongs on their backs; they are generally very bashful. The complexion of the Birians is rather yellow than brown. The education of children is strict; the father taking care of the boys, and the mother of the girls, till their sixth year, when they are put under the instruction of the *moni-haya*.

Of

Of their religious opinions and customs, I could learn but little; I saw them, however, pay their devotions in the morning and evening in the open air; and that the boys were circumcised, though without any attendant ceremony. Of every marriage, notice must be given to the *monihaya*, who unites the parties before sun-rise in the presence of the relatives; after which they dance, not only all day, but the whole of the following night. Divorces are permitted only when the woman is barren. Illicit commerce with a married woman, is punished with forfeiture of the offender's cattle, and the woman is banished the community. Polygamy, however, is allowed.

The most usual food of the Birians is milk, millet, and meal*, the last being mixed with sour milk; for they very seldom eat meat. Their huts are circular and spacious, the sides being covered with bark of trees, and the tops with rushes laid on spirally, and bound down with thongs.

From this nation I met with a good reception, had plenty of food, the *monihaya* received

* Made of a kind of grain contained in husks, and entirely resembling barley. At the Cape, it is called corn.

me into his hut, and I was asked to make a long stay; to which I readily consented, as this was the season of intense heat.

Here I saw how the harvest was conducted; which, though long and tedious, was very orderly and methodical. The day before it commenced, the public granaries* were examined, and the remaining stock of provisions distributed among the community, according to a certain proportion. On the first harvest day the labourers assembled to pray, and marched, with the *monihaya* at their head, to the field; where they reaped the corn, and immediately threshed it on hides. This was done with a kind of cylinder which was rolled to and fro. The threshed corn was brought into the public granaries, but the straw was pulled up, collected by the children into a heap, and burnt. Some days after was celebrated a harvest-feast of two days, during which the inhabitants endeavoured to consume as much as possible of the old stock; the remainder of which was burnt on the second day. On the third, which was a fast, the whole community assembled before sun-rise at the hut of the *monihaya*, each bearing a palm-branch; then walking in proces-

* Cellars belonging in common to the whole village. At this distribution, two children receive as much as a man.

sion out of the village, lighted a fire, round which they sat, and smoked a kind of tobacco, made of a species of palm-leaves, through wooden pipes. The kinds of grain grown in this country are barley, millet, and indian corn.

In this place I staid twelve days, during which I was extremely well treated, and the inhabitants even gave me provisions for my journey when I left them.

On the 21st October I set out for the river Makumbo; and at noon came to the village of Amahkai, consisting of forty huts, where I was kindly received, and refreshments were brought me. I set off again the same day, and turned to the north-east to avoid a high mountain, but came to a lake where I was obliged to stop. I therefore lighted a fire, and endeavoured to catch fish and gather muscles; when suddenly I heard a loud cry from behind, and the words *dohabahako notiaoser laba*, (stranger, refrain from the lake). At the same time I saw three men coming toward me, and warning me, by their gestures, to shun the water, as it was very deep; and in the preceding winter (which season lasts from April to June) had thrown up many dead fish, which it was fatal to eat, as many of their countrymen had experienced. They invited me to accompany

company them, which I did; and after travelling a few leagues, we arrived at a village consisting of about sixty huts. Here I was surprised to observe, that my presence brought no spectators round me, but that the inhabitants behaved as if they had often seen white men before.

On the 22d I travelled over a chain of mountains at a distance from the above-mentioned river, and on which I found various species of fruit-trees, particularly plumbs. There were also a great number of wild beasts; tigers and lions sprang by me, but without the least appearance of intending to attack me, probably from the abundance of *gazels* with which, in that country, their voraciousness is appeased. On this chain of mountains, which is very long, and lies north-east and south-west, extending across the kingdoms of Matamba and Biri, I was obliged to pass the night; but was not at all disturbed. By about eight in the morning I quitted the mountains, and again came to the above-mentioned river. Here I saw villages to the right, and also before me; and having, in the preceding night, again allayed my extreme thirst with yellow plumbs, which now caused violent pains in my bowels, I hastened to the next village, where I experienced the benevolence of the inhabitants. I

asked them permission, by gestures, to stay there a few hours, as I was ill, which was immediately granted; and two women brought me a piece of root, which I chewed, and having drunk some good milk, lay down on the grass and slept quietly. When I awoke, I found myself covered with buffalo-skins, and perspiring profusely. I perceived this was caused by the root I had chewed, and when I got up, found myself quite strong, and entirely recovered. I staid however the following night, and learnt that the place was called *Muiha*.

The next day I went to the *sutamaha*, a great cavern on the borders of the country, without passing a single village. Near the cave a great strong man approached, and accosted me; and, as far as I understood, asked whither I would go; to which I answered, "Through here to my native country." He advised me to quit this road, which was unsafe, and go with him. On my enquiring to what nation he belonged, he replied, that he was a *gohusan*, and that the borders of his country were not more than a quarter of a day's journey distant. I therefore accompanied him, and we soon arrived at *Zahmago*, the first village after passing the frontiers.

Here again I found people very curious, and every one was particularly struck with my dress.

thems. Some seemed to take me for a white slave, and were inclined to use me as such; but, at length, finding that I did not understand their language, nor they mine, they took me for an oriental, as I had already told them by signs. This rendered them very kind, for they also derived their origin from the east.

The Gohafans are very poor, and neither breed cattle nor cultivate the soil, but live entirely by hunting; and with the skins of the animals they kill, purchase corn of the Birians. They press a juice from plumbs, which, when mixed with water, tastes very well.

The population of the whole country does not exceed seven thousand five hundred. They must formerly have been a very formidable race; but incessant wars so weakened them, that they were at length driven from their former territory, which, as they say, was a most fruitful tract of land under the line, and were here received, through compassion, by the king of Biri. They are now more peaceful, adopt the laws, manners, and customs of Biri, and intermarry with the natives of that country: the inhabitants of which show them a reciprocity of good offices. They differ, however, from the Birians in the greater size and strength of their bodies, in having large eyes and flat noses,

and in wearing, in the latter, rings, or teeth of wild beasts.

Notwithstanding the poverty of the Gohafans, they show hospitality to every stranger during twenty-four hours. They are, however, much addicted to stealing, and immediately on my arrival a very strong man took my hatchet out of my hand, and ran away with it; many also taking a fancy to my waistcoat buttons, endeavoured to pull them off. In order, therefore, not to lose the waistcoat itself, and with it my money, I cut off four buttons, and gave them to the chief, who afterwards defended me from all attacks.

The next morning I requested the chief, in whose hut I had slept, to procure me safe conduct among his subjects; but he seemed not to understand me, for he pointed to the country whither I was going. I set off, and behind the next bush cut off all my waistcoat-buttons, that in future I might be more safe from robbery. An hour after coming to a village beside a mountain, consisting of seventy huts, I entered it in order to fill my calabash with water, and was fortunate enough to make myself understood by the inhabitants; for one of them comprehended many of my words. Having asked for water, they brought me a half gourd-shell fastened to a small stick, and conducted me

me to the fountain, where I drew water and filled my calabash.

Although I was very narrowly examined on all sides, yet I was suffered to proceed on my way without hindrance. I had however a very bad road, being obliged to climb over a range of rocky mountains, which stretched to the northward, at the risk of my life, and extremely oppressed by the intense heat of the day, so that I almost fainted. At length, after a journey of three german miles, I arrived with great difficulty at the village of Bayakah; and having taken some refreshment fell asleep in the open air and without covering before a hut; in consequence of which I caught a severe cold and cough.

On the 26th and 27th I had again very bad roads, and only met with one village, consisting of seventy huts. On the 28th and 29th I crossed a plain where some bushes were interspersed; and on the latter day was obliged to take refuge from six wild dogs that pursued me, by climbing a tree. Some hours after I went on; but could scarcely walk, having neither victuals nor water, and supporting myself only with leaves of trees and roots.

On the 30th I came to a valley watered by the river Sohmoh, which forms the boundary of the kingdom of Mataman. This river,

though usually but eight or nine feet broad, often swells very much in winter, and inundates the valley, which is two german miles broad.

The kingdom of Mataman, though mountainous, possesses many fertile valleys, most beautiful meadows, and many fruit-trees; but the inhabitants are too lazy to improve these advantages as they ought. The king is an unlimited hereditary monarch, and is called *sohaawoia*, (chosen by the gods). His office is inherited by his male descendants; or, in default thereof, by the female. When the latter come to the throne, they choose from among their subjects a husband, who reigns jointly with his wife; but it must first be satisfactorily ascertained, by the elders of the land, whether he possesses the necessary talents and abilities. The king is also the chief priest and soothsayer, besides which, he is chief overseer of the youth; and his decisions are respected even when he judges falsely. He has the exclusive privilege of marrying several wives, and appoints subordinate judges, priests, &c. The king does not march against the enemy, but gives the command of the troops to others. The soldiers are brave, and very dexterous with the bow; their number is said to be thirty thousand.

In

In this kingdom are three large towns, the most populous of which is Seenhofa. This town is situated two day's journey from the frontiers by which I entered the country, and is the royal residence. In each town is a chief appointed by the king, who is also priest, and is called *mohacoia*. He cannot, however, pass sentence of his own authority, but must put in force the decision of the king.

In their religious usages, this nation coincide in many things with the Mohammedans, and practise circumcision, accompanied with certain ceremonies. Divine service is performed in the morning in the open air, at a place chosen by the priest. It is very simple, the people forming a circle, and the priest making an harangue.

Marriages are here, as among the South-castres, contracted without ceremony. The men esteem and love their wives, and therefore do not burden them with too much labour; but discharge many domestic offices themselves. Children continue till about their fourth year, or till their understandings begin to unfold, under the sole care of their parents; after which the boys are placed under the *mohacoia*, and the girls are instructed by his wife.

Their dress consists of palm-leaf aprons, extending to the knees. The men twist their hair

round bones, generally ribs of sheep; and I saw several who wore six, and even eight, pieces dangling to their heads. The women bind their hair with thongs, and many of them have from four to six of these tresses hanging over their foreheads.

The inhabitants of Mataman eat but one regular meal a day, which is at sun-set, taking in the intermediate time some millet, or rye, and sour milk. Provisions often fail through their extreme laziness; for they prefer fasting several days together, to taking a little trouble to procure food. Salt is rarely met with. It is brought from the kingdom of Mazumbo, in exchange for skins; but they are often without it for years, when at war with that nation. In this case, many use a very bad species of salt, obtained by burning the bones of wild beasts.

At my arrival I was conducted to the hut of the *mohwoia*, who gave me a little milk and a handful of barley. When I had eaten this, the man who had brought me into the village, also gave me milk and barley, which offended the former: and a violent dispute arose, which, however, produced no bad consequences. The *mohwoia* maintained that it was his right, as chief, to show me hospitality; while the other asserted,

asserted, that he had the same right, having brought me to the village*.

The next day I set off for Seenhofa, to see the king. The *mohwoia*, therefore, ordered some men to set me in the right road, and gave me a calabash of water, and a handful of meal. Till near noon I had to climb steep mountains, but found in the intermediate valleys the most beautiful meadows. I passed the village of Yeauhon, and at noon arrived at that of Casoho, consisting of about forty handsome well built huts, where I introduced myself to the *mohwoia*, and was presented with some meal and water. My road then lay across a very fertile valley, where I found plenty of pomegranate-trees, of the fruit of which I ate plentifully, and would have passed the night under one of them, but being visited by a number of buffaloes, was obliged to climb it. At day break they went away, and I resumed my journey. I soon arrived at the village of Ocohama, where I did not stop, but went on to Seenhofa. On my way I found fertile valleys, beautiful fruits, and

* I since found that the chief was right, and that, according to the laws of the land, it is his place to receive strangers; he having the superintendance of the public granaries, from which he may take corn for their use.

a canal

a canal which was continued two leagues into the city, and along which I travelled.

I arrived at Scenhofa before sun-set, and went to the *mohraoia*, who gave me rye and four milk, and then showed me into a small hut near his own, where he fastened the door, and I slept undisturbed.

My desire to see the king was soon satisfied. The *mohraoia* came into my hut early in the morning, and beckoning me to follow him, conducted me through a long street, lined with huts on both sides, to a green spot, where a number of people stood in a circle, in the centre of which was the *soharaoia*, or king, who appeared to be about forty years old.

Having the preceding day taken four gilders out of my waistcoat, in order to present to the king, I now carefully held them in my hand, and entered the circle. The king, who was sitting on a round stem of a tree, and held his battle-ax in his hand, ordered one of the persons who stood next him, and who acted as interpreter, to ask me whence I came, whither I was going, and why I visited his country. It was with great difficulty I discovered the meaning of these questions; and the interpreter found still more in comprehending my answers, as he knew very little of the cassre language. Having reported, however, to the king what I said,
he

he was then ordered to ask me whether I was a Moor or a Christian. I denied both, and said I was an Arab; for I observed he did not seem to know this name. I then gave him the four gilders, and at the same time asked for food. He looked a long time at the money, and then ordered one of his wives to bring some milk and meal, and stir them together; whereupon I seated myself on the ground, and ate the mixture.

After this I accompanied him into his hut, where a rush mat was given me to sit on. When I was seated, he began to observe me narrowly. He then ordered me to be told to give him more money, and he would keep me, and make me a *cahfecto* (a servant). I assured him I had no more money, but accepted his offer with thanks, in order to become acquainted with the country, and its manners and customs. But after a few days I perceived I was taken for a common slave, and that I was by no means certain I should not, sooner or later, be sold or bartered to some other nation*. 'Tis true, I had

* The Europeans probably first acquired the idea of trading in slaves from the Africans, and in consequence of discovering their coast; for, with the exception of South-Caffraria, the commerce of the human race is carried on by every nation I visited; and the unhappy slaves frequently pass in a few years through the hands of several different nations; the inhabi-

had plenty of food, but the rest of the king's conduct did not please me. The court consisted only of his wives and children, together with some servants; but all these inhabited separate huts. To the women I had no access, because the king was very jealous, and I was always obliged to remain in his hut, or accompany him to the chase. In these expeditions my labour was great, as I was obliged to carry home the beasts he killed, and generally cut them up. We only hunted, however, when provisions failed in the hut; but if we had enough, the king, like most of his subjects, passed his time in total idleness, or in sleep, which last was also very irksome to me, as I was obliged to remain in the hut, and be perfectly still. My daily food consisted of about a pound of meal or rye, and a kan of sour milk; but if I had meat, the meal and rye were withheld. The king was a man of middle stature, and a good figure, and had six wives, and fourteen children. One day he took me to his son, who lived to the eastward, where he was *mohwoiu*, and showed me his two grandchildren, girls, seven and nine years

tants of Matamun, for instance, exchanging them for salt with those of Mazumbo, and these selling them for corn to the inhabitants of Congo, till, at last, from kingdom to kingdom, they fall into the hands of Europeans.

old.

old. They immediately came up to me, jumped round me, and cried out, *yono colo*, a pretty white man. Their mother presently joined in this compliment, upon which the *mohwoia* grew jealous, and spoke a long while with his father: for the eldest daughter, when the rest had quitted the hut, endeavoured to explain to me the result of this conversation: namely, that it was thought I had an intention of corrupting the king's wives, as also the wife of the *mahwoia*, and therefore I was to be sold the first opportunity to another nation. This determined me to make my escape, provided I should be refused the liberty to proceed on my travels.

The next day, having asked the king's permission to prosecute my journey, I received for answer, that I should wait a few days longer, when I might set off in company with a party of his subjects, who were going to traffic with a neighbouring nation. But, being convinced I should myself become the object of this traffic, I eagerly watched an opportunity to escape, which I effected on the 29th November.

On that day I was to accompany the king in the chase, and carry a calabash of water, a leathern bag of millet, and a javelin^{*}; but was
ordered

* These weapons are two fingers broad, a foot long, an inch thick, and pointed at the head. Most hunters carry them,

ordered not to go so often, and so far from the king as I usually did, that when he should be in danger, I might be at hand with the javelin. We took a westward course into a beautiful wood, in most parts of which were good fruit-trees, and here and there a hill. We had scarcely entered this wood, when I pretended to be attacked with violent pains in my bowels, and seated myself on a hill. My master was deceived, permitted me to remain till he should call, and taking the javelin, went away. As soon as he was out of sight, I ran off, taking a northward course, in order to reach a mountain. The heat was intense, and I was very much tormented with thirst, but exerted all my strength, and ran as fast as I possibly could, without even taking time to drink out of my calabash. Three hours after I came to a river, called, as I afterwards learnt, Cayeto, or Sweet-river. Fortunately for me it was not deep, and I should have passed it without danger, but through hurry struck so suddenly against a sharp stone in the water, that I instantly fell, and should have been drowned, had the stream been a little more

them, as a defence, in case of being attacked by a wounded wild beast. It is fastened to a stick with a thong, and is used in war, on which occasions the point is poisoned.

rapid ;

rapid; however, I quickly sprang up again, and was so fortunate as to reach the opposite bank. I immediately pursued my way, but although I saw villages on both sides, avoided them, and happily escaped observation. Toward evening I came to a wood, where, the pain in my foot increasing, I was obliged to stop, but could not sleep much; and, in the morning, was scarcely able to walk, having, as we say in Germany, the rose in the foot. Some of my millet, however, still remaining, I continued lying down, and applied various green leaves to the wound, which somewhat alleviated the pain.

On the 1st December I limped slowly on, and at noon arrived at the town of Drosah, situated on a flat highland, which affords good pasture for cattle. It consists of from two hundred and forty to two hundred and fifty huts, which stand in form of a crescent, and constitute four streets. On enquiring for the *morroia*, I was immediately conducted to him, and found him very friendly, especially after I had given him three gilders; but when he saw the wound in my foot, he refused me his hut, fearing he might catch a similar disorder; nor would any one receive me, till at length an old man, who seemed to be free from this prejudice, took an interest in my misfortune, and brought me to his hut, where, having given me

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milk, he bruised some leaves between stones, and bound them on my foot.

The next morning the pain was abated ; and as I was apprehensive of being pursued, I set off, after presenting my host with a gilder. I travelled north-east, and at noon arrived at the village of Akilah, where I only stopped a few hours, as the inhabitants seemed inclined to detain me, and use me as a slave ; but that my ragged appearance, my bad foot, and my long beard, perhaps dissuaded them.

Having obtained some milk by my entreaties, I travelled, or rather limped, some way farther. About a league from the village, at a place where the road passes between the mountains, three strong men, who seemed to be hunting, rushed upon me, and put several questions, which I mostly understood ; such as whence I came, whither I was going, and to what nation I belonged. I replied, that I was a west-countryman, and was travelling to my native home. This, however, did not prevent them from asking further questions, which not understanding, and therefore not answering, two of them seized me by the arm, while the third took my calabash, and led me among the mountains, where they showed me a young wolf they had killed, and ordered me to carry it after them. I excused myself, and showed them my
foot,

foot, but this availed nothing; and one of them gave me several blows with a javelin, and threatened to stab me if I did not comply. I therefore took the beast upon my back, and followed, though somewhat slowly; for which I was often urged by blows to quicken my pace.

The great heat of the day, my heavy burden, and the high rushes among which I walked, entirely exhausted my strength, and I fell down several times. I implored their mercy, but they were deaf to pity, and gave me blows till I got up, and came half dead to the village I had left a few hours before. When I had laid down my burden, I was sent away; but could not walk, and therefore sat down to rest myself beside the hut of my persecutor. Even this was denied me; and they made me go away. I therefore crawled on to the hut, where at noon I had obtained some milk; and, taking courage, entreated its possessor, who was looking out, to take compassion on me. He asked me why I could not walk; upon which I showed him my foot, and he was inclined to afford me relief. But when, besides this, he perceived my whole body was covered with blood, a part of which, however, came from the wolf, and had fallen upon my waistcoat, he grew still more kind, and made such gestures as showed me how much he was incensed with those who had reduced me to this condition

Having spread a sheep-skin before the hut, and desired me to sit down, he inspected my foot, sent out a girl, who soon returned with several leaves, which he narrowly examined, and then ordered them to be tied on my foot. Meal and milk were also given me, and I was treated like a native; a bed being prepared for me near the entrance of the hut, and skins given me for a covering.

At first I could not sleep, partly on account of the great pain I felt, and partly because I did not place implicit confidence in my host. In this, however, I was mistaken; for he was a true philanthropist, as his conduct afterwards clearly proved. It was scarcely day-break, when he got up, and enquired whether my pain was abated, which I answered in the negative. This seemed to surprize him; for, probably, he expected the leaves would have proved more effectual. He therefore desired me to come out before the hut, where, as soon as I had crawled out, he examined the wound, and was much alarmed at finding the evil increased. However, he considered a moment, and ordered another kind of leaf resembling willow-leaves to be brought, ground them with fat upon stones, and thus produced a green salve, from which he expected more effect. With this he rubbed my leg so violently, that he almost made me faint; then

then bound the part that was swelled with thongs, and told me to lie down. I did so; and the pain being less violent, fell asleep. I awoke toward evening, when I perceived palm-leaves were also wound round my foot; and I felt less pain. I was obliged, however, to stay eight days before I could walk well.

During this interval, a man once entered the hut, to whom my host seemed to explain my situation, and especially the mal-treatment I had experienced from some of the inhabitants; upon which the stranger appeared very indignant. When he had left the hut, I learnt that he was the *mohreovia*, son-in-law to my benefactor, and that he had promised to punish these cruel men severely.

On the tenth day of my stay I was desirous to resume my travels, but my benefactor's wife having been delivered of a boy, I was pressed to stay, and participate in the feast. I therefore set off the next day, having received a present of some provisions for my journey. I passed three villages, and toward evening arrived at the frontiers of the Seegerins, where I lodged during the night in the village of Mukofah, which is situated on a hill.

CHAP. VII.

Some account of the Seegerins. — Character of that nation. — Arrival in the first village of their country, called Mukosah. — Reflections on the slave-trade. — Description of a tiger-hunt. — The author proceeds on his travels; is carried bound into the province of Porguhomat (in the maps Osila), but is well treated there. — Some account of that nation. — The author is ordered to march with a party of fighting-men to the frontiers, to attack a hostile slave-dealer with a large convoy of slaves, and to set them at liberty; but is himself taken prisoner, and brought, together with the slaves, under great hardships, to the country of the Sevians. — Description of that nation. — Their similitude to the Angolans. — Difference of their languages. — The author becomes cow-herd to the mani. — The mani's fourth wife makes advances to the author, who avoids her persecutions by flight, and arrives in Angola. — Description of that kingdom. — Face of the country, its boundaries, produce and revolutions. — The king, constitution, religion, manners, customs, and national dress. — The author is bound by an ewanga (a judge), robbed of his money and pocket-book, and is in danger of his life through the avarice of his oppressor; but is again liberated through the justice of the king. — Description of the residence of the king at Mahaka, on the river Ceanza. — Departure.

THE Seegerins are very poor and idle, and subsist almost entirely by hunting. Formerly they were very powerful, and possessed an extensive kingdom; but in their numerous wars with
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with their neighbours, in which the enemy generally proved victorious, they were very much diminished, and one piece of land after another taken from them. Their present possessions are two days journey long, and only half a day's journey wide, comprising a population of about eight thousand souls, who live in very indifferent huts, built with four posts, and covered with rushes. Their villages generally consist of only ten or twelve of these. Their complexion rather approaches to a red than a brown; they are small of stature, and wear no dress but a small apron; their hair is curly, and they have flat noses. They are reputed good marksmen, and their hospitality is celebrated; but they are justly blamed for robbing those who are well clothed, as soon as they are out of their huts, which is even permitted by law. This nation has no king, and only a single chief, called *cooyamah*. They fetch salt from a mountain a few days journey to the westward, and sometimes exchange a part with other nations who live more remote. The prisoners they take from the Matamans, with whom they have frequent wars, are sold, and come at length into the hands of the slave-dealers on the coast of Congo.

This being the proper place to say something of the slave-trade, I shall inform my readers

that the slave-dealers are Moors, who travel as far as the desert of Sahara, stealing the inhabitants of the interior of Africa, men, women, and children, whom they barter to the chiefs for cattle, corn, fire-arms, powder, and ball. The chiefs collect these unfortunate people together, and sell them to the Portuguese, French, and English, on the coast, in troops of from twenty to sixty, which, before they arrive there, not unfrequently travel from ten to twenty days journey, being worse treated than cattle.

Had Europeans never been known in Africa, or their merchandize exposed to sale, this species of traffic would never have existed; and every true friend to humanity must shudder, must even doubt the rationality of those cannibal-minded Christians, as they are called, when he witnesses the manner in which these poor wretches are treated. Not only here, but in other countries, have men reduced thousands and thousands under the yoke of slavery. In how many countries is the holy religion of Jesus abused, to the oppression of freemen, and to the assigning them, as it were, a middle place between man and beast, merely for the sake of riches, and heaping up possessions of every species! We ought, therefore, by no means

to be surpris'd, if in countries where Christianity has for such purposes been established by fire and sword, but from which it has been again expelled, Christians are not unfrequently persecuted, and even martyred. Nor is it without a motive, that many heathens of this country say, the christian religion must consist in robbing other men of their property, in converting countries into deserts, and rendering mankind wretched: while, on the other hand, these nations have been unjustly described as cruel and base, merely through hatred, for having treated some few Europeans as the latter have treated thousands of their countrymen.

I myself, however, was generally well treated, even by the Scegerins. On my arrival in the village, the inhabitants flocked together, and conducted me to the chief, who immediately gave me water, into which he poured a juice, pressed from plumbs, and asked me to sit down. But as the language has very many words peculiar to itself, and those which are allied to other languages, are pronounced differently, I could return no answer to the numerous questions asked; and it was with great difficulty I made my hearers understand, by signs, whence I came, and whither I would go. When I pointed to the latter, they made many gestures, from which I inferred,

I inferred, that they advised me not to go there.

The next day I procured information relative to the adjacent countries, and in the afternoon went to the wood, with four men, to hunt. They soon descried a tiger, which they determined to take. I seemed uneasy at the preparations they made for the chase, but at this they laughed, and at length were so fortunate as to kill him without being hurt themselves. Two of them threw javelins at him, while the other two, who stood near, held a spear in their right hand, and in their left a piece of strong leather, made of buffalo or elephant-skin, to defend themselves in case they did not hit the beast well, and he should attack them. This took place in the present instance; for the tiger attempted to seize the foremost man by the throat; but he held his hand, which was covered with leather, ready, and thrusting it into the throat of the beast, robbed him of the power of biting; meanwhile, with his right hand, he immediately plunged his spear into his body, upon which the other three rushed upon him, and killed him. In like manner they destroy wolves and lions.

On the 15th December I travelled on through a valley, where I found a fountain, of which
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the water appeared yellow, and had an acid taste*. I afterwards came to three villages, but did not stop, as it was early in the day; but at the fourth, called Aimahto, I rested an hour under a fine *matahora-tree* †. The inhabitants observed me narrowly, and one gave me a piece of wolf's flesh, which, at first, disgusted me; but, at length, finding they brought me nothing else, I ate it, and must confess it tasted much better than buffalo. In a wood, two german miles behind the third village, I found an immense number of tortoises, which awakened my appetite, and determined me to pass the night behind some trees, where I made a fire, and prepared myself a delicate dish; of which, however, I ate so heartily, that I could not sleep till toward morning. I had scarcely rested an hour, when I felt something move at my feet, and raising myself a little, perceived

* Probably a ferruginous water, impregnated with the vitriolic acid.

† Its leaves are long and narrow, the branches dependent, and the blossoms reddish; the fruit is of the size of a large pea, globular, and contains a kind of farina, which has a very good flavour; and the cakes made of it are not inferior to our biscuits.

a serpent, three ells long and a foot thick*, eating the remains of my supper; at which I was so much alarmed, that I jumped up and ran half a league. When I recovered from my fright, I missed my calabash, and was obliged to return to my resting place, where I found it, but the serpent was gone. Quitting the wood, I came to a fine plain, on which was the village of Ogtih, consisting of about thirty huts, near which I would have passed; but considering that I might be seen, and, in that case, the more mal-treated, I went straight through it without entering any hut, or asking for victuals. In the middle of the way, however, a man gave me a tortoise-shell full of water and plumb juice, and some plumbs; but no one detained me.

I now entered another small valley, watered by a small river, but of which the water was not drinkable. I found, however, some fine muscles, of which I made a hearty meal. Toward evening I reached the boundary of the country, formed by a long narrow range of mountains, where I passed the night, but could not find a

* This species of serpents, whose thickness is so disproportionate to their length, is, probably, not yet known to naturalists.

single plant or root for food; and therefore laid myself down hungry to rest. As I was about to set off the next morning, I heard voices, and presently after saw about twenty armed men conducting a troop of prisoners, who were coupled together two and two with thongs. One of the armed men rushed upon me, seized me, and carried me before the leader of the party, who looked at me for a while, and then took a thong that was wound round his body, bound my hands, and ordered me to follow him. Thus we proceeded till toward noon, travelling between and over mountains, the armed men singing and hallooing, and the prisoners appearing sorrowful and dejected.

At noon we came to a large village called Eioyaha, where we rested and had some water. This was the first village in the province of *Porguhomat*, which in the maps is called *Ofila*. Our conductors were of this nation, and lived half a day's journey more to the northward.

The province of *Porguhomat*, which lies four days journey from the borders of Congo, is very fertile; and its productions are numerous and abundant. The inhabitants are warlike, and defend their frontiers with bravery. I was informed by several persons, that they could send from eighteen to twenty thousand men into the field; but I am of opinion this number

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ber is over-rated by one-half, as the population is by no means great.

Formerly this nation was entirely subject to the kings of Benguela, who selected their best soldiers from among them. But though they had the courage and vigour to bear all the fatigues of war, they were repaid with ingratitude; for if the king wanted money, or any other object, and if this nation could not procure it him, he frequently took twenty or more of their number, and sold them to the slave-dealers. The old king, Khiguan, having repeated this conduct in 1776, the nation rebelled, killed him, and became almost independent. The son of the late king was, indeed, placed upon the throne, but is obliged, on all occasions, to consult with the elders, who were then associated with him in the government.

Disputes are settled by the oldest of each family, and the guilty party is then punished in the open air; but when the kings reigned tyrannically, they made good use of the quarrels of their subjects, by selling those who had committed misdemeanours to the slave-dealers, and paying no attention to the remonstrances of the relations, or even of the whole nation.

Many

Many of their customs coincide with those of their neighbours, though they have many that are peculiar to themselves; some of which do them honour, and awaken our esteem. In this country there are fewer women than in many other nations, so that two men often have but one wife, and yet do not disagree. Women are also highly esteemed, and far less severely treated, than by other nations in Africa: the men even attend to household affairs, take care of the cattle, and discharge other offices, while the women dress the victuals, clean *matahora*, and prepare from it either meal or grits.

In their language and dress this nation resembles the inhabitants of the coast of Congo. The boys are circumcised the day after their birth, with festivity and joy, boys being much more esteemed than girls. I have seen healthy mothers who had twelve, and even eighteen, sons; for which circumstance they were highly esteemed. The treatment and education of children among this nation particularly pleased me: as soon as a child can speak, the grandfather, or, if he be dead, the father, begins his lessons, instructing him in the knowledge of plants and fruits that are good, and pointing out to him those which are noxious to the health. He also teaches him to make mats, and as he grows older to perform

form many domestic offices; but boys are obliged more especially to apply to hunting, and to distinguish themselves by their agility and bravery; for he that kills an elephant is no longer reckoned a boy, but is numbered with men.

Though all strangers, who carry on no traffic with the nation, are considered as slaves, yet they are well treated, and not sold again; the slave-trade being held in abhorrence by this people, who endeavour to rescue from other nations those who would otherwise be resold by them. Hence when they hear that slave-dealers are conducting their victims, either across their territory, or near their borders, they unite together in bands, attack them, destroy the escort, and making the slaves their own, constitute them members of their nation. Prisoners of war, also, are here treated well, and if they wish it, incorporated into the community.

At length I was brought to the village of Soltaho, the residence of the king, and delivered over, with many ceremonies, to this petty prince. He received me kindly, ordered my bands to be taken off, a piece of roasted elephant to be given me, and then sent me to an adjacent hut. The other prisoners were also divided, and kindly received every where. Being ignorant of the language, I could not,
when

when I became the subject of conversation, discover what was to be my fate; but on this I was the less uneasy, as I perceived a preference given me above the other prisoners, who were obliged to work in the field, fetch wood, &c. whereas I generally gathered *matahora* in company with one of the natives, cleaned, dried, and bruised it.

When I had continued here a month, I observed that I was treated with more coolness; for the inhabitants began to think I was a *mambutaya*, (Portuguese,) yet I still enjoyed my liberty, and the same preference as before; and they gave me to understand, that I was, and should be, better treated than their countrymen had been by the Portuguese. I therefore endeavoured, as much as possible, to make the *buliha* (the king) understand that I was not a Portuguese, but an *achkuhrcy*, (an oriental,) and that the Portuguese lived also in enmity with my nation. This produced a good effect; and I obtained permission to sleep in the king's hut, where I was presented with a good sheep-skin. Here, by way of pastime, I made a potter's wheel; having observed that the women formed their earthen-ware by hand with great labour, and could only use many of the vessels a few days. I also built a small oven, and showed that meat baked in pans

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tasted far better than when broiled on the coals. This, and many other causes, procured me great consideration, though I was still obliged frequently to go to bed hungry, as the inhabitants eat very little; for I can aver, that they did not consume more than a quarter of a pound of meal, or grits, and a quarter, or, at most, half a pound of meat each per day, and drank very little milk.

I had remained here several months, when, through a singular event, I was removed to another nation called the Sovians*.

On the 17th July, 1785, two slaves arrived in the village where I lived, who had made their escape from a troop of slaves that were going under a strong escort of Sovians to Bunguela. They reported, that on the 19th this troop, which consisted of thirty slaves, would pass near the frontiers; in consequence of which, the inhabitants of the village prepared to intercept them, and either disperse the escort, or take them prisoners. I learnt also, that although nearly eight days journey distant from the Angolans, they were constantly exerting themselves to oppose both them and the Sovians, and especially to destroy their traffic in slaves.

* The small kingdom of Sova is under the dominion of the king of Angola.

I had already joined several expeditions, though merely for the protection of the frontiers; but now I was ordered to go out with a party of the inhabitants, and attack the enemy. Thus, on the evening of the 17th, we marched out in a body of seventy-four men; one-half armed with javelins and hunting weapons, and the rest with battle-axes.

We marched all night over mountains and through woods, in a north-east direction, without stopping; and in the morning arrived on a flat highland, where we rested a few hours, and then entered a village, farther on its declivity, called Wakulaho, and which belonged to our nation. Here we were joined by twenty others, and about noon continued our march north-east. Toward evening we passed a small river, by which we lay down till night, when we proceeded; and at sun-rise saw a village before us. Our party determined to search it, and to gain intelligence when the escort of slaves would arrive; but myself, and two other fighting-men, who had sore feet, were ordered by our leader, who was called *Kydomoh*, to remain on the spot where we had rested till their return from the village. At this we rejoiced, and as soon as they were gone, lay down behind a rock. Toward evening we expected our comrades, but no man came. We therefore approached

nearer to the village; and, as night was coming on, continued lying in the open fields, where we remained till morning, when seeing no one, we determined to look after and follow them. In the village, however, we did not find them, nor could we learn whither they were gone; we therefore travelled on, and coming to two roads, where we saw fresh footsteps, were at a loss which to pursue. After deliberating a long time, we agreed to separate, one going north-east, and myself and the other east.

We had scarcely travelled half a league, when we found no further road; however, at length we arrived safe at a village where the escort must certainly pass, and there met with our companion, who, a few hours before, had taken the other road.

We asked an old man to give us quarters for the night, which he granted, and we lay quietly down to rest; but after midnight, a great cry suddenly arising in the village, we imagined our friends were returned, and hurried out of the hut to show ourselves. We soon, however, found we were mistaken, and that this was the enemy, who, having received early intelligence of the intended attack, had taken another road, and arrived here without impediment. They took us and some young women of the village with them, and continued their journey

ney

ney through woods, and over hills, the whole of the following day.

In the evening we came to the village of Brhtyho, which was under the dominion of the Sovians, and where all the prisoners were brought before the *mani*, (the judge), who gave us some milk, and a kind of peas called *meda-bahat*. Our resting-place was extremely bad and wretched; and as near sixty persons were obliged to lie in one hut, no one could get any sleep. In the morning we were bound three and three with thongs, and travelled on. The road was very bad, and most of the party could scarcely proceed, blood flowing from their feet, and their wounds giving them great pain: yet although, in the evening, we saw villages on each side of our road, we were obliged to remain in the open air, an attack being expected, which would be less dangerous in our present situation.

The villages of this country are very indifferent, consisting of from sixteen to twenty wretched, square, low-built huts, covered with rushes.

After midnight we again set off, and travelled till about noon, over plains of sand. At length we arrived at a small town, of which the *mani* conducted us to a hut, where our hands
o 3 were

were taken off, and a little pea-meal and milk given us. Many of the prisoners were unable to walk, their feet being much swelled; neither could I myself walk with ease, my soles being covered with blisters, and my feet in many places wounded by thistles. Every one, however, endeavoured to allay his pains, and cure himself as well as he could; and I observed many of the natives who seemed to compassionate our misfortunes.

This nation entirely resembles the Angolans in their manners, customs and usages, as also in their religion, dress, and mode of life. They only differ in their language, and there the dissimilarity is not great. In this respect the three last nations nearly resemble each other; but the Osilians seldom or never pronounce the *l*, *u*, *h*, *g*, or *æ*; at least these letters occur very rarely. To give a slight idea of the language, I will add a few of their words:

OSILIAN WORDS.

As written.	As pronounced.	
<i>Engalo</i>	<i>Enalo</i>	Wild-boar
<i>Algagia</i>	<i>Aluia</i>	Zebra-cat
<i>Pongo</i>	<i>Pono</i>	Raboon
<i>Ouvanda</i>	<i>Ovanda</i>	Rice
<i>Ogheghe</i>	<i>Oie</i>	Plumbs.

The

The Sovians, on the contrary, pronounce these words very hard, as Enggalo, Algaggia, Pongo.

On the 23d all the slaves were brought out on a green place before this little town, minutely examined all over, to see whether they were fit for slaves; and a healing ointment given to those who had sore feet. The *mani* took me out, inspected me, examined my body, and asked me whether I was a Christian. This I answered in the negative, and said I was an oriental. When the inspection was finished, thirty of the slaves, among whom were six women and two young girls, were conducted to a separate hut; but the rest, and among them myself, returned to that where we had lodged during the night. On the third day both parties were brought to Mahpangoh; but myself and a handsome young Matamanner were retained by the *mani*, who employed me as his shepherd; but the Matamanner knowing the country, and therefore not being trusted, was set to fell wood and make mats. My fellow-shepherd was a Benguelan, who had sold himself to the *mani* for his maintenance, and showed me great friendship. Our flock consisted of seventy sheep and twenty-seven goats, which we drove to pasture in different places about a league from the town; but in the evening always brought them into a hut built for the

purpose, where we slept among them. Every morning a handful of millet-meal and a pot of milk were given to each of us; but this so ill satisfied our appetites, that we secretly milked the sheep and goats, and we lay down with our flock on the grafs.

The *mani* was a kind benevolent man, but his six wives were ill-natured and quarrelsome, and the fourth, called Natahar, was very amorous; and, therefore, when she came a milking, she sought opportunities to seduce me, but I always avoided her, and pretended not to understand her advances. My comrade, on the contrary, was otherwise disposed, and acted with more complaisance to her, whenever she wished it, nor was he ashamed to make love to her in my presence. This woman, finding all the arts and flattery she employed on me ineffectual, at length contracted a violent hatred toward me, and seemed to endeavour to put me out of the way, fearing I might represent her conduct to her husband, and that she should in consequence be severely punished. Once she said to my comrade, that she was resolved to get rid of me. Of this he immediately told me, and advised me to be upon my guard. I therefore began to reflect that she would not sell me, because I was an oriental; but then she might transfer me to the Portugueze, and require a heavy ransom,

ransom, which I must probably repay with servitude and hard labour, during many future years*, or, perhaps, to gratify her revenge, she

* Had the Portugueze ransomed me, I must have served as a soldier during many years, till my ransom was paid; but besides this, unless I would become a catholic, I should have been exposed to very ill-treatment. For the assertion, that the Portugueze, the English, and the Dutch, redeem unfortunate Europeans from slavery, and immediately bring them back to their native country, is wholly contrary to the truth. A crucifix, a name, or other figures on the arm, are no proofs that the bearer has ever been in slavery; for on board a ship every sailor will make these figures on the arms, loins, or calves of the legs, for a glass of brandy, or a little tobacco. It is done by means of three or four knitting or even sewing needles tied together. Having first bound the part hard, the small wounds these make are rubbed with gunpowder, which forms blue figures, or words. At *St. Jago, St. Helena, St. Clare, the Cape, &c.* are many blacks, who thus make very pretty figures in the skin. Several of my readers may remember some persons who, a few years ago, travelled about Saxony and other countries, showing similar figures on their arms, and pretending they had been slaves in Africa, where they had been so marked for distinction. The name of one of these impostors was *Weißhaupt*, a chimney-sweeper, from Silesia. The other I forget, but he was a journeyman baker of Saxony. I will add, that these persons might indeed have been in slavery, but on quite a different account; and, as a punishment for their knavery, for which, perhaps, at the Cape or elsewhere, they may have worked as galley-slave, at hewing stone, or as labourers. At the expiration of their term of punishment, they receive twenty guilders for travelling expenses, and are carried to Holland.

Nor

she might intend to poison me. To avoid this, I exchanged my daily allowance with that of my companion; but considered also how I could avoid her persecution altogether, and at length resolved privately to make my escape. Being very intimate with my comrade, I discovered my plan to him, and immediately obtained his promise to assist me in its execution. I also proposed to him to accompany me; but this he refused, through laziness and cowardice. I now made preparations for my departure, by drying various fruits, particularly kikery, (a species of plumbs) and guayafas, (a species of pears) the pulp of which appears red, and determined to set off the next full moon; at which time the

Nor should I have been much more fortunate had some merchant paid a ransom for me on the coast; for in that case I must have repaid the amount with many years hard labour. Even now, too many Europeans are thus languishing in misery, who, in consequence of shipwreck, have fallen into the hands of Africans, and are by them, as it were, *fold* to the European factories, and placed under the yoke of slavery with their brethren; nor are they liberated till they have repaid their ransom, or earned it by the hardest labour. The English boast of paying large sums for such unfortunate persons, and then carry them immediately to their colonies, and rob them of the joy they would receive from visiting their native country. The Dutch act in like manner, and their colonies and islands abound in such unfortunate inhabitants.

inhabitants

inhabitants do not hunt, but stay at home to keep holiday.

This resolution I put in force on the 12th October. That morning, when we drove our flock to pasture, we chose a spot situated to the northward, where I had a few days before concealed my provision of dried fruits in a wood; and when the women had done milking, and were gone away, took leave of my companion.

I ran as fast as possible through the wood; and, after travelling two hours, came to a chain of mountains lying north and south. Thinking I had now nothing more to fear, and having only three villages to pass before I reached the boundary of Angola, which was four days journey distant, I sat down at the foot of the mountain and ate my fruit; but, as I looked to the west, I saw three lions majestically advancing toward me; and, though I had hitherto been always spared by these animals, I thought it prudent to provide for my safety, by running back up the mountain, where, on looking round, I observed they had turned to the eastward, and troubled themselves no more about me.

Here I found various fruits; but as I had a stock already, and did not know but some of them might be noxious, I did not touch them. I broiled some tortoises, however, and made a hearty meal. For this I collected wood in a recess

cess among the rocks, lighted a fire, and continued undisturbed till morning, when I arose, and came to a broad vale, intersected by a small river, by which I rested a few hours, and took three gilders out of my waistcoat, in order to have them ready upon occasion. In the distance I saw villages; which, however, I endeavoured to avoid, as I was still provided with food, and found no want of water.

Toward evening, however, I came very near another village, called Akhimy, which I would have also avoided, but was already perceived, and several persons hastening to meet me, pressed me to come into the village. Here I first asked for meal, which was immediately given me, and then enquired for the *mani*, upon which the very man I spoke to said he was the *mani*. I asked him for hospitality, to which he replied, "This you have." I then asked his permission to pass the night in the village. "If you are not a Christian," was his answer. "I am an Arab," replied I. "Why are you come here?" he again enquired, "You want to steal slaves."—"That do I not," said I. "All I wish is, to travel through this place to my native home." "How far is it?"—"I must travel four moons longer toward the east."—"If you are not a Christian," repeated he, "you may sleep in my hut, where no one shall disturb you; at present

present sit down here." I sat down before the hut, and he continued narrowly observing me for a while; till at length he asked me where and how I had learnt the language of the country; to which I answered, that I had lived three months with a king, by whom I had been very kindly treated.

Till midnight people came to see me through curiosity, and handled and questioned me, but always so as not to give me cause to be angry. I slept in the back part of the hut quite quiet; and in the morning, when I was setting off, some meal was again presented to me; and the *mani* advised me to keep more to the eastward, as I should otherwise, by travelling northward, be seized, in the great forest through which I must then pass, and most probably very ill-treated, by the Angolans, who infest those parts. However, I continued faithful to my plan, by travelling directly north; and having passed very near a Sovian village, reached the wood, which is half a day's journey long, forming a crescent from north-east to south-west, and in a part where it is intersected by a small river, constitutes the boundary between the Sovians and the kingdom of Angola. This small river I reached toward evening, quite exhausted, and extremely thirsty. I therefore lay down on the
bank,

bank, refreshed myself with excellent water, and remained beside it all night.

On the 25th October, in the morning, I quitted the wood, and came to a fine plain, where I found very fine and high rushes. At noon, beside a small wood, I suddenly fell in with ten men from Matamba, who traded in salt. They came up to me with civility and kindness, but asked me many questions, which, as far as I could understand, regarded the object of my journey. These I answered as well as I could, and they seemed to understand me; for they asked no more, but endeavoured to persuade me to join them. From this I excused myself, as they were travelling more to the westward than the northward, and took leave of them, after they had given me some meal and water, in front of the village of Gality.

This is the first village in the kingdom of Angola proper, and is very populous. Having entered it, I enquired for the *mani's* hut, to ask his protection. He was a rough, austere man, and turned me away: three gilders, however, made him more civil; he gave me milk, meal, and dried pears, and showed me to a resting-place among the sheep and goats, in the hut appropriated for their reception.

The kingdom of Angola extends fourteen days journey from east to west, and ten from
north

north to south. The face of the country is alternately varied with mountains, bare rocks, fertile vales, and the finest pastures, which offer the inhabitants competency and superfluity, were they not too lazy to enjoy the blessings nature bestows, caring for their daily sustenance alone. The country is intersected by many small rivers, besides the great river Bamba, which forms the northern boundary between this kingdom and that of Congo, and waters with its numerous branches the adjacent countries. To the east Angola is bounded by the kingdom of Matamba, to the south by Benguela and Sova, and to the west by the sea.

This country produces saltpetre, silver, tin, and a great quantity of ivory, all which the Portuguese endeavour to purchase, as also a great quantity of skins of all sorts. It is one of the richest countries in beasts of all kinds, and affords its inhabitants the means of subsistence without much labour. Of the elephant and rhinoceros it seems, as it were, the native home, for they are met with in large herds; but the breeding of cattle is not in repute, the flesh of wild beasts being generally eaten.

The kings of Angola were formerly subject to the sovereigns of Congo; but the present king separated from them, asserted his liberty, and

and thus obtained the love and veneration of his subjects, infomuch that women and children take the field whenever war is declared against him. He has also a court, consisting of twenty-four *manis*, fifty priests, and two hundred and fifty soldiers armed with muskets, which they use with great dexterity, and which were taken in a sudden attack made on the Portugueze in 1763. Each city is superintended by two *manis*, and every village by one; who, however, cannot judge any cause, but must make a report to the king, and receive his decision. At this time the king was about thirty-six years old, wore long blue breeches and a red cloak, made of bad materials. He is an enemy to the Portugueze, and to all Christians; he therefore restrains their liberty of trading in his territories, and seems only waiting a proper opportunity entirely to prohibit their entering his dominions.

The military force consists of fifty thousand well-disciplined infantry; but there is no cavalry, owing to the scarcity of horses, their increase being prevented by the great number of wild beasts. Buffaloes are used for military operations, and to carry the baggage.

The king generally gives audience in the open air, surrounded by his body guard, and officers holding

holding drawn swords in their hands. These latter he calls *fidalgos**, and the former *mocarani* (the best foldiers), though they never fight in the field. The priests, who are called *exanga*, are next in rank to the king; and after them is the *tambocado*, or chief justice, before whom the *manis* are obliged to lay their reports for further investigation, after which this officer lays them before the king, or causes them to be presented by the priests.

The Angolans do not pray to idols, though they worship the sun and moon as the supreme divinities; and each change of the latter is celebrated as a holiday, when no one can go a hunting. Days of penitence, however, are appointed when storms arise; for then they say the great lord is angry. On these occasions they refrain from all food, and quit their huts, especially when it thunders during the night; lying down with their faces on the ground till the storm is past. The harvest-feast continues three days, and is celebrated with the greatest rejoicings. The Angolans are pagans, yet circumcision prevails; and there are huts devoted to the service of God, where, on the days appointed by the priests, religious assemblies are held.

* A portugueze word, signifying noblemen.

The regulation of domestic affairs is very simple; and although nature has provided wild beasts of numerous species, and various kinds of fruit, yet the inhabitants live very poorly. Agriculture is pursued in very few places, but barley, indian corn, and a species of millet, are sown, and the gourds and water-melons are also very good. Of muscles the inhabitants are extremely fond, and travel many miles to seek them.

Marriages are here attended with many ceremonies. A priest blesses the young couple, who sit upon the ground, with certain forms which no one understands, then walks several times round them with a staff, and drives the evil spirits away. The family then light a fire, in which this staff is burnt to ashes, and being mixed in milk, is blessed by the priest and swallowed by the young couple. This is done to favour fecundity, and avert various evils. Polygamy is permitted and customary; but open divorces are not allowed, although many women are compelled by ill-treatment to leave their husbands.

Children are here carefully brought up, being instructed by the priests in writing, and in the laws and religion of the country. For paper the Angolans use the skin of a beast, covered with foot and fat, and for pens they employ a sharp-pointed bone. Instruction is given in the
open

open air ; and I observed that the children are here much more attentive than in many german schools. All boys belong to the king, who causes them, when grown up, to be taught the use of arms, for which the father receives a certain bounty ; as for example, to every one that brings in a grown-up son, a year's subsistence is given. To provide for this heavy expense, the king takes a third of the produce of the chace, of all booty, of the harvest, and of all other gains.

The dress of the Angolans is very various ; many of them only wearing aprons of palm-leaves, and others adding an ash-coloured cloak, made of bad cloth or linen, purchased of the Portugueze. Others wear skins of various beasts on their backs. Their hair is not long, but curly, and they adorn it with muscleshells, chaplets, and other ornaments, purchased of the Portugueze. They paint their cheeks blue or red ; and, their nails being never cut, the fingers of those, who, in order to make a brilliant appearance in public, secure them from accidents, resemble the talons of an eagle.

Toward the natives of Africa the Angolans are very hospitable, but to Christians they will not give a night's lodging, nor do they willingly permit them to enter their country ; to avoid which, they carry the merchandize to be

exchanged to the Portugueze, and bring back what they purchase. The portugueze factories of Loanda and Gambamba are also obliged to send envoys twice a year to the king, at his residence called Manpango, to appease him in some degree, as he will not suffer so many of his subjects to be kidnapped and enslaved. But should an alliance, that has been projected, be formed between this prince and the king of Mataman, the Portugueze may, in all probability, be treated in this country as they were at Japan.

On the 16th, when I proposed to proceed on my journey, the *mani* gave me to understand, that I could not be permitted to set off till I had obtained the king's permission to travel through his territory. As I declared, however, that I could not return, but was necessitated to go through this country, he suffered me to depart under the escort of four men, by whom, as I soon after learnt, I was to be conducted to the royal residence, that the king might see me himself.

The next day we came into the country of Maspa*, where we learnt that the king was arrived to review his troops, who were then en-

* A beautiful village in a charming country, in the neighbourhood of which the king passes two months every year in camp. It is a day's journey from Mapata.

camped.

camped. I was at first brought before an *evan-ga*, who gave me but a bad reception; for believing me to be a portugueze spy, he ordered me to be bound with thongs, and would not listen to my remonstrances. He even intimated that I should be very severely dealt with, and that it was uselefs to see the king. He then ordered my companions to take off my waistcoat, suspecting I had some instrument of death or poison concealed under it, to destroy the king. To my great sorrow, therefore, my waistcoat, and with it all my money, was now taken from me, as also my pocket-book, which I kept in a secret pocket under the left arm-hole; my companions rejoicing and jumping for joy, when they saw the pieces of silver roll about as they tore it in pieces. I cried out, tried to tear my bands with my teeth, and to take back my property; but the guards struck me so many blows with their broad iron javelins, that I was quite disheartened. I was then taken to a ruinous hut, where my feet were bound to the corner-post, and kept without victuals or drink. Being tormented with hunger, I asked the guards whether I was to die there, to which they replied very bluntly, I might eat *kohla* (dirt); and accordingly I received nothing all that night, nor was I released even for the calls

of nature, which I was compelled to satisfy on my sleeping-place.

The next morning, the guard being relieved, their successors brought me half a handful of millet, and about half a kan of water, with which I was obliged to content myself for that day. From the guard who came on the following day, I learnt that the *evanga* intended to put me to death* without the knowledge of the king, and that it was probable I might that very day be executed. At this I was much astonished, as I knew the king was in the camp, and hoped he would have been informed of the arrival of a spy, for which I was taken. But when I reflected more particularly, I perceived that the *evanga* had formed this resolution for the sake of my little treasure; for had he reported me to the king, so that his majesty might judge me himself, he must also have delivered up the money to his sovereign. I com-

* The manner of executing criminals is as follows: The delinquent being extended on the earth, as if he were to be broken on the wheel, long poles are bound between his arm and legs, and then four long spears are stuck through his hands and feet into the earth. In this state of torment many poor wretches live from four to six days, while birds of prey devour the flesh upon their bodies: but when the punishment is intended to be slight, a javelin is stuck through the body a few hours after they have been thus extended.

municated my suspicions to my guard, and asked, whether he believed the king would approve such conduct; but he replied, that every one knew I was a spy, and had a design to kill the king; that the priests themselves said so, and what they said was no falsehood.—Oh, how ardently I now wished myself again at the Cape; how often I cursed myself for not staying with the benevolent Caffres, to end my days with that hospitable race! Thus I lost almost all my powers, and was wholly overcome by anguish; when at length I heard the guards mention the king several times, and one of them said he would soon pass before the hut. I therefore begged the bands might at least be loosened from my feet, and that I might be permitted to go to the door, and see the king; but my request was answered with blows, and I was ordered to be silent; upon which I again lay down on the ground. After a while, I saw the guards prostrate themselves on the earth at the door of the hut, in a manner the most devout, which led me to conjecture the king was passing. I therefore cried out with all my strength, *Ekomah! ekomah!* (help! help!) upon which I was knocked down by one of the guards, and ordered to be quiet. I determined, however, to hazard all, and cried out again, *Harahky! harahky!* (pardon! pardon!) which the king hearing,

came to the door, and asked what was the matter. One of the guards replied; and, as well as I could understand, used the words spy, murder, death, several times. This induced the king to wish to see me; and he ordered me to be brought before him, adding, that he would kill me with his own hand, should he find me guilty of the charge. My feet were now unbound, and I was ordered to come forth; but I was so weak and exhausted, and so much affected by the ligatures, that I was unable to stand; so that I was dragged out, with several thrusts, and thrown down before the king. His majesty now ordered a priest, who also served as interpreter, to ask me what had induced me to come into his country to murder him; to which I answered, that I had not come for that purpose; but that being a shipwrecked mariner, I wished only to travel through his territories to my native country.—“What is the name of your country?”—“Arabia.”—“But you are a Christian, and want to discover the state of affairs in my country, or to kidnap my subjects.”—“Neither of these would I do; but have already told your *mani* of Akhimy, a few days ago, that I wished to ask your permission to travel through your dominions to my native country. For this purpose he has ordered me to be conducted to you, that I might ask it of his just and benevolent prince himself.”

himself.”—“The *mani* should have immediately ordered you back out of the country, as I suffer no Christians here.”—“It had been better for me had he done so, for then your people would not have robbed and mal-treated me.” This answer made him so angry, that he sprang forward, seized me by the arm, and cried out, “What sayest thou, christian dog? stand up, and prove thy words.” I replied, “Had not your inhuman delegates treated me like a brute, I should have been able to stand up, and would not have continued lying before you. But I rely on Him who is higher than you; on Him who will punish you and your delegates severely. You believe not I have been robbed; and would rather kill me, and bring a stain on your own honour.”—“I command you,” the king cried aloud, “to tell me where you have been robbed, and who robbed you.” I replied, “You believe not my words; and if the perpetrators lie, I incur the risk, even should you spare my life, of being killed by them.” This enraged him still more; he sprang up, and gave me a kick in the side, crying, “Dog, speak! Dog, speak! or I will trample thee to death!”—“Kill me, if you judge me guilty; but hear my justification and defence.” I then related how the *ecanga* had acted, and that he had determined to execute

cute me secretly. This awakened his attention; and, after some reflection, he ordered me to be brought before his hut, where two wolfskins were given me for a covering, and some elephant's flesh to eat. I soon learnt, that the priest had represented to the king that I was a madman, who probably meant to kill him; and, therefore, that it would be well to put me to death. But to this the king replied, "He is guarded, and cannot come near me unless I wish. If he is mad, I must see clear proofs of it."

The next day the king visited me, and ordered my feet to be dressed with an ointment made of herbs and fat. He told me also, he had given orders to arrest the four guards who had cut my waistcoat from my body, in order to be examined. He was still with me when these men were brought bound before him, and put in the king's cattle-shed. The next morning, the king asked them, in my presence, whether they had robbed me of any thing? to which they answered, No; but said, that they had given my waistcoat, several pieces of money, and something which they could not describe, to the *evanga*. Upon this the *evanga* was immediately sent for, and the king received him with these words; "You ought to be just, and are unjust; you ought to endeavour to avert
1 the

the anger of the gods, and yourself make them angry; for you have robbed and mal-treated an innocent stranger. Go hence; you shall suffer the punishment that was appointed for the stranger." Upon this he was bound and taken to the cattle-shed, where his clothes were stripped off, and sentence of death again announced to him. My money and my pocket-book were also brought; and I was made to read from the latter the names of the nations, towns, and villages, where I had been. This still further confirmed my innocence; I was still more kindly treated, and received my full liberty. The money and the pocket-book were restored me as my property; but, through gratitude, I gave the king twenty gilders, which he received very graciously, and gave me a gold stick of far greater value.

The day now arriving on which the *evanga* and the four guards were to suffer, I received orders to attend the ceremony, and to be near the king. The prisoners being brought out of the hut, and carried to the place of execution, the *evanga* saw me, came up to me, asked my pardon, and would have said more, but the king ordered him away, and the sentence to be put in force; upon which several persons fell upon the criminals, executed the punishment, and

and they were no more. Their bodies were then cut in pieces, and burnt at sun-set.

From that time the king kept me constantly with him: and, three weeks after, I made a campaign against the Benguelans. This expedition proved very successful, and we made one hundred and sixty-three prisoners, among whom, in particular, were forty men of the wild and savage nation of the Kahamyrians, who are situated on the south side of the kingdom of Benguela.

In my leisure hours I employed myself in cleaning and repairing the soldiers arms, of which no one understood the management, and all the spectators were astonished at seeing the locks taken off and cleaned. From time to time, it is true, some Moors* travel into this country, who are versed in the art of the gun-smith, and repair fire-arms; but, at that period, they had not been there during eight years.

This procured me the favour of the king, and of all of the chief persons; and I should have

* I afterwards met in the Desert of Sahara some of these itinerant gun-smiths from Abyssinia. They generally travel six months in the year, during which they earn their maintenance for the other six months, which they spend at home. They also manufacture new arms, of which I shall say more hereafter.

been

been appointed an officer, but rather requested permission to travel onward. This, however, I did not obtain, but was obliged to accompany the king to his residence, called Mahakah, which resembled a mountain-fortress. It is situated on the river Coanza, on a steep rock; on the other side of which is the village of Mapango. This place was ruined by the Portuguese in the year 1779, but may now be considered as a town, since its restoration, increase, and embellishment; for it contains four hundred huts. The castle of the residence is very difficult to be taken; the Portuguese have often besieged it, but have always been obliged to retire with disappointment, and loss of blood. It is inaccessible, except by one road, and that a very narrow and sinuous path; above which lie large stones, ready to be rolled on the enemy as they approach. I myself observed fragments of rocks, from fifteen to twenty ells long, which are rolled down when the enemy come very near. At the entrance of the narrow path are four rows of thick palisades stuck into the earth, and strengthened behind with fragments of rocks. The castle itself is ill built, and only one story high; but a fountain rises in the midst of it, which fills a moat four feet deep, and as much in breadth. In the adjacent buildings of the castle are lodged the

body

body guard; and in the middle of the court is a temple, and another building, in which the king's eight wives reside. Here I lived six days, during which I was treated with distinction, and then received permission to go where I pleased. I therefore set out on the 26th February 1786, loaded with kind wishes and blessings.

END OF VOLUME I.

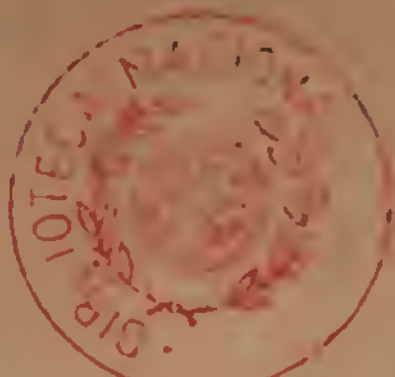
TRAVELS
IN THE
INTERIOR OF AFRICA.

CHAP. I.

The author's departure.—Is dismissed with presents from the king, and continues his journey with two guides, northwards, through the village Muhag, and the little town of Methekaha.—Description and history of the Azaborians, the villages Mahiny and Emvabat, with an account of the copra, a serpent very common here.—The village Mohakam. Situation of it on the confines of what was formerly the kingdom of Loango; geographical situation and history of it. Present state of that country; its products, inhabitants and traffic.—Passage over the river Bambo to the nest of robbers, the village Vodolaha, and to the village Ogbo. At the latter the author is ferried over the river, and picks up a fellow-traveller, who proves to be a miner carrying ore to Malemba, with whom he travels a day and a half.—History and description of the city Malemba. The author is here strictly examined and brought to the king, who orders him clothes, and appoints him to attend on his pack-buffaloes, from which post he is promoted to be his page; but shortly after falls into disgrace and is condemned to work as a slave: contrives to escape from thraldom, and goes over to the Yaganians.

AT my departure the king ordered me to be provided with a new calabasse, or water-flask, a few pounds of meat and a bag of flour, enough to subsist upon for four days, and presented me

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himself with three hundred zimpo (shells that pass current as money). Four stout young men were appointed to conduct me two days journey, and to expedite me on my way as much as possible. -- We were hardly gone a thousand paces ere I observed that we were proceeding northwards, whereas my intention was to travel to the east. Accordingly I asked my attendants why we went in this direction, and learnt that the king had ordered me to be conducted directly northwards to prevent my coming to the portugueze factories, whither it was likely I designed to go. I therefore immediately perceived that the king had always suspected me of holding a secret correspondence with the Portugueze, and was now resolved to remove me from them. — It was vain for me to make any opposition, and therefore I implicitly followed my convoy. About noon we passed a small river and came to a fruitful plain, where was the village Mahag. In this spacious village, containing, as I was told, six hundred persons, I met with very few men, and found on enquiry that they were at work at the silver-mines, about five or six miles farther to the east. I desired my guides to conduct me thither, but as they would not transgress the king's orders, I was forced to leave my curiosity unsatisfied. We took our noontide rest, and the

the judge, as soon as he heard that I was the guest of the king, supplied us with milk, flour, and dried fish in abundance, adding his request that we would stay there a few days. We did not accept his invitation, but travelled on, till towards evening we reached the little town of Methekaha on the mountain Matori, or Stone-mount. It consists of about three hundred ill-built houses and cottages, and is intersected by a small river. The inhabitants cultivate pulse, barley, gourds, melons, and some trifling matter of turkish corn; but cannot keep much cattle, as the tigers and wolves are extremely numerous, and are constantly on the scout for prey. As I wandered about the place, I was surprised to see two smith's forges, and two earthen-ware shops; and more especially to find that the pottery was neat and durable; and I was informed that they sold it to all parts of the country round. Our first visit was to the judge, and we commended ourselves to his protection; but he sent us to the evanga, who detained me with him, disposing of my attendants in other huts. For my supper I received only a handful of meal, mixed with a little milk and water, and for my lodging I was shewn the goat-stall, the door of which my host fastened on the outside with a wooden

cross*. Unable to sleep, for the stench and the oppressive heat of the place, I therefore rose in the morning quite fatigued when my companions came; to whom I complained of my wretched lodging, and they immediately went and scolded the evanga, threatening to acquaint the king with the ill treatment I had received. This had its effect, for he directly brought us milk, meal, and dried fish; pressed us to eat, and to take with us for our journey what remained; even intreated my attendants to pass the night with him on their return, and to accept of his hospitality. — Our way was to the north-east, across a chain of mountains tending from east to north, and forming a triangle; here we saw abundance of wild fruit-trees, and towards noon met with some Azahorians, a people dwelling in the mountains, living on fruits, roots and particularly by depredation. I expected to be ill-used by them, but as we divided our provisions among them, they behaved very friendly, and pressed us to stay and rest with them. This we did, and in a few hours renewed our journey. I learnt from my companions that the Azahorians have

* In the shape of a chevaux de frize, interwoven with long and very sharp thorns. They are intended to keep the tigers and wolves from getting into the stalls.

neither huts, nor follow agriculture; that they breed no cattle, but sleep under the open sky, and are constantly roaming about the mountains. Their whole number amounts to no more than seven or eight hundred persons at present; but, multiplying as they do from year to year, they may in time become formidable to their neighbours. It is affirmed that they are originally from the city of Zohare, in the territory of Yoga, where they are said to have been far more numerous. King Manimugy, in the year 1623, made war upon this territory, subdued a great part of it, and summoned the city Zohare to surrender. To his summons, however, he received an abrupt answer, and a small army was sent from the town against him. The king, enraged at this conduct, ordered his army to push forward, defeated the Zoharians, rushed into the town, massacred all the inhabitants who had not the good fortune to make their escape, and set fire to the place. The fugitives put themselves under the protection of the king of Angola, who gave them a ready reception, and assigned them places of residence. Whenever a war breaks out, they form a sort of independent corps, and generally succeed in their enterprises. Javelins and battle-axes are the weapons they use in war, and when that is ended they are obliged to deliver

them to the king as his vassals. The men are large and stout, of a dark brown complexion, bordering on red, and a shock head, which they decorate with little bones. Their religion is paganism; the elder being judge and priest, but deciding only in petty causes. In criminal matters the culprit is delivered up to the king, who punishes him according to the laws of the country. I must notice in this place a remarkable distinction of the sexes, consisting in this, that the females of this nation have fine long hair, so that very young girls, only a few weeks old, are already perfectly distinguishable from boys of exactly the same age, by the hair alone. — After meeting with several more bands of Azahorians, on descending the mountains, towards evening, we came to the little village Kamoh, in a pleasant and fertile region on the rivulet Molo, only four feet wide, running round the mountain to the north-east. I observed here a considerable breed of cattle, and fields well tilled. The judge gave us a good lodging, and victuals of the best he had. — The next morning my conductors left me to return home; the judge however on hearing that I was a friend of the king's, gave me a messenger to attend me to Mahiny. — Our way was uncommonly difficult, as we were obliged, with great labour, to force a passage through the shrubs,

shubs, which were like a strong hedge, and often to make a circuit, as in some places it was absolutely impenetrable. All the country swarms with insects and snakes; and, for six or seven miles we were even accompanied by some young lions, at whom my guide was much more frightened than myself. — We passed several vallies, but no where could find any potable water; and consequently came to no villages. It was about nightfall when we reached the little village Katagna, composed of between sixteen and twenty miserable huts. I was desirous of passing the night there, but my guide saying he had orders to conduct me that day as far as Mahiny, I was obliged to snatch up my staff again, and travel four miles farther. On our arriving at Mahiny, we found the judge asleep; my guide, however, awoke him, saying that he had attended me thither by the king's command, and that I expected to have a night's lodging with him. The judge, angry at being roused from his drunken fit of sleep, in a surly tone ordered us a place to lie down in, tossed to me a mat, and bade milk and meal to be fetched. Not waiting, however, for them, I threw myself on the mat and fell asleep. On my waking, I missed my conductor; and, on enquiring after him, I found that he had already set out on his return.—

The judge, regarding me with greater attention in the morning, observed that my body was of a quite different colour from that of the people of the country; and on finding that I knew something of their language, he became more amicable and kind; he even requested me to stay the day with him, and not to despise his accommodations. I accepted of his invitation with pleasure, rested myself, ate and drank, and conversed with the judge.—Here I once more made a repast on elephant's flesh, served up with metabas*, milk, and ogheghe bonitah †, and feasted excellently upon it. The metabas and the mus had made the meat perfectly tender, and given it a very relishing taste.

On the 3d of June I set out again, accompanied by a slave belonging to the judge as far as the next village, called Emvahat. We should have missed it had we shaped our course to the north-east. My conductor however would not take that way, but turned eastwards, pointing out to me at a distance, in the way that I wanted to have gone, two sharp-pointed mountains, and saying that between them was a hollow,

* A kind of pease, growing on a shrub, fifty or a hundred together on very thin stalks: therefore, properly speaking, they are not peas, as they do not grow in pods, but rather like grain.

† A sort of plumb-juice.

which

which he called Nunquiata, or the nest of serpents; the resort of a prodigious multitude of these reptiles, who sought their food in the surrounding region. Having got a full mile and half from the village, he bade me observe at some distance two men, near the cavern of serpents, telling me that the village constantly kept two sentinels there to watch the serpents coming towards them, and to kill them on the spot. I afterwards learnt the best and safest method of taking and killing these dangerous creatures, which is by managing so as to make sure of first cutting off the tail, as in that the poison is concealed; they are then roasted on the coals, and are eaten as a very delicate dish. In the village I saw some of these dead snakes, which the inhabitants called copra*; they were of considerable length, and might probably weigh between twenty and thirty pounds. The head was round and rather flat at top, the ground-colour ash-grey, with green stripes a quarter of an inch broad running round the body. In the kingdom of Bahahara I found one of the same species, though not so large as these.—The village Emvahat consists of about thirty huts, is situate in the kingdom of An-

* This word is perhaps originally portugueze, and derived from cobra.

gola, half a day's journey from the borders, in a fertile region, skirted on the north side by little hills, and on the south by a stream which I took to be an arm of the river Bambo. — My guide now wanted to turn back, but yielded to my entreaties that he would accompany me farther. Having rested a couple of hours, we pursued our journey through a pleasant wood, stored with fruit-trees of every kind, and came to the frontiers. Here my faithful conductor left me, and after wishing me a prosperous journey took his departure homewards. I travelled three miles farther, and passed the night at the extremity of the wood. On the 5th of June I came to a narrow pass, and soon after entered the village Mohakam, a frontier place of the former kingdom of Loango*. I had

* This tract of country which formerly constituted the kingdom of Loango, is fifty-six german miles in length from west to east, and fifty german miles in breadth from south to north. It lies towards the north in the east, a tract by the compass between Guinea and the exit of the river Zaire. In the year 1778 the king was defeated by the Portugueze in conjunction with Sihao-atuly, king of Cacongo, and immediately after the battle was murdered by his own people. — The inhabitants of the country are now free; they pay indeed a tribute to the kings of Cacongo, but it is a mere trifle, and is mostly defrayed by the Portugueze, in return for which they have the liberty to trade in the kingdom of Loango. — The nation chuses from its own elders, its judges, to whose decrees they readily submit.

very

very narrowly escaped missing the village, as it lies hid among a number of hills ; but a good-natured old woman, who was picking up sticks, conducted me to it, where she presented me with milk, and then took me to the judge. He was an intelligent young man, and began by asking me concerning the design of my journey, then offered me a large tortoise-shell cup of milk with ground peas, and endeavoured to persuade me either to tarry with him or to return back, as it would be impossible for me, without danger of my life, to travel through some of the adjacent wild and cruel nations. — I was deaf to all his remonstrances, and only tried to draw out of him how and in what manner I might best provide for my safety ; making particular inquiries after the quality of the road leading to the city Malemba, which my late conductor had described to me as spacious and well built. The judge, thinking that I should not easily find the way, told me that I must take a messenger, adding, that for thirty zimpos a day one of these messengers would readily go with me ; accordingly I desired him to procure me one. On this he picked out a strong man of a savage aspect from among the bystanders, whom curiosity had brought to gaze at me. I started on his being presented

presented to me, not thinking myself safe under his conduct and protection. The judge perceiving my consternation, told me to take heart, for that I might securely trust myself with this man, as he knew him to be well acquainted with the road, could rely upon his honesty, and that he was intrepid in dangers. — I passed that night with the judge, who had prepared a good lodging for me, and took care to provide plenty of milk, meal, and tortoise-flesh. Previously to my departure in the morning, in order to lighten my burden, I paid the conductor thirty zimpos*.

In this place it may be proper to say something concerning the nation, described to be so savage, I was now visiting. — The tract of country inhabited by them is divided into three parts; and, though mountainous, is yet very fruitful. Their minerals are copper, lead, tin, and a small matter of gold-dust. The soil produces pulse, turkish corn, millet, gourds, the sugar-cane and tobacco. Here is also made a very tolerable palm-wine, and an excellent liquor from the expressed juice of plumbs. The profits arising from cotton are at present but trifling, as from the perpetual wars with the neighbouring nations the culture of it is much

* Three hundred of them are equal in value to a rix-doliar.

diminished and impeded: thus, for instance, in 1780, the fine forest near the city Alimthangoy, or Ango, six miles long, and nearly as broad, which used to produce great quantities of cotton, was entirely burnt. Animals, both wild and tame, are found in great abundance; as elephants, highly prized for their ivory, ranofters, lions, tigers, and wolves, in the skins whereof a great trade is carried on to Malemba, the emporium of commerce in this country, and there sold to the Europeans, particularly the Dutch. Besides these, here are buffalos, oxen, peacocks, ostriches, red and blue striped rock-doves of extraordinary size, pheasants, &c. The hares of this country, which are called mazato, are as large as the West-Indian silk hares, but their fur, as well as the wool of the sheep, which resemble our hounds, is entirely useless. The great lake above the town of the Malemba yields excellent fish, and particularly very large and well-tasted shell-fish. — The three divisions of the country are: 1. The upper part, bordering on the sea, belongs to the Portugueze. 2. The middle region, inhabited by the Malembanese themselves, who dwell in the heart of the country, and on the western side are contiguous to the portugueze compting-houses. 3. The third, or lower part, is the kingdom of Cacongo.

Both

Both these nations, about a hundred and fifty years ago, were under the dominion of a king, but in the sequel some great men of the court of Loango, taking advantage of the sloth and carelessness of that monarch, raised an army for the purpose of erecting kingdoms for themselves; and thus were formed the kingdoms of Malemba and Cacongo, which, however, since that period, have undergone several revolutions.

The two principal nations, which set bounds to the usurpations of the Portugueze, are able to bring into the field, including the auxiliaries furnished them by the neighbouring nations in amity with them, thirty thousand fighting men, whose weapons consist solely of bows and arrows, and who have shewn themselves brave on all occasions. The army consists entirely of infantry. — Their religion, which is paganism, is not burdened with ceremonies, nor degraded by idolatry, as they admit of only one supreme being, whom they adore by supplications, morning and evening daily, in temples meanly constructed. The priests have no influence whatever in the government, neither are they so highly revered as in other heathenish nations. The Portugueze have taken great pains to disseminate christianity in these parts, but without success. From what I could learn it
was

was chiefly the numerous ceremonies, but more especially the dogmas which human reason cannot comprehend, that deterred the heathens, accustomed to a simple worship, from adopting christianity. — Buildings for schools are here not seen, as the children are instructed in a verdant lawn under the open sky. The art of writing has been long known among them, the leaves of the palm serving them instead of paper, and for pens they use the small bones of birds or of fish. — The colour of the inhabitants is properly dark brown rather than reddish, and gives them a wild look. In their persons they are mostly large and stout, having large eyes, long hair, which they ornament with little bones and shells, flat noses and thick pouting lips. All the inhabitants go naked as low as the waist, round which they wear aprons of skins or palm-leaves. Those who live in the vicinity of the portugueze possessions, wear aprons of blue striped linen, which is as thin as our boulding-cloth. The women are only distinguishable by having the hair braided in five or six tresses, which they twist round the head and decorate with shells, bones and particularly with glass beads. They all smear their bodies with grease obtained by broiling the sheep-tails, which continues always in a fluid state. I myself was obliged to comply with
this

this disgusting practice, my skin was so scorched by the sun as to cause me considerable pain. — The houses are built of reeds, wood and clay, occasionally even of rough stone, but are very like the common huts, with a circular roof, in which an aperture is made for letting out the smoke. — Their ordinary food is curdled milk, meal, fish, and the flesh of animals they take by hunting. — Of tame beasts they slay none except on holidays. The people in towns live better than those of the villages. Culinary vessels are known, though little in use, as they are so strongly attached to their old hereditary way of dressing their food. In no other territory of Africa is hospitality carried to so high a degree as here. A traveller that is unacquainted with the country is never allowed to pursue his journey alone, but is always accompanied either to some other village, or to a spot whence he can no longer mistake his way. — The people are in general good-humoured and kind, cheerfully imparting to others of what they have, and absolutely refusing to receive any acknowledgement. Injuries are acutely felt, and jealousy is universally prevalent. If a man have but the slightest surmise that his wife has a private understanding with another, or esteems him in ever so small a degree, she is obliged to attend him every where, that she may have

no opportunity of being faithless to him. — Most of the men are employed in the chase and the fishery, and exercise themselves in arms. Some make earthen wares, others forge arms, and others again weave nets.

I travelled with my guide through the villages Magay, Ahala and Seehang, and spent the night in the town of Kungoha. This is situate in a marshy district, at the foot of a small chain of mountains. I counted here about two hundred and seventy miserable houses, and found stinking water, fetched from the distance of a mile and a half from the town. The generality of the inhabitants are miners, chiefly working in the adjacent mountains. Masavah, king of Cacongo, is lord of the town, where he keeps two judges, who in some sort form the magistracy. I was very well received, though I perceived a necessity for prosecuting my journey the next morning, as I was taken for a white slave, and a desire to detain me was very apparent: however, on sliding a guilder into the hand of the judge, he suffered me to depart.

On the 8th, we crossed mount Mahta, the loftiest in this district, and borders on what are denominated the Moon-mountains. From this place we saw to the left the town Moohog, likewise called Niederbemde; at the bottom of

the mountain we descried several persons. On advancing towards them, we found them forty in number, digging for tin ore. I asked them whether they knew how to smelt it; they replied in the negative, adding that they sold it to the smelt-houses at Malemba. I requested of them a little milk, which they immediately gave me. In return I offered them a guilder, and they gave me in exchange three hundred and sixty zimpos; at which I was much surprized, having always understood that, in this country, coined money was not known. Presently after this, my guide asked me to make him a present of a piece of coin; and I learnt of him, that he had several times before seen such a piece. Towards evening we met a company of men returning from the chace, and proceeding to Vodolaha*, where they lived. They strove to persuade us to go along with them; but to this my guide would by no means consent: telling me, after they had left us, that the place had not a good reputation, and that travellers were not safe there. We halted about six miles short of the village Oglio, where there was said to be a ferry over the river, and made an attempt to kindle a fire; however, as we could not suc-

* Consisting of a few houses on the western side of the river Bambo, where there is a ferry to cross it.

ceed,

feed, and were exceedingly weary, we laid us down on a heap of leaves, and slept undisturbed till morning. We now proceeded to the village, staid there an hour, and then were conveyed over the river, for which I paid the demand of sixty zimpos. Here we picked up a fellow-traveller, namely, a man carrying ore to Malemba for sale. He seemed a person of considerable information, and therefore I greatly lamented, that I could not perfectly understand what he said. On the way from the river to Malemba, a journey of a day and a half, are found a variety of beautiful and well-flavoured fruits, as also fine water. A famous spring, three miles from the town, yielding excellent water, has obtained from the inhabitants the appellation of Bohni hickomi, the golden spring.— On the 11th at noon we reached the town, but could not enter it till a messenger had been sent to the malfukka, a sort of viceroy, to notify our arrival, and to ask whether we might be allowed to come in. In about an hour, an officer came to us with three men, who put nearly the same interrogatories to us as are made at almost all the great towns in Germany. They were much surpris'd at my telling them that I was an oriental, as I wore only the very common garment, and consequently had nothing striking in my dress; the officer there-

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fore

fore turned about, and said to the guard, mani mambuta, a portugueze gentleman. — We were now conducted to a hut in the suburb, and had a guard of four men assigned us. I soon perceived that here also I was taken for a spy, and probably might be harshly treated. The officer went out, but soon came back, and took my guide away with him. This was done, I suppose, in order to make inquiries about me, and to gain intelligence concerning the purport of my journey. At coming back, he told me that he should now return home; accordingly, I paid him the zimpos that were due to him by our agreement, and presented him besides with two guilders, in reward for his faithful services. A guard attended him to the extremity of the suburb. I was left this day quietly to rest in the hut, being furnished with water, plumbs, apples, and a portion of milk with meal. To my inquisitive guards I related such particulars of my travels as they might safely be informed of; and when the officer came in the evening, they reported what I had told them, with numerous additions and distortions to him; who the following morning acquainted the king, he being just arrived, with what he had heard. Curious to see me, the king sent for me; and, being come into his dwelling, he put several questions to me, all
of

of which I was to answer. They were as follow.

“ What dost thou want in the town? Art
“ thou a merchant or a spy? ”—“ I want no-
“ thing, have had the misfortune to be ship-
“ wrecked, and am only desirous to behold
“ the town which I heard so highly extol-
“ led for its grandeur, while yet at the dis-
“ tance of several days journey from hence.”

“ Of what country art thou, and whence
“ comest thou hither? ”—“ I am an Arab, and
“ come from the southern Kaffraria, on the
“ coast whereof our ship went to pieces.”

“ If that be true, thou must have had com-
“ panions; where are they? ”—“ They, except
“ two who accompanied me, but were soon
“ after drowned, were all murdered by the
“ Kaffres.”

“ How far from hence is the place where thy
“ ship foundered? ”—“ About two or three
“ thousand miles.”

“ Didst thou, on board the ship, wear the
“ same clothes thou hast on at present?—
“ No; my clothes were taken from me by the
“ Kaffres?”

“ How far art thou from thy home? ”—
“ That I cannot ascertain.”

“ I will keep thee with me till some ship
“ arrives that may convey thee to thy friends.”

On this, he commanded the officer, to take me back to the guard and to furnish me with clothes. I therefore received, like the people called the body-guard, a blue short cloak reaching down to the hams, a short apron, and a piece of cotton, to wind about my head as a turban. When I was dressed, the officer conducted me again to the king, who was graciously pleased to appoint me to the office of attendant on his pack-buffaloes, in which it was my business to load them with the packs and to unload them. This post I held for three months, till the king set out for his residence.

Malemba was formerly the capital of a petty principality, whose prince was styled Malemba nakakany, prince of the upright. The last of these princes formed an alliance with the Zogoreans*, in the design of making himself king of both nations, and of usurping territories from his neighbours. He was however defeated by the king of Cacongo, taken prisoner and deprived of his dominions. — The whole kingdom of Cacongo, to which Malemba has since been added, is about four hundred and twenty miles in length, and two hundred and forty in breadth, is very fertile, yielding a

* They were tributary to the kings of Angola, and inhabited a tract of country on the eastern side of his territory.

variety of vegetables, minerals, animals and other products, as wild beasts of every species which are caught in great abundance for the sake of their skins; as much salt as is wanted is also here procured, likewise a great quantity of ore, which however is not so well managed as elsewhere. The river Bambo and the lake Samoya yield abundance of fish and shell-fish. The trade of this country is extremely advantageous to the Europeans; as, for the merest trifles, such as shells, bits of iron, beads, coarse cloth, linen, cotton and badly manufactured arms, they frequently get in return the best skins and furs in great quantities. — The king's standing army consists of between ten and twelve thousand men, who can at any time be brought together in the space of twice twenty-four hours. The king himself is a good soldier, leads his warriors into the field in his own person, performing much by artifice and valour, wherefore he is greatly dreaded by his far mightier neighbours, who at first used every effort to deprive him of the sovereignty. His pride is no less conspicuous than his bravery. Whenever he goes abroad, he is usually attended by four of his ministers, who are at the same time officers, and twelve men of his body-guard. When he gives audience, all present must fall on their knees. — Most of the officers are likewise judges in the towns and villages:

but it is their duty to inform the king of matters of any consequence. He has a great attachment to religion, sedulously frequenting, both morning and evening, the house of prayer. The priests must lead a very retired life and punctually fulfil the duties of their station if they would enjoy the favour of the king.— Polygamy is allowed. The boys are a sort of vassals to the king, who devotes them all to the military, and causes them from their infancy to be trained to arms. The education of the daughters is the business of their mothers, but that of the boys is committed to the priests. The king has twenty wives, who are treated in a very slavish manner, being rarely allowed to appear in public. The sons of these wives are generally at a very early period appointed officers. In war time only the officers receive pay and provisions from the king; but the common soldiers must provide for their own subsistence; they therefore generally take their wives with them to procure victuals.—The king has, in his dominions, two towns, eight and thirty villages, and a fort constructed on a lofty mountain. — Malamba is the capital; having seven hundred huts and houses, three strait principal streets, and two cross-streets, of which the kossa, or commercial, street, is the handsomest and the most frequented. In this the market is frequently held, as the portuguese
and

and dutch merchants have in it their compting-houfes and warehoufes; and it is besides the place where moft of the trade is carried on. The kifuhao-ftreet is likewise provided with a market-place; in which various kinds of fruits and particularly cattle are fold. Each of the main ftreets has two gates, having a watch of eighteen or twenty men, to fee that nobody may bring victuals, goods and the like into the town without previously having paid a fort of toll, fimilar to that paid under the name of accife in Germany. The town is furrounded by a wall of rocky fragments, piled up without clay or mortar, and a ditch. The palace where the king refides, when he comes hither, is likewise badly built; is one ftory high, and five hundred feet in circumference. The out-buildings belonging to it are inhabited by foldiers; and in fome of the apartments, within, the king's wives are fhut up. It ftands before the water-gate on the river Malempo towards the lake, and affords a good profpect. I took notice of four cannons, three-pounders, planted near it, which muft have coft the king a great fum. I muft farther remark, that to the market of this town are brought from the whole country round, ivory and raw minerals, which are either fold or bartered for european commodities. The chriftians that trade hither are obliged

obliged to pay a tax of five per cent.—As I was here some time, a dutch merchant-ship arrived, the captain of which, named Rosenmeyer, wanted to treat with my master for thirty elephants-teeth. He offered him a piece of red cloth several ells in length for a turban, three firings of gold beads, two pair of knives with tinued handles, and a woollen scarf, in exchange for them. The king seemed not averse to agree to this barter, but I took the liberty to step forward, and offered the captain ten teeth, telling him, that his goods were mere trifles, for which only one or two teeth ought to be given; yet, that he might get a handsome profit, he should have ten teeth: but as for thirty it was out of all reason. If therefore he wished for the remaining twenty he must offer more and better articles. The captain stared me full in the face, and asked, sneeringly, whether I was the king's tutor. I answered, that I was not; but that I had taken upon me to prevent the teeth from being given away, and to see that they were sold for their real value. At this he was quite enraged, and strove to raise suspicions in the king that I wanted to prevent the bargain by refusing to let him have the proffered goods. The king, looking angrily at me, asked why I would not deliver all the teeth. I took courage, and told him, that the ten teeth
which

which I now offered the captain were alone of far greater value than his goods; and therefore I could not consent that he, my gracious and bountiful master, should be so great a sufferer by the exchange. This answer tranquillized him again; and, after a short pause, he said: "If thou canst make a better bargain than I, do so." Whereupon he turned about and left the room. The captain now began to treat afresh; and I obtained for the thirty teeth, the goods above-mentioned, with two hatchets, six pair of shears, a looking-glass and twenty guilders. The money I kept, but the goods I delivered to the king, who testified an uncommon satisfaction at my conduct, and took me so much into favour that he absolved me from my ordinary work, and appointed me his servant to attend his person, presented me with other clothes, and even gave me his cast-off cloak, which however was not worth above a few pence.—Henceforward my duty required me to be about him continually and to attend him every where, which I was very glad of, as now I should have more leisure hours. Once I attended him to the chace, and had the good fortune to bring down a he-goat with a javelin, at which he was so delighted, that he gave me the liberty ever afterwards to go to the hunt whenever I would.—But the evanga, who
pre-

pretended outwardly to have a great affection for me, was at heart my bitter enemy, and made it his study to deprive me of the king's favour. He had soon a convenient opportunity for putting his design in execution. One day the king ordered me to go into the garden to gather some plumbs, and to take them into the building where his wives were kept. On my asking him to whom I should deliver them, he said, to an old woman whom you will not fail to find there. I fetched the plumbs, and hastened to the seraglio, but saw nothing of the old woman. I called, but nobody answered. At length I bawled with all my might; and immediately the evanga, whose room was hard by, came running towards me. He forbid me to call any more lest the women should be disturbed and affrighted. I pleaded the commission I had received from the king; he nevertheless enjoined me silence, even bade me begone, and offered to deliver the plumbs, without letting the king know any thing of the matter. I refused, and was beginning to advance, when he said: "If thou dare to go to
" the wives of thy lord, to-morrow thou wilt
" pay for it with thy life." I was well aware that all access to the apartments of the women was severely forbid, but knowing that I had the king's own orders for it, I made myself easy and
was

was careless of consequences. The evanga renewed his persuasions, and even begged me to go with him to his dwelling. I followed him, and he treated me with embetta, or palm-wine; with which I became so intoxicated, that, leaving the plumbs behind, I staggered home, and laid myself down. — This was exactly as the evanga would have had it; he took the plumbs, ran to the king, and represented to him that I must be mad, for I had been making such a terrible noise, that the women were thrown into the greatest alarm, and that the sentinels had, with great difficulty, and at the imminent risk of their lives, prevented me from bursting in among the women. — The sentinels were not present when I would have gone into the apartments of the women; they were therefore, in order to avoid a severe punishment for having been off guard without leave, obliged to bear witness against me by order of the evanga. — The king immediately commanded that I should be arrested and tried. I was waked by two soldiers who carried me away to be examined. Being not yet recovered from the fumes of the liquor, I said things which I should not have done, had I been sober. Hereupon I was manacled and thrown into a miserable hut without the palace, which was bolted upon me and made faster with thongs. Here I lay, tor-

mented by hunger and thirst, till the following day at noon. At length four soldiers appeared, who made signs for me to follow them. I obeyed, and was brought before the king, who looked angrily at me. I recollected very little either of what had happened, or of what I had said at the former examination; and therefore could only give confused answers to the questions now put to me, and often replied as in cross purposes to the charges alleged by the evanga. The king, however, seemed not to be satisfied with the depositions; for though he gave orders to convey me back to the hut, he previously directed that milk and meal should be given me. — After passing some hours in the hut, lost in deep reflections on my present condition, I called to the guard to open the door and undo my shackles; but I was rebuked with severe threats, and ordered to keep quiet. On the succeeding morning I was again brought out and closely interrogated. I saw no other alternative than to apologize for my drunkenness, and intreat forgiveness: but it was of no avail; for as soon as the examination was over, two soldiers were ordered to give me twenty lashes with a scourge of platted thongs, which put me to great pain. This done, I was carried back to the hut, with nothing to mitigate my sufferings, except half a can of water, and a
handful

handful of whole millet. Thus then a great revolution in my circumstances was brought on within the space of a few days, as I was now treated like a slave, being obliged to cleave wood, carry it into the apartments, and perform many other low and laborious offices. The food allowed me was extremely bad, and so scanty that I could never half satisfy my appetite. I was an object of derision to all that saw me, and my overseers were so obdurate and austere that I many times longed for death. The evanga alone seemed to have any compassion on me; whether or not he was sincere, will be seen hereafter. — But, no storm lasts for ever: calm and sun-shine will succeed. — I had now borne this galling yoke of bondage six or seven weeks, discovering no ray of hope on any side, and only perceiving a vast gulf of misery before me, when suddenly the overseer of the slaves received an order from the king to go with a sufficient number of his people to the Emko-mountains* to fetch elephants' teeth. — The next day, being the 6th of October, sixteen of the slaves set out, of whom I was one, with twenty soldiers as an

* They divide, eastward, this country from the territory of Yago or Yomhago, and consist of a chain six days journey in length, running from east to west, overgrown with fruit and palm-trees.

escort.

escort. Our first business was to catch shell-fish in the lake Somoia, lying about a day and a half's journey from the town. This employment is extremely dangerous or even fatal, as the mussels frequently burrow many feet deep in the mud, and must there be sought out; in doing which it often happens that the large tortoises bite a piece of flesh out of the foot of the man that is hunting for them. This misfortune I happily escaped; but another it was impossible for me to avoid. Being allotted thirty of these mussels* as my burden, which I was to carry to the town, I presently perceived that I should not be able to proceed far with them. When our train had gone forwards three miles, I could no longer keep up with it, but crept slowly on behind. The soldiers therefore struck me so hard and so often with their scourges of platted leather, that at length I fell to the ground, and the blood gushed out at my mouth. — Even in this con-

* These mussels are round, and when at their full growth of the bigness of a dinner-plate. They are of a green colour, and contain pearls, which, however, are of no value. Only the shells are prized, being used as ornaments, as plates, &c. They are polished with stones, so as to have a handsome appearance. The flesh within looks white, but is extremely tough, and therefore must be beaten with a heavy piece of wood before it can be eaten with any relish. These mussels are called at the Cape, klipp-koschen.

dition

dition I was not spared, but every means were tried to force me to get up, and proceed with my load : that, however, was impossible. Some of my brethren in affliction, observing this took pity on me, and shared my burden among them. I exerted myself to follow the train ; and, at last, with great difficulty, arrived at the town. — The overseer sent notice to the king of the successful capture, and circumstantially informed him, that three of the men had been in danger of losing their feet ; also that the new slave, meaning me, being unable to proceed with his burden, had sunk under it. But of the stripes I had undergone, he mentioned not a word. — The king, hearing about me, commanded me to be brought to him ; but, as my whole body was smeared with blood, which must be washed before I could be presented to him, he was told that I was fallen ill afresh, and was not in a condition to appear in his presence. At break of day the evanga came to me and inquired after my health. I gave him four guilders and begged him to do his utmost to obtain my liberty of the king. He went away, and shortly after sent one of the king's servants, to convey me with him. On my appearing before the king, the following dialogue arose :

King.] “What dost thou want?”—I] “Nothing but my liberty; and that I beseech thee to grant.”

King.] “As thou art not sick, why camest thou not yesterday evening to me, when I sent for thee?”—“Of that order I know nothing.”

King.] “I was informed that thou didst spit blood, and therefore couldst not come to me?”—“That is true: thy inhuman people treated me on the road worse than a beast, as thou shalt presently see.”—Saying this, I threw off my cloak, and shewed him the numerous scars and wounds on my body.

King.] “Thou didst something, probably, to deserve that correction?”—“Hear me, and then judge whether I deserved it. I had to carry a burden of thirty mussels; whereas the others were loaded with no more than twelve or fifteen.”

King.] “This is the punishment for not being dutiful while in my service as a free servant.”—“I never intentionally transgressed thy commands: it was the evangelist himself that tempted me to transgress.”

King.] “It was he who acquainted me with thy disobedience, and gave me an account of thy insolence.”—“I was not insolent: I
wanted

“ wanted only to execute thy orders with
“ punctuality, when the evanga prevented
“ me.”

I then related to him the whole transaction, and once more intreated him to grant me my freedom; at the same time representing to him that he had no right to make me his slave, as I was a foreigner, intending only to travel through his country, and never required the favours of hospitality, but was ever ready to pay for what I had. I even offered to pay him for what he had done for me while I was his servant. — The officers that stood by stared at me with amazement, as if they thought some disaster would befall me for my free speaking; and the evanga seemed particularly to feel himself hurt. He told the king that I was a liar, as there was little truth in what I had said; and suggested that it would be better to barter me as a slave into another country. This was assented to: but I was previously to make the journey of fetching elephants' teeth. — On the following day the journey began: however, on setting out, I received twelve lashes more at the infliction, as I afterwards learnt, of the evanga; and the overseer was ordered to watch me narrowly.

On the 12th of October we departed from Malemba, and arrived the third day at the

place where we were to pitch our tents. It was on the brink of a narrow river, probably an arm of the river Bambo, and between the mountains rather to the north-east. On the first, second and third days we got not one tooth, the camp was therefore on the fourth day removed more to the east in a thicket. On the fifth day we found three teeth, but were in imminent danger of our lives, as the elephants themselves had not yet quitted that part of the country. We therefore on the 19th proceeded under the mountains, and encamped opposite to the village Mahat*. — About noon our commander divided us into small companies for more conveniently traversing the wood. I and another slave, with three foldiers, came on the right to the frontiers. In the evening we found a tooth, weighing about sixty pounds; with this we turned back, and it was not till midnight that we regained the camp. The morrow was a day of rest. But on the 22d we went out in small parties as before. I and my former companions reached the posts we were then at. When we had travelled farther for some hours, we turned to the north-east; but found nothing, though we continued search-

* Consisting of twenty huts, and is the last village on the eastern borders of the country.

ing till evening set in. Being resolved this very night to return to the camp, we first sat down under some bushes, and ate a few handfulls of millet. Here the soldiers began to consider, that, as they were much fatigued, and the camp was eight or nine miles off, it would be better to pass the night where we were, which was accordingly resolved on. We then got some wood together in the design of kindling a fire; but just as I was going to light it, one of our party, who had been on the look-out, came running to us, and said that he had seen a fire not far off, that therefore it would be better for us not to kindle any fire, for fear of being discovered; since it was highly probable that some Yaganese* were encamped round this fire, on the frontiers of whose country we actually were, and who might perhaps be come hither for the same purpose with ourselves, in quest of elephants' teeth. I therefore got together a heap of sedge, laid myself upon it, and pretended to be asleep. For about half an hour I heard my companions conversing on the subject of the fire they had seen, and then they

* Whether these be the Yaggos, which in some geographical books are placed in the kingdom of Monœmugi, I cannot determine. Thus much, however, I may affirm, that the king of Monœmugi has no Yaggos for his subjects.

also lay down. After having rested about two hours I rose up and retired thirty paces from the place, as if for the purpose of relieving nature. Staying some time, and finding that no one was looking round, I had reason to conclude that my companions were asleep; I therefore took to my heels, with all the speed I could exert, to the place where the fire was burning. It was daylight when I reached the heights on which it was made, but could not see a person. The embers were still glowing, and about them I could discern the marks of footsteps. I followed the track of them, went about six miles through a wood, and at length perceived three men, armed with javelins and hunting-spears. I stopped short, and called out to them: *Mara, mah yakoho* (Friends, where am I?). They immediately ran to me and asked, whence I came, and whither I was going? I now related to them briefly the reason of my journey, and dwelt circumstantially on the wretchedness and misery I had for some time past been forced to undergo. They inquired of me where they were who were searching for teeth, how many in number, and with what arms they were provided. When I had informed them accurately of all they wanted to know, they conducted me a good hour's journey into the forest, to their village, which stands in the midst
of

of it, and consists of fourscore huts. Here I was obliged again to relate to the maita, or chieftain, all that I had already told. He thought it an injury and insult on the consequence of his nation, for another people to come and hunt, and to look for teeth on their confines; accordingly he ordered out all the men able to bear arms, with orders to go and attack them. They came, however, too late; for, on my being missed, those I left immediately concluded that I should betray their halting-place.

CHAP. II.

History and description of the Yaganese; their manners, customs, national character and way of life. — Account of the fighting-buffalos, and the water-bags made of the entrails of the elephant. — Farther journey over the Akasi-mountains, through the town Groh, to the frontier-town Vabhala, in the territory of Mugari, or Minto. — Description of it and its inhabitants. — Journey through thick forests and mountains, above the village Sorabm. — Plan of commerce. — History and description of the kingdom of Maffi — Mankam, the capital of it. — The little hamlet Mubstala — The inhabitants live by plunder. — Farther journey, by the villages Damch, Bathym, and Hata, to the Matharians — Description of that nation. — The kingdom of Yukodego, or Monæmugi; situation, boundaries, history, and description of it. — The two different primitive races of the inhabitants — Form of government, religion, manners, and usages of them. — Farther journey, by Awakana — The lake, and the town of Zambre — Description of that town and the royal palace. — Character of the king — Uniform of the officers — The author repairs a clock for the king; obtains his favour, and travels with him to the lake Zambre. — Maps corrected. — Departure from Zambre. — The author goes across the Amabo-mountains through Serra, Mohar, and Yelleh; proceeds by Etaham, Muss, Kimogu, Mofatu, and Gabany; crosses the frontier-mountains by Paatam and Kologom, the last village in that kingdom.

THE Yaganese, a small and poor nation, for the most part dwell in forests, living on tree-fruits and roots. The chase is not very productive to them; as the tigers are in such abundance

dance

dance as to let no other animal become numerous. Only elephants and tigers are met with in any quantity; in exchange for the teeth of the former the people get javelins and hunting-spears. — The tract of country inhabited by this nation, is properly a part of Malemba; but they made themselves independent, and possess eight villages, which lie so, that the inhabitants of them may in one day assemble together on the same spot. — Every village has a chieftain, chosen from among the valliantest. Concerning the origin of this nation I was not able to learn any thing; to me it seems not unlikely that they are descended from that of Kongo. The number of fighting-men, according to their account, is about a thousand, and they boast much of the bravery of their people. The king of Cacongo, who is styled protector and sovereign of the Yaganese, can only rely upon the aid and assistance of this nation so long as he esteems and honours them; they never receive any arbitrary commands from him. Notwithstanding that he has far more warriors in his own country, yet he could do this small nation but little harm, were he never so much inclined to injure them, as they dwell on mountains, in forests, and other hiding-places. They are accused of being much addicted to robbery, and even of feeding on human flesh. I never
per-

ceived the smallest indications of this; though they told me several times that the neighbouring Monomotapans never failed to steal whenever they had an opportunity, and even devoured the flesh of their captives. The people here likewise are hospitable, presenting strangers with the best of what their country affords. Travellers who confidently put themselves under their protection, are sure that no injury will be done them. — They have neither king nor priests, living in perfect simplicity of manners, and in conformity with the dictates of nature. If one district be deficient in water, they go northwards, particularly to a branch of the river Bambo, which has water the whole year through. The children grow up without any tuition, and their formation is left entirely to themselves. The employment of the men, hunting excepted, is altogether insignificant. The women bring home wood, feed the fire, and go out to gather fruits. No mats or aprons are here made; the people sleep on rushes, and go quite naked. Most of them lie in a state of total inaction on their sedge-couch frequently all day and all night; and I may safely affirm that here are found the laziest people in all Africa. — I saw no religious rites among them, nor could I learn that they ever observed any. — The chieftain invited me to
stay

stay as long with him as I pleased, saying: “ Stay here, stay, stranger; while thou art here “ it will go well with us, and thou shalt not “ starve.” Of the latter I was not quite certain; for on hot days these folks ate little or nothing, but continued lying idly on the straw; I was obliged therefore to go and look out for fruits and roots for my own sustenance: and to avoid becoming as lazy as they were, I made acquaintance with a girl who carved figures on bleached bones. She buried the bones in moist sand, then taking them out, she laid them to heat in the sun, which, with the moisture, exhaled all their impurities; which done, she, with stones, carved on them various kinds of figures. She was so ready and ingenious at this, that there are perhaps numbers of tolerable artists who would find it difficult to imitate her work.—Concubinage is here denied to none, it being accounted a natural want which no one ought to resist. — I tarried till the end of the year with this good-natured people, even went out with them sometimes against their enemies, and assisted in carrying off a couple of war-buffalos*. They were afterwards slaughtered,

* I ought to have described them before. They are trained up from their infancy to this purpose; first, by splitting their horns into several parts, and gradually bending them
them

tered, and eaten at the feast in celebration of the victory. On testifying my design of leaving them to prosecute my journey, most of the inhabitants of the village exhibited evident signs of sorrow, and when I asked them to shew me the direct road to the kingdom of Massi, numbers of them offered to conduct me to the borders. They gave me a quantity of dried roots and a water-pouch † for my journey.

them forwards distinctly, which gives the animal a formidable appearance. Then they are so tamed and taught, that, on being goaded with a sharp pointed stick, by a man either sitting on their back or coming behind them, they run forwards with all speed. In battle they are thus pushed on amidst the enemy, where they do much mischief, by overthrowing or maiming whatever they meet, with the numerous ends of their horns. It is common to hang a doubly-folded piece of the hide of an elephant before the head and the breast, to prevent the javelins from wounding them so much, and likewise that they may not be terrified at seeing the host of enemies that rush upon them.

† These pouches are made of the entrails and bowels of the elephant, rubbed out with ashes and dried in the air. They serve for carrying water, particularly in travelling. When filled with water, they are tied round the body, and when the traveller is in want of fresh water, he suspends them in the air between two pieces of wood or two trees, that the water may be cooled. These sacks or pouches are of infinite use to travellers in these parts, as by their means they have always a refreshing draught at hand.

On the 2d of December 1786, I set out on my journey with two attendants, and soon reached the village Tamo, of about sixty huts, where we breakfasted, and then ascended the mountain Akasi. At noon we came to the place called Groh, which might be termed a town, as it has towards three hundred mostly well-built houses; it stands in a fine fertile plain. I stopped here for the sake of passing a few more agreeable hours with my companions, who now signified their intention to return. The maita gave us good quarters, and for our entertainment set before us all the eatables he could bring together in his hut. — The next morning, when my fellow-travellers were gone, I pursued my way through a forest of three hours journey in length, which was thicker than any I had ever yet seen. I was often obliged, for a hundred paces and more, to creep under the strong entangled shrubs, working my way with my belly flat on the earth. After five hours I reached the frontier-village Vahhala, on the little river flowing from east to west, forcing its way through a long chain of mountains, and then is said to fall into the lake Solmoya, which I have already mentioned. The village is composed of sixty or seventy huts, is situate in a wood on an eminence, and has the finest fruit-trees, particularly the plumb-tree, and
1 some

some tamarind-trees, growing round it. Of the latter the inhabitants are not acquainted with the uses. — In the captain of this village I met with a morose, and as he appeared to me, an avaricious host; he presented me with water, a few plumbs, and ordered a bundle of rushes to be strewed before the door for me to lie on. Unfortunately for me there came on in the night a violent storm of thunder and lightning, accompanied by a heavy shower of rain. My landlord was so frightened that he knew not what to do; and it was not till I was drenched through that he let me into the hut. As soon as day-light appeared I rose up and journied towards the east, through the forest, till I came to the fore-mentioned chain of mountains bordering on the territory of Mugar, which in the country itself is called Minto*. It is small, and has but few, and they very ill-mannered, inhabitants, who either concern themselves not at all about any travellers unacquainted with their language, or even treat them ill, as they have the stupid conceit that every person speaking a language different from theirs, is abusing them. They are small of

* Most geographers have placed this nation much too far northwards. If they ramble about from place to place as nomads, yet their course certainly does not amount to three hundred german miles.

stature and ill-favoured, and by their neighbours, that is, the last-mentioned nation, and the Massianers, are despised and rudely treated. Little as they are, however, they are more expert in hunting the elephant than many of the neighbouring nations, and procure their subsistence from the hides and teeth of those animals. — The number of all the inhabitants together amounts not to more than three thousand persons. Most of them dwell in caves of the mountains, which are so thickly covered with bushes at top that a traveller may pass them ten times without perceiving any habitations there. Strangers who understand their language, and can converse with them, are well received and find friendly entertainment. Though they eat no other flesh than that of elephants, yet they have the art of preparing it in various ways, by employing different herbs, to render it properly relishing. Thus, for instance, they cut it in thin slices and lay it in pickle, then add to it salt and herbs, let it lie for some days, and then hang it up in the air for some few days more, when they lay it on the coals and let it broil slowly; and I can affirm that it tastes better than our pickled wild-hoar's bacon. — They possess only one part of the mountains, the Massianers having the other. Their language differs from that of the two

neighbouring nations; and indeed so much, that people of the two nations do not understand them, though they understand each other extremely well. They have a pug's head, flat nose, large eyes, projecting lips, and pointed teeth, which they sharpen like spears with stones. Their complexion is more tawney than black, and they have the custom of branding their forehead and cheeks with figures by means of stones. They go entirely naked, are extremely indolent, and of course lascivious. The whole of their territory may be traversed over in half a day.

On the 5th, 6th, and 7th, I met with bad roads, through forests and over mountains, saw neither villages nor people, and suffered terribly from thirst. Nature supplied me with food, as in these parts the carob-tree grows in great abundance. Here is also plenty of game, particularly the shamois-goat and hogs. The latter were exceedingly troublesome to me, and I could no otherwise avoid their injuries than by climbing speedily up the trees. I found a wild-boar's tusk, eight inches long and three in diameter, and which any one would have taken for the finest ivory. In the evening of the 7th I reached the village Sovohm, badly built, and consisting of thirty huts, constructed in a row from north to east, between a small chain of
moun-

mountains. The inhabitants seemed a very curious race; for they collected about me on my arrival, and walking round surveyed me on all sides; some felt my mouth, others touched my head, and thus I stood subject to their examinations like some monstrous animal. I understood not a word of their language, though several of them comprehended mine. Probably none of these people had ever seen a white man, which might very easily be, as the numerous mountains, and almost impassable forests, render their country so difficult of access. I think it would be well worth while for some persons in trade to form themselves into a company for the purpose of visiting this nation; as in all probability vast treasures lie concealed in these mountainous districts. No resistance is to be apprehended from the natives, as the people are by no means strong, and they prove very ductile with gentle treatment. Skins and ivory would be found good articles of export; and such commodities might be easily transported in light craft along the river Zambeze in six days to the former portuguese fort of St. Martial, and take back other goods in exchange.

The present king Mamkahan was elected in the year 1783. King Masli, from whom the country has its name, has been dead five hundred years, and since him fourteen kings have reigned.

reigned. The king is just as poor as the rest of the inhabitants, having no other pre-eminence than what arises from his right, in quality of chief, of making war and concluding peace, and of heading his subjects in the field. — They have neither priests nor subordinate authorities. Throughout the whole country, which is six day's journey in length and four in breadth, not a single town is to be met with; but, with several villages, two hamlets. One is called Mamkam, containing four hundred mean huts, and is the capital; the other, called Muhotahu, is smaller. — At Mamkam, standing at the distance of two day's journey from the lake Yamre, a market or fair is kept every new moon, frequented by numbers of people from all parts of the country; some for the sake of traffic, others for obtaining audience of the king; for it is never granted except on those days, and then only in the open market. — Muhotahu is situate at the north side of the country, on an arm of the river Zambece. The villages here too are vilely built, and the huts are only covered with rushes. — In war this nation is not able to perform so much as several others; having no iron weapons, using only wooden battle-axes, and javelins tipped with pieces of bone. Here I again found sheep, which are very much prized; and to prevent their being
attacked

attacked by the tigers, they are taken home of nights into the huts. — These people go out on predatory expeditions; but only on the north side, against the Melekgohs and the Vahyhoy, dwelling on the frontiers. They live in good correspondence with their neighbours to the east, the Malhihas and the Halogros, who subsist likewise by piratical excursions. Concerning their manners, customs, &c. I shall speak when I come to mention the next nation, with whom they have many things in common.

On my arrival in Sovohm I was taken to the judge, who was a very old man, as it is the practice here to elevate the eldest of their body to that station. When the curiosity which had prompted them to gaze at and handle me had subsided, I was entertained in the hut of the judge with meal and water, and then shewn to a corner where a bundle of straw was thrown for my bed. As I had slept but little for three days, I directly threw myself down and fell asleep, and never once waked till the sun was already pretty high. I immediately felt a violent itching all over my body, and examining into the cause, I discovered my skin to be full of red spots. On this I began to look narrowly into my couch, and found it lay on a

nest of sand-lice*. I shewed my blotches to the old man, who burst into a fit of laughter, gave me a tortoise-shell of grease, and bid me anoint my skin with it. As I was preparing to do so, the piece of buffalo's-gut, wherein I kept my property and the above-mentioned gold-dust, and which I had tied round my body under the arms, fell to the ground and burst. I gave a loud scream, and picked it up as quick as possible, though not so quick as to escape the observation of the old man. He who was so old and feeble but a moment before, at once sprang forward with all the agility of a youth, and attempted to seize it. But, by turning about in various directions, I kept him off, then sprang through the door with my treasure, and hastily hid it in a heap of straw; at the same time, taking the precaution to hold a few of the mussel-shells in my hand, I made as if they were what I had let fall on the ground. He seized my hand, and snatched them from me; and I willingly relinquished them, though with pretended reluctance, as the means of avoiding suspicion ^{that} ^{had} any
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* These Lice look white, and are somewhat larger than a common ant. They lay their eggs on the sand, which in four and twenty hours are hatched by the sun. To keep them from the human body, they anoint themselves with grease broiled from the feet of the elephant.

thing of greater value about me. All this day I stirred not out of the hut, to prevent my being exposed as a public shew to the crowd of people that flocked about me. The old man, perceiving that I was not recovered from my fatigue, and that I suffered much bodily pain, kept off the people from pressing to gratify their curiosity; and, on my drawing out twenty shells, pretending as though that was the whole of my stock, he attended on me as well as he was able, and brought a pan of milk and two handfulls of meal, on which I feasted heartily. Eying me once with great attention, it occurred to my mind that he was examining into the worth of what I had, on which I took out a guilder and gave it him. Overjoyed at the sight of it, he ran out of the hut, and shewed it to the neighbours. At this I was greatly alarmed, and went after him; but could not get an opportunity for speaking to him aside. On his return, I represented to him, that, by this behaviour, he might expose me to great mischief; but he only laughed, and strove to rid me of all suspicion. — As I thought, so it happened. As I lay the following night, sleeping on my straw-couch, I was suddenly attacked, and the first thing I lost was my cloak. I wanted to cry out, but could not, as the thief was kneeling on my breast. I should probably

have been suffocated, had not the old man, who was awakened by my groans, set up a loud shriek, which frightened away the robber. In the mean time I lay half dead, and the old man stood trembling by me. On his calling out, several persons came running in to enquire what was the matter. The old man told all he knew, and bade them look about to find the place at which the thief had entered; when a hole was presently discovered in the back part of the hut, through which it was evident that he must have forced his way. A guard was now stationed at the hut, consisting of four men; and, at day-break, a strict inquiry was set on foot for detecting the thief. I never could learn whether or not he was traced out, and if he were, it is likely that he and his accomplices would have petitioned the old man not to bring them to punishment. I was so glad that I had escaped with my life and my money, that, though still in a sick and weak condition, I set out on my departure about noon. The old man accompanied me for the first five miles, and then took leave of me with many good wishes. I eagerly pursued my way with palpitating heart and rapid steps, in hopes of avoiding further injuries, when coming to a hill, I halted at the top of it, in order to look round and see whether I was pursued, but saw nobody

nobody coming after me. From the anxiety I was in, I had entirely forgot to take either victuals or water with me, and here I could find neither fruits nor springs. I was dreadfully tormented with thirst, and was unable to quench it. At length I put a few pebbles in my mouth, and travelled on, holding out till evening, when I came to a delightful plain, but neither fruits nor water could I find. Overpowered with fatigue, I laid me down, expecting death, which appeared inevitable. These ideas prevented me from sleeping, haunting my mind with peculiar horrors; I therefore sprang up and ran forwards: when, having scarcely advanced a few hundred paces, I luckily spied some rushes. Pulling up some of them with the greatest eagerness, I chewed the lower ends of them, and found it an excellent refreshment, bitter as they were to the taste. Drowsiness now completely got the better of me; I sank upon the earth, and slept undisturbed till morning. I then rose and pursued my way across the little desert, and arrived about noon at the village Kamoho. Here perceiving no persons withoutside the huts, the heat being insupportable, I entered the foremost hut, calling out and signifying that I wanted to drink. Nobody answered, or made any signs of giving me any thing, seeming quite dismayed at my

appearance. Again I drew the mat from the door, and cried in several languages, "Give me water, give me water!" At last a young man came to me, addressed me very respectfully, but in a language with which I was utterly unacquainted, and invited me by signs to draw nearer. On my intimating once more that I wanted to drink, he perfectly understood me, called out in some unknown words, and in a few minutes I received water and meal. The neighbours hearing him call, had put their heads out of the huts, and, perceiving me, were now flocking together. The bystanders behaved very compassionately towards me; some bringing milk, others meal, and others fruits and roots. One of them took me into his hut; but I could not remain in it for the stench: therefore, lying down behind it, I rested for some time, and then set out again north-eastward, on purpose to avoid the king's place of residence. Previous to my departure, I requested a water-pouch, and obtained one with fresh water. — Had I not been so much enervated, I might have got to Ahnigo in six hours; but I was obliged to pass the night, in terror and anxiety, up in a tree, because the whole district swarmed with wolves, tigers, lions, and buffalos. On the 11th I proceeded through woods and over steep mountains, and came in
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some hours to a charming plain, where, to my great joy, I found a spring, bubbling up from beneath the sand. Here I devoted an hour to rest and refreshment. But when I had asswaged my thirst, the cravings of my stomach were so great, that I at length grew faint; and, on endeavouring to advance, I fell down on the sand. On being somewhat recovered, as I went along I looked diligently about for the traces of human feet, but could perceive none: I therefore sorrowfully proceeded northwards, where I saw before me a ridge of hills. On coming up to them, I searched every where for fruits, but found none; and even the roots of the shrubs and plants there were not eatable. At length I found a large tortoise; which, having no means of kindling a fire, I threw across my back, and bore away with me. Having journied on about an hour, I thought I would kill him, and being so violently tormented with hunger, devour the flesh raw; but no sooner had I set about it, than happening to look behind me, I descried a troop of elephants. Hunger and thirst now left me at once, and I took to flight with all possible speed. Towards evening I perceived the track of a human being, which, as it was pretty dark, I found great difficulty in following. At length I reached some huts; but discerning no inhabi-

inhabitant, I sat down upon the sand, in expectation of seeing somebody pass. At last an old woman appeared, who first stared with surprise; and then loudly expressing some words, about a score of people, young and old, came running up to gaze at me. I asked them for food, but they could not understand me; on which I gave them to understand by signs what it was that I wanted. I now saw that they had discovered my meaning; for meat and water were presently brought me: the former had indeed a very bad smell, however the calls of hunger were so importunate, that I ate it up. After this, I laid my tortoise on the fire near the hut, where the inhabitants were cooking their supper, feasted on it, and then stretched myself on a wolf's skin which was spread for me. In the morning I ate up the remainder of my tortoise, and proceeded on my journey, after having procured a water-pouch from these good-natured people.—At noon I reached Muhotahn; it is a hamlet of about a hundred and sixty ill-constructed huts on a little mountain range, along an arm of the river Zambeze, in a fruitful district. The huts were built in three rows, in the middle whereof stood a sort of temple. Three old men are appointed here as chieftains (galygo); they do not however receive strangers, but provide a lodging for them,

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with some kind and obliging host. A young married couple took me into their hut, and treated me with much civility. I lamented exceedingly that I could not answer the numerous questions put to me by these people.

On the 13th I prosecuted my journey towards the east, in order to avoid the Melekgohs and Vahyhoys, who had been represented to me as very cruel nations. At noon I reached the village Dæmoh, where I rested several hours in an excellent lodging, and then went on to Bathym, over an exceedingly fine and fertile district along a shady road, where I never once descried a beast of prey. At this place I took up my lodging for the night, but could not sleep a wink, as I had no confidence in the people. On the 14th and 15th I found my way uncommonly bad over rocky mountains, meeting with only the miserable village Hata. In the evening of the 15th I came to a plain which forms the frontier. Here I saw a couple of Mathihaners who were gathering wood, and, on seeing me, took to flight. I hurried after them, and, in half an hour, reached their village, consisting of some sixty huts, built close together in a circle, inclosing a small pond, into which the inhabitants have conducted the water of a brackish mountain-spring. To prevent the water from being exposed to
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the sun, they have erected over it a roof thatched with rushes.

The Mathihancers may perhaps be estimated at about eight thousand souls, possessing a tract of land, of two and a half day's journey in length, which is still reckoned as an appanage to the kingdom of Massi. They maintain themselves by rapine, and not unfrequently undertake predatory expeditions quite to the coast. They are low of stature, but stout made; have large eyes, thick aquiline noses, and pouting lips. Their complexion is of a deep copper-colour, letting their long hair flow loose, and go quite naked. There is but one chieftain over the whole nation, who is called Kilhotonca; he decides all controversies, and at the same time executes the office of priest. — The people here are active and laborious. A fourth part of their number goes out on plundering excursions, another part in quest of game, and the two remaining parts follow domestic occupations. Perceiving very fine cattle in their possession, on enquiry I learnt that they were taken as spoils from other nations. Travellers are not attacked and robbed; on the contrary, the people shew kindness and hospitality towards them. Their language has great affinity with that spoken on the coast of Kongo. On my coming up to the village, numbers of the inhabitants

stants came out against me armed with clubs, crying loudly to me. I stood still, and let them approach, when I told them in the Kōngese tongue, that though a stranger, I was their friend, and requested a night's lodging. On this, an old man advanced close to me; and, surveying me with fixed attention, at length replied: "If thou be a christian, come along with us." I followed, without answering, and was conducted to his hut, where he bade me sit down by him on a bundle of rushes, and relate to him the circumstances of my journey. He listened with attention, and ordered me some meal and water. The bystanders, struck with amazement at seeing that I had consumed all the provision, said to one another: "He must have been long without eating!" but made no motion to go and fetch me any more. The old man asked me whether I had brought him any present. I promised to talk with him on that subject the next morning, giving him to understand that at present I was in want of sleep. He immediately ordered one of the persons present to take me to his hut, where he threw me to a place in which I might sleep securely. — Finding myself quite alone in the morning, I took a guilder out of my purse made of a gut, and presented it to the old man as he entered. He expressed his grati-

gratitude for it by seizing both my hands and shaking them heartily. At my departure he gave me another handful of meal, and pointed me out the way I should take. I directed my progress eastwards, climbed up a lofty mountain, and came to a village at the back of it composed of about forty huts, where I got a supply of a few handfuls of meal, and then pursued my journey. Though I saw villages both to the right and left, yet, as it was still broad day, and I had water and meal with me, I declined going near them. But I soon had occasion to repent of this neglect, as it began to grow dark, and I could no longer descry any huts; I was therefore obliged to lie down in the open air, full of anxiety from the danger to which I was exposed from the fury of wild beasts. Towards morning, the moon shining very bright, I rose before day, and at sun-rise came to sixteen huts, to which I advanced within twenty paces. Still I perceived nobody about them; and therefore sat down, to wait till some of the inhabitants should appear: but I fell asleep. On waking I found myself in a hut, and covered with two sheep-skins. On this, being greatly alarmed, I immediately felt for my money, which was happily still under my arm untouched; I then cast my eyes round the hut, but saw no human creature, nor any thing remarkable.

Accord-

Accordingly I composed myself again to rest, and slept till towards evening. When I awaked, I perceived at a little distance from me a young woman sitting. I directly got up, and begged her to give me a little water, which she handed to me immediately; I then requested of her something to eat, and received an assurance that in a very short time, when her father came home from hunting, my wants should be supplied. In the mean time I asked her how I came into the hut; the girl said that her father and her brother had brought me in, that I might not fall a prey to the tigers*, who frequently come close up to the huts. Presently in came the father and the brother, who gave me a cordial welcome, and set before me meat, milk and meal. It being now near evening, I placed myself before the huts among the inquisitive inhabitants of the village, by whom, when I had ended my various narratives, I was presented with milk, meat and meal, which I carefully laid up in the hut.

* It is a singular circumstance that the tiger seldom attacks an European, unless previously set on; though the Africans commonly fall a prey to them. Of this I have seen various instances. The most probable reason of it is, that the Africans smear their bodies with grease, which, by emitting a certain odour, attracts the tiger.

On the 21st I set forward, with a supply of provisions for two days, and came at noon to an arm of the river Zambece, where were a few huts. I made no long stay at this place, but crossed the borders into the kingdom of Yukodego, called in the maps Monœmugi, and in the space of an hour, reached the village Avikana. The kingdom of Yukodego* [Monœmugi] is, from south to north, seventeen, and from west to east thirteen day's journey over, forming an oblong quadrangle, bordering eastwards on Abyssinia, southwards on the kingdom of Monomotapa, westwards on the kingdom of Maffi, and northwards on the dominions of king Moyaphar [Mangas]. The river Zambece, which, at the town of Yukora divides into five branches, and may be said to traverse the country, forming, at the distance of a half-day's journey from the city of Zambre, a large lake, bearing the name of that city. A double series of mountains runs across the country from north to south, cloathed with vast forests and infested with innumerable multitudes of ferocious beasts. Great quantities of salt-petre are found in the mountains; but entirely neglected as an article of commerce by the slothful

* The reigning prince, at the time of my being there, was named Yukodego; and I heard the country itself at times so called.

inhabitants of the country. — On account of the intense heats and the numerous sands, but little grass grows here, and many of the fruit-trees generally found in other parts of Africa are absolutely wanting. Water-melons, gourds, turkish corn, millet and peas from a particular tree, are the fruits produced in this country. Fish and tortoises are in abundance, especially in the afore-mentioned lake. Buffalos and sheep are not reared by the inhabitants, but are obtained in barter for skins, ivory and a small portion of salt-petre from the Monomotapans. — The natives are of two distinct tribes: 1. Masahomi, who, as being the ancient inhabitants, distinguish themselves by wearing aprons of palm-leaves, plaiting their hair, letting the priests guide them at pleasure, and never marrying without the circle of their friends. 2. The Yukodego or Monœmugians go entirely naked, only at times putting a palm-leaf before them, wear long flowing hair, have a flat nose, projecting lips, and little eyes. With the bones of fish and birds they cut various kinds of figures on their cheeks, like the Massianes their neighbours. Both nations are of middling stature, speak the same language, are good soldiers and hunters, but very lazy, lying, not unfrequently whole days and nights, inactive in their huts. The huts are circular, wove of rushes, and covered

with palm-leaves. The reparation of the huts, as well as the little husbandry in practice, are the business of the women. At their marriages the priests perform a variety of juggling tricks, which ceremonies they terminate by blessing the new-married couple. It is reckoned a grievous crime for a man to forsake his wife, and a separation is only permitted in cases of continued sterility. In that case the woman is expelled the community, and sold or bartered as a slave. Weddings are celebrated in the following manner: When a young man inclined to marry has selected a bride, he goes to the parents and abides with them. His suit is never rejected, unless there be some very important reasons against the match. After the betrothing, the bride is not allowed to leave the hut of her parents, but must stay at home, and weave rush-mats, while the old folks are busily employed in looking out for a place to construct the new hut upon, in fetching wood and palm-leaves to the spot, and in raising the habitation. Neither is the bridegroom idle, but sedulously attends the chase with his father; because, on the wedding-day, which is usually the sixth day after the betrothing, he must produce the skin of some ferocious animal which he has brought down, and two wild goats for the feast. The skin is hung upon the new-built hut, and the youth-

youthful hero is now declared marriageable, and received into the number of married men. If he have not been able to kill some such beast, then a fresh period is allotted, during which he must bring proofs of his prowess by producing the skin. — On the day of marriage, the parents and friends of the young couple assemble before sun-rise in front of the new hut, kindle a fire there, and roast the two goats. The two young people must not be present, but repair to the priest, with whom they are fetched by the guests when the meat is roasted enough, and led round the hut while the company sing about the fire. The priest, holding in his hand two stalks of maize, comes forward and screams as loud as he can, in which he is joined by the vociferations of all the guests. Having marched in procession three times about the fire and the hut, a circle is formed round the fire, the priest lays the two stems of maize upon the coals to roast, and then gives one to each of the young couple, who eats some of the grains ; which done, the remainder are distributed among the persons standing in the circle. These grains, thus prepared by the priest, are emblematically to signify the fertility of the new-married pair, and they are to have as many children as they have eaten grains. The rest of the grains distributed among the company denote that the

offspring to be expected from this union will be as intimately united in friendship as the guests were united in the circle. — They now sit down and spread the roasted goats before the priest, who presents the hearts of the animals to the married couple, and then the rest is left to the guests to carve and to eat as much as they chuse. — The repast being ended, the whole night is passed in dancing, and thus the marriage rites conclude. — It is lawful for the husband to keep as many concubines as he will; but a woman who holds familiar intercourse with other men is punished with death. Few have more than one wife, as they are too lazy to have frequent concurrence; so that they rarely have more than three or four children, though they marry so early as the thirteenth or fourteenth year. The women bring forth with great facility, and in a few hours afterwards are seen working at their usual employments. Both boys and girls are under the care of the mother till they have attained their sixth year, when the sons are put to the priests for instruction, and are taken out to the chase by their fathers. The girls remain with the mother, and are seldom educated by the priests, as that is thought unnecessary. — Their religion is the pagan, and they adore the sun and the moon. At every new moon a feast is kept,

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as likewise on occasion of a victory gained over the enemy, at the election of a new king, or whenever a noxious animal has been destroyed to the public benefit. The king is absolute, having full power over the life and death of his subjects, in the dispensation whereof it is unlawful to make any resistance. If a person be condemned to die for some slight offence, and any one testifies his astonishment at it, the priests tell him : that it is the decree of the gods : wherefore numbers go to meet their deaths with joy. The king lives in great state ; for example, whenever he goes out, five or six elephants are led in his train. When he goes on a progress, he rides on a buffalo sumptuously caparisoned, led by two of his trusty servants ; but in town he is mounted on a zebra. At all times, even when riding, he is attended on either side by ten officers on foot. Though the priests have great command over the minds of the people, yet they are not allowed to meddle in affairs of government. Every man being a foldier, the army consists of between forty and fifty thousand infantry, who have a reputation for courage. In battle they make use of the war-buffalo. They live in a constant state of warfare with the neighbouring nations. Christians are not tolerated in the country, as they lie under the imputation, and probably with justice,

justice, of having privily attempted to seize on the government. On which account the Portugueze were expelled the country in the year 1763, and all trade with them was strictly prohibited. The officers are at the same time judges in the several towns and villages; but in extraordinary emergencies, and in general in all matters of consequence, they are obliged to send for orders from the king. Every stranger, unless he declares himself a christian, may safely travel through the country, is sure of being well treated, and generally entertained without any gratuity. Christians, on their travels, are transported from one village to another, and must pay for all they want.

On my arrival at Avakana, I was surrounded by the curious inhabitants, and treated with great civility. Through the medium of an interpreter, who was thoroughly master of the Kongo language, I was asked, whether I was a christian? On my answering in the negative, they presented me with water and meal in abundance, and prepared for me a good lodging.

On the 22d to the 24th I found the road good, and was hospitably entertained in all the villages through which I passed or tarried the night. The 25th I came to the lake Zambre, and took up my quarters for the night in the
village

village Keha, nine miles west of the town Zambre. Here I was amicably received into the hut of the judge, who was likewise an officer, and well entertained. He even behaved to me with great politeness, immediately sent to town, purposely on my account, for a man who understood the language of Kongo; and, on being made acquainted with the design of my journey, offered to do me every service that lay in his power. He obligingly pressed me to sleep near him, on his rush-mat; and on the following morning I was accompanied by him to the town Zambre, or Zembre. — The town consists of four hundred huts and fifty or sixty houses. The former are built of timber and straw, the latter of flint-stones and mortar. The palace, as it is styled, of the king, which, like the other houses, is constructed of flints and mortar, stands south-eastwards of the town, and is surrounded by a wall of flints. — The town, in the shape of a triangle, lies on the right side of the river Zambre, has two principal and three cross-streets, and is defended by a wall only on the side from west to north. The houses are one story high, as is likewise the palace. The eight temples in the town are all of rushes and wood; only that belonging to the palace is built of flints and mortar. The inhabitants in general are extremely indolent, working only on the

most urgent occasions, excepting the potters and smiths, which latter are chiefly employed by the king in making implements of war. The palace is long and of a quadrangular form. The court-yard of it, where the weapons of war are kept, is guarded by fifty sentinels, who likewise perform various collateral offices. The king inhabits no more than two apartments, situate on the east-side. He has only one wife; and she may never come to him by day, any more than his two court-priests. — During the day he is employed with the officers*, on military and civil affairs, in hearing the complaints, petitions and remonstrances of his subjects, and in conversing with the strangers that visit his capital. — In the evening the priests are admitted; but they are obliged to depart as soon as the queen is announced. Access is open to all; but strangers on entering the town must particularly apply to the king for his protection. — He is a punctilious, active, and war-

* They are distinguished from the other inhabitants, by wearing aprons of zebra-skin and a turban of that of the jackail decorated with bones and shells. When they come to the capital, they have free table with the king. Neither the officers nor privates receive the least pay. What they get by plunder in war-time is their own: accordingly in towns, and places wherever they have been as enemies, there is not a thing of the slightest value left; the very poles that serve for constructing the huts are carried away.

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like man, and thereby keeps his incomparably stronger enemies in reverence and awe.

On my entering the town, I was questioned by one of the guards, whence I came? My companion answered, that I was a stranger, and that he had undertaken to introduce me to the king. The sentinel, after a few moments of consideration, allowed us to pass. — Expressing my surprise to the interpreter, who accompanied us into the town, that the guard had hesitated to let me enter, when attended by an officer, I was informed, that the guards are in great authority, and that it rested entirely with them to have detained me, and to send notice to the king of my arrival. — When we came to the palace another of the guards took charge of me; and, though the officer made remonstrances to him, would not suffer me to pass. Upon this, the officer went straight to the king, and, having announced me, brought to the guard a bit of stick, on which a few marks were stamped with a burning iron; whereupon I was set at liberty, and led into the palace. — The king came out to meet me at the door of his apartment, with a stout staff in his hand, which alarmed me much. But the tranquillity which his benign and friendly countenance began to inspire was entirely confirmed by his subsequent behaviour. His hair was platted
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and ornamented with shells. He wore a palm-leaf about his waist, but the upper part of his body was entirely without covering. The king conversed with me by means of an interpreter, though he understood most of the words in my language himself. “Whence comest thou?” said he: to which I replied, “That I cannot exactly tell myself; since I know not the name of the country where my ship was cast away.” — “Art thou a christian?” — “No; I am an Egyptian, and am desirous to return to my native country.” — “How long hast thou been travelling?” — “Fourteen revolutions of the moon.” — “Is that the dress of thy country which thou hast on?” — “No; these cloaths I got of the south-Cassres.” — “Hast thou past through the numerous nations without danger of thy life?” — “Yes, nobody ever did me harm, as they saw that I was poor: the people every where gave me meat, millet, meal, milk and water, and willingly admitted me into their huts, that I might sleep without fear of molestation.” — “So shalt thou here be treated likewise; — but as I understand thy language, thou canst not therefore be far from thy home.” — “Were I to speak the language of my country, thou wouldst not understand me: the language that I now

“ speak I learnt while with the king of An-
“ gola, who, when I was sick, received me
“ graciously, and kept me with him till I was
“ completely recovered.” — “ Thou shalt, as
“ long as thou wilt, have my protection and
“ my assistance: come, sit thee down!” — No
sooner had he said these words, than a mat was
spread for me, on which I seated myself; and
soon after I was presented with a pan of milk.
I was also asked whether I was hungry; and,
on my answering in the affirmative, some meal
was set before me. On the coming on of
evening I was dismissed, and shewn into a hut
near the palace, where I remained till the next
morning, when I repaired again to the king.
He conducted me into what is called his hall,
where he displayed to me his treasures, which he
prized very highly, though they consisted of
mere trifles, namely: a few old copper coins,
which probably might have been there from the
time when the Portuguese were in the country;
two looking-glasses; an almanack of the year
1743; a few sheets of printed paper; four small
cannons, such as children have to play with;
several other trifling Nuremberg toys, and a
wooden clock, which stood still, and seemed to
be quite spoilt. The king lamented to me,
through the interpreter, that the piece of art,
namely, the wooden clock, would not move as
it

it formerly used to do, though he had taken all possible pains to make it. — When I was alone with the interpreter, I said I would try to put the clock in condition to move again, if the king would permit me. On my saying this, he ran out overjoyed, and told the king what I proposed to do. The king assented; but, at same time, ordered the interpreter to stay with me to see that I did not purloin any thing. I was therefore obliged to go to the royal apartments, and there set about my work in the presence of this person: it proceeded however but slowly, as I had but little knowledge of clock-making. In order, therefore, not to puzzle myself by confounding the several parts, I marked each of them, as I took it out, with a particular number, and wrote these numbers, for want of paper, in my journal; in doing which I used small-coal and red-lead. The next morning very early I went to work; and, when the king made his appearance, had already put it together again. I hung it up; and to my great joy, and more particularly to the king's, it went. — The king was much surpris'd at it, and thought I must be a great artist, since I had put in proper condition a piece of workmanship which not one of all his subjects was able to repair. — From that moment my consequence was continually increasing: I received the very
same

same kind of victuals as was eaten by the king, and accompanied him every where. By means of this privilege I had an opportunity of getting a complete view of the lake Zambre, as the king went thither for the purpose of surveying the fowling and fishing there. It is in length a good three days' journey, strewed with about forty small islands, tenanted by innumerable flights of birds, which are either entrapped or robbed of their eggs. The lake is of an oval form, is in the middle a half-day's journey over, but in the northern extremity not much more than a mile. The king keeps here a guard of two hundred men, to see that the fowling and fishing are properly conducted for the king's advantage: but I was well informed that they themselves dress and eat here the best of the birds and the fish that are caught. In some maps this lake is wrongly marked; being in the generality of them placed in the kingdom of Maffi; the length of it likewise is stated by far too large by several geographers. In like manner, between the kingdoms of Maffi and Monœmugi a third is laid down; but, after all my inquiries, I have never been able to hear any thing of it. — On all occasions, wherever I attended the king, I made it my study to be useful to him by trifling services, on which, however, he set a great value; for example: I shewed

shewed him several well-known ingenious devices for catching birds and fish, made a fundial, discovered to him some of the common arts of cookery, rendering his meat more favourable, &c. I was intimately acquainted with most of the officers, by whom I was much esteemed, and consulted on various occasions; nay, they would have been greatly pleased if I had complied with the king's and their own desires by accepting the rank of an officer. In order to detain and attach me to the place, the king proposed to me to take a wife; but to this I would not consent. I made three campaigns with him; and, happily succeeding in various enterprizes, either by actions or advice, I returned with additional honour and esteem. Making continual proficiency in the language of the country, I could converse alone with the king, without the intervention of an interpreter, and give him many suggestions and intimations, which it would not have been proper to do in the presence of a third person. When the king went into his place of worship for the purposes of prayer, I attended him, folded my hands, and prayed likewise. This led him to think that I had even adopted his religion; and therefore he prized me still more, so that he seldom would be without me: nay, as the greatest proof of attachment he could give, he permitted

mitted me to eat in his presence with his comfort: however, he never left me alone with her, neither might I enter her apartment, to which access was not granted to any other man. —

After having passed here five months, I felt a longing to travel farther, and accordingly watched for a favourable opportunity for disclosing my intention to the king. Such an opportunity soon offered. On my being ordered to accompany him to the hunt. On the way I informed him that I had a call to leave him, and to return home, for the purpose of quieting the minds of my relations and friends, as they probably must think me dead, and for settling some family affairs; but that I would come back to him, and pass the rest of my life in his country, in order to make some return, by my faithful services, for the many benefits he had heaped upon me, and which I could never fully repay. — He made me no answer, but was apparently much dejected. In the evening, as we were taking our repast together, he led the conversation to the subject I had mentioned, and said: “Thou art desirous to return home?” — I answered: “Yes; if thou permit me so to do, and do not request a compensation for the numerous favours thou hast shewn me.” — “I promised thee every mark of hospitality, and thou owest me nothing; yet

“ yet I should be very glad if thou wouldst
 “ continue here.” On my urging some ob-
 jections, he replied; “ Thou mayst travel if
 “ thou wilt; I will accompany thee across my
 “ territories to ensure thee a good reception
 “ every where; but come back as soon as thou
 “ canst, and thou shalt be my most intimate
 “ friend.” — After expressing my thanks to
 him, he added; “ When dost thou purpose to
 “ set out?” — “ In three days,” I said. Here-
 upon he immediately gave orders, that a he-
 goat should be hunted within two days, of
 which the hind-quarters should be roasted for
 me to take on my journey.

On the 28th of May, 1787, I parted from
 my friend, who was extremely affected at our
 separation, and took my way to the north-
 east. I had a messenger with me, who carried
 the provisions, and had been sent to see me
 safe over the Akmah-mountains, which are
 infested with lions. On the first day we passed
 through Serra and Mehar, a couple of ill-built
 villages, at the foot of those mountains; tak-
 ing up our quarters for the night at Yelloh,
 a village of ten or twelve huts, situate half-way
 up the heights. The inhabitants are very
 poor; have but little fruit, and are obliged to
 fetch their water at a league's distance in a
 valley. They treated us with roasted tortoise,
 meal,

meal, and water. — On the 29th, in the forenoon, we came to some saltpetre-works, where ten men were at work. I examined attentively the pit, and found it about two fathom deep in fine saltpetre. Some fourscore paces farther on I was shewn a hot spring, down the mountain on the north side, emitting a sulphureous smell, and being of a reddish hue. Here we rested, and then ascended another part of the ridge, and towards evening reached the village Etaham, on the north side of it, in which I counted about a hundred and forty huts. From this place we surveyed a plain three leagues in length, overgrown with fruit-trees and rushes, and watered on the western side by a small arm of the river Zambeze, which at the same time meanders among the mountains. Hence the inhabitants of the village are obliged to fetch their water, which overflows its banks in the months of June and July, so as to inundate the whole district. Previous to these alluvions, the inhabitants of the village dig large pits in the earth not far from their huts, that, on the retreat of the water within its usual bounds, they may serve as reservoirs for some time. — We passed the night with the avollo, or priest, who entertained us but badly, and shewed us our sleeping-place on the bare ground. The next morning my attendant turned back, and I

purfued my way acrofs the plain. — I foon defcried the village Muſs not far before me, and therefore was totally free from apprehenſion of danger, when all at once I heard a dreadful barking behind me. Immediately turning round, I ſaw a herd of calitzes running towards me, followed by a numerous pack of furious dogs. I therefore exerted all my ſtrength to get out of the way of theſe tremendous ſavage dogs; and in this I ſucceeded, though quite exhausted and ſpiritleſs by anxiety and fear. On reaching the village, my breath failing me, I fell to the ground, and a whole hour paſſed before I recovered. — The inhabitants flocked round me, pitying my condition. On my relating to them the ſad diſaſter I had juſt eſcaped, they told me that in this tract of country I ſhould often again have the ſame perils to encounter, as, at the rainy ſeaſon, when the rivers overflow, the calitzes flee to the elevated diſtricts, whither they are purfued by the dogs; that that ſeaſon was now come; and the calitzes were on their flight to the high lands. On this, I deliberated with myſelf, whether it were better for me to remain here, or to proceed; and, on farther enquiry how long it was uſual for the dogs to continue in theſe parts, I found that they would yet ſtay two whole moons. I now lamented that I had not previously informed
myſelf

myself of this circumstance, and stayed two months longer with my benefactor, the king. — The next morning, having consumed the remainder of the meat which had been given me by the king, I resolved to travel on: accordingly, without farther delay, I rose up, took a view of the surrounding country, and, in consequence, determined to go round by the eastern side of the forest which lay before me. I might indeed call at three villages which I saw to the right of the direct road; but in that case I must necessarily go through the forest. I was obliged to pass the whole night up in a tree, and keep constantly awake, as otherwise I might easily have fallen down. I rose early, looked for a spring, but found none: and therefore was forced for the present to allay my thirst with tamarinds. These, however, in a short time, produced a quite contrary effect; for I was so thirsty, that I would have gladly drunk the most putrid water, could I but have come at it. I was likewise so enervated, that I could only creep slowly along, and yet had every moment to expect a troop of furious dogs. Not a step did I take but it filled me with terror; for such a prodigious number of baboons as I had never beheld, were incessantly making their horrid noises, that I thought the dogs were close at my heels. — Uuhurt, however,

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ever,

ever, though quite faint and dejected, I reached in the evening the village Himogu. Here I wished to rest and nurse myself, thinking nothing more sure than that I should meet with good quarters, as I had brought with me from the king a piece of wood, on which some marks were branded, in order that his subjects might give me a good reception. Notwithstanding this, however, I was repulsed by the first and second huts; and it was only after much intreaty that I was received into the third. I was immediately, on entering the village, surrounded and followed by the curious people; but particularly the children thronged about me, crying out, Solleboa, folleboa (a christian, a christian!) The supper consisted of very ill-smelling meal and foul water; and the lodging assigned me was a small hut, in company with four and twenty goats, who were very discontented with their inmate, bounding the whole night through from one side to the other, and playing a variety of ingenious antics. I quitted my miserable resting-place as weary as when I entered it; and was just intending to go from the little hut into the larger, when a shower of rain came on, accompanied with a tempestuous wind. I therefore retreated, revisited the goats, and was considering within myself whether I should proceed, when two
violent

violent claps of thunder suddenly succeeded each other, which occasioned me to go out at the door, to see whether the storm was like to continue. Here I perceived my landlord and his whole family coming out of the dwelling-hut, with faces full of anxiety, falling to the ground. Ill as I was I could not observe this ceremony without laughing: for every one of them was screaming out: Ollahan yungo gohlibiny (O ye gods, plunge us not into the abyss!) In a short time the peals of thunder became less violent, the prostrate supplicants rose up, advanced towards me, and asked whether I had not invoked the gods? I answered, “That I do every day; but I am not sorry for rainy weather, because it is wholesome.” — “But what if the gods be angry and punish thee by thunder, is that likewise advantageous to thy health?” — “The gods will not do this to me, because I keep their laws and those of the king; but you will be punished by them, because you do not observe their laws.” At this, my host, after looking at me for some moments, took me by the hand, led me into his hut, and prepared for me a good breakfast, consisting of goat’s milk, millet-flour, and a piece of broiled tortoise, desiring me at the same time to stay with him one day longer. The former I readily accepted, but the latter I refused;

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and,

and, having filled my water-gut, tied it round me, and set out with my face to the north; and as I went visited three villages, small and thinly inhabited. In the fourth I passed the night, and was better treated than I expected to be; for the ten huts of which it was composed, containing in all about thirty persons, looked very miserable from without, and from their appearance within, bespoke the extreme penury of their inhabitants. However, I got there a good piece of broiled tortoise, meal, and excellent water; and the kind people prepared for me a couch of rushes and palm leaves, carefully laid, where I slept in perfect quiet. The morrow I kept as a day of rest, and went with my host, who was an obliging young man, about the adjacent plain, where I presently found four tortoises. Two of which were immediately broiled; and the other two I kept for my journey.

On the 2d to the 5th of June, I traversed a small desert, where I happened not to see a single person; but found fruit-trees and good water, nor was I molested by wild beasts. Having had opportunities for eating my fill and quenching my thirst at proper intervals, I was recruited in strength, and in these four days I made eight and twenty or thirty german miles; during which I was continually looking
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ing about for villages, but saw none; and should even have found but few in a large circuit, since I afterwards learnt that the north side of the country, where I was travelling, was scarcely at all inhabited. On the 5th, in the evening, I reached the place Mofaru, of about fourscore huts, built so wide asunder, that it would take up a good half hour only to go through it. All the people who were out of their huts, ran away on seeing me approach, staring wildly at me. I shewed them the piece of wood I had brought from the king, the purport of which was to excite them to hospitality; but they made no dispositions to conduct me farther. At length I gave it to an aged man, who looked at it, then delivered it to the next, he to another, and so on to the last. On his taking it into his hand, all the other people ran away, and left me standing alone. After waiting patiently some time, I too ran up and demanded the token; but, ere I had quite advanced to the huts, several ran to meet me, some presenting me with pure milk, and some with milk mingled with water. Others brought me meat and meal; so that in a few minutes I had got provisions for a week. I sat down beside the nearest hut, ate heartily of the store, and drank several cans of milk. The people standing round were much surpris'd at seeing

me consume so great a portion, and offered to fetch more victuals and milk. But, as some of my stock was still left, I declined their offers; giving them to understand that I was much more desirous of a hut to sleep in. Several of them then offering to attend me, I got up, followed them, and was brought to the priest of the place. He received me with a hearty welcome, shewed me a good sleeping-place, but prevented me from taking any rest till midnight, by the numberless questions he put to me, such as, whence I came, whither I was travelling, whether I were a christian, whether I had seen the king, &c.

On the 6th, six persons being to set out for Gohamy with some buffalos, which they had loaded with pottery, they invited me to accompany them, which I was easily induced to do. The beasts being heavily laden, our journey went on but slowly, and it was late in the evening when we arrived at Gohamy. My fellow-travellers pitched their tents on a green spot in the village, where they set out their goods for sale. I remained with them, and slept undisturbed. The village consists of between eighty and a hundred huts, situate in a charming vale, announcing by the structure of the huts the prosperity of the inhabitants. The next morning I inspected the quality of the earthen-ware; which

which I perceived to be not comparable with that produced in Europe. The goods are badly made, dried in the sun, smeared with a juice expressed from palm and tamarind-leaves, and resembling our garden-pots, only with this difference, that they are as large at bottom as at top, and have a long ear, or handle, projecting above the brim. I observed a few plates and dishes among them, but they were very ill made.

The 7th I ascended the frontier-mountains, consisting of two ranges, running in a bow from east to west, and in many parts have here and there a lofty summit as if placed on them. I crossed them in an oblique direction; but it was with great difficulty that I got over only the first range. I sojourned with the overseer, in the place called Paatam, who was at the same time an officer, and gave me a cordial reception. As the rains were very frequent, I was persuaded to stay there three days, paying a guilder in testimony of my gratitude; and, at my departure got change for another guilder, for which I received two hundred shells. Previously inquiring how far I had now to go to the borders, I was informed that the last place there, called Kohlogom, was scarcely one day's journey distant.

CHAP. III.

The author's arrival at the first frontier-huts of the Moohatans — History and account of that nation. — On account of the rainy season the author is obliged to tarry, under adverse circumstances, in the village Mytob, whence he sets out with the buffalo-drivers, and travels from the territory of Mossaguejos, on the east side of the kingdom Monæmugi, which leads to the kingdom Otoba, crosses the river Druma and the frontier-village Nabwat, comes up to a war-troop of the Kinonians, parts from his companions, ascends a great mountain to the west, and comes to the Mopharians, who dwell in caves. — He is well received by them, and presented to their king. — Account of that nation, their manners, usages, quality of their country and form of government. — Of their king, of their religion, and several of their remarkable products. — Geography ascertained and maps corrected. — Design of the author to travel with a caravan to Guinea and return to Europe. — Prosecutes his journey through the villages Obgothen, Uhwob and Matob to Ocymereh, the seat of the king. — The author is put among the king's slaves, makes his escape over sandy deserts, ascends the Moon-mountains, and comes to the Vonaharians.

ON the 11th, having left the mountains behind me, I reached Kohlogomy, which is the last village in that kingdom, and consists of two and twenty huts. Here I reposed for a couple of hours, then pursued my way over the borders, and towards evening came up with a few huts, the first inhabited by Moohatans. — This nation

nation is numerous and warlike, dwelling on the frontiers of a tract of land belonging to the kingdom Monœmugi, and is subject to its king. — They first lived in another district under the dominion of the king of Muschko; but he, having forced on them his brother as their prince, for the sake of increasing their oppressions; and he proving extremely cruel, they conspired together with some other nations that were under his rule, fell upon him and murdered him. This so enraged the king, his brother, that he collected an army for the purpose of chastizing this people. On his march, however, he was defeated and repulsed. In consequence of this, he raised a much greater force, resolving entirely to exterminate the rebels by a general massacre: but they were too wise to wait his approach, fleeing for protection to a foreign king, and remaining under his patronage. The Moolhatans therefore in 1728, submitted to the king of Monœmugi, who assigned to them a poor tract of country on the borders, where mountains and unfruitful valleys alternately succeed each other. The length of their country may be travelled in two days, and the number of its inhabitants amounts to sixteen thousand souls. In many respects they have conformed to the manners of the Monœmugians.

They

They pay no tribute to the king, only affording him succours in time of war; they likewise defend the borders on which they dwell in case of any hostile attacks. — Their chieftains are old men, bearing the title of *bingpo*. These however do not head the troops in the field, but transfer the command to younger persons. — The nation probably obtained its present name from the king of Monœmugi, as *Moo-hata* means, in the language of his country, a stranger.

The couple of days that I tarried in this little village, I was indeed amply supplied with victuals, but was not permitted to enter a dwelling, as I laboured under the imputation of being a christian. On the 14th I could proceed only three or four leagues, when I came to a few huts. The water, which in the rainy season flowed down from the mountains, had collected itself on the plain, forming a sort of lake. — I intreated the inhabitants of these straggling huts to give me harbour for a few days, agreeing to pay them for each day sixty *gainers*, or *shells*. They readily admitted me on these terms, and here I sojourned till the 24th. — It rained the whole day; the wind blew violently from the north, and the waters rose. Here and there *calitzes* were swimming about, and at length were drowned. The inhabitants
told

told me, that in heavy showers of rain they are carried with the torrent down the mountains, and are driven to and fro in the water at their foot. — I remarked, as somewhat singular, that even in the heaviest rains and the most vehement storms, the sky did not look black-cloudy, but fiery. — I was weary of waiting in idleness, especially as I was forced to live, not in the dwelling-huts, but in a little hovel among the goats; and, for several days, saw nobody but an old woman, who brought me a very frugal repast of meal and milk. More than once I was obliged even to do without this little, as the woman set it on the ground at the entrance of the hovel, and then ran back as fast as she could. Now, if I happened not to be exactly at hand, the goats, who were likewise very sparingly fed, fed foul of it, and I was obliged to fast. On the 24th I discharged my quarters, and proceeded, up to my middle in water, for some hours, till, after great trouble and many dangers, I reached a hill, midway between those huts and the village Mytob. There I rested an hour, contemplated the surrounding district, then set out, and came to Mytob in good time. The inhabitants were greatly surprised that I had ventured through the water, and treated me kindly. Here I remained till the 19th of the following month, as the floods

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were so great, that if I had proceeded I should have met with certain death. When I had been there a few days, the behaviour of the inhabitants became much altered, shewing no longer any deference for me, but sent me into the hindermost part of the hut among the goats; where, as this part was not tightly built, and the rain came in, I was constantly wet all over for a whole week, and in consequence was attacked by a fever. On this my distress increased; for now the people, imagining that I had some infectious distemper, shoved me from one corner to another, and at length threatened to turn me out, being afraid that I might infect the animals among whom I lodged. — The village consisted of six and thirty huts, and a temple, to which, as they told me, pilgrimages were made from all the surrounding country far and near, even from the distance of thirty day's journey. The temple was held in such veneration from this circumstance; that, on the spot where it stands, the holy king Amahratus of Yaga being murdered, the murderers were immediately struck dead by thunder*.

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* How far this story may be agreeable with truth, I cannot pretend to determine. The transaction was related to me in various ways, but in general thus: The king of Yaga had waged war against this country, took the king of Monœ-

mugi

The whole region, as far as the eye could reach, was overflowed by an arm of the Druma, and the floods rose so high, that the huts were in danger of being quite under water. By good luck, a change of weather came on, the sun broke out, and a warm wind revived the scene of nature. I offered my host two guilders for my accommodations; but he would not accept them, not knowing what they were: I therefore gave him a hundred shells, which proved more welcome to him.

On the 19th a great number of travellers with buffalos came to the place. They were

mugi prisoner, and put him to death. — On forcing his way into the enemy's country, he said to his soldiers: "Slay all the enemies you meet with, not sparing even the children." This it is pretended he said, because the Monœmugians had roasted alive several of the prisoners of his army. — He now ordered his troops to advance, and followed with a little escort. The fugitive Monœmugians, hid in the forests and caves, having now received information of the hostile king's command, ran after him, took him prisoner with his handful of followers, after consulting together slew him, cut his body in pieces, threw it into a fire, and ran away. The soldiers, presently missing their king, hastened back, and beheld the sad remains. Taking all possible pains to find out the murderers, they came to this temple, where they found all the murderers dead, except one alone, and he very much hurt. This man related the whole transaction, particularly that he and his companions were thus severely punished by the gods, for having murdered the pious king.

from the country of Mossaguejos, lying eastwards of the kingdom of Monœmugi, and were going to the kingdom of Otoba to fetch salt. These people were under the odious aspersions of being men-eaters; but, from all the accounts that I was able to collect, the charge was totally groundless. On hearing that they were likewise bound northwards, I asked permission to travel with them, which they readily granted. On the 20th, at day-break, the train began to move forward, having in the van the buffaloes coupled together. In an hour's time we reached the above-mentioned river. I was seated on a buffalo, who conveyed me safely across. We then compassed some mountains to the east, for the purpose of avoiding a sand-flat, and came to Nahvat, a village of sixty huts, in which, according to custom, I asked for provisions. My request was rejected, as here they had none for themselves, affording me nothing more than a draught of clean water. This village is the only frontier-separation of the kingdom Monœmugi, at which, on the left, the kingdom Mufchako, and, to the right, the kingdom Otoba begins. We crossed another river, and put up for the night on a mountain, where I alluaged my hunger upon a couple of tortoises. — For several days I had seen no wild animals, but now we entered a region that

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swarmed

swarmed with them. In the very night that we passed on the mountain, tigers and wolves came and visited us, and in the morning several lions did the like. The caravan therefore was thrown into great anxiety, and I was forced to employ many words to pacify them. These people were poor, living on fruits and roots, and not unfrequently obliged to fast the whole day long, because in that season no fruits were to be found. They told me that they perform this journey twice a year, in which they have many difficulties to surmount, many hardships to undergo, to contend with wild beasts, and to defend themselves against robbers. — In the forenoon we came up with a war-troop of the nation of the Kinonians (called on the maps Bamba), armed with javelins and battle-axes. We were informed by them that the Otobanes had marched against them twelve days ago, in which time they had burnt several villages and already slain above a hundred persons; but that now they were prepared to meet them with a considerable force, and give them the chastisement they so richly deserved. — When these people were gone on, I asked my fellow-travellers, whether I, as a stranger, might, with any tolerable security, pursue my journey in the country of the Otobanes. They replied, that it would not be advisable for me to enter their

territory if I would be in safety; but the mountain whence they were to fetch the salt was only two days journey distant, and then I must travel alone. — That day I remained with them, as we had not yet met with a village; on the following morning, however, I took my leave, and shaped my course westwards to a ridge of mountains, as many of the low lands were still filled with water. That day I saw neither man nor beast, neither found I any fruits or roots, as the stony soil could not produce them. I was consequently obliged to lie down, hungry, on one of the rocky summits. — The next day (the 23d) at the extremity of the mountains, I met eight men who were returning from the chace. On seeing me they resolved to mend their pace; I, however, called after them, as I was violently tormented with hunger; and, to my great joy, they stopped, asked me what I wanted, who I was, &c. Having answered all their questions, they turned about, as if wishing to leave me, since possibly my dress might surprise them: I therefore begged them to take me with them, to which they at length consented. They conducted me to the west side of the mountains, where I descried a great multitude of people, but could discern no huts. This circumstance, however, was soon explained to me; for I was led to a

cave, where I learnt that here were about fifty of them contiguous to each other. Our evening repast consisted of roots, water, and a small piece of meat; which being ended, I lay down and slept. — Early in the morning somebody called into the cave for me to come out; which I did immediately, and received at the entrance meal and water: at the same time the neighbours came running up to see and to question me. Here I was obliged to answer all the interrogatories to which I had already replied, and to refute the various objections made by those who put them. Some affirmed that I was a christian, others declared me to be a mohamedan, while others insisted that I was a runaway slave; every one striving to support his judgment by a variety of reasons. Some were of opinion that I should be sent to king Moyaphar*; others, particularly the women, gave their advice for my being detained, because I looked white and handsome. Some few, in short, supposed that I might be a spy from another nation, who probably would be soon followed by several more; that therefore

* So the king is called who governs this country, which in the maps is denominated Mushako. I never heard the name of the country pronounced; when mentioning the inhabitants of it, they said, the Mophanians.

the best thing that could be done, would be to kill me, in order to deter those that were to come after me. This proposal, however, to my great joy, was rejected, and one old man, in particular, stood up in my behalf, saying: "Let us provide food for the stranger, entertain him hospitably, and suffer him to depart in peace." This said, he asked whither I intended to travel; I answered: "To Ægypt," adding, that it was not my design at first to come into this country; but hearing, two days ago, that the neighbouring nations were engaged in war, I had turned out of my course to come hither, that I might travel unmolested; and I intreated him once more to procure me leave to proceed on my journey. He said: "That thou wilt obtain; but we must first convey thee to the king, of whom thou mayest request it: for the present, come into my cave, and partake of what I have." I was so pleased with this worthy old man, that I staid with him three days, and at my departure, out of gratitude, presented him with a guilder; at which, though he was ignorant of its value, he testified uncommon satisfaction.

The king of this country is an absolute sovereign, possessing a large tract of territory, in length ten days journey from west to east, and from north to south seven days journey in breadth.

breadth. In it are several mountains and heights, but a greater number of fertile plains, the products whereof, however, the inhabitants know not how to make use of. In the northern ridge gold is found; but the king will not allow it to be explored, chusing rather to let out the mountains to the king Mohopharo, his neighbour, for a certain yearly stipend. Timber and animals of all kinds are here in abundance; and it is particularly the native place of the zebra, the flesh whereof is eaten as a peculiar delicacy. — Of the various kinds of fruit-trees the most remarkable are the domo and the inkobak; the former bearing a sort of apple without pips, which has a taste of lemon, is the size of a hen's egg, and of a golden colour. It grows on the mountains, has long, narrow, spear-shaped leaves, and attains to the height of a cherry-tree. The bark has a great resemblance with that of the cinnamon; which, as well as the fruit, is laid up in store, and used all the year through as a corroborant. The inkobak-tree bears a fruit of the nut species, of the bigness of an egg: it is oblong, with a red husk, which in all probability would yield a good colour for dying: I even saw that the pottery-ware was dyed with it, and that it lost nothing of its gloss even in the fire. The nut itself is white, and has a taste of cinnamon.

The tree is as large as our oaks, and, all the year through, bears at the same time fruit and blossoms. The leaves are in the shape of fig-leaves, only much larger. In time of war the king is able to raise an army of fourteen thousand good soldiers. Most of the inhabitants of the country live in caves, being too lazy to construct huts or small houses. The king, according to the custom of the country, lives in great pomp and at much expence. When he goes out, he is usually attended by fifty kolo-mays, or officers. The seniors of each family decide all controversies that may arise between the members of it. The officers are either made from sons of the royal concubines, or such persons as have eminently distinguished themselves in war; and they are so numerous that to every six men may be reckoned one officer.— The king is absolute master over all that his subjects possess, without even excepting their wives. If he cast his eye on one that pleases him, he orders her to be fetched, and the husband follows, making many expressions of thankfulness for the great honour that is thus shewn him.— Handsome unmarried girls must all be presented to the king, ere they marry. It is esteemed a signal token of grace, if he bestows one of his eight hundred concubines, who has lost the art of pleasing him, on an officer in
mar.

marriage. The king is greatly addicted to superstition, in which he is constantly more confirmed by the priests, of whom he has always five or six about him. The pernicious influence of priests is accordingly here as conspicuous as in many countries of Europe. — No man, the priests excepted, may visit the concubines; if any one presume to do so, he is punished with death. — The king commonly wears a long mantle of ordinary scarlet cloth, with a large sword by his side. The soldiers, in general, wear short cloaks, which they make themselves of goat-hair, and swords. — Throughout the whole country there is not one town, nor any such villages as are seen in the neighbouring territories. The inhabitants of the country, generally speaking, dwell in caves, some few in tents, commonly at a distance from each other. Only where the king's camp and caves are, there about a hundred others are seen. The dwelling-place is changed several times in the year, removing usually towards the waters and to fertile districts. — Their food consists of millet, turkish corn, and a trifling quantity of goats' milk. Their religion is paganism, adoring the sun and the moon, and performing their worship under the open sky; where the priests, round whom the congregation forms a circle, repeat a prayer, during which they, as

well as the audience, lie prostrate on the earth. There is not a temple in the whole country. Except the king and the priests, no man is allowed to have more than one wife. — They are too phlegmatic for the procreation of children; it is therefore a very great rarity for a married couple to have four or five of them. — They know nothing of circumcision, or any other ceremony, at the birth of a child. — The dead are generally thrown into a pit on the top of a mountain, or deposited under a heap of stones. They are laid in such manner that the face is turned towards the east; they likewise put in the grave with them victuals previously consecrated by the priest. The men are even more addicted to sloth than the women; when they are not hunting, they lie quite idle in their caves. The women weave tents and cloaks of goats-hair*, make pans, dry skins, &c. and look after the house-keeping. The pottery and skins are bartered with other nations for hardware.

The language has a considerable affinity with that of Kongo; generally using, however, the *o* for the *a*. Allowing for some trifling deflections, it is vernacular as far as the river

* It is as fine as silk; whereas the sheep-wool of the Cape, as far as to the deserts, is very like dogs'-hair, and therefore but seldom used.

Niger. — The priests give lessons to the children twice a day in the open air.

On the 26th I left the afore-mentioned village ; and, attended by a guide, took a journey to the king. We shaped our course to the north-west, and crossed several mountains rising from a plain. They were inhabited by Mophanians ; who, on hearing that I was to be entertained by the king, allowed me to proceed unmolested. In the afternoon my guide turned back ; and I, by his directions, proceeded strait forwards. But here, coming several times to flats, where the water had not yet run off, I was obliged to take a circuitous track. Towards evening I came to some caves, inhabited by about twenty persons, who took me for a slave belonging to the king of Haphai*, carrying dispatches to their king. I took no pains to rectify their opinion, as they were very civil and obliging, that I might make a good report of them to the king. They supplied me plentifully with meal stirred in milk and water, made for me a soft couch of skins, and accompanied me above a league on my journey the following day. Being obliged to swim across two rivers,

* This kingdom stands in the maps under the name of Makoko, and at other times Antziko ; but it is placed too far to the south, by no means agreeing with what I saw.

I experienced considerable danger, as the waters had not yet subsided. On every side I perceived lions; and some of them even looked grim at me, as if they threatened an attack. Accordingly I found it necessary to climb a tree, and there wait till they were got to a distance. Several even accompanied me quite to the mouths of the caves of the village, and went but slowly back when the people came out and strove to deter them by screams and shouts.

On the eastern side here runs a long chain of mountains, in a serpentine line, quite to the river Niger. These mountains I now entered on one side, where I found salt-petre in abundance, as also gold and copper-ore; but only here and there a tree. The inhabitants of these parts, therefore, instead of wood, make use of rushes, which they lay on one another in great heaps at the entrance of the caves.

At half a day's journey before I came to the king's residence, I met with a village consisting of caves. I went first to the priest, and asked him to give me a night's lodging; but he refused to let me into the cave, pointing to a heap of rushes lying without, and bade me sleep there. I therefore went to some other caves, imploring shelter; but my importunity was every where rejected. An old man, who, for fifty zimpos, gave me some meal and meat, would have taken
me

me into his cave, if he had not been informed that the priest had refused to let me lodge in his. Dispirited, and a prey to corroding cares, I threw myself on a heap of rushes, slept little, and early the next morning took my departure.

About noon I arrived at the king's camp, standing on a hill, and was immediately conducted into the royal tent. The king, a stout young man, came forward to meet me, and asked me himself, whence I came, whither I was bound, &c. Having answered these questions, he said: "Thou art probably of the nation of the Moors, and hast certainly some private commission which thou wilt not disclose to me; if I be right in my conjecture, thou hast reason to dread my resentment: if I be mistaken, I will protect thee and permit thee to travel freely through my country."— Hereupon he ordered me to be led into the guard-tent, where I found about thirty soldiers, who behaved well to me. By the king's command, I received meal, water, and meat, and was considered by all as a guest of the king. — Till the 6th of August I remained in charge of the guard, without being farther interrogated. On the 7th I was ordered to appear again before the king. He sat on the ground before the tent, and was surrounded by priests and sol-

foldiers. — “Hast thou brought me no present
“ from thy own country?” the king called out
to me. — “I have lost my all, as I have al-
“ ready said.” — “Thou art then a christian?”
— “No; I am an Arab.” — “Thou hast al-
“ ready told me, that thou art not in the right
“ road; what moved thee to come into my
“ country?” — “The nations, thy neighbours,
“ are at war together, I therefore thought it
“ not safe to travel in their country, and
“ turned to thy dominions, from hearing,
“ while yet many day’s journey distant, the
“ praises bestowed on thy kindness, thy hospi-
“ tality, and thy power.” — “In my coun-
“ try thou shalt be safe; but on the fron-
“ tiers thou wilt be stopped by the robbers and
“ murdered: therefore stay with me.” — “I
“ will come again to thee, after I shall have
“ visited my brothers, my sisters, two wives,
“ and several children.” — “Bring thy wives
“ and children to me; I will give thee a tent
“ with them: thou must however abide here
“ some days, as the plains are covered with
“ water, and the mountains are full of furious
“ beasts.” — Though fully persuaded of the
justness of his observations, I nevertheless could
have wished to have directly proceeded forty
german miles farther, that I might not lose the
opportunity of getting out of the Kammoh, or
Kururfra,

Kururfra, in company with a caravan that goes every year to Guinea, when the rivers have retired within their banks. On more mature consideration, however, I thought it best to remain where I was for a time, for the sake of being able to pursue my journey afterwards with less peril of my life. I set about making coverings and cloaks of goats-hair, and in a few days was as expert at it as the natives. The weaving-frames are here of a different construction from those employed in Europe. Instead of having different boards for the weaver to tread with his feet, in order to advance the web, as with us, here the children are taught so to draw the threads afunder, while some other persons throw them in. Pieces are made from one to three ells in breadth and width. — The hair is spun by means of a spindle, thrown backwards and forwards with great dexterity. — The weaving-machine consists of four posts stuck in the ground, on which the yarn, stretched out on frames, is fixed. Beneath it sits a child to pull the spun yarn backwards and forwards; and on each side stands a grown person who throws to the other the warp, wound on an oblong shuttle, through the aperture made by the distension. — I undertook to make an alteration in this machine, by fastening below two or three steps, to save the labour of the child,

child, and likewise by inserting a roller. My work succeeded ; but the people were so much attached to their old method, that they would not adopt my improvement.

At the beginning of September I thought seriously of my departure. Accordingly I stated my obligations to the king, and obtained his leave to go whenever I should think proper. — On the third I set out, and tended to the north for the sake of avoiding some low grounds that here and there were still under water. — This season is here the best time for travelling ; as the face of nature, which had been divested of its beauties during the rainy period, is now re-animating, and the sun-beams are not so scorching as a month or two later. — I here and there met with tents and caves, but declined stopping at any of them, as I had provisions with me. At sun-set, however, I made a halt, and asked if I could have a lodging at some of the straggling tents. This was granted, but victuals were refused me. — On the following day at noon I reached the Kohango (false) mountains, obtaining their appellation probably from the great number of lions that roam about them and molest travellers. The chain is narrow, and in some places only half a day's distance from the ridge above-mentioned. It was not till evening that I got quite up to them, having
been

been obliged with great pains and labour to traverse a wild and rugged valley, which the inhabitants pretend to be the abode of evil spirits. Few persons go through it, rather chusing to make a circuit of several leagues.

From the 5th to the 9th I lay each night under the open sky, as I never came to a village at the proper time. The road in several places was extremely bad, but I was cheered as I went by the beauties of nature. — On this part of my journey I saw for the first time a *tœuykoham* *; and was greatly terrified at the sight, as I thought that he would infallibly attack me: but he let me pass unmolested. In the sequel I learnt, that this creature never attacks mankind, which intelligence encouraged me several times to catch the young ones, kill them, and dress the flesh on coals for eating. — On the 10th, at noon, I came up to two and twenty tents, where I bought for twenty shells a quantity of meal and milk, and then travelled to some huts, where I was kindly harboured. Hence I proceeded in company with some men

* This animal is shaped like a greyhound, having long hair and a lion's tail. The side-teeth resemble the tusks of a wild boar. The hair, which is half an ell in length, is as soft as silk. Being very little acquainted with natural history, I am unable to state whether this beast may not be known under some other name.

to the gold mountain, at which we arrived in two days. Here I found a number of people, seeking for gold in deep pits, from sources under the earth: they asked me to go down with them; but, suspecting no good of them, I addressed myself to their corahaty, or overseer. This man expressed the greatest satisfaction at being able to afford me quarters. In his great tent lay on all sides heaps of dried fruits and roots, as well as dried flesh. He pressed me to take of all these as much as I pleased, prepared for me every day several good meals, and in short prepossessed me so entirely in his favour, that I complied with his request by tarrying a few days with him. He shewed me the store of gold*, consisting of grains about the size of millet. Here in the mountain they dig large pits, under which subterranean rivers and sources flow; then, placing very fine nets of woven rushes against the current, they catch the grains.

I remained six days with this honest man, who treated me like his brother, and provided for my accommodation to the utmost of his abilities. He could write well according to the

* This mine is in a manner farmed by king Mohopharo of king Moyophar, as he delivers to the latter fruits, and even flesh, and likewise maintains the labourers, who are mostly subjects to king Moyophar.

method there in practice, by cutting words and figures in the bark and leaves of trees, and he would set me to imitate them. At other times he made me cut out the german letters, and then he cut them after me with great aptitude. I would have continued with him still longer, if I had not had the opportunity of proceeding with four of the people under his command who had the care of transporting gold-sand to the king.

On the 17th I departed with the forementioned people, after having taken leave of my friend, not without heartfelt emotion. For two days we had a difficult journey through thick forests, over steep rocks, and across stinking morasses. Lions, tigers, and buffalos, approached us on all sides, and threw us into great anxiety. The night of the first day we passed on the top of a steep mountain, that we might not be exposed to the attacks of wild beasts; at sun-rise renewed our journey, and arrived, after having met with but few huts, towards evening, at a little river called Vohala, forming the boundary of the empire from whence we came. We spent this night on an open plain; but the wild beasts came so near us as to prevent us from sleeping. Fatigued and frightened, we rose at sun-rise; and, to our great joy, reached before noon the village

Oligothen, consisting of threescore and seven huts.

The curiosity of the inhabitants was very great, one shoving the other away, in order to get a sight of me, and every one earnestly proffering me friendship and protection.

In language, manners, and customs, this nation is very like the foregoing; only with this difference, that they have no real priests, but every father of a family is teacher and priest to those that belong to him. The inhabitants are poor; and yet it may be affirmed of this country, that it is the richest in Africa, since it has gold, and might, if proper care and industry were employed in discovering and working the places where the noble metals are to be found, produce an immensity of wealth. The king is absolute master of his country, and to him alone belongs the gold that is found, which he barter against ordinary cloth, looking-glasses, scissars, knives, nails, shells, and other articles of small value, with the Portugueze and Spaniards, and sometimes with the English, when they land on the coast from Guinea; in short, he loses considerably by this traffic, as may easily be imagined. The goods that are brought into the country, are worth at most two thousand dollars, for which the importers get, in gold, ivory, and furs, to the amount of

sixty thousand dollars. The same method is pursued by the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the English, in trading with the other nations, as with this; obtaining from them immense riches in return for insignificant commodities.

In this country are found again villages and huts constructed of rushes, as the dwelling-place here is never changed, because water is every where at hand. Goats are seen in all the villages, and here and there likewise tame buffaloes. — The men, when not absolutely idle, are occupied in hunting, and the women look after the household affairs. — The dimensions of this country I am not competent to ascertain, because on the eastern and the northern sides are uninhabited deserts, which are seldom or never visited on account of the vast chain of mountains before them, in which are inaccessible vallies; and likewise because the country is in different parts very unequal in width. — They are accused by the surrounding nations of feeding on human flesh; but I am fully convinced that the charge is totally groundless. What has given rise to this report may be, that it is a pretty general practice with the inhabitants from their very childhood to file their teeth to a sharp point: as therefore other people who have pointed teeth are really men-eaters, they have been led to consider pointed

teeth as infallible characteristics of men-eaters, and accordingly have classed this people among them. — I must confess that the nation is rude, and may commit robberies by the laws of the land; but I observed that they made a great distinction in this matter, by only robbing those who were known to be in good circumstances, and, besides what was taken from them, were still in possession of other riches; therefore the caravans are not always safe from them. — This nation is more numerous than the last-mentioned; inhabiting a tract of country on both sides of the river Vohala, two days and a half's journey in length, because this region is the most fertile. There are also villages on the frontiers, to prevent any hostile incursions. The river Vohala crosses the country from east to west, in a winding course, and yields excellent water.

I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of the frontier-village received me kindly. They led me into their circle round a fire, danced, sung, and bounded about me, so that all belonging to them was in motion. After an hour spent in this manner, they conducted me again to the huts; and here a dispute arose concerning who should have the privilege of giving me a night's lodging, as every one was eager to take me to his home. At length the chieftain
came

came up with his daughter ; and, after listening to the controversy for some minutes, he seized me by the hand, and led me into his hut. Here he shewed me to a bundle of rushes, on which I instantaneously stretched my limbs. — I had lain there about half an hour, when the landlord, who by the rest was called khnevo, thinking I was asleep, began to speak of me again with his daughter. I hearkened with all diligence, and discovered the reason of the vehement contest about getting possession of my person. “ We shall obtain,” said he, “ a great “ present from our king, if we send him this “ fine white slave.” The girl considered a few moments ; and then, instead of assenting to her father’s proposal, requested him not to say any more about it at present, but to allow her to lie down by me. She would certainly have got his permission ; but just as she was expecting his answer, the mother entered the hut, and began talking of other things. My extreme fatigue would allow me to listen no longer ; and I fell asleep, oppressed with anxiety and cares, especially as I heard nothing further of my fellow-travellers. — On the following morning, on making more particular inquiries after them, I learnt that they had set out during the night, by clear moon-shine, for Acymiroh, a large village, where the king resides. — I awoke very
I 3 early,

early, as the concern about my future lot had kept me from sleeping sound, inspected the inside of the hut, and found the inhabitants of it all still fast asleep; I therefore, it being a fine morning, went out of the hut to look about me. At the distance of about twenty paces, I saw a brook; and, on going up to it, perceived a part that had been deepened, probably for watering the goats. Here I took a fancy, which on my whole travels had never come into my head before, of washing myself all over; accordingly I threw off my pelice and waistcoat, and jumped into the tank. I now had a sensation perfectly new to me: being thoroughly washed, I felt myself uncommonly refreshed and vigorous. On returning to the hut, I was informed the owner of it was gone out in search of me. I told the people where I had been, and what I had been doing; and they commended me for it. My host came back with a gloomy countenance; but, on seeing me at home before him, it brightened up, and he praised me for my docility. — His daughter was entirely devoted to me, steadily fixing her looks upon me. No sooner had the parents quitted the hut, than she sprang to me, threw her arms about my neck, and asked me, whether I would remain here. “To-morrow I set out,” answered I. “Thou shalt be my husband,

“ husband, if thou wilt stay with us,” returned she. I did what I could to comfort her; and she was again pleased, and as familiar as though we had been acquainted for several years. — The father likewise seemed to take great satisfaction in my friendly behaviour to his daughter, and therefore would not have started any objections, if I had declared that I consented to stay with him and take his daughter to wife. About noon, however, as we were sitting familiarly together in the hut, the inhabitants of the village came flocking before it, and asked my landlord whether he intended to send me to the king to-day, that they might obtain a present in return. He represented to them that I was greatly fatigued, and must previously be allowed proper time to repose. This indeed appeased them for that day; but they insisted on his sending me without fail on the morrow: which was accordingly agreed to. At break of day six men were already standing before the hut, declaring that they were ready to accompany me. My host and his daughter then set about preparing themselves for the journey; and, in an hour afterwards, we set out. — The road was bad; and we were perpetually meeting with obstacles and impediments from the sand, stones and thickets. In the afternoon, however, we came to the villages Uhvoh and Matoh,

passing several straggling huts to Ocymiroh, where above a hundred persons ran together to gratify their curiosity. The evening presently setting in, it was thought advisable not then to present me to the king, and I was taken into a hut, to which, from motives of curiosity, the people kept flocking all the night long.

On the 21st, at noon, I was conducted to the king, by whom I was well received. He was on the point of going out; therefore discoursed but little with me; and concluded by saying that he would not permit me to tarry long in his country, for he knew very well that I was a Moor, and had some secret design in coming. My attendants had expected to receive a considerable present; but they got nothing, because the king, taking me to be a Moor, would not tolerate me in the country. I was perfectly satisfied with the resolution adopted by the king; it being far better than what I had expected: and I would have immediately set forward, had I been acquainted with the road I was to take. I still retained my design of inquiring after the fore-mentioned caravan, for the sake of travelling with it to Guinea, and thence proceeding for Europe on board some christian vessel: for I was weary of travelling, and saw very clearly, that if I continued my journey by land, I should still have a
5 variety

variety of misfortunes to encounter. I remained therefore, in order to obtain all possible information, and collected many useful accounts. I had been here now five days; and, as nobody took me into their care, I was obliged partly to go begging about for subsistence, and partly to live upon the succours supplied me by two or three young women, who were attached to me, and therefore provided me with four milk and meal. — For a sleeping-place also I had no settled lodging, one night sleeping before this hut, and the next before another; for into the huts I did not dare to go.

On the 26th, being an intensely hot day, and most of the inhabitants indulging lazily in their huts, I laid me down in the shade behind one of them, without thinking that the sun would soon shine on that side, and parch my skin if I should fall asleep there. — I found the heat so oppressive that I actually did fall asleep, and only awoke in consequence of somebody shaking my body. I leaped up, when, seeing a man standing near me, and at a little distance several others, I thought that they meant only to teize me a little: on which I began to run; but the man that stood next me, who, I afterwards found, was a royal slave, held me fast, and said that I must go to the king. It seems, as the king was going to bathe in the river, he
had

had seen me lying in the sun behind the hut, and had in consequence inquired who I was. On his being told that I was the stranger brought hither a few days ago, he ordered me to be awakened and brought before him. This command was highly agreeable to me, as it led me to hope that I might obtain his leave to depart; I therefore went to him. The king asked me, how it happened that I was still here; since he thought that by this time I must have been advanced some days on my road. I answered: “ I have been resting after the fatigues of a
“ long journey, in hopes of having permission
“ to travel through thy country.” — “ Who
“ gave thee permission to come into my
“ country?” — “ Nobody besides thee could
“ give it me; I therefore myself took leave to
“ come hither to implore thy farther pro-
“ tection.” — “ On thy being first brought to
“ me, I ordered thee immediately to leave my
“ country; yet, since thou art still here, re-
“ main among my servants till I talk farther to
“ thee: at present thou mayst follow me.” I followed him to the river, and, after he had bathed, attended him to his hut. Here he shewed me into an adjoining hut, and said: “ Continue here till I give thee other orders.” This hut was appropriated to the slaves, who amicably welcomed me among them. Here I
lived

lived on the customary diet, black meal and water, with a piece of sun-dried flesh, three fingers broad, sleeping on the bare earth with the slaves, and in a few days got so full of Pharaoh-lice that I could sweep them off my skin. When I was endeavouring to rid myself of them, the slaves laughed at me, and said, I was taking all that trouble in vain, as here every body had a stock of them, and even the king himself could not be entirely free from them, though he bathed every day. It was my business to bring in fuel, namely reeds and thorns, to attend the king to the bath, and likewise to assist at the forges.

My comrades became royal slaves, because they were too lazy to procure their own livelihood. This is here very usual; and the slaves of the priests and the officers are generally the same sort of drones. They gain, however, nothing by it, as even here they are obliged to work; and besides are never secure for a day that they shall not be sold to some foreign slave-dealer and transported into other countries. If any slave-dealers had come during my stay, I should infallibly have been either sold or exchanged.

One of the female slaves, from my first coming, had constantly shewn an attachment to me, and attended me every where, always

con-

contriving to be associated with me in my various employments; evincing a great affection for me by numberless kind offices. Being employed with her, on the 12th of October, in carrying rushes to the royal huts; and, as she was ever studious to befriend me on all occasions, I was emboldened to disclose to her my design of making my escape, at the same time requesting her aid and assistance, promising either to take her with me, or to reward her handsomely. She assured me that she would facilitate my flight and accompany me; for which purpose she began to make the needful preparations: for instance, my fur-cloak being full of lice, she made me an apron of palm-leaves, put by some of her daily allowance of meat, &c. On the 15th, being again together carrying straw, she acquainted me that she had prepared every thing in such manner that we might escape together the next morning; that I must therefore take care to be stirring in due time, and likewise that my comrades should discover nothing of the matter. I rose earlier than ordinary, and came to the place appointed, where I found her already waiting for me. I was for setting out immediately, but she was of a different opinion; for she asked me what I intended to give her, if she brought me off in safety. I shewed her three guilders, stipulating that

that she should accompany me over the river as far as the Moon-mountains. After a short consideration, she agreed to my terms, took the bundle of provisions on her back, and ordered me to follow her. Having led me safely over the river northwards, we now bent our course, one while to the right, then to the left, for the purpose of avoiding the villages. Towards noon we had already reached the foot of the mountains, and my fears began to abate. Here we sat down to eat once more together; then took a sorrowful leave and parted. As my support for six days, I had with me half a kan of meal, two kans of water, and about two pounds of flesh. My money was reduced to twenty-seven guilders and about fifty shells. I had purloined from my overseer a small hatchet, which he used to give me at times to cut down the thistles with. — With much toil and difficulty I ascended the mountains, and there took up my lodging, but without kindling a fire for fear of betraying myself. As I still adhered to the design of proceeding to the kingdom Akomako (Vangara), and thence of going forward to Guinea with the fore-mentioned caravan, I determined to prosecute my journey with all possible expedition. Accordingly I set out before day-break; but was soon obliged to halt, because in a narrow pass, through which

I must

I must necessarily go, there were a number of lions, who announced their presence by horrid roarings. I therefore sat down on a sharp-pointed rock, and waited till they were gone. — At a distance the mountain appears to rise in a steep pinnacle, but at top it is in most parts two or three miles in width. — To the left of my road was a mine, where the people were looking for gold-sand; but I did not dare to go near it for fear of being known and delivered up. I exerted all my strength to gain the extremity of the mountain-ridge; for it cost me great labour to clamber over the steep and rugged rocks. When I was hanging to one of these rocks, I could never let go my hands till I was able to attain a sure ledge for my feet; otherwise I should have rolled down the precipice. — I stopped in a valley, where I got together a parcel of thistles, grass and brush-wood, in order to kindle a fire and broil three tortoises. After I had appeased my hunger, I laid me down quite close to the fire, and there slumbered for an hour.

On the 19th, in the forenoon, I crossed a pleasant plain; however, in the afternoon I had to go along a sandy district; but in the midst of it I found a spring. — From the 20th to the 24th I saw neither man nor beast, found neither water nor fruits, but was forced to proceed

ceed with a hungry stomach over sand-flats, here and there sprinkled with hills. My water pouch was empty, and no where could I meet with a spring from which to replenish it; consequently I was almost desperate with thirst. — On the 25th I arrived at the frontier-separation; where I descried a great many huts, which were built in a row from east to west. — I lost no time in hesitating whether I should avoid or visit them; the parching thirst I suffered so violently impelled me to the latter resolution. At the first hut, I asked for water and meal; and they referred me to the second, where I got brackish water, but no meal. The water produced a great revolution in my stomach; for, no sooner had I drank it than I felt the most violent pains in my body: fortunately for me, I was at length obliged to cast it all up again. Presently a great number of curious persons assembled around me; but as none of them offered me any thing, I was obliged to have recourse to intreaty. At last, one of the crowd, whom I supposed to be their commander, took me by the hand, and conducted me to his hut, where I received water and meal. A guilder, which I presented him with, made him more obliging still; and by his bounty I fully satisfied the cravings both of hunger and thirst. At my departure he filled my water-pouch, and
gave

gave me besides as much meal as would serve me for two repasts. — I proceeded now across the borders; and in the evening came up, in a valley, to several huts inhabited by Vomanians.

CHAP. IV.

The author comes among the Vomahanians — A few words concerning that people. — The author is well received and plentifully fed with tiger-flesh; he proceeds across Dabanta northwards to the kingdom Vohyagtam — On this road, making a journey of three days, he comes among the travelling free-bordering Negroes, who call themselves Tacmuh — Account of them and their commerce — The author travels in their company as far as the huts on the frontiers of Bahabara — Brief account of that nation. — On the 19th of November he sets out with their caravan, bound to Vangara, by the way of Vadgayu, Ghouto, Yomy, &c. but, not able to bear the fatigue of riding, is left upon the road, where he falls sick — On his recovery, which happens soon after, he pursues his journey over Yomy, back again to Yandoka and Bahabara, the capital, where he is employed for a short time as a slave; but, on his repairing the king's weapons, he obtains his liberty, and travels in the suite of the king to Kaboratho — Description of that country and its capital.

THE nation of the Vomahanians is not numerous; being scarcely able to raise three thousand fighting men: they are faithful to their rulers, and in general good-humoured, philanthropic and hospitable. In manners and usages they approach very near to the main-stock with which they are connected: at times, however, they take to robbery and murder. The elders of the community are at the same time judges and priests, and are held in great respect. — These people are generally thought to

belong to the Negroes, though nothing for certain can be advanced of their origin. — They were formerly in possession of another country, from which they were driven out by more powerful nations: but where that country lay, and when this people was expelled, cannot now be ascertained.

I was taken to the chieftain of a little village, who gave me a kind reception, presented me with meal and water, and refreshed me with a good night's rest. — For these civilities I wished to reward him with a few shells; but my host would not accept of them, saying, that it was his duty to succour distressed travellers. After having presented me with meal and tiger-flesh, which I had never yet tasted, he pointed out to me the course I was to take, and wished me a prosperous journey. In the afternoon I came to Faham, a small river, yielding good water which is of a reddish hue. Here I rested an hour or two, and ate with a hearty appetite a piece of tiger-flesh, which seemed to taste better than goat-flesh. — For several days together I had not met with a tree; and, only at great intervals, a few thrubs: but here I found some fine palm-trees, and wild beasts again made their appearance. Within the circuit of a hundred german miles the lion is the chief animal, but does not exhibit such a grim appearance

as might be imagined. Unless a man runs directly at him, he will not be attacked, but may quietly pursue his way. Between this and evening I met with three more villages, but entered none of them, making the best of my way to Dayhamta, where I was entertained of the best the place afforded. Here I learnt that if I kept to the north, I should in three days come upon the borders of the kingdom Voh-yagtam*. — On the 27th I went over a narrow chain of mountains north-west, and towards evening entered a village still inhabited by Vomahianians, and set out again the next morning attended by the good wishes of the inhabitants. This was the last village belonging to the Vomahianians, though the frontiers were still several german miles distant. I was provided with water and meal for two days, which was a very fortunate circumstance for me, as I met with neither water nor fruits. I travelled on the 28th and the 29th, partly through small thickets, partly over sand-flats, and, contrary to the intelligence I had obtained

* I cannot exactly ascertain whether the kingdom, which in the maps is called Dauma, be this kingdom or not; but it is laid down nearly in the place where the kingdom Voh-yagtam is situate, only it is extended on one side rather too far to the east, and on the other about as much too far to the north.

from the people where I passed the night, met with not a single wild beast. On the 29th, in the evening, I made a small fire, and got some grafs together to rest upon. Scarcely was I laid down, when I heard some human voices at a distance. Without changing my posture, I listened, and could distinctly hear several persons, coming nearer and nearer, talking together. When they were advanced within a few steps of me, I started up, and without speaking a word, placed myself before them. They asked me immediately, what I did there? I answered; “ I am keeping up the fire, as a safe-guard against the wild beasts.” — “ Who art thou?” — “ An unfortunate travelling stranger.” — “ Whence comest thou, and where is thy home?” — I stuck to my usual answer, that I was an Arab, and had suffered shipwreck. On hearing that I understood their speech, they encouraged me to go with them, promising me lodging and food. I left the fire burning, and went along with them. We journied on for two hours, when we took up our quarters under a hill, which was excavated at bottom, as if it had been a vault formed by art, and there ate together of what they had with them. These people, six and twenty in number, belonged to the Negroes, who border on the kingdom of Vohyagtam. They are free, not under the authority

authority of any king, and carry on a very considerable traffic by barter, from the coast to a great distance up the country ; fetching from the Portugueze, English, and French, on the coast, hardwares, looking-glasses, Nuremberg works, and the like ; giving in exchange ivory, gold-sand, furs, &c. They are cordially received by the people of all nations with whom they have dealings, are never detained, nor ever molested in their transactions. The reason of it is in their mutual commerce : for the Europeans are very glad to procure their country-products, and the kings in the interior of the country are abundantly satisfied in obtaining, for their gold-sand, &c. looking-glasses, hardware, corals, rings, bracelets, ear-rings, and other trinkets. If any one molest them, on complaint being made to the kings, he is either punished with death, or sold as a slave. — They likewise traffic in slaves, and bring them to the Europeans on the coast. — They call themselves Taomuh. — Their whole number is stated by themselves at no more than two thousand persons of both sexes. — They could not be persuaded out of the opinion that I was a christian, not however treating me the worse on that account, being already well enough acquainted with the Europeans ; but they even offered, when they were next to go to the coast, to

take me with them to my countrymen, or to the island Fernando, whence they were now come. I replied, that this was not the most direct way for me to go to my own country; since for that purpose I must pursue my journey through the interior of the country. They were satisfied with the answer, and detained me in their company, on their taking the very same road which I had to pursue. On the 30th, we at length reached the frontiers, and passed the night between two rows of hills bordering on the river Tron, in a district where the frontiers of three different nations and territories abut on each other. On the western side these mountains, by a valley, sever the kingdom Bahahara* from the kingdom Vangara, and part them. At the foot of the mountains on the southern side is the frontier-partition of the kingdom Vohyagtam, the confines whereof are determined much farther down by the river just mentioned. This river rises out of the lake Rihmæ (Burnu) †, and

* This kingdom is not set down in the map which I have before me; neither do the geographers give any account of it. According to the pronunciation of the Negroes, the name of it should be written Bahahara.

† This lake, which receives its water from the river Niger, is a day and a half's journey in length, and about four german miles in breadth; sends forth from it three considerable

and runs to the south-west. — At noon we came up to their huts on the borders of Bahahara. The curious inhabitants received me with great joy, thinking that their comrades had brought me with them from the island Fernando; on hearing, however, that I was not a christian, but pretended to be an Arab, their civility was sensibly diminished. I was much surprized at seeing that the behaviour of these people, on hearing that I was not a christian, formed such a complete contrast with the behaviour of the other nations; but I presently learnt that the Arabs and Moors, on commercial accounts, are their most inveterate enemies. I found that a great caravan goes every year from this place, a journey of twenty days, to the kingdom Furno, and on the road is perpetually engaged in hostilities with the roaming Moors. On these expeditions the people go armed, and likewise perform the journey on horseback. — I overheard my comrades, as they were talking with the other people, mention that only one caravan was allowed to go to Vangara, there to barter the commodities which they had brought

siderable rivers, viz. 1. The Kahmgtho, which flows to the south-east; 2. The Trangoht, which flows to the south-west; and, 3. The Gambaru, which runs towards the east. Besides these three grand rivers, this lake also sends forth several smaller ones; but they are frequently dried up.

from the island Fernando. On making farther enquiries, I learnt, that without having to make a large circuit, I could travel with this caravan; which was particularly desirable, as it would pass the river Tigris, which I could not go over alone: I therefore requested the persons who were to undertake this journey, to give me leave to accompany them. This they did not refuse; but they expressed their apprehension, that, after parting from them in Vangara, I should shortly fall into the hands of the wandering robbers, and be sold as a slave. This however did not prevent me from assuring them that I was resolved to travel with them, and to escape the robbers.

This little nation is far more civilized than the others, from its intercourse with the Europeans; it even follows agriculture, furnishes itself with stores, &c. The goats here are remarkable for their size and plumpness, as they are well fed, and otherwise properly attended. — This nation dwelt formerly in another district, under the patronage of the king of Haoussa; but, being there exposed to the visitations of rambling Moors, they resorted to Tambukta; and, finding themselves not in sufficient security even there, they removed to the district where they now dwell in the enjoyment of perfect tranquillity.

On the 9th of November, a hundred and forty armed men set forward on horseback, and I followed them on foot. At noon we reached the village Vadgau, where we took some food and baited the horses. Fearing lest I should not be able to keep with the caravan, I offered one of the riders two guilders if he would procure me liberty to mount one of the pack-horses, and was so fortunate as to succeed in my application. — When we had left the village, which already belongs to the kingdom Bahahara, or Bahaora, we were obliged to dismount and drive the horses before us over steep mountains. — Here I learnt, that this time we were not to travel the usual road, which goes over a tedious desert, twenty or four and twenty german miles across: as, on that account, it is necessary to take a great store of provender and water. — The 10th we were continually on and among mountains; at noon we stopped at the hamlet Ohvuto: it consists of about fourscore huts, and is inhabited by Negroes. They gather fine gourds and melons on the mountains, of which we bought some, but were made to pay very dear for them. We kept always inclining to the north-east, and came up with two miserable villages, where we chose not to put up, but preferred remaining under the open sky. — On the 11th we had the

moun-

mountains near us on the west, and proceeded along a good and level road, without coming to any villages, till the 16th, when we put up at the village Yomy. On the foregoing day several of our caravan had turned off to Mooha, a small town in the kingdom Vangara, on affairs of trade: these on the 16th sent a messenger to us, with the intelligence that they should take a turn on the other side of the lake Burnu, and hoped to join us in Vangara.

This evening we were obliged again to ride over a part of the mountains: and, it being dark, I could not, having neither bridle nor saddle to my horse, keep up with my companions. If I rode as fast as they, I tumbled from my horse; and, if I rode gently, the riders called out to me to ride faster, that I might keep with them. Now, as I had several times fallen from my horse, and got some severe bruises on my body, I at length told my fellow-travellers that, finding it impossible for me to keep pace with them, I had rather travel alone on foot. My remonstrances were all in vain; they told me that these parts were the resort of wild beasts, and besides were greatly frequented by roving bands of robbers; with great difficulty they therefore lifted me again on the horse, at the same time taking the precaution to let two good horsemen ride
5 beside

beside me ; and thus we proceeded in a brisk pace. By day-break we reached Fahya. Here I renewed my remonstrances, as I could not stand on my legs, and felt a violent pain all over me : nevertheless, I was obliged, after resting a few hours, to mount my horse again, that I might have the benefit of their company. I had not gone more than a few paces, when I again fell down from the horse, and lay on the ground deprived of sense. On recovering from my stupor, I found myself in the hut of a good-natured Negro, who told me that my companions were gone on, but had left for me a portion of meal and dried flesh. — I could neither stand nor go, and presently felt that I was in a fever. In a state of despondency I lay on the straw, and several times wished myself dead ; especially on being conveyed from the dwelling-hut into that set apart for the goats. The fever being not known in these parts, the people thought, from the singular motion of my limbs in the fits of the fever, that I was afflicted with some contagious distemper. However, I was not entirely abandoned : a good-natured Negro, perceiving that I drank a great deal of water, boiled me a tea of roots and green leaves, which indeed had a herbaceous taste, but brought on a profuse perspiration, and promoted sleep. During twelve
days

days I had daily two fits of the fever; and I verily believe that I was freed from it entirely by the above-mentioned tea, which likewise strengthened me very much.

From the conversations I had with those that visited me I learnt, that the road to Vangara was not safe, as the little defart which I must necessarily cross, was usually haunted by robbers; also that Vangara was neither so large nor so fine as I had been informed. From all this, I came to the resolution that it would be better to go back a few german miles, and then bend my course for Bahahara. — For my quarters, and the small matter of victuals I had consumed here, I gave the good-natured Negro two guilders; for which he not only heartily thanked me, but even presented me with meal and a fine melon. At my departure he had also made himself ready for travelling, and conducted me over the mountains, across which I had rode in the night-time. At noon I arrived again at Yomy, where I got from my former host a fresh supply of milk and meal, and then took my departure north-westwards. — For two whole days I saw no huts, but had a tolerable road, found various kinds of fruit, and even here and there good springs. This country swarms with ostriches, which by their eggs supply the traveller with a good repast. — On the 5th,
towards

towards evening, I came up to fourteen huts, miserably built, where I found the inhabitants engaged in celebrating a festival by dancing; and obtained permission of them to tarry there. Without eating or drinking, I laid myself down behind one of the huts, and slept till the following morning, when I found myself covered with a goat-skin. A young man brought me meat, milk and meal, conversed with me while I was eating, and furnished me with several useful pieces of information. On my telling him that I was from Syria, for I now thought proper to alter the place of my birth, that the same thing might not befall me as had done some time before, he replied, that when I should come to Bahahara I should meet with caravans coming from Syria. I thanked him for this intelligence, and asked what I had to pay him for the victuals; to which he answered, that it was never the custom here to let travellers pay for any thing. — Saying this, he went out; but soon came running back with the agreeable tidings, that two inhabitants of the place were on the point of setting out for Vohmy, to fetch salt, with whom I might pursue my journey. — On the 8th I departed in company with these people; we traversed a charming plain, but were greatly oppressed by heat, and arrived, quite faint, at a village. At the first hut we
asked

asked for a lodging, which was immediately granted us. But we found a poor host within; as, though we offered to pay him, he could not produce either victuals or drink. We gave him therefore money, and sent him to the dorifata, or judge, to buy eatables with it of him. He shortly after returned, bringing with him meat and meal, and even what was meant to pay for them likewise. We were much surpris'd; but he inform'd us, that the dorifata had directed him to say, that it is a duty to be charitable to strangers, and to exercise hospitality; that he therefore would accept of no payment, but that he request'd us to come to him for a few moments, that he might see his guests. We visit'd him the next morning, and then travelled over hills and mountains, for three hours, to Yandoka, a hamlet of near two hundred huts. Here I breakfasted once more with my fellow-travellers; and, as they remained in this place, took my leave of them, and continued my journey alone. Not long after, I came to a chain of mountains, which might probably be about six or seven leagues in length, and grown over with date and cotton-trees. Here I chose to remain, because I perceiv'd that it would not be possible for me to reach the town of Bahahara, it being still three or four leagues distant. — On the 10th, in the forenoon, I came

I came to that town ; where I was immediately taken in custody by six soldiers, and carried to the dwelling-place of the king. But he sent word to the guard, that, as he could not speak with me that day, they must take me back, and keep a strict watch over me. Accordingly, I was conveyed into a goat-hut, and presented with victuals and drink in abundance. — Next morning an order came to bring me to the king ; I followed, and was brought before him. At my entrance a variety of questions were put to me by one of his ministers* ; namely : Wherefore was I come into that country ? — Whether I had brought the king any presents ? — Whither I intended to proceed ? — and whether I was a christian ? I answered, that I had thought it the nearest and also the safest way to travel through that country ; that I was an unfortunate mariner who had lost all his property, and no christian ; neither did I require any farther assistance than quarters for the night, and, if it were possible, meat and drink for one day ; but that if my presence were

* The king understood my language ; but, from stateliness, chose to talk with me through his minister, as he only speaks with his officers and great men by his own mouth : and it was a testimony of extreme grace and condescension in him, afterwards, to converse personally with me.

disagreeable to the king, I was ready to quit the town immediately. On receiving orders to remain, as the king wanted to have some conference with me himself, I was taken back to my hut, and again supplied with meat and drink. I lived very comfortably here till the 14th, eating, drinking and sleeping; but now my affairs took another turn. An officer fetched me from where I was, and conveyed me to the slave-hut; where, on the succeeding morning, I was obliged to rise very early, and, by command of the overseer, first feed the horses, then press dates, and, at last, carry the implements for hunting, such as a spear, two fowling-pieces, and a water-vessel, into the forest. These offices, however, I retained only a few days. For once, as I was carrying the king's guns into the forest, I examined them. The king, observing this, asked why I examined them. I answered, to see, as they were in a very bad condition, whether they could not be repaired. The locks had probably not been unscrewed and oiled for some years, and were therefore all over rust. The king, perceiving me thoughtful, asked whether I would put his arms in better order; on my replying in the affirmative, he said, that I should have another dwelling, and more conveniencies, that very day. — I have remarked above, that in the country of Bahahara,

hahara, and the adjacent parts, it is customary for people to travel about on purpose to clean arms, and repair them when damaged. It may therefore be thought that my pretending to work in this way was superfluous; but, for clearing up this matter, I must mention what follows: A few years before my arrival, the king of Haoussa declared war against the king of Bahahara, and did him considerable mischief. The armourers, as I may call them, had just at that time been putting the arms of the latter king in good condition, and were about to go away, when the king sent them orders not to depart, but to abide in his capital, that they might not furbish and repair the arms of his enemies. Resolving, however, to go, as there was no more to be earnt in this place, the king ordered them to be arrested and thrown into prison, from which they were not to be delivered till the termination of the war. From that time forth they have never come into the country, notwithstanding that the king has made them large promises. — That very evening a roomy hut was assigned me, adjoining to what is called the palace of the king; I had victuals and drink brought me whenever I chose, and was waited on by a slave. I took my own time, worked very leisurely; but what I did was therefore of the more importance.

On the third day I presented the king with the first repaired fowling-piece, on which I was loaded with encomiums, and dismissed with assurances of the royal favour. — After a short time I was again sent for by the king, who commissioned me to rectify the damaged arms of all the soldiers, and likewise to furnish some of the soldiers with directions to enable them in future to repair their own arms. In regard to the former I could not give him a satisfactory answer; representing to him that, as I was not able to make new locks and triggers, it would be impossible for me to repair all the arms; but such as were within my ability should be done. He was satisfied with my remonstrances, saying, that he did not require of me more than to do what I could, as the arms without locks and triggers might still be of service. I, some time afterwards, informed myself how this could be, and was told, that the soldiers who went with such arms to war, fired them by applying burning wood or glowing embers to the pan. — I had now a very good time of it, working at my own option, and at leisure hours strolling about the town, in order to make acquaintances, and to study the manners, customs, and ceremonies of the country. I not unfrequently attended the king to the chace, and found it a very agreeable pastime. The king repeatedly urged

urged me to take a wife ; nay, he even seemed disposed to cede to me one of his four hundred concubines : but I diverted him from his purpose by telling him that I had already a wife and three children in my own country, whom, if he would permit me, I would go and fetch hither. At the beginning of March 1788 the king informed me, that the time was drawing nigh when he should leave Bahahara, on account of the bad water at that season, and repair to Kahoratho, where a canal was conducted from the river Gambia, yielding fresh and good water. It was easy for me to imagine that he would command me to attend him ; and I therefore came to the resolution, either with his consent, or privily, to pursue my journey from that place. Two days previous to the king's departure, I actually received orders to get myself in readiness to set out with him. Thanking the king for his gracious commands, and for the confidence he reposed in me, I at the same time requested him to give me leave to set forward on my way home, that I might be back again with him before the rainy season came on. — “ How many days journey hast thou to thy home ? ” interrogated the king. — I answered, “ More than thirty. ” — “ I will give thee two trusty persons to accompany thee thither and back again. ” — “ That fa-

“ your I cannot accept ; first, because I could
“ not maintain these people on the road, and
“ again, because the arrival of them in my
“ country would attract so much observation
“ as would induce my king to put me in
“ prison, to prevent me from returning ; since
“ it is my business there, as I have done here,
“ to keep the guns of my king in good order :
“ consequently I could not leave him by day,
“ but must contrive to come clandestinely away
“ by night, in order to return to thee.”— By
these arguments the king was moved to grant
me permission shortly to take my departure. —
On the 13th we set out from Bahahara, in full
court-state, namely, with twenty priests, four
hundred men on foot, two hundred horsemen,
and about a hundred wives of the king. —
Bahahara is upwards of a league in length, and
above three quarters of a league in breadth,
has few houses, though a great many huts con-
structed of rushes and palm-leaves, and having
the lower parts plaistered with mortar. The
town is surrounded by a double palisade, con-
tains about a hundred temples very badly built,
scarcely better than the huts, and has four
streets formed by the disposition of the huts
into five rows -- The palace, like the few houses,
consists only of one story, but is extremely
spacious, comprising the sixth part of the whole
town.

town. It is inclosed by a wall built of flints and pieces of rock, five feet high, three feet thick, and very irregular. In the court of the palace stand nine detached buildings, inhabited by the priests, the concubines and officers. On the north side of it is a quadrangle surrounded with stones, in which the horses belonging to the horsemen on guard stand at night. The king's mansion is on the south-side, and consists of four apartments, which among us would be called stables. One of them I plaistered with mortar, painting it a green colour from young palm-leaves and the juice of tamarinds, at which the king was extremely pleased. — In the town are two market-places: one not far from the palace, for fruits and corn; the other on the west side of the town, where fish, fowl, and other animals are sold and bartered. The merchants, of whom here are ten or twelve, make Mondays and Wednesdays, according to our division of the week, their principal days of business, when they publicly hang out on bare poles such commodities as they have for sale. Every year likewise two great fairs are held, to which foreign merchants are said to come from the distance even of twenty days journey. As neither of them happened during the time of my stay, I can say nothing farther about them.

The train, it is true, proceeded but slowly out of town, yet I could not properly keep up with it. I had the honour, indeed, of marching in the van, but then I was burdened with two musquets, a water-jug, containing about three kans of water, some pieces of flesh, a couple of tortoises, and about a peck of meal, and I sat to rest, as the day was uncommonly hot, on a stone. My comrades laughed at me, but the commanding officer rebuked them for it, as he thought I was sick, and mentioned it immediately to the king, who ordered the guns to be taken from me, and a horse to be given me, which proved a comfortable relief. In the afternoon we came to Kahoratho, where we found the huts in readiness, and every thing else in due order; twenty men having been sent hither three days previous to our departure, for the purpose of making the necessary preparations. — Kahoratho is not deserving of the name of a town; the huts that compose it being extremely wretched, as all the timber used here must be fetched from the distance of several leagues, and that is a long way for the lazy inhabitants to go: they therefore prefer living in ruinous huts; nay, as I myself saw, passing day and night in the open air. The place is situate in an extensive plain, across which the before-mentioned canal is conducted. Farther
on

on are mountains, bearing fruit-trees of various kinds, on the produce whereof the inhabitants live all the year round. Fish, turtles, tortoises, as also wild-fowl, are found here in great abundance.

Ere I proceed to give an account of the farther prosecution of my journey, I will add a few more particulars concerning the institutions, manners, customs, and other objects that fell under my observation.

This kingdom lies two points of the compass to the north, nine days from Vangara on the east-side, and twelve days journey on the west-side from Tambuko. The length of it from east to west amounts to six, and the breadth from north to south, to three and a half day's journey. — It contains three towns, namely: 1. Bahahara, the capital, situate in the centre of the country; 2. Mahoora, on the west-side of the territory; and, 3. Kahoratho, situate one day's journey north-eastwards of the capital. It is a fruitful country, and here and there are cultivated spots; abounding in animals, both wild and tame, as likewise in fish. The river Gambia runs through a tract of this country on the north-east side, and gives water to two small lakes. On the mountains which cut the territory from east to north-west, are plenty of fruit-trees, the principal whereof is

the date-tree. The vallies afford excellent pasture for horses, oxen, and goats. The great waters and rivers of this country are not the haunts of crocodiles, as some geographers pretend. — Of the manners, customs, and usages of this nation to say much would be superfluous, as the manners and customs of the Negroes who are transported to Asia and America, by the slave-merchants, as well from this country as from the neighbouring kingdoms, have already been described by several. The king is absolute, his subjects being so completely in his power, that he can sell them*. Next to him the priests play the greatest parts, though they dare not oppose the king in any matter which he has once resolved on. In every village a *clorifata* (overseer or judge) is appointed, who must be chosen by the king himself. Every town has three judges, who are generally officers; and, as they have the ear of the king, often decide controversies by favour. The king's force consists of sixteen thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. The latter, however, are badly provided, having neither bridles nor saddles to their horses, using only

* Numbers of the subjects, who cannot gain a subsistence in their villages, apply to the king to work as slaves for a bare maintenance; but are usually sold to the slave-dealers in order to make room for others.

a few thongs for guiding them. — They trade in dates, cotton, and skins, to Syomohatony, six day's journey from Tambukø, and even to a greater distance, both by water and in caravans.

CHAP. V.

The author's departure from Kaborabo by the villages Alatany, Sahmeeb, and waterless districts. — Description of the byong-fruit. — The author comes to the first border-village of the kingdom of Haoussa, where he is ill-treated by the Samtygeety, a piratical nation; but one of them, attaching himself to him, conducts him over the Gumburu, or Niger. — The author comes to the village Kongas, where he is taken prisoner, and conveyed to the capital Haoussa. — In Haoussa the author is conducted to the king, by whom he is admitted into the royal service. — Endeavours used to deprive him of the king's favour from envy and revenge; he secures it however by some cabinet-works and making arms. — Remarkable instance of strict attachment to justice in the king, by which the author is delivered from a dangerous situation. — The author obtains from some of his friends in the town accounts concerning the neighbouring nations, and makes himself acquainted with the route into the Greater Barbary. — Account of a war between the king of Haoussa and the king of Vangara. — The Haoussians force their way into the capital Vangara, and take it; of which transaction the author is an eye-witness. — Conditions of peace. — Description of the town Vangara. — Retreat to Haoussa. — The author makes his escape from that kingdom, and proceeds to the kingdom Feene, distant only a journey of three days and a quarter from it. — A circumstantial description of the kingdom Haoussa and its capital. — The author travels as a gun-maker, through the villages Yelly and Pygeesity to the town of Feene, where he repairs arms, receives good entertainment and an ample recompense. — He lives here six months very comfortably, and then departs provided with instruments, clothes, and provisions, as also with a letter of recommendation, in company of a small caravan, to Sille.

ON the 17th of March I took my departure, when the king presented me with two hundred

shells, and a stock of provisions, and appointed two persons to attend me. I bent my course to the north-east on the mountains that skirt the plain in which Kahoratho stands. In the village Abatamy I made no long stay; but in Sahmeeh, where my attendants left me, I remained the night. On the morrow I came to not one village, therefore took up my lodging on a steep rock. Both here and farther on I found no want of fruits and edible roots, but I experienced a great dearth of water. After diligently exploring the vallies and clefts of the rocks, and not finding any where a single drop of water, I was forced to continue my progress till the 23d, without having seen either water or a human creature. On that day however I came to a few huts; but, on running joyfully up to them, found them uninhabited: they having been deserted for want of water, and the people gone for a time to a better district. Leaving this place, I directed my steps more to the east than to the north, for the sake of going round the mountain which was to the north of me, and came towards evening to a fine forest, where I found various kinds of fruit, particularly the *biyong**, and with them as-
suaged

* This fruit resembles the quince, is of a reddish colour, a sweet taste, and of the size of a hen's egg. The pulp, which is of a pale red and is mealy, contains no pips. The

assuaged both my hunger and my thirst. Here I made a fire and lay down near it; but in an hour after was disturbed by a visit from six men, who had lain down at a little distance from me; and, having seen the fire, had come up to know who had kindled it. Sitting down by me, they said they were the inhabitants of the huts which I had found abandoned; that they had built other huts at the back of the wood, and were come hither to gather fruits. They tarried with me that night, and in the morning I accompanied them to their huts; first asking them for water, of which I got a plentiful supply. It was fetched from the Gamburgu*, at a little distance from the huts. I now enquired which way I was to take, what nations I should come to, whether it was safe travelling, &c. They advised me to keep to the north; which I did. Before me stood a small mountain, which I ascended, and there found such a number of scorpions that I trod on them at every step. As I had declined rather

tree that produces the fruit has a white bark, large circular leaves, and strong arms, like our oaks. The inhabitants of the country make mats of the leaves for covering their tents; the fruit, after being dried in the sun, they pound fine, and then bake cakes of the flour.

* It is the same with the Niger, only in these parts it bears the above name.

too far to the north-west, it was not till evening that I came to a village, which I might otherwise have reached at noon. Perceiving no inhabitants about the huts, I began to think that they also were deserted, and accordingly was about to enter one of them; when, on making the first step within, a couple of Negroes sprung up to me, and struck me with their sticks. I cried out and ran, but they continued beating me till I fell to the ground, where they left me. After recovering a little, I took courage and limped slowly along to another hut. Here I met with a young girl, who seemed to pity me. I shewed her my back and my loins, which were bloody, seized her hand, and put on various gestures of supplication, since she was as unacquainted with my language as the merciless wretches who had just quitted me. She made signs to me to stay where I was; then, running out, fetched her father, and gave me a piece of dried flesh. The old man spoke a few words to his daughter, and then asked me by signs, whence I came, whither I was travelling, and what I wanted. I gave him to understand, in the same manner, whence I came, whither I was going, and that I wished to have a night's lodging under his roof. He nodded; and his daughter, taking me by the hand, led me to the hut. Hither all the inhabitants ran together.

some

some threatening by their gestures to beat me again ; but the old man would not consent to it, and took me into the hut, where I passed the night in great anxiety about the future. Ere the other inhabitants of the village were up, the old man conducted me to the river, and conveyed me over. The float he made use of for this purpose was composed of two trees stripped of their bark, and tied together. I afterwards learnt that this village is not within the kingdom of Bahahara, but belongs to Haoussa. The borderers are mostly robbers, fixing one while in one place, and then in another, and are called Santygoety. They were formerly subjects of the kingdom Gratulagi, or Kaugha, but were expelled from it on account of their depredations. — Having no cattle, and cultivating no grounds, they must, of course, live very miserably ; especially as they never go out to plunder till compelled to it by hunger. The Haoussians, to whom I afterwards came, were much surpris'd that I had escap'd these robbers, telling me that numbers of travellers had met with their deaths among them ; that they were in number fifteen hundred persons ; that, to save themselves the necessity of bringing up their children, they sold them, and stole adults to supply their place.

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On the 26th I again saw two villages, but avoided them; appeasing my hunger with fruits. I slept at night in a tree, that I might not fall into the clutches of the lions, who were roaring on all sides. — After a progress of several hours I came to the village Kongoa; inhabited by Haoulanians, who at first denied me entrance, as they thought me to be a forerunner of the plundering slaves. On hearing, however, that I was not strong in the language of the country, and therefore could not be a neighbouring robber, they shewed me into a goat-hut; where, when the goats were served with provender, I received a trifling portion of milk and meal. In the morning, when the goats were turned out, I would have left the hut likewise, but the people pushed me back, and, giving me some meal and milk, bolted the door upon me. About noon an old man, unbolting the door, surveyed me closely, and made me a sign to follow him. When I came to his hut, there were at least a hundred persons assembled at it, who asked me by signs to what place I was going, whether I had money about me, &c. I strove to answer these questions again by signs, and at the same time to excite their compassion, by shewing them my back and my loins, which were black and blue from the blows I had received from the robbers. This had its effect.

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by obtaining me a supply of tortoise-flesh, milk, meal and fruits; but, in an hour after, I was obliged to go back to the goat-hut. On the 28th of March, early, before break of day, four men entered, armed with spears, bringing me meal and water, with which having filled my pouch, they ordered me to follow them. As it would have been folly to resist, I put up my pittance of provision, and followed them. We proceeded north-eastwards over a plain, on which were seen villages in several parts, which, however, we shunned. At noon we rested at an exsiccated lake; then, crossing a mountain, over-grown with fruit-trees and great quantities of reeds, we descended it into the village Yoomato, consisting of four and forty huts, where we passed the night together in one of them. From the looks and gestures of the inhabitants I perceived that they pitied me, at the same time giving me to understand, that some unhappy disaster would certainly befall me. Being exceedingly weary, I was unable to eat any of the victuals that were plentifully brought me, and fell asleep. — Early in the morning we broke up our quarters; but I was soon obliged to sit on the ground, being foot-sore, and the Negroes going very fast; however, they were so considerate as to wind some leather about my feet, and to proceed more slowly; upon which I

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followed, and held out till evening. In the fourth village that we came to this day, we put up for the night, and soon went to rest. This village, named Zooto, consists of about sixty huts, is situate three or four leagues from the river Niger, in a fertile plain, where barley, turkish corn and gourds are cultivated. — The following morning they gave me greafe to anoint my swelled feet; and, in commiseration of my condition, detained us till noon, when a dinner was set before us, consisting of gourds fried in okonno-grease*. This dish is reckoned a great delicacy; but we would not taste it, because the greafe congealed ere we could get the bits to our mouths.

After dinner we broke up, and proceeded over a small mountain, from the top of which we had a view of the beautiful plain beneath, the town Haouffa lying in the back-ground, and in the front of the landscape the great river Niger. Here I perceived myself all at once

* This greafe is of a pale-green colour, coming properly from berries of the higness of our cherries. The juice is pressed out, then boiled till it becomes must, yet not ill-tasting. This must is now used instead of lard or butter, for making cakes, &c. The tree which produces the berries is shaped like a german fir, having branches and leaves quite from the ground to the top, all hanging downwards. It bears at the same time blossoms and berries all the year round.

transported into a totally different country: beholding, as far as the eye could reach, huts, houses, delightful thickets, enlivened by goats, horses and camels feeding, people busy in their employments both on foot and on horse-back, &c. I can safely affirm, that this district is one of the finest, if not the very finest, in all Africa. — From the mountain it was a good hour's walk to the Niger, where we intended to be conveyed across. But six of the Moors in the *ositatho* * refused to let us have the people, wanting likewise to send my companions back, and to detain me. Not understanding their language, I could not answer the interrogatories, and therefore stood silent. This confirmed them in the opinion that I was a christian, and therefore they told my companions (as I was afterwards informed) that they would not suffer me to enter the town. My attendants would have consented to my being sent back with all their hearts, if they would not thereby have lost all hopes of the gratuity they expected to receive for bringing me; accordingly they refused to comply, and the dispute was pertinaciously carried on on both sides, till at length we began to capitulate. Our guides were dispatched over the river to the little town

* The ferry-house is so called.

of Boofu, while I remained in custody of the others. — Here at this river a guard is constantly stationed to keep a look-out concerning suspicious persons who apply to be ferried over, and to deliver them up to the king. These people, however, frequently go beyond their duty, by occasionally seizing a man and selling him to the slave-dealers, or sending such christians as they can kidnap to the christian merchants on the coast, from whom they obtain a considerable ransom. — In the evening of the next day our messenger returned in company with three armed Moors on horseback. These were to serve as our escort; and accordingly at break of day attended us over the river, for which the fare of each person was six zimpos. We soon came to Boofu, a small lively town of about two hundred houses and a hundred huts, situate a half-day's journey from Haoussa. The trading caravans that go from Haoussa, Feenc, Sille and Tambuko to Vangara and into the kingdom of Mohopharo, stop here to furnish themselves with provisions and provender for the horses, which are here much cheaper than at Haoussa. — We were carried to the akomoni, or judge, who first entertained us with victuals, and then enquired, by means of an interpreter, concerning the purport of my journey. Having answered all his questions, he began to nego-

tiate with my conductors, offering them six hundred zimpos for my person, in the design of selling me hereafter, as a slave, at a much higher price. But his offer was rejected; my conductors referring to the order of the king, to bring all wayfaring foreigners to him. We were now put under convoy of six armed men, to be conducted to the king in the capital. Though we had still three german miles to go, yet the way did not seem tedious to me, as we were always meeting people, and my attention was struck by a diversity of objects.

It was already dark when we came to Haoussa; which, standing on a mountain, may be seen at a great distance. The king being gone to rest, we were obliged to remain with the guard at the gate; but we were treated with good eatables, and particularly some delicate goat's flesh broiled. — About eight o'clock the next morning, I was admitted into the court of the palace, and conveyed to the king. He ordered a number of questions to be put to me, and he was particularly interested in the account of my journey, of which he was eager to know all the particulars. In order to convince him that I was no spy, and to gratify his curiosity, I drew my journal from under my waistcoat, and related from it such parts as I chose, and especially those which I thought he would
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be the most entertained in hearing; the interpreter writing down several of these accounts on a piece of wood, which he handed to the king. — When he had read them, he ordered meat and drink to be set before me immediately, then directed me to be taken to the house of his servants, and to be provided with a cloak. All this was accordingly done; and I was obliged to lay aside my sheep-skin pelice and waistcoat. The cloak, according to the custom of the country, was made very long, and consisted of reddish-coloured linen. The number of the royal servants, including myself, amounted to eight and sixty persons. Our functions were, to attend the king twice a day to the temple, and once to the place where he issued his decrees; also whenever he went to visit any thing out of the town, alternately to bear him on a litter. Eight persons were commonly employed in the last office, so that the turn came in rotation only once in several weeks. — When I had been here a fortnight, it pleased the king to make an excursion to Boosu, and to visit many things there; and, it being my turn, I was ordered to prepare for the journey. On receiving this notice I was extremely distressed on considering how I should go through with the service, as it was generally performed in a sort of harness. At first I

managed tolerably well; but, as it was never the practice to make a halt, I was so overcome with fatigue that I fell down. The Moors, my comrades, attempted to raise me up; but, being utterly unable to concur with their efforts by helping myself, they took their trammels from the litter, and were going to beat me. On this, I set up a violent scream, in order to attract the king's attention, who, immediately giving orders to halt, enquired what was the matter, and commanded one of the Moors who attended him on horseback to dismount, to give me his horse, and to take my place as one of the bearers. — This drew upon me the hatred of some of the attendants, of which, however, they let nothing appear, from reverence to the king, particularly as they perceived that he behaved kindly to me. — After a stay of six days, the king returned to the capital, previous to his departure giving orders that I should not act as a bearer, but ride. I did as he had commanded; and, at our arrival, restored the horse to his owner with many thanks. — No employments being assigned me, I took to some of my own accord: in particular, I sometimes visited a man who carved various devices out of wood, and he was highly pleased that I frequented him, in the hopes of learning several things of me. While

with him, I made a square frame and a cupboard, not indeed so well as a european joiner; but then I had not the necessary tools, being obliged to make use of a sharp knife instead of a chissel, and a stone was the only substitute I had for a sine plane. — After having gone to and fro to this man's for about ten days, the king one day sent for me, and forbade me to go for the future into the town: the fact was, that attempts had been made to bring me into suspicion with him, by persuading him that I entertained some ill designs. I vindicated myself by saying, that I had done no harm; that I had only gone at times to a workman in wood, because I was also one myself. This pleased him; and he told me, that, since I was a workman in wood, I should work for him. On my promising him that I would do so, he immediately ordered wood to be fetched, and likewise gave me permission to go every day, for two hours, and look about the town. — The first thing I made for the king was a chest of eight drawers, and next a small repository, which I painted red and yellow. Both pieces met with his entire approbation, looking at them very often, moving them first to one place, then to another; now putting one thing in them, and then something else. I now made him three pair of knife-handles, and as many

for forks, of goat-bones, adding to them silver rings, in which I carved several letters of his name, viz. M. H. Y. (Maohaouffary), polishing them all as finely as I could. At this he testified a hearty satisfaction, and promised to reward me as he should see occasion. — One holiday I took the opportunity of asking leave to go out of town to look about me. He did not refuse my request, but gave me a passport, which was a piece of wood, whereon was carved the royal arms, namely a half tiger; telling me that I might be absent till sun-set, but that then I must attend him to the temple. — Accordingly I passed out through the north gate to the village Vahafua, situate at about an hour's walk from the town. On my approach to it, three men came out of it, riding directly up to me. Taking me for a deserter, they told me, that if I did not go back immediately to town, they would carry me thither bound. Perceiving me make some hesitation, they leaped from their horses, and struck me with their sabres. On this I produced my pass; but they snatched it from me, tied my hands together, and, hanging me between two horses, hurried me into the town to the king. The king expressed his surprise at this proceeding, as he had given me a pass; and enquired what was become of it. On presenting it to

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him,

him, they said, that they had taken it from me to prevent me from executing my designs. At the same time, one of the men made up a story of untruths, pretending that I was going to attack them, &c. During all this, I spoke not a word, hearkening only to what the man said: this attracted the king's notice; and, turning to me, he asked, whether the accuser spoke truth. I justified myself, by appealing to the licence granted me by his pass; representing to him, that, as I was not thoroughly versed in the language of the country, these people might have misunderstood me, and erroneously thought that I abused them. — The king was very patient and gentle during the whole conversation, which I interpreted as promising me some comfort. At last he commanded me to be carried to prison, but ordered the principal accuser to remain, that he might see, on the following day, how I should be punished. — Being now utterly inconsolable, convinced that the end of my life was drawing near, I had not slept a wink, when, in the morning, four soldiers came to me, bidding me follow them. As I went, I perceived people who pitied my condition; but others, standing here and there, who seemed to enjoy my distress. On the public place where I was to be punished, thirty soldiers on foot, and twenty on horseback, were drawn

drawn up in a circle, in the middle whereof a buffalo's skin was stretched; and near it stood six young men, two of the strongest having platted thongs in their hands. I was all over in a tremor, on the point of fainting every moment, concluding that I was either to undergo a violent death or certainly to be cruelly scourged. The king, with his officers, now arriving, he called for the principal accuser, who sprung into the circle apparently with great satisfaction. The king now asked me, whither I had purposed to go? — I answered: “To
 “ Vahafua.” — “Where didst thou meet the
 “ stranger?” said he then to the accuser; who replied: “On the by-road behind Vahafua*.” On which, the king immediately ordered the man to be stripped, then thrown on the buffalo's skin, and to have sixty strokes on the belly. All present were astonished to see the punishment they expected was to be given to me inflicted on the accuser; but they presently saw how the matter stood, on hearing the king declare, that “Nobody should belye a stranger,
 “ or do him an injury, or endeavour to draw
 “ on him a punishment which he has not de-
 “ served.” The delinquent, after receiving

* That is the way to Feene, to which place numbers had secretly made their escape from this territory.

this chastisement, was directly sent over the borders of the country, while I was put in his post, and received his horse. The king then related to me how it happened, that he had resolved to make a strict examination into the real state of the case ~~between~~ me and the man now banished. Having perceived, he said, that it was the very person who, on the journey to Boofu, was obliged to dismount from his horse, and take my place in bearing the litter; and, having remarked at that time that he looked displeased and angry at me, he had therefore come to this conclusion, that the accusation was only founded in malice and revenge: adding, that his suspicions were fully confirmed by the confession of the two companions of the accuser, on their being brought to a strict examination.

I now ventured to petition the king to let me depart; but this he refused, by saying; “It is thy duty to do as I command thee.” — The martially (under officer) of the Moors, now took me with him, delivering to me my horse, with a bridle of rope, and half a goat’s skin for a saddle, at which I was much surpris’d; because I foresaw that I should not be able to do much with these implements, but should probably run the same risks as I had done before; accordingly I resolved to renew my request to
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the king, that he would allow me to prosecute my journey, or at least appoint me to some other post. The next morning I was ordered to appear before him; when he directly asked me whether I could ride, &c. to which I answered: No. "Then thou must learn," said he, "as I design thee for a higher station, if thou wilt remain with me." For the present I did not presume to solicit him again for my dismissal, as he of himself had once more spoke of my remaining here. Had I resolutely insisted on being dismissed, I should have run the hazard of being sent as a present to his brother-in-law Soomahaty*, where I should infallibly pass my days in misery. I therefore resigned myself to fortune, hoping to make my escape at some fit opportunity, and in a short time learnt to ride, that is, to sit so firm on my horse, as to be able to charge and fire my gun. My office was solely to be about the king, when he chose to be carried abroad, or when he rode out on his great camel, which was led by four men; the rest of my time I employed in carv-

* King of Zamfara, who was represented as a very cruel man. He was really married to the sister of the king of Haoussa, keeping, besides, four hundred concubines, of whom he sold those who no longer pleased him, to the slave-dealers, and in their places picked up others about the country.

ing toys, or in strolling about the town for information concerning the neighbouring nations. At two several times caravans from the western Barbary passed through on their way to Vangara. With either of these I would gladly have stole away, but I found it impossible to effect my design. In one of my rambles I made acquaintance with the richest merchant in the town, named Koobi. This man carried on a considerable trade, constantly keeping two caravan-teams of a hundred and sixteen beasts of burden, and a number of slaves on the road. One of his slaves, an ingenious and active young man, diverted me at times by relating a variety of circumstances concerning his travels; and, among other things, I got out of him an accurate account of the march-route into the greater Barbary. — Now came on the rainy season, when the king never rode out, going only to the temple and promulgating his decrees in the court of the palace. I had therefore more time to prepare secretly for my flight, by exercising myself in pronouncing the hard words in the language of the country, learning of the afore-mentioned slave the most ordinary expressions in the language of the neighbouring nations, and the like. One day, the king, shewing me a musquet with a broken shoulder-piece, asked me whether the workman in wood
that

that I was acquainted with was capable of making another. I said I would shew him the stock; and, taking it with me, I myself made a new stock, which pleased the king so well, that he presented me with fifty zimpos.

At the end of the rainy season I purposed to get off by stealth; but my design was frustrated by the breaking out of a war between my king and the king of Vangara. We hastened to the field as fast as possible, and the army was already mustered by the 24th of July; and though, as the rainy season was not entirely over, the soldiers were obliged to march, for half the day, up to the middle in water, yet they were still alert and courageous. The king of Vangara perhaps thought it impossible for our army to push on through the vallies overflowed with water, in order to come at his frontiers; but he was mistaken. — Our king, likewise, made use of a stratagem to prevent the king of Vangara from knowing when his army was to begin their march. On the 22d of July, about noon, an officer came to the capital from the enemy, attended by four Moors, bringing with him the declaration of war. It was written on a narrow strip of white leather, rolled on two long sticks. On delivering it he said, that the king his master would come here and fetch it back. Our king put on a very friendly coun-

countenance, gave the officer the best entertainment his palace afforded, but issued private orders for his own army to be kept in readiness to march; saying to the officer, that when the vallies and plains were free from water, he would take back the sticks himself; that is, would begin the war.

On the 25th, before sun-rise, the infantry was in full march, which at noon was followed by half of the cavalry. The enemy's officer purposed to set out on his return that same day, but the king intreated him to remain, promising to accompany him on the following day, to prevent his being attacked. On the 24th, at noon, the king set out with his officers and him belonging to the enemy, taking me also among his body-guard. On the first day we arrived at Taabasa, a small town of two hundred huts, where we were joined by five hundred Moors. Passing the Niger on the 25th, we were in extreme danger of our lives, inso-much that we could not prevent the loss of twenty men who perished in the floods, as the river was too much swollen, and yet the cavalry who could not be carried over, were forced to swim across with their horses. We now reached Maatoh, a village of forty huts, in the valley through which the Niger flows.

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On the 26th and 27th, we marched over a chain of mountains towards the east, advancing on the 28th at noon to the Krahotu, or Gold-mountains. Here, making halt, we sent the hostile officer to his king, commissioning him to tell him, that king Maonaouffay was come into his country with his forces to visit him. The officer had twenty men to escort him as far as Kahfuto, a small town in Vangara. As soon as he was gone, accounts were brought that the infantry were already on the enemy's ground, where they waited for farther orders. — An european army, that excepted which Bonaparte led over the prodigious mountains of Switzerland, would never have ventured to do what I here saw performed by undisciplined troops. We had before us the two enormous ridges of mountains which we had already crossed in one of their turnings; but in this place were far steeper and more inaccessible than in the former, insomuch that I thought it absolutely impossible for us to surmount them: but I witnessed what I had held to be impracticable.

At break of day the king issued the necessary orders to his officers; whereupon, in half an hour, the cavalry that were with us drew up, flung their musquets, and raised a horrid shout that re-echoed from the mountains. They cried:

cried out: *Osothsugo, koato aqulaty!* that is, "Death and the place of torment (with us *Hell*) shall not deter us!" and the whole troop sprung up the mountain; so that, though pieces of the rock flew off, not one of them met with any accident. The royal camp was now broke up, and it was our turn to clamber up the steep declivity. I alighted from my horse, and with extreme difficulty attained the summit. The king continued sitting on his camel, smoking a pipe of tobacco completely undismayed. — A new obstacle now made its appearance; for below ran an arm of the Niger, which we must inevitably cross. The king remained on the camel, led by the swimming slaves, and got safe over. I followed on horseback, and likewise happily succeeded; but I felt great pain in my feet, as the ropes here used for stirrups had chafed the skin so sorely, that the blood ran down. In like manner we were now to climb the second mountain; and during this perilous business the evening came on. On coming to the other foot of the mountain, we made halt and pitched our camp on the enemy's ground. At the distance of about three leagues before us we discerned a fire with smoke rising, which proceeded from the infantry that had marched on, and were already busily employed in plundering, burning, and destroy-

destroying. At the sight of this joy spread throughout our camp, which now burst forth in shouting and singing. The next morning powder and small pebbles, instead of balls, were distributed to all the people of the camp, as well to the servants, slaves and priests, as to the soldiers, that we might be in a condition to resist in case of an attack ; which, however, was not likely to be expected. At noon threescore and two prisoners were brought in, and afterwards conveyed farther. These people were indeed deplorable objects, and excited great pity and compassion, for they were miserably maimed and disfigured ; some being shot, others hacked with sabres, and others wounded by spears : besides, these wretches were entirely naked and destitute, as every thing had been taken from them, and even their huts burnt. — Here were neither camp-hospital, nor medicine-chest, nor other similar means of relief to be had ; no styptics to apply to the wounded : but, when the prisoners by crying and howling expressed the extreme violence of their pains, recourse was immediately had to the cantery, by burning their wounds ; and even this was done by especial grace of the king. Our march proceeded very slow ; for this day we came only to within somewhat more than two leagues of the little town Kahfuto, where we again encamped. We
heard

heard a firing the whole night through ; officers were likewise frequently coming with reports to the king, though I learnt nothing of them. At day-break a hundred of our army were brought in wounded, and thirty prisoners taken from the enemy. We now heard that the main body of our army was before Kahfuto, which was obstinately defended by the enemy. Our slaves were therefore sent off to reinforce it ; however, they were not wanted, as they had scarcely been gone an hour when we saw the flames ascend from Kahfuto, and presently after received intelligence that the enemy had retreated, having previously set the town on fire. — We now put forward, as the main army was gone on ; having a bad road the whole day long, through thickets and over sandy flats, but frequently meeting with burnt villages. — We encamped on the river Emog, on the other shore whereof the main army was drawn up. This river comes hither from the north, and flows through the whole territory of Vangara southwards. We were here in a disagreeable situation ; for, the plains about the river being still in several places under water, we were forced to go round them, wading through mud and dirt ; therefore could by no means kindle a fire, and much less attempt to take rest. On the right hand, indeed, we had a high hill, but

but we could not turn off to that, as we were endeavouring to come into nearer co-operation with the main army. Such of us as had horses kept their seats the whole night long, in order at least to get some rest. — At break of day we proceeded over the river, and marched for the capital. — When the hostile army was within sight, it was ordered that the baggage, under guard of forty slaves and fifty soldiers, should remain behind with me; when the king took upon him the command of the army, and pushed onward. — In a few hours the fight began with great cries and bellowing on both sides, so that even we were frightened at it. Our army, which had not rested for some days, was several times repulsed, yet constantly pressed farther on. Till towards evening the event of the battle was undecided, now one army and now the other giving way; however, at last, when the darkness came on, our army maintained its ground, while the enemy retreated into the town. We took two hundred prisoners, and a number of trifling matters as spoils. With this action the main brunt of the war was over, as in the whole hostile territory throughout there was no other such plain where the two armies could draw up in front of each other, but thickets, forests, narrow vallies, and mountains in alternate vicissitude. — I remarked that
both

both armies were totally unacquainted with tactics, and that with them every thing depended on the courage and temerity of the men. Though the battle lasted several hours, yet during all that time our people fired scarcely twenty times, and the enemy probably not oftener. In order to load their pieces the army every time fell back, and then advanced again: there was likewise a deficiency of powder. We rested for two whole days; when, no messenger of peace coming from the enemy, we proceeded forwards. — Now, however, we experienced a failure of provisions: what we had brought with us being all consumed, and there was nothing to be found in the enemy's country. The king then made proclamation, that it would not be advisable to go back to fetch provisions; but, that whoever was desirous to eat, must push on with him to conquer the capital. What the king did, that the army was obliged to do; and therefore we proceeded onwards. We marched that whole day, and even half the night, without finding any nourishment either for men or horses. At day break we were still above a league from the town, which we could already distinguish. Whichever way we turned our eye, we saw men in great numbers, both of our own and of the hostile army. Our troops were meditating the attack, when they were

prevented by the enemy ; who, pouring down the mountain which runs before the town, suddenly rushed upon us, and the fight began with the utmost fury. Having to contend on all sides, we should certainly have been lost, had not the Moors heroically pressed forwards and made themselves masters of the town. Being within it, they immediately dispatched a deputy to the king with tidings of their success. We therefore instantly received orders to pack up and follow the king into the town. These we joyfully obeyed, in hopes of getting a plentiful supply of food for both men and cattle ; but we found ourselves deceived, as there was not the least thing left : for both what the fugitive inhabitants had not been able to carry off, and what such as staid behind had still possessed, was all consumed by those of our army who had forced their way into the place, and had likewise set fire to the town on the north side. — The king's first orders were to extinguish the flames ; after which he consulted with his officers, how we were now to proceed. — I had my quarters in what was lately the habitation of an officer ; where, though I found convenient lodging, yet I could find no supply for my stomach. — To those who had got nothing in the general pillage, a small portion of meal was indeed distributed ; but this was no more than
suffi-

sufficient to appease the appetite for a few hours. The morrow was a day of rest to the whole army, except to the king, who was employed in making the proper regulations. I was ordered to attend him through the town, to see whether any provisions were to be picked up; we met with nothing, however, but the greatest distress in all parts. Mothers with their children came and threw themselves at the feet of the king, calling to him; but he heard them not: telling them, that if they did not go away and desist from hindering his passage, they should be killed. I was touched to the heart at this, and quite shocked at my king; though I well knew that in war time pity is here entirely dismissed: yet at other times I have seen him display instances of pity and compassion. — But I soon altered my opinion for that very evening he issued orders to the army to quit the town the following morning; without, however, setting fire to it, as was the usual practice, nor carrying away with them the defenceless inhabitants, unless they had been in arms, as prisoners of war or slaves, but to leave them undisturbed in their huts. — The town of Vangara is upwards of a league in length, and nearly half as much in breadth; having six rows of houses or huts, and three main streets, running in a line from north to south. The

houses are built of rough stones and mortar, but the huts of rushes and mortar. At the end of each street stands a temple, and the centre of the town is the market place, as there a cross street runs through the principal streets. The palace is constructed of ordinary stones and mortar, inclosed by a wall six feet high, but in various places fallen to decay, altogether having a mean appearance. The town is surrounded by palisadoes, which are in some parts defective, and in others rotten. On the south side of the town runs a ditch six feet in depth, where the cattle are watered, and from whence, in cases of necessity, water is fetched for the people.

At break of day we quitted the town, and retreated to our former camp at the foot of the mountains on the frontiers; the cavalry leading the van, and the infantry following.

On the 23d an officer from the enemy came to our camp with proposals of peace; who was admitted by the king on condition that the king of Vangara should come and treat with him in person. This he accordingly did, and a firm contract of peace and friendship was concluded on the following terms: 1. The king of Vangara shall send to the king of Haoussa every year twenty slaves. 2. The king of Vangara shall furnish assistance to the king of Haoussa,

whenever he is attacked by other nations; in return for which he shall receive the spoils taken by his people in those engagements. 3. The cattle which the subjects of the king of Vangara have carried off from the kingdom of Haoussa shall be restored. 4. The two kings grant a freedom of trade reciprocally to the people of both nations.

Peace being thus established, the two kings behaved very friendly towards each other, smoaked tobacco together, conversing on indifferent subjects, and thought no more of the unfortunate wretches, who during this campaign had been taken prisoners, and of course sent into slavery; they remaining in the power of those by whom they had been captured. — This war had cost on either side about a thousand men, several villages and towns being laid waste, and some thousands of inhabitants deprived of their habitations and property. — On the 20th of August the treaty was ratified; and on the 28th we returned to the king in the capital.

During the expedition I had endeavoured to gain myself some friends, and particularly made acquaintance with several Moors, in order to get such accounts from them as might be of service to me in the farther prosecution of my journey.

I now

I now firmly resolved to seize the first favourable opportunity for making my escape, and pass into the kingdom of Feene, which is situate a journey of three days and a quarter from the town. — Ere I say any more, however, on that subject, I will somewhat more particularly describe the country in which I passed several months.

The kingdom of Haoussa is the finest tract of country I saw in Africa, on my whole journey from the Cape. It borders eastwards on the kingdom of Mophaty (Zanfara), northwards on the territory of Fomingho*, westwards on the kingdom of Feene, and southwards on the kingdom of Bahahara. The river Niger flows through one part of the country, fertilizing it, and procuring it many advantages for commerce; as a number of vessels go from Tambuko to Boofu; where the goods are unshipped, and farther transported by caravans. This country is extremely fruitful; and, if it were inhabited by civilized nations, might obtain great wealth. It is rich in animals of all kinds, with plenty of timber and a variety of fruits. The mountains yield salt and saltpetre, the forests honey and wax, and the mines, which

* This tract, which is from ten to twelve german miles in length, and five or six in breadth, I have never found on any map.

might

might be found in their bowels, if the inhabitants would but explore them, would produce immense treasures. The country has three several nations for its inhabitants: 1. The Santygoetys, inhabiting the southern borders; 2. The Kahmofanians, dwelling on the east side; and, 3. The Haouffanians, in the heart of the country. The inhabitants, in general, wear long cloaks of party-coloured linen, fastened about the body; and, instead of shoes, leather thongs wound cross-wise over their feet. About the head they usually wind a party-coloured linen or cotton cloth. The soldiers alone wear round their head a red cloth, made of either goat's-hair or cotton, together with the ordinary cloak.

The Moors have short cloaks of red linen. Officers and merchants commonly dress themselves in silk. The men are large and stout, and behave courageously in war. The women are of middling stature, and have a good appearance. Both men and women are of a bright brown complexion, with flat noses, fine white teeth, and large eyes. The Moors look whiter, and are of moderate stature. They are not the natives of the country, but come hither from the desert Sahara, serving as soldiers for pay and clothes. All of them are good horsemen, and therefore give the enemy enough to do

do by their dexterity and agility. They live in towns and villages, having their own huts and houses, but are not respected by the natives. They are very much given to stealing; but in this country they are not wont to exercise their dexterity that way; because whoever is convicted of theft, is punished by him who is robbed with a certain number of strokes on the belly, and then driven out of the country. — The natives are a kind and obliging people, never injuring a stranger, nor even suffering him to be injured. Every one takes pains to entertain the stranger, who applies to him, as well as he is able, and then to shew him the right road; which they are particularly careful to do, that the Moors may not attack and rob him, or even privately convey him away and sell him. — In their household they are cleanly and fond of regularity. — Every one ere he goes to work repeats a prayer, either under the open sky or in the temple. In cloudy weather they never work in the field, though it were frequently necessary, as they follow agriculture more than any of the other nations I had hitherto visited. The religion of the Moors is the mohammedan; that of the natives the pagan. Priests are seen in abundance, though they have no prerogatives above the other inhabitants, being obliged to perform the labours of
the

the house and the field for a maintenance, equally with them. They instruct the children, and that usually in the temples. — Circumcision is practised, and always performed at the full moon, either when the child is one and twenty or six and twenty days old. The art of writing is likewise known here; for exercising in it the children make use of thin boards, which they strew over with sand, and then write on them with fish-bones, or the fine bones of other animals. The children are taught from the sixth to the tenth year; after which they are employed in domestic occupations. For the whole instruction of a child the priest receives a goat. The priests likewise announce the festivals, as, the feast of the new moon, when they go to the temple at sun-rise, visit their pupils; and, when the congregation is assembled, repeat a prayer, during which they stand, but the audience lie flat on the ground towards the sun. The children are also present, standing in a circle, and seem to be very devout. The prayer being ended, if infants be present, circumcision is performed. When that is over, the priest lays the circumcised child on the ground, pronounces an oration, delivers the child to its mother, amidst a variety of ceremonies. The temples are of a very simple construction; in the villages being built like the huts of rushes, covered

covered with palm-leaves, plaistered on the inside with mortar painted or smeared with a red colour which they find in the country. In the towns they are composed of rough stones, piled one on another, and curiously ornamented within; for example, one stone is painted blue, another red, a third black, &c. sometimes likewise decorated with carved figures.

The king is absolute, ruling arbitrarily over his dominions. Properly speaking, he has no minister; but his officers execute the office of lords of the council; without the power, however, of deciding in matters of consequence till his consent is obtained. — He is severe in judgment, frequently causing slight offences to be punished by thirty to sixty strokes on the belly with platted thongs. Thieves are usually hung; and the execution is performed in the following manner: a post is fixed in the earth, having two pieces of iron fastened in it, half a foot in length, and projecting from the timber, crooked in front, and barbed like a fish-hook, on which the malefactor is suspended by the bottom of his chin, with his hands and feet bound together. In this state the criminal generally lives from six and thirty to eight and forty hours. This punishment is sometimes mitigated, by hanging the malefactor by the neck on the hooks; in which condition he lives only about

two hours. — The military force consists of eighteen or twenty thousand men, all natives, on foot, and six thousand Moors on horseback. Most of them in war have firelocks and large iron sabres; others carry lances four feet in length. — The king always takes the field in person, and commands the army. He is feared by his neighbours, though they have armies far more numerous. — The commerce carried on in this country, and through it, is very considerable; the situation of the territory, and its great fertility, being so extremely favourable. The caravans stop here, to furnish themselves with provisions and forage, and also to enter into agreements for the time when they shall return. The products which the country exports are, manna, dates and cotton, to Tambuko; ambergris, gums and civet, into Barbary; and ivory, skins, ostrich-feathers and whale-bone, to the kingdom of Tookahat*.

The city Haoussa may be reckoned as one of the largest towns in Africa; it being half a day's journey in length, and two german miles over †.

* This kingdom is at the distance of twenty days journey from hence, and borders on the coast of Guinea.

† Mr. Mungo Park is totally mistaken in placing this town two days journey from the river Niger; and must therefore have been entirely guided by such as knew nothing of the matter.

Either the number of the inhabitants, or that of the houses and huts, I was never able to learn. It has nine streets, running from west to east, which are named from the nine first months in the year, namely: 1. the Yoch, or flesh-street; 2. Vaahatiy, or fire-street; 3. Teethoyoty, or lion-street; 4. Saavoo, or calf-street; 5. Ni-myoto, or eel-street; 6. Nahary, or camel-street; 7. Terankyato, or moon-street; 8. Mili-kotoala, or dark street; and, 9. the Sattomially, or commerce-street.

Besides the main streets, it has sixteen cross and half streets, which do not intersect the others. They are all paved, but very highly firewn with sand. The houses, as well as the temples, are mostly composed of mortar and stones, and only one story high; but they are not built contiguous to each other; every one having a passage adjoining, as a precaution against the spreading of the flames in cases of fire. I was told that, in this town alone, there are two hundred and fifty temples.

Here are four market-places: 1. the man-market, or slave-market; 2. the caravan-market, where the travelling merchants sell their wares; 3. the flesh, or cattle-market; and, 4. the parade. The palace stands on the south side, and is reputed to be strong, it being surrounded by two walls and a deep ditch.

ditch. In the town and the palace are usually three thousand men as a garrison. Here are manufacturers and artificers, particularly employed in making coarse linen and pottery ware, which are conveyed into other countries by the caravans. — It is computed that here are about three hundred merchants who trade to a great extent, and have partly their own caravans, to fetch goods and transport them to various distances: besides, as every stranger has liberty to traffic here, Jews at certain times come hither in considerable numbers, to get silver, gold, ivory, colours, and other commodities, by bartering against them iron-wire, swords, powder, ball, looking-glasses, and the like. In the suburbs are seen better and handsomer houses than in the town itself, though they are only inhabited by countrymen, smiths and potters. At the distance of little more than a league westwards from the town, a brook arises, where a bath is constructed for the king and his principal officers. It is built of straw and palm-leaves, and planted round with cotton-trees. The water comes quite hot out of the earth, and is said to throw up with it a great deal of gold-sand. For the truth of this report, however, I can by no means vouch, as I never was admitted within the bathing-hut, it being prohibited, under penalty of death,

death, to enter it without the king's permission : nevertheless, I observed thus much, that the king barter away gold-sand, which is obtained in his own country, and not procured elsewhere.

Annually, in the month of September, which is the pleasantest season of the year, the king goes to encamp at Boofu, where he employs himself in exercising a part of his troops in arms.

In order to increase my acquaintance, and to get a knowledge of the road, having permission of the king, I very often visited the suburbs and the adjacent country : but here I had a considerable impediment to the execution of my design ; as, by the royal command, I was constantly attended by a Moor, to be ready with his assistance in case any thing disastrous should befall me. For, ever since that disagreeable accident that had happened to me before, the king had ordered, that if any one should suffer me to be insulted on my excursions, he should be punished with death. However agreeable this might be to me on one hand, by the assurance that no one should presume to affront me ; yet, on the other hand, I was not so well satisfied with it, as depriving me of all opportunity of stealing out of the country.— It became necessary for me, therefore, to make
choice





INHABITANTS OF BAHAHARA.

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choice of some other means for effecting my purpose. Accordingly, I went no more abroad, but staid at home, pretending to be sick. The officer who, on the second day, had the inspection over the Moors, asked me, what I ailed; to which I replied, that I perceived symptoms of a fever. On hearing this, he immediately gave notice of it to the king, who enquired of a priest, what methods should be employed for my recovery. The advice given by the priest was exactly that which I could most have wished, namely, that I must bathe twice a day. The king directly sent word to me, that I must go and bathe twice a day in a small lake out of town, for the recovery of my health. In order to make quite sure of him, I bade the messenger tell him, that I was extremely faint, and could not possibly go so far. This excuse was of no avail, as orders were quickly dispatched to a Moor, to carry me in case of need, and to take all possible care of me. During one entire week, I pursued this remedy, without once perceiving a gleam of hope that I should succeed, as my attendant never left me for a moment. On the ninth day, pretending to be extremely weak and low, I said, as we were going out in the morning, that I had obtained leave not to come back that day, but to stay here till the evening. My

attendant, not mistrusting any thing, said, that, in the mean time, he would return to town, and come back in the evening to fetch me. I went into the water, and my attendant went to town. No sooner had I lost sight of him, than I set off, running as fast as my legs could carry me, on the road to the kingdom of Feene. When I had proceeded at this rate for a couple of hours, I perceived some Moors riding after me, who asked, whither I was going. I told them that, being sick, I had received the king's orders to use exercise, as the speediest means for my recovery. They believed me on my word, but advised me not to proceed farther, as, in the thicket I saw before me to the north-west, there was generally a resort of robbers. Thanking them for their kind advice, I sat down, saying, I would rest for an hour, and then return to town. They rode on, which I was glad to see; because, if they had turned back to town, it would soon have been known which way I had taken. I now ran forward as fast as possible; and though I saw here and there people at work in the fields, yet I went up to none of them. In the forest, I lay down for an hour to rest, and then again pursued my way. My compass and my journal I had long since sewed under my cloak, in a piece of goat's skin, with small thongs, that these necessary ac-

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companiments might not be left behind on any sudden occasion of flight. I saw people here and there; but nobody thought of detaining me. I ate a few dates, having no time to think of other food, as my mind was entirely occupied about my safety. At the back of the wood I perceived several villages; but I entered none, knowing that they were all inhabited by Moors. In the night I passed close by two villages, that I might not lose the right way, meeting likewise some Moors, by whom, however, I was not stopped, as they knew me, and thought that I was travelling on some business of the king's. On the third day I set my foot on the territory of Feene, and heartily glad I was at being once more at liberty. — From here to Biledulgerid, the large tract of country is called the desert Sahara.

In the morning of the 17th of September, I met a troop of Moors on horseback, who asked me, who I was, and whither I was bound. I answered, that I was a gun-maker from Biledulgerid, travelling in hopes to earn something

• In Haoussa I had seen some such people. Though I had not quite so black a complexion as they, yet certainly it was impossible to affirm that I was a foreigner, as both my face and body were richly begrimed with smut and dirt; my hair likewise was to the full as crisp as that of the other gun-makers. They have liberty to travel throughout the country

thing by working at my employment in this country. "Go to Feene; thou wilt find work there: thou art not, however, in the right way thither, but must turn more to the right." I thanked them for their advice, and was about to proceed; but, taking courage, I requested some meal and flesh-meat, I was so tormented with hunger. They directed me to the next village, with the assurance that I should there get victuals: and to this village I soon came up. It bears the name of Yelly, and consists of fifty huts, all of them so constructed, that, with very little trouble, they may be taken asunder. As this place lies not far from the Niger, which overflows it in the rainy season, the people leave it for two months in the year, and retire into the mountains. After having here ate my fill of tortoise-flesh and meal, I set out again, and had a toilsome road all the way to the mountains, not unfrequently sinking up to the knee in it. The mountains are unfruitful, consisting of rocks and sand; notwithstanding which, it is inhabited on the eastern side. I stopped in one of these villages, the to repair arms; but they never remain there. Now, as this was just the time when they return from Barbary, which is commonly in November, I endeavoured to explain that matter, by saying that the king would not suffer me to prosecute my journey on account of the war.

inhabitants whereof gathered salt from the mountains and rocks, which they dispose of at Feene and Sille. They were poor, yet they spared me some meal, and prepared for me a good sleeping-place.

On the 18th, in a fertile plain, somewhat more than a league from the Niger, I reached the neat village Pygohsity, consisting of a hundred huts, inhabited both by natives and Arabs. The head man of the place, who is called the yonhaty, gave me a cordial reception; and, on his hearing that I was a gun-maker, requested me to put his fire-arms in good repair. This threw me into great perplexity, as I had no tools for that purpose; yet I answered with great seeming composure, that I had been robbed of all my instruments, and was reduced to the necessity of looking about me for means of getting the like as I could find opportunity. The man, earnestly lamenting my loss, and being extremely desirous of having his firelock rendered serviceable, produced an old knife, a small hammer, and a pair of pincers, begging me to try whether I could not make shift with these implements. I made an attempt; and it succeeded. In this respect I was now beyond all suspicion of not being a gun-maker; but there was still a great impediment in my way, that might induce any

one to furnish that I was not the person for whom I gave myself out; and this was the language. Though I understood several words and phrases of the language here spoken; yet I was not able to sustain a conversation in it. The gun-smiths that usually come hither, are perfect masters of the language, it being spoken in most of the countries about which they travel. It is the mougrarian, which is vernacular quite into Barbary: whereas in Haoussa the somathalian language is spoken. For this I likewise strove to find a remedy, by pretending as though in general I could not speak correctly; and happily succeeded in it. I remained here two days, during which I repaired a few firelocks as well as I was able with such wretched tools. As I took no payment for my work, they presented me with a piece of wire, a pair of wire pincers, and a hammer.

On the 20th I set out again, meeting with several scattered huts, and likewise a few villages. In the last, about a couple of leagues before I came to Feene, I was stopped by some Moors, and conveyed into the town to the youhiaty. He was much surpris'd, that I, being a gun-maker, did not understand the country tongue; but he was satisfied with the reason I gave, that this was the first journey I had ever made: at the same time, seeming rather dif-

disgusted at the hue of my skin; perhaps because I looked very dirty, with hair grown over my face: however, he asked me no questions about it. He kept me that night in his house, and the next morning announced my arrival to the king, who ordered him, when there was any work to be done, to keep me in his habitation, and procure me proper conveniences. This he accordingly did: assigning me a strong timber hut for my work-shop; where he first brought me his own damaged arms, and then made my arrival known to his neighbours. I had no want of victuals and drink; but was obliged to work hard, as such numbers of firelocks were brought me to repair. One morning, my host thought fit to ask me why I did not go and pray in the temple. To which I answered, that I should be extremely glad to do so, if I had not more work on my hands than I could well dispatch; but that I was ready to go with him. This said, I threw on my cloak and followed him thither, behaving myself there in such manner that every one took me for a devotee of the national religion. It was no hard matter for me to take part in the various ceremonies, having frequently seen them before in Haoutia, and even assisted in their performance. Besides, so much bigotry does not prevail here as among the christians in

many parts of Europe, they esteeming every one a religious person, who diligently frequents the temple and prays. I have even seen the Moors come into the temple with tobacco-pipes in their mouths, without being ill-treated on that account. — I had now been here a month, troubling myself about nothing but my business: at present, however, on going every day to the temple, my acquaintance increased, and I was overloaded with work. Even some of the merchants sent me their musquets and swords to repair and to clean, paying me very well for my trouble. — Within the course of three months I had got together provision enough for a whole year, together with several articles of clothes; for my landlord had every where spread the story, that on my journey hither I had been attacked and plundered. — The king's attention was now again attracted, to me by the praises bestowed by the Moors on my work and my quiet behaviour. He therefore sent for my landlord, to ask him how I went on with my work, and how I behaved; and, on his praising me concerning every particular, he sent for me likewise, gave me his broken fire-arms and sword to furbish; asked me how I liked his country, and whether I would hereafter come back to it. I gave such answers as I judged best suited to obtain his favour; promising to

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confine myself entirely to his country if I could only find sufficient employment there. He was pleased with my declaration, and dismissed me with assurances of his favour. — My host himself being a quiet retired man, I continued in my hut; and, at those times when I was not at work, amused myself in conversing with the slaves who were appointed to wait on me; by which means I greatly improved myself in speaking the language. — For the purpose of making acquaintance with the persons who had given me presents, I requested my obliging landlord to take me to them, that I might return them my thanks. He took me first to the merchant Soomo, who had sent me a cast-off cloak; which, nevertheless, was still very serviceable. This man was extremely civil and friendly; ordering immediately a melon and a plate of goat's milk to be set before me, presented me with a small saw-blade and a chissel, and promised to provide for me as far as he was able. Another sent me a knife, a piece of cloth for a turban, and some nails. — When I had done furbishing the arms belonging to the king, I made for my landlord a little cupboard and a child's coach, at which every one expressed great admiration; but it brought on me a number of applications, which I could by no means comply with, having resolved soon to depart. To travel, however, was impossible,
since

since between this and the borders of Biledulgerid lay vast deserts, whose inhabitants lived solely by plunder. — I might, it is true, have turned westwards; but in that quarter I ran great hazard of being very ill-used if the people should take me for a christian.

I had already passed six months here, and had never been able to light on one of the caravans with which I designed to prosecute my journey. I found that great uneasiness prevailed concerning a large caravan which was expected back from Tunis, and was then to go again to Tambukto; because in other years it had already departed hence about this time: it was therefore generally believed that it must have been attacked and dispersed on the road. — At length my landlord, as a small caravan was collecting to proceed for Tambukto, advised me to set out with it, it being utterly uncertain whether a large caravan would arrive in due time: he even offered to recommend me to his brother who resided in that city, giving me, to that end, a little piece of linen, on which he had written a few lines, that, on seeing it, his brother might receive me properly. Taking leave, therefore, of the merchants, my benefactors, who, with provisions to take with me for the journey, gave me their hearty good wishes, I set out on my way the 7th of April.

CHAP. VI.

Description of the town and territory of Feene. — Mr. Mungo Park is on two or three occasions set right. — The author departs from the town of Feene for Nabga, where he takes ship and proceeds up the stream by Metatab, Parasiet, to Sille. — Description of that town. — The author leaves that place, and goes with a caravan by Muta, Saatata, and the Sancho (gold) mountains, on the borders of the kingdom of Nyobka, to the Siegmartons, an independent tribe, dwelling in caves. — Description of the sandy deserts. — The train proceeds to a race of Arabs, who dwell in huts, and to the honest Muboyadans, a warlike and obliging nation, and is attacked, though without loss, by the Caroitians. — Observations concerning that nation. — On the 24th of May the caravan ascends a huge mountain; from the 25th to the 30th the journey proceeds over a sandy desert, and on the 1st of June enters a village in the kingdom of Vatometh, where they keep a day of rest. — On the 5th of June the caravan ascends a chain of mountains, and swims through the floodings of the river Sampi, in imminent danger to the lives of the people and cattle; travels over sand-flats, and attains the frontiers of the kingdom Tamobata (Targa). — They are attacked by a company of Moors, losing on that occasion two men and a camel, and come at length to the frontier-mountains of the desert Sahara.

THE nations that dwell, from Feene, in the desert Sahara to the confines of Biledulgerid, I shall circumstantially mention hereafter, because several of them inhabit the desert Sahara; at present I shall only take notice of a few of the

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the towns and districts of Feene*. The town is situate on a barren elevation, which, during the rainy season, is entirely surrounded by water, so as to render it impossible to get nearer than within about half a league of the town. Accordingly, such as are called to go out of it by the urgency of their business, make use of a horse or a camel, and must, nevertheless, be ever in danger of drowning. The town is two leagues at least in circuit, and well-built after the mode of construction here in practice; having four main streets, forming in the centre, where they all cross each other, a market-place, in which are exposed to sale, not only african, but likewise many european commodities, brought hither by the caravans, such as looking-glasses, buttons, needles, nuremberg toys, hardwares, &c. mostly sold for gold, either in coin or bullion. — The castle stands on the western side, and is surrounded by a wall, on one side adjoining to the town-wall. The walls are built of rough stones and flints; but the houses, which sometimes are of two stories, are mostly constructed of straw, leaves, timber, and plaister. The number of houses here may be com-

* Mr. Mungo Park is mistaken in placing this town behind that of Haoussa, and Sille, two day's journey farther from it. Feene, however, is three good day's journey distant, going either by land or by water.

puted at three hundred, and that of the huts at about a thousand. The town is divided into two parts: that part, where the houses stand, and runs from east to south, is called Konko-horoh yamgala (the hill, free-place or free town) is inhabited by merchants, priests, and persons of distinction. The other part, running from west to north, is denominated Hiny daho Konko (black-land hill) probably because these huts, which are mostly inhabited by Arabs and Moors, stand on a black soil. Besides fourscore public temples, there are likewise several private temples in the houses of persons of quality. — As a novelty, the like of which I had not for a long time seen, I found here eight fine public wells; built round with flints in a masterly manner, every one having a winding staircase leading down to the water. They are not supplied by a spring, but during the showery season are filled with rain-water; and the rest of the year their contents are conveyed to them by channels from the Niger. They are inclosed, and placed under the care of one or more respectable persons, who again have inferior people under them, whose business it is to open and shut the wells. In the night-time they are shut up; being then only opened on the coming in of caravans that are in want of water for themselves and their cattle. On the
break-

breaking out of a fire they never have recourse to water, employing sand for the purpose of extinguishing the flames. In general every house standing detached and apart from the rest, the fire cannot rapidly spread, especially as it is the practice immediately to pull down all the adjacent houses. The king abides here only four months; passing the rest of the time in Sille and several other towns, occasionally likewise in camp. The Arabs employ themselves in agriculture; and, though the soil is covered with sand, they rear a great deal of rural products, the fields being well manured either by inundations or by labour. The fruits of the earth here produced, are lemons, gourds, barley, and turkish corn, a smaller proportion of dates and tamarinds, with a few plumbs. Fruit-trees will not thrive well here, probably owing to the immoderate moisture of the flooding time; accordingly they are rarely planted, and also because what fruit they bear is commonly gathered by thieves. In the town are artificers and manufacturers of various descriptions, as smiths, potters, linen-weavers, carpenters, masons, &c.

On my leaving the town the 7th of April, the youhaty gave me a couple of Moors as an escort, with provisions for two days. We proceeded to Nahga, to see whether there was any vessel lying in readiness to depart for Metatah; where,

where, after waiting till noon, we were so lucky as to find a canoe which took us, together with two travelling merchants who were bound for Tambukto : and, though we proceeded against the current, we made so much way as to arrive in the night at Metatah. Between this place and Prasiet, the Niger takes up the Aqutra (grey) river, flowing hither from the north. The Niger, at the place where we landed, was as broad as the Rhine is at Cologne. My attendants went back by land ; but I passed, with the merchants, through Metatah and Prasiet, which are nothing more than caravanferas, where the caravans and boatmen put up. Here likewise we saw several warehouses, in which, as we were told, the owners of the craft, when they intend to pass the night here, deposit their goods from the vessels, or rather little canoes ; and, when they are about to depart, take them out again and put them on board. — For guarding his freight, the master pays sixty zimpos a night as long as he stays, and is thereby assured that nothing will be embezzled. The reason that the goods are brought on shore is, because pirates infest various parts of the Niger, and either privately rob the vessels, or even attack and plunder them when they have but few men on board. Many of these owners, when they have a considerable freight, admit

passengers, without taking any pay, in the assurance that, in case the vessel should be attacked by pirates, they will contribute what they can to its defence. At Prasiet we found a similar opportunity for proceeding to Sille, and landed there on the 11th of April in the morning. Four Moors took charge of us, conducting us to the yanhaty, by whom we underwent an examination. My fellow-passengers, the merchants, having procured a pass, for which each of them paid thirty zimpos, immediately renewed their journey. On my saying that I was a gun-maker, going to visit the merchant Soota, to whom I had a message, a couple of Moors were ordered to attend me thither: where, when I produced the piece of linen which I had brought as the legitimation of my pretensions, the merchant said to the Moors; "I shall keep the stranger with me, who comes recommended by my brother, and speak with the yanhaty myself concerning him;" at the same time paying forty zimpos to the Moors, which they demanded for their trouble in coming with me. He assigned me a hut at the back of his house to live in, offering likewise to find me lodging and diet as long as I should stay here, and to provide every thing to promote my welfare; for I had told him that I should be glad to travel homewards

wards with a caravan. I repaired his arms; and, perceiving that my work was good, he recommended me to other persons: this time, however, I had not a great deal to do, as only a few months ago other gun-makers had been at that place. In the mean time, that I might not be idle, I made for my kind landlord several pieces of household furniture, such as, a chest or two, a table, &c. Since, wherever my friend went, he took me with him, I soon became acquainted with a number of people, especially merchants.

On the 1st of May a caravan party arrived from Nubia, on their way to Tunis, with a rich cargo, consisting of forty camels and ninety men. My friend spoke with the maufotufa (commander) of the caravan, to know whether he would consent to take me with him and provide for me: upon which, he came himself to me the same day, to make the agreement, asking what I would pay him for the journey. As I had never yet paid any thing of consequence to a caravan, I answered, that I wished him to fix the price himself. After considering a little, he replied, that he would accept no payment; only that I must take care to go well armed, in order to be ready to assist in defending the caravan in case it should be attacked. This I promised him, indeed; but it threw me into great perplexity, not

knowing how to get fire-arms, powder, bullets, and a sword; as all these matters fetch a high price here. — My landlord, however, perceiving my anxiety, delivered me from this distressing situation; by asking me, how much money I had, as he would save me the trouble of buying provisions and arms. I shewed him what money I had in zimpos; but said not a word of the dutch guilders. Counting them over, he told me that they would not by far be sufficient to furnish me with what I should want. At hearing this I was more confounded than ever; but he again presently comforted me, by fetching a musquet and a sabre, saying that he would lend them to me, believing me to be an honest man, and that I would bring them back some ensuing year, when I should return to repair fire-arms. For half the amount of my money, that is, for three hundred zimpos, he procured me meal, dried flesh, powder and ball, and gave me likewise a number of good rules for my behaviour on the road.

The town Sille (called also Silla) is likewise under the government of the king of Feene, being his second residence. It is situate on the borders of the Niger; and, though larger than Feene, is not by far so well built. Though it has only two main streets and one cross-street, yet here and there in numerous places are seen
houses

houses and huts irregularly intermixed. Along the cross-street a canal is conducted from the Niger, for supplying the town with water. The stone houses hardly amount to a hundred, as the stone must be transported hither from a great distance; but huts here are in abundance, inasmuch that I cannot pretend to ascertain the number of them. They are constructed of palm-wood, and covered with palm-leaves. The mosques and temples, of which there are about a hundred, are all built of palm-branches, interwoven together, and roofed with leaves. Though my landlord, whom I have had occasion so often to mention, was a pious man, frequenting the mosques always once a day; yet he never asked me about my religion, nor ever once reminded me of going to the mosque. — The mosque at the royal castle is built of brick, brought at great expence by caravans from the western coast, each of which costing nearly a dollar. — The castle is substantially built of flints and rocky-fragments, and on the north and west sides surrounded by a wall. It is of considerable magnitude, its garrison consisting of three hundred moorish horse, and three hundred native infantry. — The commerce here is extensive, and several linen and cotton manufactories are to be seen. Every person offering goods for sale must pay a tax of ten per cent.

Though the market-place is spacious, yet on market-days it is so full of people, that it is not possible to pass without great difficulty. The inhabitants are Moors, Arabs, natives and Jews; the last are esteemed no better than slaves, being obliged to perform the most servile and laborious offices for the Arabs. Almost every Arab keeps twenty slaves, who are Negroes, working both as menial servants, and as labourers in the field. They are here far more humanely treated by mohammedans, whom we are so apt to deery, than by the christians in the colonies. — Christians, though they are not absolutely made slaves of in this country, yet are greatly despised, and not hospitably treated.

On the 3d of May, in the morning, I set out with the caravan and left the town. The train proceeded towards the north; at a very slow pace, indeed, partly on account of the uncommon heat, and partly because the camels were heavily laden: for, though we had a good road, we made only five german miles, through the village Muta, and over two leagues of mountains, to Saatata, a hamlet, where we slept. — On the 4th of May we passed three villages in a sandy district, and spent the night in a khan on the Sanoho (gold) mountains, where we paid, each of us, ten zimpos for supper,

supper, which consisted of excellent wolf's-flesh.

On the 5th we ascended with great difficulty the Gold-mountains, which are here quite barren, consisting entirely of rock and sand. — It was told me, that formerly gold was dug in these mountains; but that the king of Bambara, on losing the towns of Feene and Sille, suffered the pits to go to ruin. Three whole days we were obliged to pass on these mountains, now descending and then climbing upwards. On the second day we met with an inclosed well, from which the water was let off into pits, where we found two and twenty Arabs watering their goats. Had we not been their superior in numbers, we should certainly have been attacked and plundered. Unloading the camels, we fed and watered them; and, placing them for the night in a circle round us and the goods, we were moreover obliged to keep several of our men constantly on guard at the distance of sixty paces, to be safe from any sudden surprise. On the 7th, at noon, we came up to a few huts, inhabited by Arabs belonging to the kingdom Nytokka*.

Here we kept a day

* Whether this kingdom be the same with that named on the maps Guber, I cannot ascertain. It is governed by a poor king, who supplies his wants from his neighbours by

a day of rest, and bartered provisions against forage for the cattle. From the 9th of May we proceeded right across the Gatta-vahara (Lion-desart) which in length is a journey of six days, and in breadth somewhat short of a two day's journey, where we met with the Doratah-lake (Poor-lake) which probably owes its name to its being generally destitute of water, except in the rainy season, and therefore is really poor.

While we were eating our dinner at this place, some of our companions drew out of the sand, where perhaps there had been no water for six months, several large mussels, which we immediately dressed at a fire, and ate them with much appetite by way of second course. Departing hence, we met with a tribe, who have their habitations in caves on the mountains, and are called Siegmarton; having neither king nor chief, but living in harmony, alike without them or laws, and yet producing good soldiers. Whenever a war breaks out between any of the neighbouring tribes, the majority of the males of that nation side with those who afford them the most money and the best sustenance, and in their service give proofs of courage and intrepidity. On being well paid, they likewise

giving them in return slaves and skins. His country is a wilderness, or desert, and not above ten or twelve german miles in length, and perhaps four in breadth.

accom-

accompany the caravans on the road for several days ; at times also fall upon them and carry off both cattle and goods. From this place a sandy desert extends to a distance of six day's journey, exhibiting to the view scarcely any thing but huge mountains of sand that rise like so many rocks. Instances have been known of whole caravans being covered with sand and buried under it in a strong wind from the north or the west. — Even in these desert regions, here and there between the sand-hills are seen huts inhabited by Arabs extremely poor. We kept a day of rest on the 13th in a horde of these people, which on the whole might consist of about two hundred souls, and were perfectly well treated by them. They strove in a manner to discover, by our looks, what we wanted to have, fetching wood from the distance of three leagues, that we might have the means of roasting a goat which we killed here ; and were constantly attending on us. As a reward for their kind offices they received some hundred zimpos, with the remains of the goat and other meat.

On the evening of the 14th we set on, taking with us from these huts twenty men as a guard, particularly for the purpose of examining the country, and keeping a good look out on both sides the train, that we might not be sud-

suddenly attacked. Though wells are dug at the stated distance of every day's journey, yet in the sultry season they are mostly destitute of water. We no longer came to any huts, though we often saw at a distance roaming Arabs and Moors; who, however, never ventured to come near us, perceiving that we exceeded them in numbers, and were well armed. — On the 19th we came to a horde, inhabited by Muhoyadians. This robust and warlike nation are possessed of a district of fifty german miles in length, and well employ the fertile spots that appear in various places amidst the sand-flats, by raising on them gourds and millet. They have also goats, obtained in barter from the neighbouring nations. They may be reputed among the most honest inhabitants of the desarts; they will not even tolerate any Moors amongst them, but are ever engaged in hostilities with that people. — Immediately on our arrival several stout men ran up, unloaded the beasts, gave them water, fetched provender, and, in short, provided us with mats and good water. — It was well for me that I had still a stock of provisions; since in the desarts they are not to be had, the inhabitants themselves being so extremely poor, as to be frequently even obliged to content themselves with a scanty meal, and even that consisting of nothing but the vilest roots, the soft bark of trees, and the like.

Towards evening we again moved forward in a north-east direction, and came the next morning to a hamlet comprising upwards of five hundred huts. Here the chieftain of the Muhoyadians resided, to whom we were obliged to pay a toll of ten zimpos for each person. In the afternoon we came again to huge sand-mountains, and between them were attacked by a troop of Carcatians*, whom we, however, soon repulsed, without suffering any detriment. — At evening we encamped near a well, where we caught three young ostriches, and made a hearty supper of them. The night was tremendous; a storm coming on in such heavy gales as seemingly to threaten us with utter destruction, and the wind throwing the sand in great drifts upon us, so that we should certainly have found our graves there, if the tempest had continued much longer: but the wind, to our great joy, veered about to the south, and became less violent than, according to the report of some of my companions, it

* They possess a piece of land on the north-west side of this desert, containing only twenty, or at most four and twenty square roods. Whether they belong to the Zuenzigans, who are marked on the maps in the very same district where they dwell, I cannot affirm. The people of the caravan called them Carcatians, and affirmed that they had no ruler.

blows at other times. — On rising the next morning, it was resolved to take a circuitous course, as the wind was beginning again to rage with violence, and coming exactly from the point whither we were bending our course. Taking, therefore, this circuit, we came in the evening to the river Zooko, which was to a considerable degree dried up, and encamped on the shore in and about the village Vogha, where we again halted for a day. This district, two days journey in length and one in breadth, is inhabited by a petty nation called Tahlates, who follow agriculture. These people have no community either with the Moors or the genuine Arabs, but live quietly and contentedly by themselves. They are of a copper-coloured complexion, with a pug's head, are short and thick, and go quite naked; in character being kind and hospitable; resigning their huts to us, and sleeping in the open air. The tract of land which they inhabit is tolerably fertile; particularly as the above-mentioned river flows longitudinally through it, by which it is manured in the rainy season.

On the 23d we quitted the village, and were obliged to pass the river again, as it makes a turn at this place in the form of a sickle. We found plenty of mussels and turtles, which were highly acceptable: we had withal excellent

travelling weather; for the sky was over-cast, and the air cool. On ascending a great mountain-range, on the 24th, we came upon a troop of Moors; who, however, did not attack us, but only, as the practice is among most of the wandering hordes in these parts, demanded of us a present: which they accordingly received. In the evening we came to an arabian horde, and there took up our lodging.

From the 25th to the 30th, we came again upon a sandy desert, scattered up and down, however, in some places, with rocks. We were now reduced to a lamentable situation; for, coming to two wells that were dried up, we were forced, for three whole days, to undergo the most insupportable thirst: at the end of which we were in hopes of finding the above-mentioned river; but here again we were miserably disappointed. Faint and parched with thirst, we came up, in the evening of the 1st of June, to four and sixty huts, appertaining to the kingdom Vatometh*. Our captain asked

* By the report of my fellow-travellers, this people formerly lived in Barbary, under the king Athgohmedi. But, being instigated to refuse the tribute which he had imposed on Tripoli, he cruelly oppressed his subjects, by the assistance of foreign soldiers, and even caused them to be massacred. The fugitives at last found an asylum in the kingdom Vatometh.

the confluence of inhabitants that now appeared, whether the caravan could safely rest and obtain fodder here. On which the chieftain came forward, desiring to know whether he was to receive any present. We told him, that both he and the people under his command should have presents, as it was not our intention to be burdensome to them. Hearing this, he immediately ordered his people to water our cattle, to procure fodder, and to unload the goods. Every thing was done accordingly with the utmost regularity; our best commodities, for greater security, being stowed in some empty huts adjoining, and the most convenient places allotted to us. After seeing the cattle well fed, we thought it time to fill our own stomachs, and to quench our thirst; but were obliged to content ourselves with very bad water, and eat the provisions we had brought with us, as our captain alone was treated with meal and milk. On the following day, twenty of our best marksmen went out in quest of game, and brought back with them some ostriches and a wolf; which were all eaten up in a few hours. We passed this resting-day very pleasantly, and contracted a friendship with our hosts. At noon, having placed ourselves in a row before the huts, and been mustered, as it were, by the chieftain of the village, our
captain

captain drew out the gut in which he kept his zimpos, from his wallet, and gave the chief-tain, for each of us, ten zimpos, to be distributed among the inhabitants of the village, and three zimpos for himself. The money being distributed, the inhabitants assembled together, made a fire, and danced round it for joy. Our captain laid himself down to rest, first ordering that four men should keep watch, and the rest be in constant readiness, on the first alarm, immediately to rush on and protect us. However, we were not molested; and on the 3d, at break of day, we removed from the village: but we had not proceeded above a hundred paces before it began to rain, accompanied with a furious storm of wind. This obliged us to halt for half an hour; when, perceiving that neither the wind nor the rain abated, we turned back to the village, at which the inhabitants were greatly pleased. On the 5th the wind abated, but the rain continued: the latter, however, being less injurious to us than the wind, we set out, went over a chain of mountains running from the west, and were then obliged, at peril of our lives, to swim across an arm of the river Sampi, which had overflowed. We passed the night in a wood, prosecuting our journey in the morning, across sand-flats and over hills, and soon came upon the borders of the kingdom

dom Tomohata (Targa), where we received orders from the captain to be on our guard, as we were now among a fierce and rude nation. We had scarcely gone a league farther, when a troop of Moors sprung up to us, and demanded a present. Our captain, bidding the people be quiet, told them, that he had no objection to pay toll; though it should not be to them, but to the chieftain of a village. This enraged them, so that they fired at us, killing a camel and its two leaders, and were on the point of coming closer; when we, in our turn, gave them a salute, which likewise dispatched some of their gang, but without causing the rest to submit. Accordingly we fired again three times, and again killed several of them: even this, however, could not induce them to yield or to flee. While we were now considering what farther was to be done, a troop of Arabs, belonging to a horde behind a hill not far from us, came running up across the little plain; at sight of whom the Moors ran off. They were clothed entirely in rags, and totally unlike their brethren whom I had seen in some of the before-mentioned kingdoms. Having buried the bodies of our slain friends in the sand, we cut up the camel that was shot, laying the pieces, as well as the packs with which he had been loaded, on the other beasts,

and

and proceeded to the village just mentioned, inhabited by Arabs. The people here told us, that they did not run out on our account, but they thought, on hearing the firing, that one of their caravans, which had gone for salt and was now expected to return, had been attacked. Here we dressed a good meal of the fresh camel's flesh, dividing some of it among our landlords, who supplied us with milk and meal. The country round the village, contrary to all expectation, is very fertile, producing date and plumb-trees, with wild animals, beasts and fowls in abundance; and is capable of furnishing many more products, were the people but more active and industrious. I saw, particularly, here the wild flagy, or falg (a sort of rock-eagle), of uncommon magnitude. On making inquiries concerning the sovereign of this country, I learnt, that a king resides in a village a day's journey farther on, having under him several villages, and likewise a parcel of land where that village is situated, all his own property. He is not, however, acknowledged here, as he is in the other villages, for absolute lord, this people only paying him a certain tribute, and being governed by their own emir. As I was curious to see this person, I went to pay my respects to him, and found him to be a very old, but civil man. On his hearing that we

had been attacked by the Moors, he directly summoned the horde together, and sent a company out to meet the caravan that was expected with salt. — The direct road from this place lay properly to the north-east; but, seeing a great sand-mountain before us, where we likewise suspected robbers to lurk, we thought our safest course would be to the north-west.

Departing therefore on the 8th, we passed over the beautiful plain on which the village stands which we had just left, and came to about three hundred huts, lying scattered both on the right hand and on the left; but forbore to stop till we came, towards evening, to another horde of Arabs. After resting here only a few hours, the moon being extremely bright, we proceeded on our way. A herd of lions followed us, often making as if they would attack us, but left us as the dawn appeared. — On the 9th, at noon, our captain, shewing me a mountain at a distance, said, “Yonder is the frontier-
“ mountain of thy native country, which to-
“ morrow thou wilt enter.” I was much surprised at hearing this man talk of my native country as being so very near; having entirely forgotten, that when I saw him for the first time, I told him that I was a gun maker from Biledulgerid. Recollecting myself, I now began to consider, how I was to act when we should have

actually entered that country ; but could devise no means of calming my fears. For, though my hair, which was now become crisp ; my beard, which was very long ; and my complexion, which was embrowned by the sun in conjunction with sweat and dirt, gave me quite the appearance of an African, and therefore I could not easily be betrayed as a christian, pretending not to be one, for the sake of travelling in these parts with the greater security : yet the language was an insuperable obstacle ; for, on our coming to Biledulgerid, my comrades must immediately detect the imposture, on finding that I could neither speak nor understand the language. — I therefore resolved to forsake the caravan the very first opportunity, and travel alone, unless I should meet with other caravans with which I could proceed farther. In the mean time, I made inquiries of the camel-leaders concerning the conduct of the neighbouring nations ; but could learn nothing from them that I could rely on, one representing them as friendly and obliging people, and another describing them as cruel robbers.

We passed the night in a forest, where we were visited by Arabs and by Zuenzigans, who dwell westwards, selling us milk and melons at a moderate price, and behaving to us in

a very friendly manner. I was informed by my comrades, that the Zuenzigans are poor, but well-disposed, and that they live in no stated place, though they usually keep to the western district. I asked a man of this nation, whether, if I were inclined to go among his countrymen to repair arms, I should be well received by them. To this, however, I obtained no answer, as I quickly perceived that he did not understand my language; but he pointed to our captain, signifying that he understood his speech, and that I should speak to him through that person. In the night I altered my plan, and proceeded, on the 11th, with the company. After a march of six hours, we reached the frontier-mountains, running circularly from north-east to west, in a double range of hills, describing a curve in the form of a sickle, and inclosing the country.





AMOOR of the DESERT of SAHARA.

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CHAP. VII.

Description of the several inhabitants of the desert Sahara, just travelled over. — The caravan comes to the frontier-village Mathby. — Mr. Mungo Park noticed for his ill-bestowed praise on the bordering inhabitants. — Account of the inhabitants of the country of Biledulgerid, the produce of its commerce, the Messelamis, the manners and customs, the national character, and the religion. — The train comes to the village Naykakob, to the hamlet Hatynay, and to the little town of Eusfach, where the author is attacked with a fever, and left behind by the caravan. — The author remains in the next village, as the patient of a Jew, to complete his recovery; after which he continues his route with some Moors on horseback, through the territory of prince Akumba Makomeih (maps rectified) to Tegerarin; where the Moors sell him to a slave-dealer, for whom the author is obliged to make joinery-work, and who transports him, on the 20th of February, 1790, with four young female slaves, to Omozab, and sells him to a Messelamis. — Account of the journey, and of the little town Omozab. — Journey to Mezzabath. — Description of that town. — The author is hurried away to a native of that place; who, after keeping him four months, disposes of him to a merchant of Marocco, with whose caravan he travels to Marocco.

HAVING described the desert Sahara, and standing at present on the confines of it, I am enabled to say something of the usages, manners, mode of life, &c. of the people that pass under the denomination of inhabitants of the desert. — The desert Sahara is inhabited by va-

rious nations, differing extremely from each other in their language, ceremonies and customs. The chief of them are: 1. The Moors, living here and there in that part reaching from the kingdoms of Suez, Fez and Morocco, quite to the Niger; and, besides, possessing a tract of territory without the desert, on the south-side from Biledulgerid. Those Moors who dwell farther down beyond the Niger, are not esteemed by those who inhabit the desert, as they have been either expelled or have deserted from it. They live under their own chieftains, usually elected from the elders, and are sometimes styled emirs. They are continually roaming about, armed with guns and sabres, thinking it no crime to attack and plunder travellers. Murder, however, whether perpetrated on a native or a stranger, is punished with death. — 2. The Arabs are likewise very numerous, but live in constant dread of the Moors. They are too well known to need my saying any thing farther about them. — 3. The Mogramians, a strong, and at the same time a kind and obliging nation. They pursue commerce and agriculture, and have likewise artificers among them. — 4. The Trafarts, a weak and stupid people, trading with the Europeans; by whom they are much esteemed, as they suffer themselves to be easily cheated, and otherwise behave
peace-

peaceably. — 5. The Braknards are tolerably strong, carry on a commerce with the French, English, and Spaniards, to whom they convey also a great number of slaves, whom they have either stolen or procured in exchange from other parts. 6. The Jews, who live dispersed about the country, either following commerce, or performing the office of slaves. — Besides these, about twenty inferior nations are met with, which, however, are of very little consequence.

The region of the Niger, where dwell several petty tribes, is fertile; because that river, like the Nile, manures the country by overflowing it every year. But on the north side the ground is unfruitful, being covered with sand; only here and there are small pieces, lying like islands in the midst of the sand, producing trees and plants, and are likewise employed in tillage by the Arabs. The inhabitants of the deserts are fond of liberty, but cannot always preserve it, as they are not in unity among themselves; accordingly in several nations of them we find kings. Only the Arabs, on any attempt to deprive them of their liberty, contend for it to blood and death. They elect, it is true, emirs from their elders; but these dare not undertake any thing of themselves, without the consent of the elders of the nation or of the clan. —

The Moors are addicted to sloth, of course follow neither husbandry nor the breeding of cattle; but live either on spoil, or when they have no opportunities for that, enter into the service of neighbouring princes and rulers. — As to what concerns religion, the Arabs are attached to the mohammedan; in regard to the Moors and several other nations, it cannot be ascertained what religion they profess. Their doctrines and ceremonies being a medley of the mohammedan, the jewish, and the pagan: at the same time every one is superstitious in the highest degree, suffering himself to be implicitly led by their ignorant priests. They tolerate all religious opinions, now adopting one, and then another. Circumcision is in almost universal practice among them, being generally performed only at the full of the moon. The sabbath is kept on Friday; but, as on that day market is held in most of the towns, they have conformed to the jewish method by not beginning it till Friday evening. Such as would seem to be pious take no money in their hands on Saturdays, nor drive bargains, nor follow their ordinary business, &c. The priests are poor, not being allowed to possess herds or lands of their own, but are maintained by their congregations; or, strolling about the country, like the mendicants in roman catholic countries,

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begging victuals and teaching the children for a livelihood; employing themselves also in prophesying, in interpreting omens, &c. Neither priests nor parents may beat a child, that being the peculiar prerogative of the eldest or hoary-heads of the family; it being a received maxim among them, that whoever beats a child forfeits his love. But as these grey-beards, on account of their age or infirmities, prefer staying in their huts to a constant attendance on children, the latter not being liable to punishment for what they do amiss, indulge themselves in all their froward and perverse humours, excepting theft, which it is lawful for other persons to punish, though it is one of their current notions that it is not occasioned by any inward impulse of the child, but by the agency of an evil spirit. The Moorish children generally learn the art of writing from the priests, who set them copies of letters, words, and sentences, mostly taken from the Koran, on slates; paper being here very scarce and extremely dear. — With those nations that have no king, the oldest of the families, or of the villages, are always the judge in all cases, with this difference, however, that in important or criminal matters, the aged men of several villages are convened together to pronounce sentence. — Even where kings bear sway, the aged are usually held in
high

high respect, so much that whenever the king condemns a person to death, their reasons for mitigation are heard, and frequently regulate the final doom.

Hospitality is not so generally practised in most districts of the great desert, as in some of the adjacent countries. If a traveller have money, he must pay: only poor and plundered travellers are harboured and nourished without reward. — Near the huts of the oldest men, and of the judge of a village, it is usual for two other huts to be kept in repair by the community; one for the traveller, and one for his horse, or other beast: every member of the community likewise delivers at certain times to the judge a stated quantity of meal, or milk, or flesh, or millet, or of other things, as a stock from which he must supply the wants of the traveller. The inhabitants of the huts to which the traveller first applies, furnish him with milk, and for want of that, water; and then he is conducted to the judge, where he is at liberty to remain four and twenty hours. — Travellers who have no money, are, alas, but badly entertained; being very often in the course of a few hours turned out of the village, and passed by messengers sent with them to the next village, or to the next horde. — If a traveller be perceived to have money, he is given to understand

stand

stand that he must make a present to the elders, or even perhaps to the whole community; which if he do, he is sure of a good night's lodging, of being well entertained, and amicably dismissed. It is to be remarked, that a man may safely trust his landlord with whatever property he has about him, as it is kept in perfect security, and returned undiminished and untouched, even though no present should be made.

It is the business of the men to buy, steal, and bring home provisions; the women dress the victuals, and, if they keep no female slaves, milk the cattle, fodder them, and drive them from pasture. The principal daily meal is enjoyed in the evening, as then the people are all together. Those who have work to do in the field, begin at sun-rise, and continue their labours till sun-set. — The men, if the weather will by any means permit it, go every day to the chace or to the market; and, sometimes, to pillage. — Among them are potters, smiths, linen-weavers, and silk-weavers. — They wear wretched clothes, or cloaks, made, in proportion as a man is rich and respected, tall or short, with broad and narrow borders. On the head they have a turban, and wrap up the feet in leathers folding over the instep. Many of the women curl their hair. — The sexes are always kept

kept apart, no man ever taking his wife with him into an assembly : even at the games and dances in celebration of holidays, the women are never permitted to make their appearance till after sun-set ; only unmarried girls being allowed to partake in such entertainments. — The women in general are treated like slaves, not daring to eat with their husbands, only receiving what they and the children have left, and must even give the slaves their portions out of that. — A man may take as many wives as he pleases ; yet a woman committing adultery is punished with death. Divorces are only allowed when the woman proves unfruitful ; in that case, however, she has a right to take back what she brought with her into the hut, and to connect herself with another man. The sons inherit of the father, and the daughters of the mother. If a man leave no sons at his death, the heritage falls to his nearest male relation ; on the side of the wife, to the next female relation. If both parents die, leaving children in a state of infancy, they, together with the inheritance, go to the next of kin, or if they have no kindred, to the judge of the place. — Their principal wealth consists in goats and sheep, whereof the opulent have at times between two and three herds. It is only on high festivals that an animal from these flocks is slaugh-

slaughtered ; for instance, at a circumcision, at a wedding, at the celebration of a victory, &c. Sheep and goats that die naturally are also eaten. The fruits of the earth after harvest are lodged in magazines under ground, covered with palm-leaves and earth. In many parts they have public stores, placed in the care of the judge, whose duty it is to distribute provisions out of them. Whoever has delivered nothing into them, receives nothing from them, children and the sick excepted. What remains is sold, and the money arising from the sale divided in due proportions. — A woman who has lain-in must confine herself to a particular hut, of which every family has one, for four weeks ; during which time she may neither appear in public nor receive visits : and is attended there either by a female slave or friend. At the expiration of the four weeks, she is led by her friends into the bath, and on this occasion a feast is celebrated to her honour. — The dead are usually interred on hills, with numerous ceremonies ; the priest of the place, with the nearest relations of the deceased, going before the corpse, and the inhabitants of the village following after. The deceased being deposited in the earth, the surrounding company raise a violent scream, for the purpose of putting the evil spirits to flight, that they may not disturb the

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the repose of the dead. When the body is buried, but the hillock not yet raised on the grave, the relations kindle a fire, on which the priest, with a variety of ceremonies, distributes among the bystanders pieces of a root, which they throw into the fire, letting it burn to ashes. These are then strewn on the face of the deceased lying in the grave, and the whole ceremonial concludes with filling the grave and throwing up a hillock. — With some nations these ceremonies differ; but on the whole the usages are much alike. — In several towns are seen houses of public entertainment, where a man may dine for ten zimpos. When a customer comes in to eat, he pays down the money, for which he has a pan of victuals which he eats with a spoon: after him comes another, for whom the same pan is filled with the same sort of food, and so on in succession, without ever once cleansing either the pan or the spoon till after the time for eating is over.

When we had crossed the chain of mountains, we saw two others, one running from the north-east southwards, the other from north to west. The road was very bad; one while being obliged to proceed up and down over steep rocks, then to go out of the way to avoid a chasm, &c. On the 13th we came again to a valley, for the most part overflowed, and along which we
were

were forced to go up to the knees in water. The eminences were covered with fine reeds, on which our cattle fed. I perceived here and there even palm-trees. — On the 13th, at noon, we reached the first frontier-town, called Matthy, consisting of a hundred huts, and about twenty miserable houses; the former being inhabited by Arabs, and the latter by Moors. Here terminates what is called the desert Sahara; and now appeared before us great forests, teeming with wild beasts, and abundantly furnished with serpents. — The borderers have a great similarity with the Moors and Arabs of the desert, in respect to manners and customs; but they seem not to have a religion. Some geographers bestow too much praise on these people, in saying that they are gentle and benevolent; Mr. Mungo Park in particular commends them altogether undeservedly.

Those populations of the territory of Biledulgerid that dwell upon the borders, are free and independent, while such as live in the interior are nothing more than slaves to their princes, whom they are forced to serve with life and limb. They are a simple and stupid race, ever ready to sacrifice themselves for their rulers, in order to acquire a posthumous fame; bearing even their indigence, and the yoke of bondage, with meekness and resignation. Some geographers

graphers pronounce this country fertile : but I must flatly contradict them. In the eastern and southern parts, the eye is wearied with meeting regions of deserts, and chains of rocky mountains ; and in the western, mountains of sand and barren steppes. It is only here and there that a fertile spot is to be seen, cultivated by the patient inhabitants. The forests to the north have indeed dates, palms, tamarinds and wax-trees ; but a part of them belong to Tripoly, and the rest can only supply a small number of inhabitants with fruits. Wild animals are found in abundance, but tame only here and there. When the harvest is over in the fertile districts, the fruits remaining from the foregoing harvest are sold or bartered in the following manner : the stock is drawn to the top of a mountain, where a fire is kindled, and a long pole stuck upright, having a rag tied to the upper extremity, like an alarm-pole. The inhabitants of the village, who reap but little fruit, on seeing this, come up, and procure, by purchase or barter, the quantity they want of the proffered fruit. The chieftains, who are present, impose a tax as well on what is to be sold as on what is to be obtained by purchase or exchange. If both parties are content, then the business begins. — Furs, hides, ostrich-feathers, and camel's-hair, are accumulated in great towns, and

and there disposed of. In the market-places, as in Europe, are seen tents and booths. In the former, fruits, colours, corn, &c. and in the latter, (which are furnished with poles,) furs, ostrich-feathers, ivory, &c. are sold. — The population of the Mossilemis, who are the proper inhabitants or natives of the whole country, is not numerous; and indeed it should seem as though the sterility of these regions extended even to mankind: there being but few families that have had more than two children. Whenever a war breaks out, all males that are able to bear arms must take the field, excepting the Moors and Arabs, who only send a stated number of troops to battle: the former, because the majority of them, in time of peace, are under arms to protect the country against robbers; the latter, because they follow agriculture and the rearing of cattle, and therefore must provide food for those who go out to fight.

The religion of the country is the mohammedan; but heathens and idolaters are likewise found among them: indeed no great strictness seems to be observed about religion; at least they are very far from being bigots, since every one may think and believe what he pleases, so he does not say that he is a christian. For the very same reason they never attempt to make proselytes. — The priests have great li-

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berty and eminent privileges. If any one of them have committed a heinous offence, neither the prince nor the elders have authority to punish him; only the other priests being competent to decide on his case. Their maintenance is provided for by the congregations who have chosen them for their guides: it being customary for twenty or thirty families to support a priest and a mosque. Their ordinary duties are, to frequent the mosque at sun-rise and at sun-set, there to say a prayer, and to read to the audience a portion of the Koran; besides this, they are to go twice a day and keep school in the open air, teaching the children out of the Koran, instructing them in the art of writing, and giving them lessons in household affairs. — During the months of June and July, no lessons are given; consequently that portion of the year is their time of vacation. The priests generally have two, three or four wives, who are likewise very much respected and honoured. — The priests likewise exercise the art of physic; but they never administer any medicine to a patient until his disorder has abated; since they believe and declare that it would be contrary to the command of God and the prophet: the disease being a punishment, which the physician ought not to avert. But, as soon as any symptoms of convalescence are
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are perceived, they say that God and the prophet have removed the punishment, and now the feeble body may be relieved. — Concerning marriages they are also soothsayers: and when a young man is courting, their opinion is consulted, on which they perform a number of juggling tricks, and say either: God and the great prophet are satisfied with this conjunction; or, they are not satisfied with it. Circumcision is here performed according to the rite of the mohammedan communion, and the elders of the family must always be present at it. When the children are taken from school, which happens in their tenth or twelfth year, the sons are taken under the immediate tuition of the father, and the daughters under that of the mother, to prepare them for the duties of their future stations. But if a young man be desirous of entering the priestly order, he is longer continued under the care of the priest, who takes him home, where the father provides for his maintenance. — The employments of the men consist in going to the chase, in following some lucrative business, working in clay, wood, stone and iron, making linen, silken stuffs, &c. — The foreign Moors, as well as the Jews, are itinerant merchants. — The office of the women is to look after the household affairs, and the rural œconomy, in conjunction with

the female slaves; while the men have the management of the cattle, which are foddered by the slaves: most of the inhabitants of the country keeping slaves, who voluntarily enter into their service, as they are well treated here. Of all the household furniture, the men mind nothing more than the gun and the sabre; always taking them with them, if they go but fifty or a hundred paces from home: every inhabitant of the country being allowed to carry a gun and to wear a sabre about the streets; excepting only the Jews, who are not permitted to use them. — The princes and rulers are not authorised to decide arbitrarily in matters of consequence; but must consult the elders, and may then either execute or mitigate the punishment approved of by them, but not enhance it. Larceny is severely punished when the thief is caught in the fact: whereas if there be only suspicion that some one have stolen any thing, no man has a right to speak of it, or to cause his house to be searched. But, if the suspicion lights on a Jew, his house may be searched in company with the elders, who are invited for that purpose; and if any article be found that has been stolen from any native whatever, the Jew is immediately laid on his back, and beaten on his belly till he dies.

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In point of dress, they generally go neat and clean. The women paint their lips and eyebrows with a kind of rouge, curl their hair, and powder it with a red powder. This, however, is not done every day, but always on Friday, that being the customary sabbath. The dead, if it be possible by any means, are interred on lofty mountains, having the face turned towards the east. Over the graves they usually erect a little round table-monument of stone, whercon the nearest relations of the deceased, at certain seasons, place flowers, victuals and wood, sometimes inscribing on it such events as have lately happened in the country or in the family.

I now return to my travels. My troubles and adversities might seem to be drawing towards an end: but I had still a variety of them to undergo. — The 14th we kept as a day of rest; and on the 15th we proceeded, leaving the mountain-chain somewhat to the east. About noon we came in sight of the first village inhabited by Mofselemis, and is called Naykakoh. Several of the inhabitants came running to meet us at the distance of full half a league, bringing milk, and asking whether we would pass the night with them. Being answered in the negative, they were quite sorrowful, and still kept walking beside us. On coming to the village, they divided among us ostrich-flesh and millet-cakes,

cakes, for which our captain paid them eight zimpos for each of our company. With this they were so highly satisfied, that they told us, if we chose to stay the night with them, we should pay them nothing more. But, having fixed our purpose to go on to the hamlet Hatynayi, we presently rose up, and proceeded over a sand-mountain, which, as I have often since found, was as hard as ice, and at the same time was covered with a moist greasy dust, so that we frequently ran the risque of slipping and falling from it. At sun-set we reached the hamlet, and passed the night in a caravansera. This hamlet, having about four hundred houses and huts, stands in a fertile district, rather more than a league from the river Kœmtani.

From the 16th to the 19th we had continual rain and wind, yet were obliged to scale a huge mountain, seeing nothing of consequence, except a few wretched villages. — On the steep mountains, and in barren flats, we perceived here and there a few palm-trees growing. On the morrow we were obliged to proceed very cautiously, as at this season lions, tigers, wolves, baboons, and other savage animals, flock hither, on their way to the above-mentioned river. On the 19th, in the afternoon, we arrived at the petty town of Euyfach; where we found none of the accommodations we wanted, having particularly

ticularly a very bad night's lodging. The place is inhabited by Arabs, Moors, natives and Jews, is spaciouſly built upon, but with bad houſes and huts, moſtly on the declivity of a mountain-ridge, running from ſouth to north. — Unfortunately I was here again attacked by a fever, from having been three whole days wet through with the heavy rains. It came upon me now with ſuch violence, that whenever I attempted to get on my feet, I fell down. The caravan refuſing to take me with it at its departure, thinking that my diſorder was contagious; when it was gone, the landlord of the caravanſera would not ſuffer me to ſtay any longer there. However, after reiterated intreaties, I obtained a delay of a few days; but, being no better on the 23d, he turned me out of the houſe. I now went begging for admiffion to ſeveral houſes and huts; but none took pity on me. I therefore crawled out of town to the village Omothy, about a league to the weſt. On the way, a violent rain again came on, wetting me entirely through, and at the ſame time rendering me ſo faint that I could hardly ſtand. While I was leaning on my ſtaff, to reſt a little, ſome Jews, going to town from the village, came up, and aſked if I was ſick. I answered, “ Yes; and yet nobody will have ſo much pity on me as to give me harbour.”

One of the Jews, a young man, whispered a few words to the elder ones, who then asked: "Hast thou any money?" — "Not much," I replied, "as I am a working man, and for some time have been out of employ." — Hereupon he gave me his stick, and said: "Go forwards into the village: my house is the sixth on the left hand; shew this stick, and say that the owner of it has promised thee lodging." I crept on, and happily reached the village; where, on coming to the house to which I had been directed, I met a boy, of whom, shewing the stick, I asked whether the person to whom that stick belonged was master of this house. He answered: "Yes; for that stick belongs to my father." While I was yet speaking with the boy, a couple of Moors came up, and enquired who I was, and whom I was in search of. "I am a working man; and, being taken ill of a fever in the town about a league from hence, was turned out of my lodging, and am therefore obliged to seek one elsewhere. On my way hither I was accosted by a person whose stick I have here in my hand, enquiring what I wanted; and, on my telling him that I was in want of a lodging, he directed me hither to his house." — "What is thy trade, and in what materials dost thou work?" — "I am a work-

man

“ man in wood.” — “ What is thy disease ? ” — I now related to him what had befallen me on the road ; how I got this sickness, &c. They, however, not fully comprehending me, knowing nothing about fevers, enquired whether I might even die of this distemper. I replied, “ No ; it only debilitates the body.” Upon which, one of them said : “ We will visit thee again when thou art well, procure thee employment, and take care of thee ; ” and then went their way. — The boy conducted me to a little hovel behind the house ; and, bringing me a bundle of rushes, went away. Here I lay, not much better than in the open air, as the rain came through in all parts ; neither was there any door. The violence of the fever still increasing, I felt myself weaker and more dispirited than ever ; so that, being in such wretched quarters, where no relief was to be expected, I firmly believed I had not long to live. In the evening my landlord came to me, to whom I complained of my misery, and particularly that I was tormented with a vehement thirst. On this, he brought me a mug of water, coloured with milk, for which, as he presented it, he demanded twelve zimpos. Perceiving that my stay here was like to be very expensive, I made an agreement with the man, first paying him his demand of twelve zimpos,

by which I was obliged to promise him ten zimpos on each succeeding day. — There was no one to take compassion on me, though I lay, like the vilest brute, in this miserable hut, entirely hopeless of growing better, in so much wet, and such continual currents of air. It was only on evenings that I had a sight of my host : who came regularly at that time to receive the ten zimpos according to agreement, taking that opportunity for bringing me some water and a little meal. Once I let him perceive my amazement, that any man could suffer me to lie in such a wretched place, and refuse me admittance into the house. But I soon perceived, that even this Jew entertained false notions of religion, on his saying, that God had punished me ; and, as long as he was angry with me, no one could dare to receive me : as in that case the punishment would fall upon him. — One time, when the fever was not just then upon me, I wanted to go out ; but was ordered by my host to stay where I was : for he said, if his neighbours should see that he harboured a sick stranger, they would throw me into prison, and lay a heavy fine upon him. This I at first believed ; but soon found that I was too credulous : for, within two or three days, one of his female slaves came to see me, and from her I learnt that her master took me for a Frenchman,

man, who wished not to be known, and imagined that I had a great deal of money about me; which, if I should die, as he hoped, he intended to seize, and bury my body privately. Should I not die; then, unless I made him a considerable present at my departure, he would spread false rumours concerning me; and afterwards, if possible, sell me to a merchant as a slave.

Till the 6th of July I remained quiet in my hut, as it rained almost incessantly: but now, the sun breaking out, I resolved at any rate to go forth and enjoy the fresh air. My landlord exerted himself to the utmost to deter me from my purpose, by various arguments; but, seeing that I paid no attention to what he said, he wished to detain my papers and my cloak, as they might easily, he said, be taken from me by the Moors. Neither to this, however, would I consent, plainly perceiving that his caution proceeded solely from covetousness; but told him that he had no reason to think me his slave, as I owed him nothing; and could any moment, without his having any thing to object to it, remove to another lodging. Perceiving that he could not detain me, he let me go, but sent his son to accompany me; that at least he might know, he said, where I should fix my quarters. — The female slave of whom I spoke before,

before, had spread it abroad that I was a christian; and therefore several Moors were constantly watching all my motions: but they did me no harm. — On the 7th I had a visit from the two Moors who had accosted me on my first entrance into the village. They began by enquiring after my health; and, on my describing to them the lamentable condition I was in, and shewing them my wretched hovel, they advised me to leave the Jew and proceed to Tegorarin, where I should be able to nurse myself better, and as occasion offered, might get a little work. They even proposed to take me with them, as they intended to set out in a few days for that place. I thanked them for their civility; but represented to them that I was not able to go a couple of hundred paces on foot. They promised to procure a horse and bring him to me; bidding me therefore not fail to be ready to depart with them on the morrow. As soon as they were gone the Jew came running to me, asking what these people had been saying to me, and whether I knew them? — “I know them very well,” said I, “and shall shortly take my departure with them; for in this hovel I am sure I shall never regain my health.” This made impression on him; for he now behaved more friendly, advising me not to travel with the Moors, as they would certainly sell me:

me: but he would take me to his brother, who lived about two day's journey off, where I should find work and good accommodation.—“Who can sell me?” said I, “as I am neither
“a christian nor a negro, but a freeman, and
“may work in the country wherever I please.”
—The Jew, staring at me with astonishment, asked, “Where is thy home?”—“Not far
“hence. My king would assuredly take vengeance
“on any one who should sell me for a
“slave.”—I now once more complained of the vile treatment I had received; but without redress: and the Jew left me. On the following day I did not venture out, the Jew having said that he would bring me physic; and in the evening actually brought me a powder, which, however, on his going away, I hid under my rushes: not chusing to take it, as I mistrusted him greatly.—On the 19th came four armed Moors on horseback, with a led horse, up to the house, and asked my host if I was still asleep. He replied, that I could not get up this morning, as I had taken physic the overnight. The people not satisfied with this answer, two of them leaped from their horses, came into the court and drew their sabres, to frighten the Jew away. On his retreating from their menaces, they entered the hut and called to me to follow them. I did so; but was held
back

back by the Jew, who again ran up, asking me what I was going to do? "I am going to set out," was my answer. — "I have paid thee regularly every day; what hast thou more to demand of me?" — "My trouble and my phyfic are not yet paid for; and therefore thou shalt not depart." So saying he seized me by the arm, resolving to bring me back. But the Moors would not allow of that, and threatened him by their gestures; these, however, were not of force enough to make him desist: for he now caught hold of my hair, the better to enable him to detain me. This so exasperated the Moors that they drew their sabres and beat him about with the flat of them: during which scene I hastened out of the house, got upon the horse, and rode away with the Moors. — The road led, through a tremendous forest, where I saw only dispersed huts, to a fine village, in which we passed the night, inhabited by Arabs, Moors, Jews, and Mosselemis, all mingled together. In the inn, or caravan-house, I laid myself down immediately on the ground; being quite overcome with fatigue. After my companions had conversed some time with the landlord, who was an Arab, they brought me a platter of young date-sprouts roasted, asking me what was the nature of my disease,

disease, and whether I expected ever to get well again. I replied, that I should shortly recover if I could but have a comfortable lodging and be kept quiet. On this he looked at me for a few minutes, and then left me. From several circumstances I had reason to think that the Moors were inclined to sell me here, but that the landlord made objections on account of my illness; and therefore the negotiation ended in nothing. A female slave now brought a bundle of palm-leaves; on this heap I laid me down, and slept in perfect composure, without any concern about my future lot. In the morning another violent attack of the fever ensued; and, being parched with thirst, I ran into the court-yard in search of water: where, seeing a pan with four milk, I eagerly seized it, and almost emptied it at one draught, my thirst was so excessive. — Being returned to my couch, the fever left me; and, for that time, entirely. I therefore was indebted for my recovery solely to the four milk; and was heartily glad to be so delivered from my distresses.

I must here observe, that all the villages and hamlets that I had hitherto entered from the borders to this place, were republican, and not tributary to any prince.

In our progress on the 11th, we came to several villages, all under the dominion of
prince

prince Akumba Mahomed*. They were badly built, and apparently occupied by very poor inhabitants. — In the distances between the villages we met likewise with several hordes of Arabs, among whom likewise I every where perceived the marks of poverty. — Bad as all this country is, so that hardly any thing is to be seen but sand, except here and there a few date-trees; yet it is so numerously inhabited, that in the course of a day's journey, twenty or thirty villages may be met with. We passed the night among a horde of Arabs, amounting to not less than a thousand heads; being, as we were informed, the strongest in all these parts. Their emir resides in his own palace, at half a day's journey distance from it northwards. — On the 12th we went over a piece of a mountain-chain which is said to extend twelve days journey in length, all covered with forests, and rendered unsafe by being the haunts of tigers, lions, wolves, &c. great herds of elephants are particularly seen here roaming about. I was told by my conductors, that, though

* I cannot find this country in the maps that lie before me. It is four days journey in length from east to west, and one day's journey across from north to south. An emir rules over it, who distinguishes himself very advantageously beyond the other princes of Barbary, by his progress in various branches of knowledge.

they

they were born and brought up in these parts, they had never heard of any one having travelled through this woody ridge of mountains, from south-east to north-west, by reason of the vast numbers of wild and furious animals there met with: if persons have attempted it, it is certain that they must have fallen a prey to them. — Ere we got over an adjacent piece of this huge chain, my conductors were in constant alarm, expecting every moment to see a drove of furious beasts; however, we saw nothing except some hundreds of hedge-hogs, and other small animals. We now came to a large lake, which, receiving its waters from the mountains, discharges them on the south side into a river, which is denominated by the Moors Scrobag, or mountain-river. Leaving the lake on one side, we arrived in a few hours, it being dark, at Tinesalb. Here I was intended to be bartered away, and not brought at all to Tegorarin, which was still two day's journey distant. We took up our night-quarters in the public inn, where we found tolerably good entertainment. Three of my companions went out, in order, I perceived, to try whether they could sell me; one of them, however, staid with me, and talked of the farther prosecution of our journey, probably to confirm me in my security. In about an hour the other

three came back, seemingly much pleased; when presently a conversation began, by his saying: "Thou art to remain here, as thou wilt have work to-morrow." — "Not, however, as a slave," returned I. — "No, no," was his answer. On getting up the next morning, two of my companions took me to an inhabitant of the village, who asked me from what country I came, and what sort of work I practised. To which I answered, that I was a native subject of the king of Haouffa, and went about the country to seek employment as a joiner and gun-maker. — After considering a little, the man asked if I was quite recovered, and whether my father was a Moor. I answered both questions in the affirmative. — "Well," said he, "thou shalt stay with me: I will procure thee work." Upon this, I was presented with meal and milk; at the same time my conductors, receiving two goats and two sheep, took their leave. — When I had done eating, my new host, who likewise pretended to be my master, being a carpenter, and at the same time a slave-dealer, ordered me to look out some good pieces of wood, and make something as a specimen of what I could do. I accordingly made choice of some pieces, and went into the work-shop, where I found a large broad ax, two great chissels, two bórers, a few knives

knives like those in use with our shoe-makers, and a saw. With these tools I made a small cupboard having four shelves, in such manner as ingratiated me very much with my master, who, I now plainly saw, could only execute clumsy carpenter's work. Guns were also brought to me, which I repaired, to the great satisfaction of their owners. Though I was in no want of good eating and drinking, yet I got no money; my master keeping all that to himself, without, however, giving me to understand that I was his slave. I made several coaches for children, some go-carts, little benches, stools, and the like; and had the mortification to see that my host took care to be well paid for them: for instance, taking two fat sheep for a child's coach. — On the 13th of February, 1790, he brought home four young female slaves, and sent them on the 20th to Omozab*. On this journey he took me with him; without acquainting me that I was not to return, but pretending as if I was only to serve as a guard. On this occasion he gave me his gun to carry on foot behind him, while he proceeded on horseback. — Having advanced about a league, the youngest and handsomest

* A petty town in the kingdom of Mezzab, a day's journey from the town Mezzabath on the river Onivoh.

of the girls looked at me several times with a woeful countenance; but I did not understand her meaning. However, when we had gone about half a league farther, she could no longer proceed, but sat down on the sand and shewed me her feet, which were sadly galled in walking through it, as we had met with no other footing all the way. I called out to the master, that unless he would consent to ride more slowly, these girls must die; as for myself I would walk as leisurely as I pleased. This so nettled him, that he came up to me, threatening that if I shewed the least intimation of either lagging behind, or of not keeping beside him, he would shoot me dead that instant. "Thou shalt rather be shot dead thyself," said I, looking sternly at him. This made him alter his behaviour, getting down from his horse, and helping the girls upon it; then, placing himself by my side, he walked quite gently with me: he even gave me a piece of tortoise-flesh; and, in short, conducted himself in a very friendly manner. At noon we entered a village, where he supplied us plentifully with victuals and milk, telling us that we had a league farther to go. As it was growing dark we passed the river Onivoh on a float, consisting of eight riven trees; and, like what is called a flying bridge, could be drawn over to us from
the

the opposite shore, by means of a rope. We were now in hopes that our master would presently stop: but in this we were disappointed, being obliged to continue on the road till midnight, when we arrived at Cartoh, a fine hamlet inclosed on one side by a wall. We put up for the rest of the night in a caravan-house, where the youngest of the female slaves just mentioned, who might be about twelve or fourteen years old, was bartered for three sheep. As it continued raining till noon, that time of day it was before we rose, and then proceeded through several villages, till, on the following morning, we arrived at Cofyahata. Here we had again to pass the before-mentioned river, and towards evening, once more, on coming to Omozab. Omozab is a neat little town, of about three hundred houses and thirty or forty huts; the latter standing without the town on the north side, and inhabited by Arabs and Jews. Here was I, to my great astonishment, bartered against three sheep and a saddle-horse, to a Mosslemis, who was a merchant. — I now could have wished every kind of misfortune to fall on the head of my old master, and still more on the iniquitous Moors, but that would in no wise have tended to the bettering of my condition; and therefore I had no alternative but to accommodate myself to my lot. By good luck

I found my new master to be an honest, worthy man ; who, though a mohammedan, esteemed and honoured even those who were not devoted to his own religion, duly recompensing all such as managed with proper regularity the affairs with which they were entrusted by him. On the very first day, he said to me : “ Thou
“ art a christian ; however, that shall be of no
“ prejudice to thee with me : it is true, I have
“ bought thee dear ; but I shall not regard the
“ price if thou be honest and industrious ; nay,
“ more, if after some time I find thee to be a
“ good man, I will provide for thee in such
“ manner as at present thou wouldst not ima-
“ giue.” The benignity of his countenance, as he spoke this, his gentle tone of voice, his humane behaviour to the rest of his slaves, entirely prepossessed me in his favour ; and I resolved, by all the means in my power, to merit his care and affection. — A small hut was assigned me to my peculiar use, where I once more slept in perfect peace, convinced that I was under the protection and authority of an upright man. Next day the merchant asked me, whether the instruments I had were sufficient for enabling me to repair arms. Shewing him the few tools I possessed, I said, that I had been robbed of the rest. On this he took me directly to a tradesman who dealt in this sort

of goods, where he bade me select whatever I should want. — That day, by his order, I was to do no work; but on the following I took in hand his best arms, and completely repaired them. My master, perceiving that my work was good and durable, and that I should thus be the means of procuring him considerable profit, became still more kind towards me, providing me with victuals and drink as good as what he had himself; nay, he at times took a portion from a rare or very savory dish and presented it to me.

A year and three months I had been with this generous man, when he took me with him to Mezzabath, where he was engaged in some mercantile transactions, partly as a guard to him on the journey, and partly to serve as an assistant in his business. We set out on the 3d of May, 1791, passing through a forest and some vallies, and arrived safe in the evening at Mezzabath. This is a fine large town on the river Onivoh, with a thousand houses, some bad and some good; forming three main streets and several cross ones: the former being about sixty feet wide, and raised on the side of the houses, but deepened in the middle. These streets are thus laid, in order that when the floods come on, the water may have a free course

§ †

course through them. The fortrefs, which stands on the south side, is furrounded by a wall and a ditch; the wall inclofing the town alfo on the fame side. Here, as throughout the whole country, perfons of various nations live promifcuoufly together. The trade is confiderable, as numerous caravans have made this town their place of refort, partly becaufe a great variety of commercial articles are purchafed, and partly becaufe in the fertile country round it, the beafts of burden may be fupplied with good forage at a cheap rate.

At our arrival we found the whole town full of men and beafts, it being juft their market time, and feveral caravans had brought in their goods. Here, were particularly numbers of merchants from the territory of Marocco, with whom my mafter had great dealings, bartering ivory, oſtrich-feathers, hides, and the like, againſt other commodities. In theſe tranſactions I was not idle; being employed in conveying the goods purchafed by my mafter into a place of ſecurity, and in delivering thoſe which he would not take with him on his horſe, to the caravans intending to go through our place of abode. — On the firſt day my mafter employed himſelf entirely in matters of buſineſs; and I could very eaſily perceive that he

carried

carried on a gainful trade. He paid away a great deal of money; and the tiger-fack*, that I was forced to carry after him every where, soon became very light. — Several of the merchants had an eye upon me, and seemed highly satisfied with my conduct and activity. One of them, an intimate friend of my master's, even put me to the trial; but in so doing he caused me much trouble and uneasiness: for, one evening, as I was gone to look after my horses and give them their provender, he, with the consent of the landlord, took away the before-mentioned tiger-fack, and slipt it into a corner. On my return, I asked the landlord, whom I had desired to take care of the fack, what was become of it. He, with great unconcern, told me, that it was impossible for him to stand continually watching there, as he had other business to mind. Upon this, my heart sunk within me; I ran about hither and thither in the utmost anxiety, enquiring of every person I met concerning the fack: in short, at last I met the friend of my master. He, instead of an answer, gave me a knock on the head; at the same time threatening to have me laid down by his slaves and severely chastized. Provoked at this, especially as the by-standers were laughing, I sprang up to him, and gave him a smart box on

* Made of a whole tiger-skin, and is commonly fastened on the horse as portmanteaus with us.

the ear; which so enraged him, that he called to his slaves, bidding them immediately bind and guard me. To this, however, not chusing to submit, I beat back the first that approached me, ran to my master's gun, and having it in my hands, I cried out: "Keep off, or ye are dead men." Seeing me thus resolute, not one of them dared to come near, but stood at a distance threatening and abusing me. Fortunately, at this moment my master came back; and, seeing me stand with the firelock in this posture, exclaimed: "What is the matter?" then, running up to me, snatched the gun out of my hands, as if to knock me on the head with the butt-end of it. But his friend stepped forward and held his arm, telling him that it was nothing more than a plot to try me, and that he himself had given rise to the whole transaction. My master, being thus pacified, the former said to him: "Thou hast a faithful and valiant slave; let me have him, and I will give thee three fat goats." — Now the whole matter was circumstantially talked over, great praises were given to me, and much *fungfus** was drunk. Having emptied several

* This liquor is boiled from the young twigs of a particular kind of palm-tree, which bears a black berry, not unlike that of our *sarvice*-tree. The juice obtained from them very much resembles the german *luftbiere*, as I particularly found it in *Hirschberg*.

mugs of it, and the fumes of the liquor beginning to mount, the bargain about me was refused. My master, at first, absolutely refused to part with me at all: however, at length, he demanded four fat goats. They drank again; and, at last, concluded the bargain at three fat goats. — My new master was highly delighted at having got me; but the former, now that the intoxication was over, started several objections, which, however, were not admitted: and I was obliged to go and live at Mezzabath with my new master, who was called Zalaman Mahomed. From him I expected very harsh treatment; but I was mistaken: for he made me overseer to the fourteen other slaves, allowing me better provision than theirs. This good man kept me only four months, and then sold me to a merchant who had returned with a caravan from Mecca, and was going back to Marocco.

CHAP. VIII.

Departure of the caravan from Mezzabath for Marocco.—Between the mountain Cozul and the river Tegtat, it is attacked by a band of wandering Arabs, and loses four slaves and three camels, but puts the robbers to flight.—Two days are devoted to rest in Zabtamy, a small town of Tripoly.—The Yunaby, or Rain-mountains.—Arrival at Azafia.—Description of the territory of Marocco, its people, their manners and usages, their religion and form of government, the emperor, the town of Azafia.—The author is well-treated by his master, and not kept as a slave.—In the year 1796 the author is ransomed by private agents of the french republic at the instance of a dutch ship-master, and goes aboard his vessel to Holland.

ON the 6th of September my master and I set out with the caravan. The company consisted of merchants belonging to various nations, who had been buying and bartering commodities, together with respectable persons who had been to visit Mecca from motives of devotion, according to their notions of religion, and several slaves. — We proceeded very slowly, as the road was bad, and the beasts too heavily laden. Every day we dropt some persons of the company, turning off to their homes as they lay in the way. — We crossed several mountains where the road was so narrow that only one person could go at a time. Here we

were forced to be ever on our guard, that we might not run the hazard of falling into the hands of the wandering Arabs; the caravan being charged with many valuable commodities that would have been extremely welcome to a band of robbers. — What we so much dreaded, actually happened on the 7th day from our departure, namely, on the 13th of September. A troop of armed Arabs set upon us, between the mountains Cozul and the river Tegtat, killing four slaves and three camels; and still continued to press upon us, even after losing several of their own people. We stood firm, and were at last so fortunate as to drive off the whole crew, in which repulse, however, two of our merchants and five slaves were wounded. The goods were all rescued; and, having cut up the slain camels, we laid the members on the backs of those that remained. — My service was now extremely hard; for, of the three slaves belonging to my master who travelled with us, one had run away, and two were killed in the attack; I was therefore obliged alone to take upon me the charge of two camels and two horses. In the little town Zahtamy* we stopt

* Belonging to Tripoly, and is a very lively place, as several caravans come there together, in order to proceed for Ægypt and Mecca, and as others bait there, when what is called winter commences.

two days, in order to repack the goods, and to burn and bind up the wounds of the seven persons that had been hurt. — Henceforward I had no opportunity to attend to the villages, towns and districts through which we passed, my time being now so taken up, and I having alone as much work to perform, as three slaves could hardly have undertaken. All day I was on horseback conducting the two camels; in the evening it was my business to fodder the cattle, to unload the packs, and every third night to keep watch. If I wanted to inquire about this or that matter, I found I had not a competent knowledge of the language of these people: for, of all the persons in our train, there were only four merchants with whom I was able to converse. Thus much I can affirm, that the country which we passed through westwards, was in many parts fruitful, in others again barren; but, on the whole, strongly inhabited. — As far as to the Yunahy (Rain) mountains*, we every day met with villages and huts, particularly on the rivers, where there was excellent pasture for cattle. — Without reckoning six resting-days, we travelled eight

* In the middle of the territory of Marocco; being in length, from south to north, ten days journey; and one day's journey across.

and twenty days and three nights, and arrived, on the 11th of October, in Azafia.

The country of Marocco is one of the most charming and fertile on the face of the earth, though not so well cultivated as it would be by a different race of inhabitants. — The tyranny of the emperor over his wretched subjects, depresses their spirits and plunges them in sloth. If any of them be industrious in benefiting by the fertility of the soil, they are obliged to pay enormous tributes; and, if the harvest turn out ever so good, the husbandman can scarcely retain so much of the produce as is sufficient for the support of his existence, as either the emperor himself, or the rapacious and thievish governors, his substitutes, take all to themselves, using violence when they cannot attain their ends by artifice and fraud.

The emperor now reigning is said to be far less cruel than his predecessor; and yet seldom a day passes that he does not cause several wretches to be executed, or put them to death with his own hand. The people bear the severities of this barbarian monster with the greatest patience, esteeming themselves happy to hear that they are to be killed by his own hand, looking upon him as the descendant of their great prophet, and therefore regarding what he does as the dispensation of heaven. No
people

people are to be found in all Africa, even in its most savage and unfrequented regions, more simple and stupid than the inhabitants of this country. — Every male above fifteen years of age being a soldier, the emperor can always, in a week's time, bring together an army of two hundred thousand men: though he cannot effect much with all this force; because, excepting the Moors, they are, for the most part, an undisciplined rabble. — The imperial life-guards consist of six hundred Moors of cavalry, enjoying an unbounded licence, and consequently practising every species of rapine and extortion. — The governors in the capitals, and the sub-governors in the other towns, exercise the sovereign authority within their districts, ruling with the most absolute authority; the emperor, let them be ever so intemperate and cruel towards the subjects, giving himself but little concern about them. — If a subject conceal any part of his effects, or of the fruits of his ground, and enquiry be made after it in the name of the emperor, or of a governor, if he deny that he knows any thing of it, on its being detected, he forfeits both his life and the whole of his property; nay, he must even esteem it a signal act of favour, if his sentence be mitigated to that of being bound up in iron for life, and his family banished the country. — The priests, who

who are extremely numerous, are the proper instruments in the performance of these acts of iniquity, of horror and murder; usually running about with the Koran, as if they were diligently reading it, encouraging the people to prayer, and to observe the precepts of the Koran, going thrice a day to the mosques, bawling there to God, as if they wanted to wake him from a profound sleep; imploring the prophet that he will grant a long reign to the emperor his son, and the like; while their aim is, certainly, not the advancement of wisdom and virtue, but the promotion of their own importance and respect, and of an unlimited dominion over the minds of men. Ouly then they pray with fervent zeal when they invoke God and the prophet to exterminate infidels, and destroy heretics. They are employed daily, indeed, for some hours, in giving lessons to youth; but what they teach only tends to suppress in their tender minds the voice of reason, and to inspire them, in its stead, with a servile fear of the prophet, and an implicit reverence for them as his servants.

Polygamy is in general practice here; the Moors, in particular, taking not unfrequently four, five, or six wives, and often getting rid of them with equal facility. No inquisition is taken when the wife of a Moor happens suddenly to die; nay, if any one offer to bring testimony that she has been murdered, he is

immediately sent away with reproof for his forwardness. — If a Moor attach himself to the daughter of a mechanic, she must be given up to him, if the whole family would avoid the hazard of having their houses plundered, or some individual of it secretly made away with.

The women are kept in a very sequestered state, living in rooms apart from the rest. — Among the primary class of inhabitants, comprehending merchants, priests, officers, and the like, liberal and honest men are occasionally found; the greater part, however, are people of base and sordid minds; but the priests and officers are of a peculiarly wicked stamp. — The merchant is obliged to give the tenth of the articles of his trade, in kind, as a tribute to the emperor or his viceroys; but, besides this, he must likewise, every week, pay capitation-tax, war-tax, security-money*, &c. — Over and above these ordinary taxes, voluntary contributions, or free gifts, are demanded in behalf of the emperor; at the same time, every one must furnish a stated sum for the maintenance of the priests. The Jews are not allowed to traffic, or to possess any property, but are obliged to per-

* This money is paid to the governor, for which he keeps a guard of soldiers, who at night are watchmen at the warehouses of the merchants.

form the meanest offices, and submit to the harshest treatment, like the common slaves.

The town of Azafia, not larger than the fourth part of the town of Marocco, is handsomely built, and carries on a considerable commerce, which is increasing from year to year. It is computed that between eighty and ninety foreign ships with mercantile goods arrive in the roadstead of this place annually.

My master kept eight negro slaves, and two moorish servants, who had no reason to complain of harsh and cruel treatment, as no more work was exacted of them than they could perform with moderate exertion. My business was to look after four horses and three camels; and though properly allowed only the ordinary fare of the slaves, yet my master almost every day supplied me with other victuals. He was highly pleased with my work; for instance, I repaired for him two saddles, and other horse-furniture, as well as I was able; for I had first to tan the leather, which is here commonly used for that purpose, over again with ashes and salt, making it supple with grease from sheep-tails: then I repaired all the arms he had in the house, and introduced various improvements in the several departments of his household. --- At first I wore the usual dress of the slaves, consisting of a blue shirt, long blue-striped trowsers, and a cloak of coarse

coarse frieze ; these, however, I soon laid aside, my master presenting me with some cast-off clothes, particularly a good cloak. — On excursions to other towns, I usually attended my master, and was therefore treated as one of his intimates, eating as he ate, sleeping on the same pallet with him, and transacting for him several of his mercantile affairs. — On these occasions, the accounts of those who pretend likewise to have lived in slavery in this country, and speak of nothing but the utmost severity and cruelty, often occurred to my mind : and I must here take opportunity to contradict them ; since I frequently had occasion to remark, that honest, faithful and industrious christian slaves are all over this country treated with peculiar indulgence.

I had been almost a year in this town, when my master took me with him to a newly-arrived spanish ship, that I might take charge of the goods he intended to bargain for, and, with some other slaves, convey them to town. On going on board the vessel, several of the officers and sailors gathered round me, putting various questions to me ; but, perceiving that I was not acquainted with their language, they called a sailor, who understood both english and dutch, and employed him as interpreter. The officers bade him ask me, whether I was a Christian ; by what means I fell into slavery ; how long I had been
been

been here ; and whether I did not wish to be ransomed. I answered the former questions truly ; but to the last I replied, that I had no cause to complain of my situation, not being treated as a slave, but rather like a friend of my master and his family. He, happening to stand close by the captain, at a little distance from me, was exceedingly pleased with this testimony of my affection for him. — The officers and sailors being unable to make any thing of me, the ship-chaplain came up, and endeavoured to persuade me to submit to the benevolent intentions of the Spaniards, by observing that I could not here enjoy the benefit of public worship according to the rites of my religion. To this I made no answer at all ; but went up to my master : here, however, they discoursed to me again, offering to present me with a rosary. I rejected the present ; and, as I would not yield to their persuasions, the rough sailors called me a heretic. My master, uncommonly delighted at my behaviour, promised to provide for me, whenever a fit opportunity should offer. — On board of an english, french, dutch, danish or swedish ship, I should have been heartily glad to have got away ; but I had an aversion to Spaniards and Portugueze, well knowing that ransomed slaves are very badly treated by them, especially if they be protestants. — Next day, at

noon, my master told his two servants, that they should no longer regard me as a slave, but as their comrade, and must therefore let me share with them in the presents that are occasionally given to servants. The men were so much offended at this, that they thwarted me afterwards, by all the methods they could contrive, in whatever I had to do, and injured me in a variety of ways. I bore their contemptible artifices with patience, esteeming myself happy in the favour of my master. One of these people once struck me such a blow on the face, as made me bleed at the nose and mouth: yet even this vile injury I should have patiently endured, to avoid drawing on me the hatred of other Moors; but my master coming into the room a few minutes after, and seeing the blood running from me, asked what had happened. On this, I related to him what for some time past I had been obliged to endure, and that just now I had been even struck. Hearing what I said, he was so angry, that, seizing the offender, he beat him till his strength was quite exhausted, and then turned him out of doors.

Within the space of a year and four months, I had collected seventy dollars, having occasionally received presents for my punctuality in managing the concerns that were entrusted to me, but particularly at the french ships and
compting-

compting-houses. I likewise had made some friends among the Europeans; for instance, a Mr. le Greger, who was in a french compting-house; and on Fridays, when I had a few hours to spare, I used to visit him; at which times he would entertain me with the news from Europe; as also several other Frenchmen, who, coming in the year 1793, had liberty to settle here. Among these was a certain M. von Faber, who lodged at my master's half a year, and there became acquainted with me. He was very kind and liberal towards me, giving me much good advice, presenting me with many of his cast-off clothes; and, on leaving our house, put into my hand a louis-d'or.

In November, 1796, an english ship, and a few days after a dutch vessel, but under prussian colours, came to anchor in our road. I was obliged to visit both of them on my master's business, particularly the latter, which had several Frenchmen serving on board. The captain of her, named Grade, by birth a Fleming, prepossessed me greatly in his favour by his engaging manners; for he conversed with me, lamented my present situation, enquired about my circumstances, shewed me numberless civilities, and spoke in my praise to every one. As I usually went twice a day on board this ship, the dutch sailors, with their boatswain, used

also to talk with me, and offered to take me with them to Europe, if I could procure my ransom, and was desirous of quitting this slavish servitude. The boatswain, Manke, a native of Zwoll, repeated these kind offers as often as I came on board, opposing my desire to stay here a little while longer, by divers weighty arguments, such as these: it might easily happen that my master should die; and then I might fall into the hands of some brutal owner; or, I might be calumniated by Moors or slaves, and rendered miserable for life. — After taking a few days to consider of this matter, I at length told him, that I was resolved to go to Europe with them, if he would enquire of my master, how much money he required for my ransom. This he had an opportunity of doing the very next day, on coming to our house with the captain, who had several accounts to settle with us. When they had finished their business, he asked what sum of money would satisfy my master for my ransom; and received for answer, that I had never as yet expressed a wish to return to my native country; but, if at present my inclination led me that way, he would not detain me. Upon this, he ordered me to be called; and, on my entrance, I was asked if I had a desire to return to my native country. I declared, in reply, that I would contentedly here
pass

pass the remainder of my life, if my parents were no more; but, as they might be very much distressed about me, I had conceived a desire to return to Europe, and therefore I intreated him to set me free. My master replied: "It is against my will that I part with thee; for thou art an honest man, excelling many a mussulman, and on that account I will set thee free, if thou wilt pay me two hundred mardens*." At this I shook my head, saying, that I should never be able to raise that sum, and therefore would consent to remain here some time longer. But the captain and the boatswain dissuaded me from it; promising to come again in the afternoon, to hear my final determination. I immediately replied, that if I could ransom myself with my own money, I would sail along with them; but I would not accept of any addition from them: because, in order to repay it, I must go into service for some years in Holland; and, if I must serve, I should greatly prefer continuing with my kind master. They now again offered me a few hours

* A spanish marden and a piastre are of equal value, though different coins. The marden having on one side the impression of two columns with the spanish arms between them. The four-cornered, which are the oldest, are worth more than the round ones.

for consideration; then went away, promising to return in the afternoon.

I now thought no more of my departure, as I would not obtain my freedom with borrowed money. However, in about an hour, came a respectable Dutchman, who had already lived a twelvemonth in the town: and, without having any public character, seemed to be a secret agent of the french republic, to tell my master, that, just now, a dutch captain and boatswain had been with him, from whom he had learnt, that I was desirous of returning to Europe, if I were but able to collect a sum sufficient for my ransom. From this difficulty, he said, he was willing to free me, being ready to pay the price of my redemption. My master called me to him, and told me, in the presence of this gentleman, whose name was von der Haft, what good tidings he had for me. After returning thanks for these kind offers, I added, that, as I should be able, some time hence, to redeem myself, it would be far better to have patience till that time, that I might not be obliged to serve my deliverer some years, and perhaps to go again to America, or to the Cape of Good Hope; besides, in Holland I should be taken up for a deserter, and punished accordingly. — After a short deliberation, this gentleman said, that the company had but little to
say

say at present, since the money that he was willing to pay for me, belonged not to them, but to him alone; that he made me a present of it, and would give me a formal security that no man should ever have any claim on me, in regard to the ransom-money. I was so struck with surprise, that I became more undetermined than ever; as I now began to suspect that there might be some mystery in the affair: but, as my master himself was rejoiced at the good fortune that had befallen me, persuading me by all means not to reject the proffered boon, I gave hearty thanks to my benefactor, and accepted his offer. He immediately paid down the ransom-money, wrote the promised security, returned my seventy dollars that I had offered; then, wishing me a prosperous voyage, went away.

In the afternoon came the captain again, to enquire whether I still adhered to my former resolution. I directly told him what had happened, while he pretended that he knew nothing of my benefactor; till at last, on my saying that he had mentioned him, he could no longer deny that he had given him an account of my situation and circumstances. — He now bade me lose no time in getting ready for my departure, as he intended to sail in three days: — My master, making me a present of a few
4 mats,

mats, some dried fish, meal, old clothes, and some other trifling matters, accompanied me, on the 11th of November, 1796, with weeping eyes, to the ship, which was to convey me back to my native country. — The wind not being fair, we remained a little while, putting all things in order. The whole crew, including the officers, consisted of four and thirty persons.

CHAP. IX.

Account of the author's voyage from Marocco to Holland. — They meet with two storms, and lose their fore-mast; the ship is refitted, and brought to by an english frigate. — The author lies sick of a fever. — They land in the Texel. — The author goes in a small vessel to Amsterdam, where he is arrested and kept in prison till the 2d of May, when he receives sentence to serve two years in the dutch army. — A prussian sea-captain from Dantzic becomes his friend, and obtains him his freedom. — The author sails along with him, and, after a fortunate passage of eighteen days, arrives at Dantzic; where his deliverer likewise procures him a pass, permitting him to return to his native country.

ON the 13th of November we set sail with a fair wind, and were heartily rejoiced when we came in sight of Gibraltar. But, ere we could run in, a violent storm came on, in which we lost our fore-mast. At Gibraltar we refitted the ship, and took water on board. — On coming off Cadiz, another storm came on; after which we were brought to by an english frigate, and our ship underwent a thorough search. Nothing was found that could justify the seizure of the vessel; but two of our men were taken as having formerly served on board an english ship. — From this time we had no more good weather; nothing but rain and snow in perpetual vicissitudes,

tudes, and the wind at the same time furiously raging. From cold and wet I got a fever, which soon reduced me to a very low condition. To my great happiness, we arrived off the Texel, where we dropped anchor the 9th of February, 1797, whereupon I got into a small vessel*, and the next day landed in Amsterdam.

On coming on shore, I was stopped by a french guard, consisting of an officer and four soldiers, when the former asked: “By what ship didst thou arrive?” — “In a two-masted merchantman, named the Newjater Hus.” — “What countryman art thou?” — “A German.” — “Art thou a sailor or a passenger?” — “I am a passenger coming from Marocco, where I was a slave.” — “Where is thy pass?” — “The captain said I had no need of a pass, as he would answer for me.” — “Thou must remain here till the captain arrives.” — Hereupon I was conveyed to the guard-house by a soldier; where, undergoing another examination, I was ordered to wait there till the arrival of the captain. — In about an hour’s time a parcel of people, to the amount of a couple of hundred, assembled to see me, having been told that a slave was just arrived from Marocco. I here sent for something to eat and to drink,

* A kind of lighter, employed in conveying the goods from the ships that cannot be brought within shore.

bought myself some new clothes, and was totally unconcerned. However, no licence to depart coming on the following day, I began to be uneasy, especially on considering that I was a deserter from the company, and that the ransom-money might be demanded of me, or that I might be forced to serve in the army.

On the sixth day of my imprisonment, a very young but friendly officer came upon guard, and entered into conversation with me. I related to him whence I originally came, how I had been treated, with matters of a like nature; and, at length, asked, why I was not set at liberty. To this he said, that it having been reported that I was a deserter, it was necessary to inquire into the true state of the case. “If
“ I am detain’d as a deserter, why am I not
“ maintained at the public expence; and why
“ am I oblig’d to lay out the few shillings I
“ have been able, with great labour and diffi-
“ culty, to scrape together during my slavery?” To this I had no answer, as the officer went away; in an hour afterwards, however, three dutch shillings were sent me, for which, on account of the high price of provisions, I could only get a pound and a half of bread. — Every morning I received three shillings, just enough to pay for my breakfast; and though within
the

the space of a few days I underwent three several examinations, I obtained no farther orders. I was even required to deliver up the papers I had brought with me; but this I resolutely refused to do, affirming no body had a right to deprive me of them: and, pretending to be extremely impatient, I added, that in the very heart of Africa, nay, even at Marocco, I should be better treated than I was here; with much more of the same sort.

On the 2d of May, a person calling himself a secretary, came to me at last with the intelligence that I was sentenced to serve for two years either in the city-militia, or at sea, and must give my final answer within three days. I made him no answer at all; but, on my seeming greatly shocked, he took himself away. A variety of reflections now rushed into my mind, and I sat down to consider how it would be possible to evade this sentence; but I could find no means of escape.

My deliverance, however, was nearer than I had imagined. On the 5th of May, as I was sitting before the guard-house, absorbed in deep meditation, I all at once perceived three sailors going by, with blue and white striped sashes about their waists. One of them, happening by chance to look towards me, I beckoned him to come near: which he did, and, on my asking
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ing him, whether they were dutch sailors, he replied: “No; we are Prussians, and are proceeding to Dantzic.” — “I am likewise a Prussian,” said I, “but am confined here under arrest.” — “Speak then to our captain; yonder he comes in his uniform, he is a worthy gentleman, and his name is Rosmer.” Saying this, they left me, and I waited till the captain approached; when addressing him by his name, I desired him to come nearer. He came; and I related to him in few words, for what reason I was confined there under arrest, &c. praying him to give me his advice. — “Art thou heartily desirous then to return to thy native country?” — “Indeed I am; for I should be sorry to stay among the coarse and insolent Dutchmen.” — “I will take all the pains I can to get thee set at liberty, and will take thee along with me, if thou wilt work on board the vessel.” — “That I will, with all my heart.” — This said, he went to the officer on guard, and asked why I was not suffered to go back to my native country; what they meant to do with me, and the like. The officer told him that I was a deserter. — “He cannot any longer be considered as such,” returned the captain; “the man is free: and if he is not delivered up, I will lay an account of the matter before

VOL. II. U “ my

“ my sovereign.” The officer, on this, referred him to his superior ; to whom the captain accordingly went, as he perceived that nothing more was to be done here ; but shortly after sent a failor to me with a bottle of wine and a piece of roast meat, ordering him to remain with me, that he might learn what other steps would be taken if it should be thought that I was not safe in this place. — After a full hour had elapsed came four officers, with the above-mentioned secretary and the prussian ship-captain ; when I underwent a fresh examination : at the conclusion whereof, “ How,” said the major, “ can we proceed otherwise with this man, “ than as a deserter ? he must at least continue in the service here, as long as he “ ought to have remained in that of the company at the Cape.” — The captain replied, “ The company has no longer any thing at “ all to do with deserters at the Cape : the “ Cape being now in the hands of the English, “ the company can have no authority there.” Objections, however, were again started ; but the captain cut the matter short by saying : “ This man must go with me : he has committed no crime ; and therefore cannot be “ kept under arrest.” — They not consenting yet to let me go, the captain solemnly declared, that he would represent the whole of the

the transaction to the king, and would not sail from that port till he had learnt his majesty's pleasure. The major, hearing this, became more gentle; and said, that if I would pay the expence of the examinations, that of my daily board and lodging, the fees of the guard-house, &c. he was ready to discharge me. "Make out your account, gentlemen," said the captain, "and it will be paid you by the king." Then, bidding the sailor whom he had before ordered to remain with me, to shew me to his lodgings, and there to stay with me, I ran from the guard-house and followed my conductor. When the captain came home, I ardently thanked him for his kindness, and honoured him ever after as a man ought to honour his greatest benefactor.

We remained on shore till the 14th of May, purchasing the necessary provisions, and taking in the stores; when we sailed from Amsterdam, with a fair wind, in the little prussian vessel, the crew whereof consisted of eighteen men. After a prosperous passage of thirteen days, we arrived at Dantzic. I was now somewhat perplexed how to obtain a pass; but here likewise the captain gave me another instance of his kindness by procuring a pass to be made out for me. With tears of heart-

felt gratitude I quitted this generous man ; after which I proceeded to my native town, happy in the sentiment that I was at length delivered from so many toils and such uncommon perils,

EXPLA-

EXPLANATION

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M A P.

OF all the parts of the earth, it is universally agreed, that there is not one in the geography whereof we are still so far behind as in that of Africa; and therefore no attempts in that department of science can be more acceptable than such as throw light on so many and such obscure parts of this vast quarter of the globe. Even with all the exertions at present making to explore the interior of Africa, a long time will elapse before we have acquired any adequate knowledge of even the greater inland districts of the country, and are able to ascertain with accuracy their relative situations. For, would it be imagined, that, excepting a few observations on the interior of the country and some particulars of *Ægypt*, in major Houghton's, Browne's and Bruce's travels, we may often trace out from three hundred to four hundred german miles, without having one single place astronomically or otherwise accurately

laid down? The only remedy in this case is by travelling distances to state the situation of the places as well as we are able. It is true, indeed, that this method has been constantly employed by geographers, as having no other resource, and that it is capable of being farther extended than is generally conceived: yet from the only manner in which travelling can be pursued in Africa at present, this method will not admit of being so accurately employed, as in our inhabited and cultivated countries; at the same time that it affords us results only concerning a small proportion of that quarter of the globe, which moreover are extremely uncertain, as the few journies, which have not had that necessary object in view, do not allow of the numerous combinations, by which we are enabled in the more frequented parts of our earth to adopt a method that is seldom very far from the truth.

These circumstances considered, the present travels must surely be esteemed as a valuable acquisition to the geography of Africa. They would still be so, even though objections should be raised to some particulars related by the author, for the discussion whereof this, however, is not the proper place.

The Map is designed not only for furnishing the reader with a clue while he is perusing the book, but much rather for suggesting and even
facilitating

facilitating any future researches into the interior of Africa. It is therefore the more necessary that we should give a faithful statement of the manner in which it was constructed, and the sources that were employed on that occasion.

As to the projection, that of Mercator was made choice of as the most suitable to the statement of those regions of the world which the author frequently lays down, and as the disadvantage of it, in too greatly extending the higher latitudes, is of the least consequence precisely in regard to Africa, which the equator pretty nearly divides in the midst. The latitudes are marked at every five degrees, in which the common rules for these degrees, $r=9,3010$ Paris-inches, and therefore five degrees of longitude $c,81166$ inches have been adopted. It were to be wished that every Map should give in numbers the scale on which the construction has been made; the attention to that circumstance in our Map will not be thought superfluous.

The author had delineated his route on Manner's Map, published in 1794, by Weigel and Schneider, without naming the worthy author. It might be supposed that I had no more to do than to transfer that route to my Map, always applying the magnetic declension according to major Rennell's hypothesis. But I often found that I absolutely could not follow his directions,

so as that they would suit the places which he names. Accordingly I was obliged to insert these latter as they are set down in the best publications, and suit them to his journey as well as I was able. The compass that he had with him, seems by some injury or other to have been out of order.

The degrees astronomically ascertained, are notoriously but few, and most of those stated in Niebuhr's, Bruce's and Browne's Travels, as well as the investigations made of late by the French in *Ægypt*, lie too remote from the route of our author for enabling me to make any other than a distant use of them as applicable to his travels.

In the northern part of Africa, the coast from cape Spartel to cape Verd is well ascertained by the voyage of the *Isis* frigate, published by Fleurieu, Paris, 1793, 2 vols. 4to. This would have been taken as the ground-work, only some of the main particulars are not so stated as they are given in those Travels, but interpolated from the latest *Connaissance des tems* for the year xi. and others. From thence, the charts which Bellin has subjoined to his *Histoire générale des Voyages*, furnish us with an excellent series of plans of the coast reaching quite to cape Negro. The last is a point astronomically ascertained. Thence again, as far as the Cape of Good Hope, Mr. Arrowsmith, in his second Map of the
World.

World, which appeared in 1795, seems to have laid down the coasts the most accurately, as in the track he has two astronomical points, which I find no where else.

The Cape of Good Hope, and particularly the Cape-town, is generally allowed to be extremely well ascertained by la Caille. But from thence, as far as the Red Sea, where Niebuhr's statements commence, the coast, Madagascar excepted, is one of the parts of the earth with which we are the least acquainted. I supplied the deficiencies here as well as I was able from Arrowsmith's two maps of the world, Vaugondy's map in three sheets, that of Mannert, and the latest by Dr. Reinecke. Cape-Guardafui is admitted as lying in 12 deg. 45 min. of north latitude.

As to what concerns the northern part of the inland country there was no choice. Rennell, by his last map, has almost entirely rectified the whole; and his statements will long remain the rule for geographers to proceed upon. This is most sensibly felt by comparing his former map of northern Africa, which he presented to the African Company in 1793, with that lately given in Mr. Mungo Park's travels. That future travels may place many things in a different light; that, even at present later discoveries state particular parts quite differently, for instance the empire of Darfur, which he places 5 degrees more to the south

than Browne, is rather the fault of our slight knowledge of Africa than of the meritorious author. It is only to be lamented, that he somewhat increases the difficulty of such as come after him, from the circumstance that the stereographic net, or intersecting lines, which he usually puts to his maps, is not always accurate and just.

Of the southern part Dr. John Reinhold Forster has given a map, published by Schneider and Weigel. But I cannot conceive how it happened, that the Cape of Good Hope, and with that main point the whole map is one degree too far to the west. I have therefore brought so much more eastward all the points taken from this map.

Of the lower part we only know, on the eastern coast the territories of Monomotapa, Sofala, and some of the adjacent countries; and on the east side Leango, Congo, Angola, and Benguela, with one or two others in those parts. These are taken from Arrowsmith's two maps; for one of them actually has sometimes more and sometimes fewer places and geographical data than the other; and from Bellin. What was wanting in them is taken from Vaugondy, Reinecke, Mannert, and the map of Janvier, which appeared in 1753, consequently three years subsequent to Danville's. I was obliged to be satisfied with this, which generally conforms to that of Danville, as I could not pick up the former. This

great geographer also published an uncommonly valuable dissertation, in the xxvith volume of the Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, on the rivers in the interior of Africa. A few other maps made use of, I omit to mention, for example, that of the Algerine states, with the latest account of that country, which appeared some years ago in Altona, and is the best of those states now extant, as they could only furnish me with a few detached points.

C. F. GOLDBACH.

LEIPZIG,

OCT. II, 1800.

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CHAPTER I

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