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COLONEL GEORGE EARL CHURCH
1835-1910



Arbman Pinx

Bartolozzi Sculp

"From different Parents, different Climes we came?
 At different Periods; Fate still rules the same?
 Unhappy Youth! while bleeding on the ground;
 'Twas Yours to fall — but Mine to feel the wound.

London, Published Dec: 1791, by J. Johnson, St. Pauls Church Yard.

NARRATIVE,
of a five years' expedition, against the
Revolted Negroes of Surinam,
in GUIANA, on the WILD COAST of
SOUTH AMERICA;

from the year 1772, to 1777:
elucidating the History of that Country, and
describing its Productions, &c.

Quadrupedes, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, Trees, Shrubs, Fruits, & Roots;
with an account of the INDIANS of Guiana, & NEGROES of Guinea.

By CAPTⁿ J. G. STEDMAN.

illustrated with 80 elegant Engravings, from drawings made by the Author.

VOL. I

Second Edition corrected.

Presented to Col. Geo E. Church
Chairman of the
Madaira & Marmora Railway Coy
with the kindest Wishes of
Edward Haslewood
7 May 1872

"O quantum terræ, quantum cognoscere cæli
Permissum est! pelagus quantos aperimus in usus!
Nunc forsân grave veris opus; sed læta recurrat
Cum ratis, et carum cum jam mihi reddet Iolcon;
Quis pudor heu! nostros tibi tunc audire labores!
Quam referam visas tua per suspiciâ gentes!"

Valerius Placcus.

TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
G E O R G E
PRINCE OF WALES,
THIS
ARTLESS NARRATIVE
IS
WITH ALL HUMILITY,
INSCRIBED,
BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S
MOST DEVOTED,
AND MOST OBEDIENT,
HUMBLE SERVANT,

J. G. Stedman.

Tiverton, Devonshire,
January 1, 1796.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

THIS Work being perhaps one of the most singular productions ever offered to the Public, I think it right to give the Reader a short sketch of what he is going to peruse.—I have endeavoured to arrange matters in some degree like a large garden, where one meets with the sweet-smelling flower and the thorn, the gold-bespangled fly and loathsome reptile, the richest glowing plumage and the darkest shades; the whole so variegated as to afford, I hope, both information and amusement, without racking or depressing the spirits, and damping the mind; not indeed in the modern pomp and brilliancy of style, but in a simple tale, where TRUTH is the chief ornament.

Here, in the different characters of a Commander—a Rebel Negro—a Planter, and a Slave—not only tyranny are exposed—but benevolence and humanity are unveiled to the naked eye. Here the Warrior—the Historian—the Merchant—and the Lover of Natural Philosophy, will meet with some gratification; while, for having introduced my private adventures, I must make some apology—but none for those of the *lovely Slave*, who makes not the least interesting figure in these pages—as female virtue in distress, especially when accompanied with youth and beauty, must ever claim protection.

Upon the whole, perhaps, some allowance may be made, when the Reader considers he is perusing no romance composed of fiction, but a real history, totally unembellished with the marvellous;—the production of an Officer, whose pen and pencil have alone been employed—and ON THE SPOT, a circumstance but very seldom met with.

As

P R E F A C E.

v

As to the shocking cruelties that here are so frequently exposed, let it suffice to say, that to deter others from similar inhuman practices, and teach them virtue, was my sole and only motive; while, on the other hand, it must be observed that LIBERTY, nay even too much lenity, when *suddenly* granted to illiterate and unprincipled men, must be to *all* parties dangerous, if not pernicious. Witness the *Owca* and *Sarameca* Negroes in Surinam—the *Maroons* of Jamaica, the *Caribs* of St. Vincent, &c.

While the Colony of Surinam however is reeking and dyed with the blood of the African negroes, truth compels me to observe, that the Dutch there are not the only guilty; but that to most other nations, and particularly the Jews, is owing this almost constant and diabolical barbarity.

Reader, peruse the pages annexed with impartiality and with temper—sort the flowers from the weeds—divide the gold skilfully from

P R E F A C E.

the dross—and perhaps you may not regret the hours you have thus dedicated.—Let it however not be understood, that I ever laid claim to excellence in writing or drawing; but if the plain and MANLY TRUTH, so often spoken of, and so seldom found, are of any avail—I presume to hope, that these Volumes are not entirely unworthy the attention of a BRITISH Public.

L I S T

O F

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NARRATIVE
OF AN
EXPEDITION TO SURINAM.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION.—*Revolt among the Negroes in Dutch Guiana—An Expedition sets out from the Texel—Short Account of the Voyage—The Fleet arrives in the River Surinam—Reception of the Troops in that Colony—Sketch of the Inhabitants, &c.*

THE exploring of foreign countries having of late years, and particularly since the recent discoveries of the immortal CAPTAIN COOK, so generally been the object of persons both in private and public situations; and the histories of their labours and pursuits being so interesting to the curiosity of the Public, I have ventured to offer such observations as I have had an opportunity of making in a very singular part of the Globe, on which few Englishmen have been thrown, either by accident

CHAP.

I.

CHAP. or curiosity. The colony of *Surinam*, in Dutch *Guiana*,
 I. so far as it is inhabited and cultivated by Europeans near
 the sea-coast, has indeed been known for many years
 past. But the deep inundations, with the impenetrable
 thickness of the woods, have been such constant discouragements
 and obstructions to discovery, that but very little *true* information
 concerning that country hath as yet been obtained, except what
 relates to such objects of commerce as are common to most of
 the tropical settlements. This publication, therefore, is chiefly
 intended to particularize such circumstances and events as the
 necessity of penetrating into the interior parts of the country
 have enabled me to make, and forced on my observation.

The feeling part of my readers, I must hope, will receive
 with some indulgence a work proceeding from an officer, who,
 from his early youth, was debarred in acquiring perfection,
 either as a writer or a painter, by his military and maritime
 profession. I nevertheless humbly flatter myself that whatever
 may be found wanting in style and elegance, is in some degree
 compensated by that fidelity and correctness, which can alone
 be the work of a pen and pencil employed on the spot. With
 respect to a few quaint expressions, and even oaths, as spoken
 by common *soldiers*, *sailors*, &c. that sometimes unavoidably
 occur in the narrative of this wonderful expedition, I must
 humbly request the world not to be startled at them, not only
 because the shades of black and white

enliven the picture, but because I am determined to write *truth* only, and expose *vice* and *folly* in their native colours. C H A P.
I.
—Come then, *my friends*—

“ Together let us beat this *ample field*,
 “ Try what the open, what the covert yield ;
 “ The latent tracts, the giddy heights, explore
 “ Of all who blindly creep, or sightless soar :
 “ Eye *Nature's walks*, shoot *Folly* as it flies,
 “ And catch the manners living as they rise ;
 “ Laugh where we must, be candid where we can ;
 “ But vindicate the ways of God to man.”

POPE.

I WILL now boldly launch out on the difficult task.—
 As the nature, however, of these transactions can only be understood by a reference to the occasion which called me thither, I feel myself under the necessity of still premising a few words upon that subject.

Every part of the World, where *domestic slavery* is established, may be occasionally liable to insurrection and disquiet, more especially where the slaves constitute the majority of the inhabitants; but the colony of *Surinam*, in Dutch Guiana, has been peculiarly unfortunate in this respect. Whether from the shelter which is afforded to the fugitives by the immense forests which overspread the most considerable part of this country, or whether the government of this settlement be radically defective, it is a certain fact, that its *European* settlers

B 2

are

C H A P.

I.

are constantly exposed to the most violent ravages, and the most desperate outrage. Of these circumstances this is not, however, the place for a minute detail. Let it suffice therefore for the present, only to observe, that these repeated *revolts* and *insurrections* demanded at length the most vigorous measures for the restoration of a general peace; and that the accounts transmitted to Holland, in the year 1772, that a considerable body of armed people of *this* description had assembled in the forests, and became extremely formidable to the colony, determined their *High Mightinesses* the STATES of the United Provinces to send out a sufficient maritime force to oppose the insurgents, and, if possible, to quell the insurrection.

The *British navy* had ever been my choice and ambition, in which I was well recommended; but the small hopes of preferment I had naturally to expect in time of peace, and my paternal estate being lost just after my birth, by accidental misfortunes, induced me to relinquish the hopes of advancement in the sea-service, and to accept an ensign's commission, presented me without purchase, in one of the *Scots brigade* regiments in the pay of Holland, where Sir *Joseph York* (late Lord Dover) at that period was ambassador from the British court; before which nobleman I had the honour to take the usual oaths of abjuration and allegiance to my KING and COUNTRY, as registered at the British war-office.— This point I have also thought it right to premise, as
a duty

a duty owing to myself, to shew the world in general that it was necessity not choice that compelled me to enter into a *foreign* service; though perhaps a more ancient and distinguished corps does not exist than the above brigade has proved to be, both in this island and on the continent, for above two hundred years.

At the time of the above insurrection I was Lieutenant in the Honourable General *John Stuart's* regiment; when, impressed by the hopes of traversing the sea, my favourite element, and in some measure gratifying my curiosity, in exploring a part of the world not generally known; still more by the prospect of that preferment which might be consequent on so dangerous an expedition; I instantly solicited admission into a corps of volunteers which was preparing to sail for Guiana, and had the honour, by his *Serene Highness* WILLIAM V. PRINCE OF ORANGE, to be advanced to the rank of Captain by brevet*, under Colonel *Louis Henry Fourgeoud*, a Swiss gentleman, from the Alpine Mountains, who was appointed our Commander in Chief.

Having taken the oaths of fidelity on the 12th of November to the new corps, and prepared what was necessary for the voyage, I bade farewell to my old regiment, and immediately sailed to the island of *Texel*, where several of our gentlemen were already assembled;

* Each officer was permitted to re-enter his former regiment, if he survived the expedition, and returned to Europe, a vacancy being there reserved for him during his absence.

and

CHAP. and where, on going ashore, I had nearly perished by the
 I. boat's shipping a sea, and sinking in the surf.

The island of *Wieringen* was however the spot of general rendezvous: here Colonel Fourgeoud arriving on the 7th of December, the volunteers were all assembled, to the number of five hundred fine young men; and on the morning of the 8th we were formed into seven companies, and embodied as a regiment of marines. Besides the *Boreas* and *Westellingwerf* men-of-war, commanded by Captains *Van de Velde* and *Crafs*, three new frigate-built transports were put in commission, carrying ensign, jack, and pennant, and armed with from ten to sixteen guns, as sloops of war; on board these vessels we embarked the same afternoon under a general salute, then took the command, and did the duty as in the navy.

Our departure was not however immediately consequent on our embarkation. We lay wind-bound in the Texel roads for many days, during which time one of our young officers, a Mr. *Hesseling*, was unfortunately seized with the small-pox: this gentleman, in order to prevent his infecting the ship's company, was ordered on shore to a town on the land's end, called the *Helder*, where I conducted him in a pinnace, and where we left him behind us; but on my return, the surgeon declaring he saw the symptoms of the same disorder on myself, I was also immediately ordered to the island of Texel. Having passed a most anxious quarantine in this place, I had
 the

the good fortune however to escape the loathsome maulady, and to the Doctor's surprize appeared once more on board perfectly well, just before the signal gun was fired for the fleet to weigh anchor. This circumstance cannot but induce me to wish that those in particular who are destined for a military or a naval life would avail themselves of the art of inoculation, in order to avoid a painful anxiety to themselves, and a most dangerous infection to their fellow-creatures.

On Christmas-day our small fleet put to sea, at eight o'clock, A. M. with a fresh breeze from E. N. E. in company with above one hundred vessels bound for different parts of the globe, and the most beautiful clear weather. Having safely got without the soundings, and saluted each other with nine guns, we kept our course down channel, and soon passed the *North Foreland*, the *Ile of Wight*, and *Portland Point*; but here the *West-ellingwerf*, having sprung a leak, was obliged to part company, and run into *Plymouth* for repair.

The wind now freshened as we approached the *Bay of Biscay*, where the mate of the vessel directed my particular attention to a kind of sea-swallow, commonly distinguished by the name of the *Storm-bird**, from its supposed property of foretelling an impending tempest. The colour of this bird is a very deep blue approaching to black, and enlivened by some variegated tints; its size is about that of a large martin or swallow: it is web-footed; the

bill

* The *Stormy Petrel* of Pennant.

CHAP. I. bill is very long and sharp, and the wings of an extraordinary length, which enable it to fly very fast, and for a considerable time, skimming with incredible velocity around the horizon: it subsists entirely upon fish, which is probably the cause of its being sensible of the first indications of whatever may prevent its usual supply of food: it then flies along with extreme swiftness, in order to avoid the storm; but if overtaken by it, drops its wings, and floats upon the surface of the waves.

On the following day, January 2d, 1773, the predictions of the storm-bird were verified: a heavy gale sprung up from N. N. E. by which, off *Cape Finisterre*, the *Boreas* and *Vigilance* were separated from us. We kept our course during the night with double-reefed top-sails, and all the hatches laid, which made our men in general very sick. Here I ought not to forget that by way of experiment we had slung the hammocks *athwart* ships, and not as usual fore and aft; which method we found however to be both so roomy and convenient, that it has been since adopted by several other vessels.

On the morning of the 4th we spied a stout ship to windward in the offing, bearing straight down upon us. Conjecturing she might be an *Algerine private* from the African coast, and now but two ships out of five, we prepared to engage her; she however soon proved to be the *Boreas* man-of-war, which had parted company on the 2d. From this date the men were daily exercised at
the

the great guns, and by firing at a target suspended from the yard-arm.

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On the 14th, in the morning-watch, we passed the *Tropic*, when the usual ceremony of ducking the fresh-water sailors was ransomed by tipping the foremast men with some silver. About this time the *Boreas* most unluckily lost one of her best seamen, the boatswain's mate, whose hand slipping by the wet, he pitched from the fore-yard-arm into the sea. His presence of mind in calling to the captain, as he floated alongside, "*Be not alarmed for me, sir,*" in the confidence of meeting with relief, attracted peculiar compassion, and even caused some murmuring, as no assistance was offered him; in consequence of which, after swimming a considerable time within view, the unfortunate young man went to the bottom.

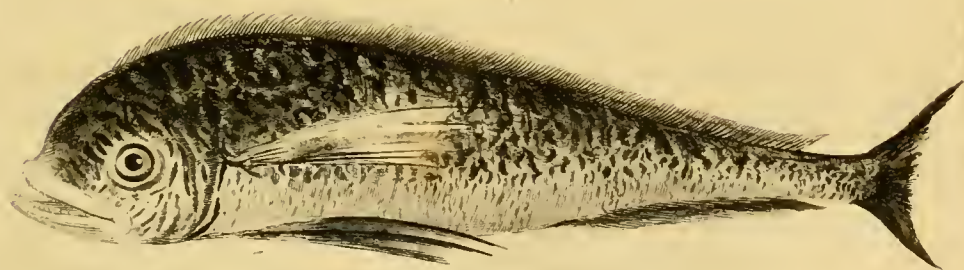
We now were got in the tract of the *trade winds*, which blowing continually east, and the weather becoming from day to day more temperate, made the voyage exceedingly pleasant; more so by the many *dolphins* or *dorados*, which beautiful fish seem to take peculiar delight in sporting around the vessels. The *real* dolphin, which is of the cetaceous kind, was *anciently* celebrated in poetic story on account of its philanthropy and other supposed virtues: but to the dorado or dolphin of the *moderns*, this character is far from being applicable, this fish being extremely voracious and destructive, and is known to follow the ships, and exhibit his sports and gambols, not from attachment to mankind, but from

C H A P. the more selfish motive of procuring food, particularly on the
 I. eve of an approaching storm, of which he appears perfectly sensible. The circumstance which chiefly entitles the dorado to our attention is, the unrivalled and dazzling brilliancy of its colours in the water, the whole of its back being enamelled with spots between azure blue and a reflecting light sea-green, on a very dark ground, which appears as bespangled all over with jewels, and forms a most beautiful contrast to the belly, which is of a whitish cast; the fins and tail are of a golden dye: the length of this animal is from five to six feet, and its form tapers from the head towards the tail, which is divided, and terminates not unlike the shape of a crescent. The head is round, and preceded by a kind of snout; the jaws are armed with several sharp teeth, and the eyes are remarkably large. The scales of the dorado are uncommonly small, and it is furnished with a fin, which runs along its back from the one extremity to the other.

Our progress was now daily marked by increasing warm weather, which released me from the confinement of a disagreeable cabin crowded with officers, most of whom had never been to sea, and enabled me to pursue my favourite amusements, whether of reading above deck, or exercise in the rigging. Thus circumstanced I, on the 17th, had the happiness of rendering a most important service to one of our young officers, a Mr. *du Moulin*, who by a sudden roll of the vessel was actually thrown over the gunwale. At that mo-



The Harangus solans, or Flying Fish.



The Dorado, or Dolphin of the Moderns.

ment happening to stand without-board in the main-chains, I fortunately grasped hold of him in his fall, which saved him, as he could not swim, from inevitable death.

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The entrance into warmer regions gave occasion to an observation perhaps not generally known, which (though uncouth) must be of great importance to sailors; namely, that between the Tropics, while vermin may remain in the head, none can possibly continue to exist in the bedding, cloaths, linen, &c. Having humbly apologized for the above remark to my delicate readers, I will endeavour to describe a curious animal with which these seas abound, and which appears to sail on the surface of the waves with a side-wind, while by the sailors it is vulgarly called a Portuguese man-of-war, and is probably either the *Nautilus* or the *Argonauta* of Linnæus. This wonderful creature, when above water, assumes the shape of an expanded fan, decorated with a beautiful red border, while the lower extremity is fixed to a shell as thin as paper, or rather a kind of boat, which is sunk below or raised above the surface of the sea, and guided in any direction, at the pleasure of the animal, by means of six *tentacula* or limbs, which it uses as oars. When these creatures are touched by the hand, they occasion, like the sea blubber or jelly fish, a painful tinkling sensation, which continues for several minutes.

The two following days it blew very fresh, and heavy seas washed over the vessel; during which, while helping to put a reef in the main-top-sail for a little exercise, I lost

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every one of my keys, which dropped from the yard-arm into the sea. This trifling accident I should never have related, had it not proved a very great inconvenience, by debarring me from coming at my private property, particularly since the whole ship's company, *officers* included, lived on *salt provision* alone, a pig and a couple of lean sheep excepted, whose legs had been broken by the rolling and pitching of the vessel. This manner of living on salt-beef, pork, and peas, like common sailors, was introduced by our Commander in Chief in order to enure us (he said) to such food as we were likely to be alone supplied with in the woods of Surinam; and from the *generous* motive of regaling his American friends with European refreshments—such as live sheep, hogs, fowls, ducks, bacon hams, bullocks tongues, preserved vegetables, pickles, spices, &c. all of which were provided by the town of Amsterdam in profusion. But good intentions do not always meet with their rewards; since the *worms*, without any one's permission, laid hold of the greatest part of the dead stock for themselves; who were, for their punishment, together with their plunder, thrown overboard into the ocean. Let me add, that, instead of plate, our meals were frequently served up in small wooden tubs of not the most cleanly appearance, and only once a day; which negligence, however, I am willing to impute to *Monsieur Laurant*, the colonel's French valet-de-chambre. In short, the scurvy and other loathsome disorders began to make their appearance; dejection and low spirits

spirits took place throughout the ship, while I complained *aloud*, and from that moment date the *good-will* which Colonel Fourgeoud manifested towards me in particular, as will be seen throughout the expedition. It is with pain that I relate this passage—but no consideration shall prevent me from bringing to light particular foibles, as it will ever give me the greatest pleasure to render virtue conspicuous.

About the 20th of January, we observed great numbers of flying fish, the *exocetus volitans* of Linnæus, which is about the size of a herring. The back of this animal is flat, and of an olive-brown colour; the sides and belly of a resplendent silvery white; the mouth small; the eyes large; the tail bifurcated; and the scales hard, smooth, and silvery. Upon occasion the pectoral fins are used as wings by this fish, yet no longer than while they continue wet, for as soon as the moisture is dried, the animal drops back into the sea. The surface of these fins is of a golden hue, beautifully variegated near the edges with spots of azure blue: their length is equal to that of the body of the fish; and its flight, which is undertaken in order to avoid the pursuit of the dorado, and other large fish, is always straight forward, and of short duration, on account of the necessity of repeatedly wetting its wings*. These animals are frequently found

* I have never seen this necessity properly accounted for: probably the mucus which covers the fins or wings may become so consolidated by the heat of the sun, and the action of the air, that it may impede their motion; or it may be that the fish

itself cannot endure to be long out of its proper element: either of these suppositions will account for its dropping so often as it were *involuntarily* on board ships, and into the mouth of its enemies, the dolphin, dorado, &c.

on

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on board vessels, and sticking in the shrouds, which is probably to be ascribed, not, according to the opinion of some, to their seeking a refuge there from the attacks of fish or sea-birds, but simply to their flight being obstructed by an object, which, as they always fly in a direct line, they have not the power to avoid. The fate of this animal seems peculiarly severe, as it is the prey both of the scaly and feathered creation, and frequently meets its doom in that element to which but a moment before it had committed itself for protection.

Becoming extremely low-spirited towards the close of our voyage, I now had recourse to daily sea-bathing, and to a chearing glass of claret, two ankers of which had been provided for each officer, independently of his own stock. These means proved efficacious, and I found myself in a few days perfectly recovered from my complaint. On the 30th the weather became hazy, when the ships brought-to and hove the lead in thirteen fathom foul water. The following day we passed several large black rocks to windward, called *The Constables*, and cast anchor near the *Euripice*, or *Devil's Islands*, off the coast of South America. The *Euripice* Islands are situated about twenty-four miles from the French settlement of *Cayenne*, bearing N. N. W. in North latitude, five degrees twenty minutes, and consist of a ridge of small uninhabited and very dangerous rocks for shipping. Here the current runs constantly from the S. E. to the N. W. at the rate of sixty English miles in twenty-four hours: consequently



View of the Constable Rocks, off Cayenne, from N. E.



The Saw-Fish, & part of the Head reversed.

consequently every vessel which happens to pass the mouth of the river Surinam must make a considerable circuit in order to regain the possibility of entering that river.

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While we remained in this situation, we observed the *narwhal*, or sea-unicorn, and one or two large turtles, floating past the ship's side. The former of these is a large fish, and very distinguishable by a long spiral excrescence on its nose, like a tapering twisted rope. The one we saw at this time (though some are said to be forty or fifty) appeared but six or eight feet in length, and its horn about four, which weapon is dreadfully offensive to many fishes, especially to the whale; and when polished (either in hardness or whiteness) is considered not to be inferior to ivory. The narwhal, which is of the cetaceous kind, and consequently viviparous, is more frequently found in cold than warm climates. The female is said to be unprovided with that protuberance so remarkable in the male. It appears that some authors have confounded this animal with the *sword-fish*, to which, however, it does not prove to have the very smallest resemblance.

Another animal, which is called the *saw-fish*, carries also an offensive weapon. The projecting bone of this is three or four feet long, flat, and both sides armed with strong sharp-pointed spikes, which give it somewhat the form of a saw; this saw, which is covered over with the same rough, slimy, darkish-coloured skin that covers the whole animal,

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animal, begins to spread itself near the eyes, and thus continues spreading till it forms the head of a flattish triangular appearance, close to which are the two pectoral fins. Above the eyes are two large holes, which I apprehend to be the organs of hearing, and not, as some suppose, intended by nature for the purpose of spouting water. Almost directly under them is the mouth, which is something in the form of an half-moon, apparently without teeth, and between that and the under part of the spiked saw are the nostrils. The body of the saw-fish is not much larger than the head, with two strong dorsal fins, the one near the middle, the other near the tail, which is partly bifurcated, and raised perpendicular, the largest part upwards, without rays. The back is covered over with a dark slimy skin; the whole forming a very hideous appearance. This fish fights with the largest whales, till the sea all around is died with blood, seldom quitting its adversary till it has vanquished and killed it. I have seen this monster out of the water, and its whole length measured about fourteen feet.

The turtles are divided into two species, and are generally distinguished in Surinam by the names of *calapee* or green turtle, and *carette*. The former of these sometimes weighs four hundred pounds, and has a flattish shell; but the *carette* is inferior both in size and quality, except with respect to its shell, which is more valuable, and of a more convex form. Both the *calapee* and *carette* deposit their eggs, which are very excellent food, in the sand, where

where they are hatched by the heat of the sun. The manner of taking these animals is by turning them on their backs with a handspike, when they are discovered on shore, and leaving them in this situation till a convenient opportunity occurs for carrying them away; for such is the heaviness of their structure, or so languid are their powers, that they are utterly unable to turn themselves, and effect their escape. They are publicly exposed to sale by the butchers in Surinam, like the shambles meat in the European markets, and are esteemed the most delicate food between the months of February and May.

On the morning of the 1st of February we now once more went under weigh, and kept course in shore till the evening, when we came to an anchor off the mouth of the river *Marawina*. This river has occasioned the loss of many ships, by seamen fatally mistaking it for the river Surinam, to which its entry bears indeed a very great resemblance. What renders the *first* so dangerous are the numerous rocks; small islands, and quick-sands with which it is crouded; besides its being so shallow at high-water mark (and even with spring-tides) that all ships of any considerable burthen immediately run a-ground, and go to pieces.

On the 2d, having got our anchor a-peak by day-break, we again set sail, keeping course along the coast; when, having doubled *Braam's Point* with a light breeze, under top and top-gallant sails, we finally entered the beautiful river Surinam; and at three o'clock, P. M. dropped anchor before the new fortress called *Amsterdam*; and here we

CHAPTER I. were extremely happy to meet with our friends in the Vigilance, which vessel (as I have mentioned) had parted company with us, in a gale of wind, on the 2d of January, off Cape Finisterre, and arrived two days before us in this river.

Our ships crews now were in the highest flow of spirits, seeing themselves surrounded by the most delightful verdure, while the river seemed alive by the many boats and barges passing and re-passing to see us, while groups of naked boys and girls were promiscuously playing and flouncing, like so many *Tritons* and *Mermaids*, in the water. The scene was new to all, and nothing was heard but music, singing, and cheering on deck, as well as in the rigging, from the ideas of happiness which each individual now promised himself in this luxuriant flourishing spot, while between decks the heat was become insupportable: but how miserably these poor fellows were mistaken in their reckoning shall soon be seen.

I must indeed acknowledge that nothing could equal the delicious sensations with which we seemed intoxicated by the fragrance of the lemons, limes, oranges, and flowers, wafted over from the adjoining plantations that line the banks of all the rivers in this ever-blooming settlement, and of which charming fruit, &c. large clusters were sent on board our ships by Colonel *de Ponchera* of the colonial troops. This gentleman, being the commandant of Fort Amsterdam, also saluted the vessels with nine guns from the batteries, while with an equal number we returned him the compliment from the ships: A long-boat, with one



Bartolozzi Sculp^t

A. Female Negro Slave, with a Weight chained to her Ankle.

of our captains, was afterwards dispatched to Paramaribo, to announce to the Governor the arrival of the troops in the colony.

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During our stay in this place the companies frequently walked on shore, and I accompanied them in their excursions; but the pleasure I had flattered myself with, from exchanging the confinement of a ship for the liberty of ranging over a delicious country, was damped by the first object which presented itself after my landing. This was a young female slave, whose only covering was a rag tied round her loins, which, like her skin, was lacerated in several places by the stroke of the whip. The crime which had been committed by this miserable victim of tyranny was the non-performance of a task to which she was apparently unequal, for which she was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes, and to drag, during some months, a chain several yards in length, one end of which was locked round her ancle, and to the other was affixed a weight of at least a hundred pounds. Strongly affected with this shocking circumstance, I took a draft of the unhappy sufferer, and retained a dreadful idea of the inhumanity of the planters towards these miserable subjects to their power.

The grass in this part of the country was very long and coarse, and afforded a harbour to two species of very disagreeable insects, termed *Pattat* and *Scrapat* lice by the colonists, which settled on every part of our persons. The former of these is so small as to be scarcely visible; the

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latter is something larger, and formed like a crab, and both agree in adhering closely to the skin, and occasioning an intolerable itching. These insects abound most during the rainy season; when the best means of avoiding their attacks is supposed to be by walking barefoot, as they are believed to fasten more easily, and consequently in greater numbers, upon the cloaths, whence, however, they very speedily find their way to the skin. We did not get rid of our disagreeable companions till our return to the ship, when we washed the affected parts with the juice of limes or lemons, which considerably alleviated our troublesome sensations.

On the 3d of March we received a visit from several officers of the Society, or West India Company's troops, accompanied by a number of other gentlemen, to welcome our arrival in the colony. Nor were they satisfied with paying us merely a compliment in words, but regaled us with a large quantity of excellent fruits and other refreshments. They came in very elegant barges or tent-boats, adorned with flags, and attended by small bands of music. The vessels were rowed by six or eight negroes, who were entirely without cloaths, except a small stripe of check or other linen cloth, which was passed between their thighs, and fastened before and behind to a thin cotton string tied round their loins. As the colonists generally make choice of their handsomest slaves for this office, and to attend them at table, &c. the rowers, who were healthy, young,

young, and vigorous, looked extremely well, and their being naked gave us a full opportunity of observing their skin, which was shining, and nearly as black as ebony. This scene was, however, contrasted by the arrival of two canoes filled with emaciated starving wretches, who clamorously solicited relief from the soldiers, and were ready to fight for the possession of a bone.

The day following our Commander in Chief was visited by a Mr. Rynsdorp, who introduced to him two *black soldiers*, manumized slaves, who composed part of a corps of three hundred which had been lately formed. These men were exhibited by Mr. Rynsdorp as specimens of that valiant body which, but a short time before, had most gallantly distinguished itself by the protection it had afforded to the colony.

Whilst we still remained at anchor before the fortress Amsterdam, I received a polite invitation from one Mr. *Lolkens*, a planter, to whom I had been recommended, to accept the use of his house and table on our arrival at Paramaribo, the capital of the colony.

On the 8th we once more went under way, and, after the usual ceremonies on both sides on leaving the fortress, sailed up the river Surinam with drums beating, colours flying, and a guard of marines drawn up on the quarter-deck of each vessel. Having at length reached Paramaribo, we finally came to an anchor within pistol-shot off the shore, receiving a salute of eleven guns from the citadel
Zealandia,

CHAPTER. Zcalandia, which was returned by all the ships of our small
 I. fleet.

After being confined nearly the whole of sixty-three days within the limits of a small vessel, and upon an element to which few of the troops had been accustomed, it would not be easy to describe the pleasure we experienced on finding ourselves once more on land, and surrounded by a thousand agreeable circumstances.

The town appeared uncommonly neat and pleasing, the shipping extremely beautiful, the adjacent woods adorned with the most luxuriant verdure, the air perfumed with the utmost fragrance, and the whole scene gilded by the rays of an unclouded sun. We did not, however, take leave of our wooden habitation at this time, but the next day were formally disembarked with a general appearance of rejoicing; all the ships in the roads being in full dress, and the guns keeping up an incessant fire till the whole of the troops were landed.

All the inhabitants of Paramaribo were collected to behold this splendid scene, nor were the expectations they had formed disappointed. The corps consisted of nearly five hundred young men, (for we had been so fortunate as only to lose one during the voyage) the oldest of whom was scarcely more than thirty, and the whole party neatly clothed in their new uniforms, and in caps ornamented with twigs of orange-blossom. We paraded on a large green plain between the town and the citadel, opposite

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to the Governor's palace; during the course of which ceremonies several soldiers fainted from the excessive heat. The troops then marched into quarters prepared for their reception, whilst the officers were regaled with a dinner by the Governor, which would have derived a considerable relish from its succeeding the salt provisions, to which we had so long been confined, had any contrast been necessary to heighten our opinion of its elegance. But the choicest delicacies of America and Europe were united in this repast, and served up in silver. A great variety of the richest wines were poured out with profusion; the desert was composed of the most delicious fruits, and the company were attended by a considerable number of extremely handsome negro and mulatto maids, all naked from the waist upwards, according to the custom of the country; but the other parts of their persons arrayed in the finest India chintzes, and the whole adorned with golden chains, medals, beads, bracelets, and sweet-smelling flowers.

After partaking of this superb entertainment till about seven o'clock, I set out in search of the house of Mr. Lolkens, the hospitable gentleman who had so obligingly invited me to make it my own. I soon discovered the place, but my reception was so ludicrous that I cannot forbear relating the particulars. On knocking at the door, it was opened by a young female negro, of a masculine appearance, whose whole dress consisted of a single petti-
coat,

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coat, and who held a lighted tobacco-pipe in one hand, and a burning candle in the other, which she brought close to my face, in order to reconnoitre me. I enquired if her master was at home, to which she replied, but in a language totally unintelligible to me. I then mentioned his name, on which she burst into an immoderate fit of laughter, displaying two rows of very beautiful teeth; and at the same time laying hold of the breast-buttons of my coat, she made me a signal to follow her. I was much at a loss how to act, but went in, and was ushered by the girl into a very neat apartment, whither she brought some excellent fruit, and a bottle of Madeira wine, which she placed upon the table. She then, in the best manner she was able, informed me that her *masera*, with the rest of his family, was gone to spend a few days at his plantation, and that she was left behind to receive an English Captain, whom she supposed to be me. I signified that I was, and filled her out a tumbler of wine, which I had the utmost difficulty to persuade her to accept; for such is the degrading light in which these unhappy beings are considered, that it is accounted a high degree of presumption in them to eat or drink in the presence of an European. I contrived for some time to carry on something like a conversation with this woman, but was soon glad to put an end to it by recurring to my bottle.

Tired with the employments of the day, I longed for some rest, and made a signal to my attendant that I wanted

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to sleep : but my motion was strangely misconstrued ; for she immediately seized me by the neck, and imprinted on my lips a most ardent kiss. Heartily provoked at this unexpected and (from one of her colour) unwelcome salutation, I disentangled myself from her embraces, and angrily flung into the apartment allotted for my place of rest. But here I was again pursued by my black tormentor, who, in opposition to all I could say, insisted upon pulling off my shoes and stockings, and in a moment disencumbered me of that part of my apparel. I was extremely chagrined at her conduct ; though this is an office commonly performed by the slaves in Surinam, to all ranks and sexes without exception. Nor ought any one to conceive that this apparently extraordinary conduct resulted from any peculiarity of disposition in the girl ; her behaviour was only such as would have been practised by the generality of female negro slaves, and what will be found, by all who visit the West India settlements, to be characteristic of the whole dark sisterhood.

Finding in the morning, that my friend, the planter, was not returned, I took leave of his mansion, and very hospitable servant ; and, after visiting the soldiers in their new abodes, was conducted, by the quarter-master, to a neat habitation appropriated to my use. I found the house entirely unfurnished, though not destitute of inhabitants ; for leaving my Captain's commission, which was of parchment, in the window the first night, I had the

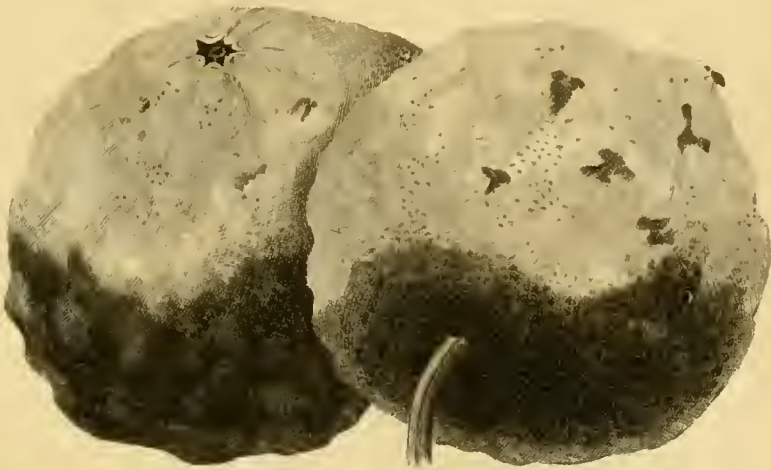
C H A P. mortification to find, in the morning, that it was devoured
 I. by the rats.

Having taken possession of my habitation, my next wish was to furnish it properly ; but all cares of this nature were rendered unnecessary by the generous hospitality of the inhabitants : the ladies supplied me with tables, chairs, glasses, and even plate and china, in great abundance ; and the gentlemen loaded me with presents of Madeira wine, porter, cyder, rum, and sugar, besides a quantity of the most exquisite fruits. Amongst the latter I was particularly struck with the shaddock and awara : the former of these, which is of a very agreeable flavour, between a sweet and an acid, is produced from a tree supposed to be transplanted from the coast of Guinea*, by a Captain Shaddock, whose name it still retains throughout the English West India islands, but is called pompelmoose in Surinam. This fruit appears to be of the orange species, but is as large as the head of a child of eight or ten years old : the skin is extremely thick, of a bitterish taste, and a pale yellow or citron colour. There are two species of the shaddock, of which the pulp of the one is white, and that of the other a beautiful pale red, which may be safely eaten in considerable quantities : indeed it is esteemed by the

* ——— Exotic of Cerean dye,
 Sweet acid offspring of an injur'd sky ;
 O Shaddock ! like thy country, captive led,
 And doom'd to grace the board her children spread.



The Fruit called Avoira ?



The Shaddock & Apple ?

natives, who are in general remarkably fond of it, as very salubrious.

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The *awara*, or *avoira*, which is less remarkable for the excellence of its flavour than its beautiful appearance, grows upon a species of palm-tree, and is of an oval form, about the size of an Orlean plum, and of a rich deep orange colour, nearly approaching to red. It is much esteemed by the negroes, who exercise their ingenuity in forming rings out of the stones, which they decorate with cyphers, initial letters, and other devices; then dispose of them to the Europeans, who mount them in gold. These stones are large, extremely hard, and as black as jet or ebony; but the pulp which surrounds them is very thin.

This day, on examining into the state of our remaining live stock, such as hogs, sheep, ducks, geese, fowls, and turkies, we found them nearly as many in number as when we first sailed from Holland: these were all sent to the Colonel's poultry-yard, at the head-quarters; while we had the additional mortification of seeing above sixty large kegs with preserved vegetables, &c. and just as many fine Westphalia hams (being perfectly rotten) thrown into the river Surinam, to feed the sharks.

I now observed, on the second morning after our landing, that my face, my breast, and hands, were entirely spotted over like the skin of a leopard, occasioned by myriads of *gnats* or *mosquitoes*, which, flying in clouds, had kept me company during the night; though the fatigue

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from my voyage, and the oppressive heat of the climate, had sunk me into so profound a sleep that I was insensible of their stings till I perceived the effects. These insects are inconceivably numerous here during the rainy season, and particularly on the banks of creeks or rivers. None are secured from their attacks, but they peculiarly infest strangers in preference to the natives; and wherever they insert their proboscis, and remain unmolested, they suck the blood till they are scarcely able to fly. Every puncture they make is succeeded by a large blotch, or rather tumour, accompanied with an itching which is almost intolerable. The presence of the musquitoes is indicated by their buzzing noise, which alone is sufficient to make one sweat, and which is so very disagreeable to those who have suffered from their stings, as to have obtained for them the name of the *Devil's Trumpeters*. They are, indeed, inconceivably troublesome in every respect. The candles are no sooner lighted in an evening than they are stuck full of them; all kinds of food and drink are exposed to their disagreeable visits, from which even the mouth and eyes are not exempted.

The best cure for their stings is an application of the juice of lemons or limes, mixed with water, which is also a tolerable preservative against their attacks. Immediately before shutting the windows, the inhabitants commonly burn tobacco in their apartments, the smoke of which occasions the insects to fly about the room, when the negro girls

girls unreservedly throw off their petticoats, which is the whole of their covering, and, running naked about the chamber, chase the gnats therewith out at the windows, or destroy them. The more delicate or luxurious amongst the natives still employ their slaves in fanning them during the whole night, excepting such as have green gauze doors to their beds or pavilions; but the generality of the people in Surinam sleep in roomy cotton hammocks, which are covered with a very large thin sheet, suspended from a tight line immediately over them, something like the awning of a ship, which serves, in some measure, to keep off these troublesome insects, and the want of which had exposed me to be thus stung all over.

There are also in Surinam a still larger species of gnats, or mosquitoes, called *mawkers*, the stings of which are extremely painful indeed; but, as they are much less numerous than the former, they are not nearly so troublesome to the inhabitants, and are, consequently, less remarked.—But to proceed:

On the morning of the 22d, an elderly negro-woman, with a black girl about fourteen, entering my apartment, it would be difficult to express my astonishment when she gravely presented me her daughter, to become what she was pleased to term my wife. I had so little gallantry, however, as to reject the offer with a loud laugh; but at the same time accompanied the refusal with a small but welcome present, with which they appeared perfectly satisfied.

CHAPTER I. satisfied, and departed with every possible demonstration of gratitude and respect. The girls here who voluntarily enter into these connections are sometimes mulattoes, sometimes Indians, and often negroes. They all exult in the circumstance of living with an European, whom, in general, they serve with the utmost tenderness and fidelity, and tacitly reprove those numerous *fair ones* who break through ties more sacred and solemn. Young women of this description cannot indeed be married or connected in any other way, as most of them are born or trained up in a state of slavery; and so little is the practice condemned, that, while they continue faithful and constant to the partner by whom they are chosen, they are countenanced and encouraged by their nearest relations and friends, who call this a lawful marriage; nay, even the clergy avail themselves of this custom without restraint; witness the Rev. Mr. S—dh—s, Mr. T—ll—t, &c. Many of the sable-coloured beauties will, however, follow their own *penchant* without any restraint whatever, refusing, with contempt, the golden bribes of some, while on others they bestow their favours for a dram or a broken tobacco-pipe, if not for nothing.

The hospitality I had experienced on our first arrival in the colony was not confined to that time only: I had a general invitation to visit, besides his excellency the *Governor*, and Colonel *Texier*, the commandant, in more than twenty respectable families, whenever it suited my convenience:

nience: so that, though the officers of our corps had formed a regimental mess, I had seldom the honour of their company. One gentleman, a Mr. *Kennedy*, in particular, carried his politeness so far, as not only to offer me the use of his carriage, saddle-horses, and table, but even to present me with a fine negro boy, named *Quaco*, to carry my umbrella as long as I remained in Surinam. The other gentlemen of the regiment also met with great civilities; and the whole colony seemed anxious to testify their respect, by vying with each other in a constant round of festivity. Balls, concerts, card assemblies, and every species of amusement in their power, were constantly contrived for our entertainment. The spirit of conviviality next reached on board the men of war, where we entertained the ladies with cold suppers and dancing upon the quarter-deck, under an awning, till six in the morning, generally concluding the frolic by a cavalcade, or an airing in their carriages. This constant routine of dissipation, which was rendered still more pernicious by the enervating effects of an intensely hot climate, where one is in a perpetual state of perspiration, already threatened to become *fatal* to two or three of our officers. Warned by their example, I retired from all public companies, sensible that by such means I could alone preserve my health, in a country which has such a tendency to debilitate the human frame, that an European, however cautious to avoid excesses, has always reason to apprehend its dreadful effects.

Dissipa-

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Dissipation and luxury appear to be congenial to the inhabitants of this climate, and great numbers must annually fall victims to their very destructive influence. Their fatal consequences are indeed too visible in the men, who have indulged themselves in intemperance and other sensual gratifications, and who appear withered and enervated in the extreme: nor do the generality of the Creole females exhibit a more alluring appearance; they are languid, their complexions are sallow, and the skin even of the young ladies is frequently shrivelled. This is, however, not the case with all; and I have been acquainted with some who, preserving a glow of health and freshness in their lovely countenance, were entitled to contend for the prize of beauty with the fairest European. But, alas! the numbers of this last description are so small, that the colonists in their amours most usually prefer the Indian negro and mulatto girls, particularly on account of their remarkable cleanliness, health, and vivacity. For the excesses of the husbands in this respect, and the marked neglect which they meet from them, the Creole ladies most commonly, at a very early period, appear in mourning weeds, with the agreeable privilege, however, of making another choice, in the hopes of a better partner; nor are they long without another mate. Such indeed is the superior longevity of the fair females of Surinam, compared to that of the males (owing chiefly, as I said, to their excesses of all sorts) that I have frequently known wives who have

buried four husbands, but never met a man in this country who had survived two wives.

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I.

The ladies do not, however, always bear with the most becoming patience the slights and insults they thus meet with, in the expectation of a sudden release, but mostly persecute their successful sable rivals (even on suspicion) with implacable hatred and the most unrelenting barbarity; while they chastise their partners not only with a shew of ineffable contempt, but with giving in public the most unequivocal marks of preference towards those gentlemen who newly arrive from Europe; which occasioned the trite proverb and observation in the colony, that the tropical ladies and the musquitoes have an instinctive preference for a newly-landed European: this partiality is indeed so very extreme, and the proofs of it so very apparent and nauseous, that some command of temper is necessary to prevent the disgust which such behaviour must naturally excite, particularly where the object is not very inviting; nay, it was even publicly reported at Paramaribo, that two of these *Tropical Amazons* had fought a *duel* for the sake of one of our officers.

I must now mention a word or two of the Governor and Colonel Fourgeoud; when I will endeavour to put an end to this long chapter: for, notwithstanding the polite reception our whole corps had met with ever since we first landed in the colony, it was evident to perceive that mutual coolness which subsisted between him and our Commander

CHAP. in Chief, who indeed gave the first public cause of animosity, on the very day of our debarkation, by drawing up his regiment with their backs toward the Governor's palace.

I.

It is easy to conceive that the disgust which so early and so reciprocally manifested itself between the above two gentlemen, who were both of them our commanders, but totally independent of each other, could not but make our stay at Paramaribo extremely disagreeable to all the officers in our regiment, as well as those of the Society corps: the consequence of which was, that, having resided but a few weeks in the colony, it was thought proper by the Governor to acquaint Colonel Fourgeoud, that, “as
 “ the rebel negroes seemed no further disposed to disturb
 “ the tranquillity of the settlement, its own troops, and
 “ the corps of black rangers, were deemed sufficient for
 “ its defence; in consequence of which, Colonel Four-
 “ geoud, with his marines, no longer being wanted, was
 “ at liberty to return to Europe whenever he thought
 “ proper.”

Various were the feelings of pleasure and reluctance with which our gentlemen received this news: preparations were, however, made for our departure; but in a few days these were again suspended by the inhabitants, who clamorously insisted on our staying; when the wooding and watering the vessels was provisionally stopped, but the ships still kept in commission on speculation. It was during

during this interval of leisure and uncertainty that I seriously thought of employing myself in writing a short history of the colony, and of drawing such objects as I thought most suitable to complete my little plan. In these designs, besides consulting the best authors on the subject, I had the honour to be materially assisted by his excellency the Governor, who not only favoured me with several manuscripts, but daily furnished me with such a succession of animals, shrubs, &c. as I was desirous of being acquainted with:—thus, independant of that coolness which was so evident between these two veteran officers, I made it my earnest study and endeavour, if possible, to keep friends with both parties; and, independant of that duty which I owed Colonel Fourgeoud, as my Commander in Chief, to treat the Governor of the colony with that respect which I thought was due to his dignity, his rank, and his conduct; and in which motive (though not by all) I was steadily supported by the most respectable officers in the corps.

I will now endeavour to fulfil the task I have undertaken; and commence with a general description of this
WONDERFUL COUNTRY.

CHAP. II.

General Description of Guiana—of the Colony of Surinam in particular—Accounts of its earliest Discovery—is possessed by the English—by the Dutch—Murder of the Governor, Lord Somelsdyk—The Settlement taken by the French, and ransomed.

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II.

THE discovery of *Guiana*, by some called “the Wild Coast,” has been long (though with uncertainty) attributed to the Spanish commander *Vasco Nunes*, who, in the year 1504, after discovering *Cuba* to be an island, landed on the continent of South America, penetrated as far as between the rivers *Oroonoko* and *Amazon*, and comprehended that country in the extensive tract of land, to which, in contradistinction to *Cuba* and the adjacent islands, he gave the name of **TERRA FIRMA**.

This country, the length of which is about 1220, and the breadth about 680 geographical miles, is situated between eight degrees twenty minutes north, and three degrees south latitude, and between fifty and seventy degrees twenty minutes west longitude from the meridian of London, in the N. E. part of South America. Its boundaries are marked by the rivers *Viapary* or *Oroonoko* on the N. W. and by the *Maranon* or river *Amazon* on the S. E.—The N. E. is washed by the *Atlantic Ocean*; and the river *Negrís*, or Black river, terminates its extent on





the S. W. which form it into a kind of island, and separate it from *New Grenada*, *Peru*, and the *Brazils*.

Though situated, like *Guinea*, under the Torrid Zone, the heats in Guiana are much more supportable than those on that part of the African coast. The scorching rays of the sun are in Guiana daily tempered by cooling breezes from the sea; while in *Guinea* the intense heat is increased by the wind blowing continually over the land, and in its passage traversing numerous sandy deserts. The easterly or trade winds, which generally blow between the Tropics, are extremely refreshing to the coast of Guiana, between the hours of eight or ten in the morning, and six o'clock in the evening, when they cease to operate, and a zephyr is scarcely ever heard to whisper during the night. These winds are succeeded by thick fogs, and vapours exhaled from the earth, which render the nights in this country not only very chilly, but extremely damp and unhealthy. The length of the days and nights in Guiana never varies much more than forty minutes during the course of the year, as the sun always rises about six in the morning, and sets at the same hour in the evening.

The rainy and dry seasons which divide the year, as cold and warm weather divide it in Europe, may be termed the winter and summer of this country. There is however one remarkable difference between the European seasons and those in Guiana, which is, that Guiana has annually two winters and two summers, which are distinguished.

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guished from each other by the appellation of the *greater* and the *smaller*, not because the rains are less violent in the two latter seasons, or the heat less intense, but from an opinion which has prevailed, that their period of duration is but about half as long as that of the former. This distinction however appears to be more imaginary than real, as far as respects the rainy seasons; for as these downfalls of water only take place when the sun is vertical, which it is near the line twice a year, and for an equal portion of time, the continuance of the rains will probably be equal in both seasons.

The difference between the dry seasons indeed may be accounted for from the greater commencing in Surinam at the time when the sun is about to cross the equator, in its course to the tropic of *Capricorn*, often in October, when a continual drought and scorching heat begin to take place, till its return in March. This is succeeded by violent uninterrupted rains till June, during which time the sun has travelled to the tropic of *Cancer*, and a short season of parching heat again takes place, till about July, which is once more followed by incessant rains till October, and thus the revolution of the different seasons is completed*.

* I cannot but notice in this place a strange error, into which Mr. Guthrie has inadvertently fallen, in dating the commencement of the dry season at the north tropic, from the time when

the sun is vertical at the tropic of *Capricorn*; and describing it as continuing till the sun is again vertical at *Cancer*, or from the beginning of January to the latter end of May.

The

The continuance of the rains during the time when the sun is vertical in this climate, is necessary to the existence of animal and vegetable life, which without these seasonable refreshments must languish and expire under the fervid influence of its rays. But though I have mentioned stated periods for the variations of the seasons in Guiana, yet it is necessary to remark, that these changes are not uniformly produced at the same time, but, like the European seasons, occasionally vary. The changes are always accompanied by tremendous claps of thunder, and very vivid flashes of lightning, which continue during several weeks, and are frequently fatal both to the cattle and inhabitants of this country.

Some parts of Guiana present a barren and mountainous aspect, but in general the soil is abundantly fruitful, the earth during the whole of the year adorned with continual verdure, the trees loaded at the same time with blossoms and ripe fruit, and the whole presenting to the view the delightful union of spring and summer. This general appearance of fertility, particularly in Surinam, may be ascribed not only to the rains and warmth in this climate, but also to its low and marshy situation, which prevents the intense heats from destroying vegetation, and from the extreme richness of the soil, particularly in those parts which are cultivated by European industry. It must indeed be confessed, that such situations are far from being favourable to health; but the spirit of gain is a very powerful principle,

principle, and the certainty of present profit will generally be considered as a weighty counterpoise to those evils which, if ever encountered, appear at a considerable distance; and as they are sometimes escaped, may be always esteemed as uncertain.

The uncultivated parts of Guiana are covered with immense forests, rocks, and mountains; some of the latter enriched with a great variety of mineral substances; and the whole country is intersected by very deep marshes or swamps, and by extensive heaths or savannas. The stream along the coast flows continually towards the north-west; and the whole shore is rendered almost inaccessible from its being covered with dangerous banks, quicksands, bogs, and rocks, with prodigious bushes, and a large quantity of brushwood, which are so closely interwoven as to be impenetrable.

The Spanish, Portugueze, and Dutch, are the only nations which possess settlements in this part of Terra Firma, excepting the small colony of Cayenne, belonging to the French, which is situated between the river Marawina and Cape Orange. The dominions in Guiana, subject to Spain, are situated on the banks of the Oronoque, and those of Portugal extend along the shores of the river Amazon. The Dutch settlements, which spread along the coasts of the Atlantic ocean, and reach from Cape Nassau to the river Marawina, are Essequibo, Demerary, Berbice, and Surinam*;

* See the Map prefixed to this work.

the last of which is the most extensive and valuable, and that portion of the Dutch possessions to which the succeeding account will be chiefly confined. This industrious nation endeavoured, in the year 1657, to establish a small colony on the banks of the river Pomméron, but in 1666 this settlement was demolished by the English. Nor were they more successful in one which they founded in 1677, on the river Wiapoko or Oyapocko, which was immediately invaded and destroyed by the French.

The Dutch consider the beautiful and once flourishing colony of Surinam as extending over the whole of that territory which is encircled on the west by the river Kanre or Cange, about forty miles from the Corantine, and on the east by the river Sinamarce. But these limits are disputed by the French, who confine the boundary of Surinam to the banks of the Marawina, upon which they station a military force.

The principal rivers that belong to this settlement are the river Surinam, from which the colony takes its name, the Corantine, the Copename, the Seramica, and the Marawina. Of those rivers the first only is navigable, the rest, not excepting the Marawina, being, though very long and broad, so shallow, and so extremely crowded with rocks and small islands, that they are of little consequence to Europeans; nor are their banks inhabited except by some of the Indians or natives of the country. The river Surinam, whose mouth is situated in about six degrees

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north latitude, is, at its entrance, nearly the breadth of four English miles, and in depth from sixteen to eighteen feet at low-water mark, the tide rising and falling above twelve feet; this breadth and depth is continued from its mouth upwards to the distance of eight or ten miles, when it divides itself into two branches, winding to the S. S. E. for the length of upwards of 120 miles. All this extent is navigable for small craft, but beyond this distance the river proceeds directly south; sometimes in its course surrounding small islands, and sometimes forming small cata-racts. The source of this beautiful river has never yet been discovered by Europeans. All large vessels, after entering the Surinam, ought to keep rather near the east shore; the opposite side being very full of shoals, as far as the town of Paramaribo, which is about eighteen miles from its mouth. The other branch into which this large river is divided, is named Comewina, and keeps due east for about sixteen miles, with a depth of about three or four fathom at high-water mark; but, as the tide makes a difference of twelve feet, it is not considered as navigable for any ships of burthen, though its breadth may be computed at about two miles. At the distance of sixteen miles the river Comewina is again divided into two branches, one of which bears the same name to the S. E. for a length of above fifty miles, and that of Cottica to the E. S. E. for more than forty miles, when this last takes a meandering course to the S. S. W. for the distance of twenty-four or

thirty miles. Into all these rivers, the courses of which are not straight but serpentine, are discharged a number of very large creeks or rivulets, the banks of which are inhabited by Européans, and cultivated with sugar, cocoa, cotton, and indigo plantations, which form the most delightful prospects that can be imagined to those who travel by water, the universal mode of journeying in this country, as the soil is in general ill adapted for the construction of roads; and in some places the woods, &c. are absolutely impenetrable, a small path of communication between Paramaribo and the river Seramica being the only passable road that I know of in the settlement. The rivers whose banks are uncultivated, such as the Corantine, Copename, Seramica, and Marawina, afford but little matter for description: it is therefore only necessary to remark, that they are generally from two to four miles in breadth, exceedingly shallow, and crowded with quicksands, small islands, and rocks, which form a number of beautiful cascades. In the river Marawina is frequently found a curious stone or pebble, which is known by the name of the Marawina diamond, and which being polished, bears a very near resemblance to that most valuable gem, and is consequently often set in rings, &c. &c. In all the above rivers, without exception, the water rises and falls for more than sixty miles from the mouth, occasioned by the stoppage of the freshes by the tide; yet fresh water may generally be met with about twenty-four or thirty miles

C H A P. from the mouths of these rivers for watering the ships.

II.

The water of the river Surinam is accounted the most excellent, and is brought by the sailors from as far as the Jew Savannah, which is above forty miles from the town of Paramaribo. The circumstance most injurious to ships in these rivers is, that their bottoms are often affected by a kind of water-worm, the ravages of which are the most effectually prevented by frequently careening the vessels, in order that they may be properly cleaned, scraped, caulked, and payed. For that purpose the coal-tar, invented by the Earl of Dundonald, (for which a patent of twelve years was granted to him) is greatly preferable to any other material which can be applied for this use.

It is high or low water nearly every six hours and half; the spring tides rise regularly twice a month, when the river swells to a considerable degree, which, from various circumstances, is often of infinite benefit to the planters.

It may be perhaps expected in this place that I should add a few words concerning the defence of the above rivers, though that is a subject which I purpose to treat more at large on another occasion. On the east side of the mouth of the river Surinam is a small promontory, called Braam's Point, which I think originally had been named Pram's, or Parham's Point, after Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, to whom this settlement was granted by King Charles the Second in 1662, and which spot is supposed to be the first on which Lord Willoughby

landed



landed in 1652, ten years before he obtained the charter from his sovereign. This point is not fortified; but about eight miles upwards are two redoubts, one on each side of the river, called Leyden and Purmerent, and a little higher up is the new fortress called Amsterdam, built on the point of land which separates the two rivers, Surinam and Comewina, from each other; and whose fire, crossing with that of the two redoubts, protects the entry of both these rivers.

Near the town of Paramaribo, and about six or seven miles from the fortress Amsterdam, is the citadel which bears the name of Fort Zelandia, protecting the town and all the shipping in the roads; and about sixteen miles from Fort Amsterdam, on Rio Comewina, is a fortress called Somelsdyk, which commands the two opposite shores, viz. those of Rio Comewina and Rio Cottica. Besides these, there are military posts on the Corantine, the Seramica, and Marawina. Next to these is a strong guard at the mouth of the Mott Creek, about thirty miles below the river Surinam, where a fire-beacon or lighthouse is erected on the coast, to warn the ships bound for the river that they are past the mouth of the dangerous Marawina. This guard also fires a few guns, to apprise the colony when ships are within view and steering for the coast. Along the higher parts of the rivers Surinam, Comewina, and Cottica, advanced guards are also continually kept, to protect the inhabitants from inland invasions by the
Indians

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Indians or fugitive negroes. In these fortifications consists the principal defence of this settlement; besides a small armed bark or guarda-costa, which cruises between the river Marawina and Berbice, to give intelligence in case of any threatening danger to the colony.

I had almost forgotten to mention, that a path fortified with military posts had been projected, and was actually begun, from the upper parts of the river Comewina to the river Seramica; but the plan did not succeed, and the line, which is called the Orange-path, is at present in the state of a wilderness.

Having thus described the surface of the country in general, with its boundaries, rivers, &c. I shall proceed to an account of the earliest discoveries and most remarkable revolutions of this once flourishing colony, which escaped being visited by the gallant Admiral Rodney in the last war.—That part of Terra Firma which is called Guiana, or the Wild Coast, and in which lies the colony of Surinam, is said by some to have been first found out by the justly celebrated Christopher Columbus, in the year 1498, whence he was sent home in chains; though others contend that it was not discovered till the year 1504, by Vasco Nunes, a Spaniard, as was stated in the beginning of this chapter.

In 1595 it was visited by Sir Walter Raleigh, under Queen Elizabeth, who also sailed up the river Oronoque above 600 miles, in search of the supposed El Dorado,
and

and in hopes of discovering the gold mines, of which he had the most lively expectations, from samples of a marcasite, which the Spaniards call Madre de Oro*. In 1634 a Captain Marshall, with about sixty English, were discovered in Surinam employed in planting tobacco, according to the relation of David Piterse de Vries, a Dutchman, who conversed with them upon the spot. In 1640 Surinam was inhabited by the French, who were obliged to leave it soon after, on account of the frequent invasions which they justly suffered from the Caribbean Indians, for having, like their neighbours the Spaniards, treated them with the most barbarous cruelties. In the year 1650, this colony being vacant, Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, by king Charles the Second's permission, sent thither one vessel, equipped by himself, to take possession of it in the name of his royal master; a little after which he dispatched three vessels more, one of them carrying twenty guns. All these were well received by the Indians or inhabitants of the country, with whom they entered into friendly treaties, and a kind of negotiation. Two years after this Lord Willoughby went over himself, and leaving several good and wholesome laws and regulations for the government and defence of the colony, returned to England, whence he continued to supply the

* Of this extraordinary enterprise the curious reader may see a full account, written by Sir Walter Raleigh himself, as it was published by Dr.

Birch, in 1751, among the rest of Raleigh's works, printed for Dodsley, in 2 vols. 8vo.

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settlement at his own expence with men and ammunition. On the second day of June, 1662, the colony of Surinam was granted by charter of Charles the Second to Francis Lord Willoughby, and at that lord's desire to be divided with Lawrence Hide, second son of Edward Earl of Clarendon, for them and their descendants for ever: the original record of this charter is to be found in the chapel of the Rolls. In 1664 the English captured the New Netherlands, since called New York, from the Dutch.

In the year 1665 Surinam was successfully cultivated, mostly by planting tobacco. They had also raised above forty fine sugar plantations, and erected a strong fortress of hewn stone for their defence. It is proper, however, to remark, that some suppose these improvements were effected by the Portuguese, though at what period is uncertain; while the French strenuously dispute the point, and insist that they were the work of Monsieur Ponsert de Bretigny, when France had possession of that country. However this may be, the fortress is situated about sixteen or eighteen miles from the mouth of the river Surinam, and these industrious settlers found themselves perfectly happy in a small town which they had built under the walls. Their felicity was not of long duration; for in the wars between Charles the Second and the United Provinces, the Dutch having been driven in 1661 from the Brazils by the Portuguese, took the colony of Surinam from the
English

English in 1667, under the command of a Captain Abraham Criuvon, who was dispatched for that purpose by the province of Zealand, with three ships of war and 300 marines. The English commander, William Biam, lost the settlement of Surinam by surprise, when above 600 of the best men in the colony were at work on the sugar plantations. This neglect appears from the trifling loss of the Dutch, who in storming the citadel had but one man killed. They immediately planted the Prince of Orange's flag on the ramparts, and gave now to this fortress the name of Zelandia, and that of New Middleburg to the town of Paramaribo, after making the inhabitants, amongst other contributions, pay one hundred thousand pounds weight of sugar, and sending a number of them to the island of Tobago. This event took place in February, and in July following the peace was concluded at Breda. But, most unluckily for the new possessors of Surinam, it was concluded unknown to the English commodore, Sir John Harman, who in October that same year, having first taken Cayenne from the French, entered the river with a strong fleet of seven ships of war, two bomb-ketches, &c. and retook the colony from the Dutch, killing on this occasion above fifty of their men, and destroying nine pieces of cannon in Fort Zelandia. The new inhabitants were now in their turn laid under contribution, and the Dutch garrison were transported as prisoners to the island of Barbadoes.

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At the discovery, in Surinam, that the peace had been concluded in Europe between the contending powers, before Commodore Harman retook the colony from the Dutch, considerable tumult and disorder took place among the inhabitants, who knew not whom they ought to acknowledge as their lawful sovereign. At length, by an order of King Charles, the settlement was ceded to the Dutch, in 1669, when twelve hundred of the old inhabitants, English and negroes together, left it, and went to settle on the island of Jamaica. At the close of the succeeding war, it was agreed by the treaty of Westminster that Surinam should be the property of the Dutch for ever, in exchange for the province of New York, which accordingly took place in the year 1674; and after this period the colony of Surinam was never more in the possession of Great Britain. In 1678, a Mr. Heynsius was governor of the colony, and a Captain Lightenburgh commander of the troops.

The Dutch for the first few years enjoyed little satisfaction in their new possessions, as they were daily harassed by the invasions of the Caribbean Indians, to whom they were much more obnoxious than the English had been: indeed they carried their resentment so far as to murder several of the Dutch settlers. In addition to this, the province of Zealand, to which the colony properly belonged, being perpetually at variance with the other United Provinces concerning the sovereignty of this settlement, and

not being of themselves able to support the great expence which was requisite for its preservation and defence, at last resolved to sell the whole to the Dutch West India Company; which they did in the year 1682, for the sum of £. 23,636 sterling, including all the warlike stores, ammunition, &c. amongst which were fifty pieces of cannon. At the same time they obtained a charter from their High Mightinesses the States General, exempting them from duty for ten years. A few months after this, however, the West India Company, notwithstanding the above charter of indemnification, finding the other necessary expences of the settlement also too great for them, again transferred two-thirds of the colony of Surinam, the one to the town of Amsterdam, the other to the house of Somelsdyk, at the same price for which they had bought it, and these three together formed a society, to whom (still under the sanction of their High Mightinesses) was some time afterwards intrusted, by a resolution of the States General, the sole and entire direction of the affairs of this country.

Such was the situation of Surinam, and in this manner all matters were finally settled, when Cornelius Van Aarsen, Lord of Somelsdyk (as being one of the proprietors) went over with three hundred men, with whom he also took some felons sentenced for transportation. At his arrival, in 1684, he took the command as Governor General of the colony. He then created a court of policy, to assist in the administration of justice; with the members of

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which, as well as with the inhabitants, he lived in a state of continual dissension. The consequence was, that they sent several complaints against him to Europe, notwithstanding he had made a favourable peace with the Caribbee, Warowa, and Arawakka Indians, as well as with a few run-away negroes, who had been settled at Rio Copename since the English left the colony.

This unfortunate gentleman's reign, however, lasted but a short space, viz. till the year 1688, when on the same day both the Governor and Deputy Governor, Mr. Verboom, were murdered by their own soldiers, owing, as was alleged, to their having not only forced the men to work like negroes in digging canals, &c. but also obliged them to subsist on very bad and short allowance, which drove them to this act of desperation*.—I am sorry to say this treatment is too frequently the case in the settlements, as I shall afterwards have occasion to prove. Such indeed was the confidence of these assassins, that they offered to give in their defence, and assign their reasons for committing this act of cruelty.

As the particulars of the assassination are not uninteresting, I shall beg leave to trespass upon the reader's patience by a brief recital of the transaction.

* Somelsdyk had the character of a tyrant; he was, under the cloak of religion, despotic, passionate, brutal, and cruel; he even ordered an Indian Chief's head to be struck off for

some domestic misdemeanour, for which he could not produce, especially in those days, the smallest shadow of authority.

The

The Governor was walking under a grove of orange-trees, near his own house, with Mr. Verboom, when unexpectedly ten or twelve armed soldiers (seemingly drunk) accosted them, and immediately insisted on less work and better subsistence. The Governor drawing his sword to force them back, was instantaneously shot through the body in many places, and died upon the spot; his companion, on the other hand, received but one wound, and did not expire till the ninth day after. This done, the rioters, accompanied by several accomplices, marched in triumph to Fort Zelandia, which they took without resistance, and made themselves masters of the gunpowder and victualling magazines. After this, the garrison having joined them, they formed a ring, and chose out from among them a commander in chief, and several other officers, to whom they all swore to be faithful, as also to each other, to the last drop of their blood. What is very remarkable, is, that their new chief, the very same afternoon, ordered the body of the massacred Governor, Somelsdyk, to be interred in Fort Zelandia with decency and military honours; and even the great guns were fired from the walls, and three rounds with small arms by the rebels.

The magistrates and other inhabitants of Surinam now beheld themselves in a most unpleasant situation, and were obliged even to enter into a capitulation with the insurgents in the fort, the principal articles of which were, that
the

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the latter should evacuate Fort Zelandia, for which they were to receive a few hundred pounds; that they were then to be permitted to embark on board the transport ship Salamander, to quit the colony without molestation, and to set sail for what part of the world they should prefer: they accordingly, to the amount of above one hundred, were sent on board; but no sooner did they prepare to weigh anchor for their departure, than the ship was boarded by several small vessels, privately armed and manned for the purpose. The rebels were compelled to surrender at discretion, and a few days after were tried for murder and rebellion; when eleven of the ringleaders were executed, three of them were broke alive upon the rack, and eight were hanged on the gallows in irons. The rest obtained their pardon; but being no longer to be depended on, were gradually discharged from the colonial service, when others could be procured to replace them.

In the following year the widow of Somelsdyk offered to transfer her portion in this settlement to King William the Third, but to no purpose; while a Mr. Scherpenhuysen was sent over to Surinam from Holland, with a fresh supply of men and ammunition, to take the command, in the room of the late Lord of Somelsdyk, as Governor of the colony. Mr. Scherpenhuysen, at his arrival, finding every thing in the utmost confusion, in order to apply the speediest means of redress, established a court of justice, which differed from that formed by his predecessor,

cessor, Governor Somelsdyk, in this particular, that the former is invested with the management of all military and criminal affairs, and the latter with that of all civil processes and pecuniary matters. Both of these courts still remain, and of both the Governor is always president.

This gentleman was also very diligent in establishing many good laws and institutions; and had just begun to put the colony in a proper state of defence (of which at this time it stood greatly in need) against its domestic and foreign enemies, when war was declared between France and the United Provinces; and the same year the settlement of Surinam was attacked by Admiral Ducasse with a strong fleet, which, however, Governor Scherpenhuysen very courageously beat off, after they had begun to cannonade Fort Zelandia.

In 1692 Jeronimus Clifford, an Englishman, was condemned to be hanged, (which sentence was changed to seven years imprisonment in the fortress Somelsdyk) on pretence of having insulted a magistrate who had arrested him for debt. On application, however, from the court of Great Britain, he was set at liberty in 1695, by desire of the King, when he made a demand on the colony of 20,000 guineas, for damages and false imprisonment; which being refused, his heirs have continued to claim it since 1700 to so late as 1762, but hitherto without obtaining any satisfaction.

During the succeeding war, which happened in 1712,
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the French Commodore, Jaques Cassard, met with the same reception from Governor de Gooyer which Ducasse had experienced from Scherpenhuysen before Zelandia ; but four months after he returned with better success, and laid the colony under a contribution for a sum of about £. 56,618 sterling. It was on the 10th of October that he entered the river of Surinam, with six or eight ships of war, accompanied by a number of small vessels, in which fleet were embarked 3000 men. The largest ships were Le Neptune, of 74 guns (on board which he himself commanded),

Le Temeraire, of 60 guns

Le Rubis - - 56

La Vestale - - 48

La Parfaite - 48

La Meduse - 36

The 11th Cassard sent a long-boat with a white flag, and an officer to treat with the inhabitants for contributions, which, if they refused to pay, he threatened to bombard the town of Paramaribo*. The boat, however, was

* In the year 1667 Captain Abraham Cruisen gave the town the name of New Middleburg; but it was before and after called nothing but Paramaribo, which is said to be the true Indian name, and should signify The Spot of Flowers. This is the general account. But in my opinion not only Parham's Point, but the Para Creek, and the town of Paramaribo, nay, even the great water

called The Golden Parima, or Parham Lake, took their names from Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham; who, as I have mentioned, received this settlement from Charles the Second, and was one of the first possessors of this beautiful country. Surinam is also called a province by the Dutch, but mostly known by the name of colony, settlement, &c.

obliged

obliged to return on board without any satisfactory answer. The river Surinam, just before Fort Zelandia, being above a mile in breadth, the Meduse and several flat-bottomed vessels with French troops, being favoured by a very dark night, found means to sail up beyond Paramaribo without being observed by the Dutch, with an intention to plunder the sugar and coffee plantations that are situated above that town: but on the 15th the besieged prepared two large flat-bottomed barges, filled with combustible matters, such as old junk, tar-barrels, &c. and anchored them on the other side of the river, directly opposite to the town, to which fire being applied, both were set in a blaze, and discovered the smallest boats of the enemy as they tried to get up the river through the darkness of the night. Thus discovered, few escaped without damage from the guns of the fort, and those of the trading vessels that lay in the roads, who sunk some of the flat-bottomed boats, a great part of the crews of which were drowned. This stratagem, however, did not prevent Cassard's people, who had hasted forward, from pillaging and setting on fire the plantations; while he himself, having at last anchored before the town of Paramaribo, threw above thirty shells into it, and kept up a close cannonade, both upon that and Fort Zelandia, till the 20th of October, when he sent a second message with one of his captains to the Dutch, demanding of them finally, whether they would capitulate and pay contribu-

CHAP. tion, which, if they now dared to refuse, he threatened fire
II. and destruction to the whole settlement.

The Dutch finding their ruin inevitable if they persisted, demanded three days cessation of hostilities to deliberate, which being granted, they at last complied with Commodore Cassard's demands; and accordingly on the 27th, a treaty of twenty-four articles being settled between them, they paid the demanded contribution of £. 56,618 sterling to the French, principally in sugar, negro slaves, &c. having but little gold or silver in the colony. This was no sooner accomplished than the Commodore weighed anchor, on the 6th of December, 1712, and with his whole fleet left the settlement of Surinam.

CHAP. III.

First Revolt of the Negroes ; Causes thereof—Distracted State of the Colony—Forced Peace concluded with the Rebels—Mutiny of Sailors, Soldiers, &c.

NO sooner was this unfortunate colony delivered from its external and avowed enemies, than it was attacked by internal foes of a more fierce and desperate nature.

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The Caribbean and other Indians had indeed, in former times, often disturbed this settlement ; but, as I have already mentioned, a peace being established with them, after the arrival of Governor Somelsdyk in this colony, they have inviolably adhered to it ever since, living in the greatest harmony and friendship with the Europeans.

The revolted negro slaves are the enemies of whom I now propose to speak, who for some time diffused a general terror over this settlement, and threatened its total loss to the states of Holland.

From the earliest remembrance some fugitive negroes have taken refuge in the woods of Surinam ; but these were of very small consideration till about the year 1726, or 1728, when their hostile numbers were much increased, and they had acquired lances and firelocks, which they had pillaged from the estates. By the accession of these

arms, in addition to their usual weapons, bows and arrows, they were enabled to commit continual outrages and depredations upon the coffee and sugar plantations, as well from a spirit of revenge for the inhuman treatment which they had formerly received from their masters, as with a view of carrying away plunder, and principally gunpowder and ball, hatchets, &c. in order to provide for their future subsistence and defence.

These negroes were in general settled in the upper parts of the river Copename and Seramica, from the latter of which they take the name of the Seramica rebels, in distinction from the other gangs which have since revolted.

Several detachments of military and plantation people were sent against them, but were of very small effect in reducing them to obedience by promises, or extirpating them by force of arms.

In 1730 a most shocking and barbarous execution of eleven of the unhappy negro captives was resolved upon, in the expectation that it might terrify their companions, and induce them to submit. One man was hanged alive upon a gibbet, by an iron hook stuck through his ribs; two others were chained to stakes, and burnt to death by a slow fire. Six women were broken alive upon the rack, and two girls were decapitated. Such was their resolution under these tortures, that they endured them without even uttering a sigh.—

“ Some

EXPEDITION TO SURINAM.

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“ Some Afric chief will rise, who scorning chains,
“ Racks, tortures, flames, excruciating pains,
“ Will lead his injur'd friends to bloody fight,
“ And in the flooded carnage take delight ;
“ Then dear repay us in some vengeful war,
“ And give us blood for blood, and scar for scar.”

And so it actually was in this instance, for this inhuman massacre produced an effect very contrary to what had been expected. Indeed it so much enraged the Seramica rebels, that for several years they became dreadful to the colonists ; who no longer being able to support the expences and fatigues of sallying out against them in the woods, in addition to the great losses which they so frequently sustained by their invasions, of which they lived in continual terror, at last resolved to treat for peace with their sable enemies.

Governor Mauricius, who was at this period at the head of the colony, now sent out a strong detachment to the rebel settlement at the Seramica river, for the purpose of effecting, if possible, a peace so ardently desired. This detachment, after some skirmishing with the straggling rebel parties, at last arrived at their head-quarters, where they demanded and obtained a parley. A treaty of peace, consisting of ten or twelve articles, was actually concluded between the different parties in the year 1749, similar to that which had been made by the English in the year 1739, with the rebels in the island of Jamaica.—

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The chief of the Seramica rebels was a Creole negro, called Captain Adoe, who upon this occasion received from the Governor, as a present, a fine large cane, with a silver pommel, on which were engraven the arms of Surinam, as a mark of their independence, and a preliminary to the other presents that were to be sent out the year following as stipulated by treaty, particularly arms and ammunition, on the performance of which the peace was to be finally concluded. Adoe presented in return a handsome bow, with a complete case of arrows, which had been manufactured by his own hands, as a token that during that time all enmity should cease on his side.

This affair gave great satisfaction to many and indeed to most of the inhabitants of Surinam, who now flattered themselves that their effects were perfectly secure; while others regarded this treaty as a very hazardous resource, and even as a step to the inevitable ruin of the colony.

I must confess indeed, that, notwithstanding the good intentions of Governor Mauricius, nothing appears to be more dangerous than making a forced friendship with people, who by the most abject slavery and ill usage are provoked to break their chains, and shake off their yoke in pursuit of revenge and liberty, and who by the trust which is placed in them have it in their power to become from day to day more formidable.

The insurrection having risen to such a height, the colonists ought perhaps to have continued to oppose it, while they

they were possessed of the power of opposition, not indeed from a motive of cruelty, but for the political good of so fine a settlement.

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If it appeared that cruelty and ill treatment had driven these poor creatures to these extremities, policy, not less than humanity, ought to have dictated to the colonists a different conduct in future ; but it may be asked, Whether it is possible to keep the African negroes in habits of obedience and industry without the strictest and often the severest discipline ?—No. But I ask again, Why is it necessary to inflict such inhuman tortures, according to the humour and caprice of an unfeeling master, or a still more unprincipled overseer ? Why should their reasonable complaints be never heard by a magistrate who has it in his power to redress them ? Is it because this magistrate is a planter, and that he is interested in the arbitrary government of this unhappy race ?—This is too evident.—It would, however, be great injustice if I were not to bear witness that I have not unfrequently seen the plantation slaves treated with the utmost humanity, where the hand of the master was seldom lifted, but to caress them ; and where the eye of the slave sparkled with gratitude and affection.

Let us now proceed, and see what were the fruits of making peace with the Seramica rebels.

In 1750, which was the year after, the promised presents were dispatched to Captain Adoe ; but the detachment
that

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that carried them were attacked on their march, and the whole of the corps murdered on the spot, by a desperate negro, called Zam Zam, who not having been consulted concerning the treaty of peace; had afterwards put himself at the head of a strong party, and now carried off the whole stock of the detachment, consisting of arms, ammunition, checked linens, canvass cloth, hatchets, saws, and other carpenter's tools; besides salt beef, pork, spirits, &c. and kept them as his own private property. Adoe, on the other hand, not receiving the presents at the time he expected, too hastily concluding he was only to be amused with expectation till a reinforcement of troops should arrive from Europe to subdue him, renewed his incursions: by this accident therefore the peace was immediately broken; cruelties and ravages increased more than before, and death and destruction once more raged throughout the colony.

In 1751 this settlement was in the utmost distress and confusion; when, in compliance with a request of the inhabitants, presented to the States General, Baron Spoke was sent to Surinam, with six hundred fresh stroops, drafted from the different regiments in the Dutch service, and on their arrival the members of the court were ordered to send Governor Mauricius to Europe, to account for his proceedings; who never returned to the colony, having in 1753 asked and obtained his dismissal, after having been honourably acquitted. Baron Spoke, who during the ab-

sence of Mauricius was appointed to officiate as Governor, found every thing in the greatest disorder, disunion having even arisen between the inhabitants and their rulers, to which it was highly necessary to apply the speediest means of redress. This application was indeed made by the Baron, but he died the year after, and a general distraction again took place.

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In 1757, the aspect of affairs daily becoming worse, (during the administration of a Mr. Cromelyn, who now was Governor of this colony) a new revolt broke out in the Tempaty Creek amongst the negroes, owing to the treatment which they received from their masters. This fresh insurrection indeed soon became of the most serious consequence. The new rebels joined themselves to sixteen hundred of the old fugitive negroes already settled in eight different villages near Tempaty Creek, and after repeated battles and skirmishes, the enemy being mostly well armed, and in their resistance generally successful, the colonists saw themselves once more reduced to sue for peace with their own slaves, near Tempaty Creek, as they had done in the year 1749 with the rebels of Seramica.

During this last revolt, a Captain Mayer, of the Society Troops, being tried for cowardice by a court martial, and found guilty, was ordered to be shot through the head; he was accordingly led to the place of execution, where, after every preparation for completing the sentence, he

CHAPTER. was pardoned by the Governor, who not only shewed him every civility, but actually preferred him to the rank of Major.

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To evince the absurdity of that prejudice which considers human creatures as brutes merely because they differ from ourselves in colour, I must beg leave to mention a few of the principal ceremonies that attended the ratification of this peace.

The first thing proposed by the colonists was a parley, which was agreed to by the rebels; when the last not only desired, but absolutely insisted, that the Dutch should send them yearly, amongst a great variety of other articles, a quantity of good fire-arms and ammunition, as specified in a long list, expressed in broken English, by a negro whose name was Boston, and who was one of their Captains.

Governor Cromelyn next sent two commissioners, Mr. Sober and Mr. Abercrombie, who marched through the woods, escorted by a few military, &c. to carry some presents to the rebels, previous to the ratification of the peace, for which they now were commissioned finally to treat.

At the arrival of the above gentlemen in the rebel camp, at the Jocka Creek, about fifteen miles east of the Tempaty Creek, they were introduced to a very handsome negro, called *Araby*, who was their chief, and born in the forests amongst the last sixteen hundred that I have just mentioned. He received them very politely, and taking them by the hand, desired they would sit down by his side

upon the green ; at the same time assuring them they need not be under any apprehensions of evil, since from their coming in so good a cause, not one intended, or even dared to hurt them.

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When the above-mentioned Captain Boston, however, perceived that they had brought a parcel of trinkets, such as knives, scissars, combs, and small looking-glasses, and forgotten the principal articles in question, viz. gunpowder, fire-arms, and ammunition, he resolutely approached the commissioners, and demanded, in a thundering voice, whether the Europeans imagined that the negroes could live on combs and looking-glasses ; adding, that one of each was quite sufficient to let them all see their faces, while a single gallon of *man sanny*, viz. gunpowder, would have been accepted as a proof of their confidence ; but since that had been omitted, he should never consent to their return to their countrymen, till every article of the list should be dispatched to them, and consequently the treaty fulfilled.

This expostulation occasioned the interference of a negro captain, called Quaco, who declared that these gentlemen were only the messengers of their Governor and court ; and as they could not be answerable for their master's proceedings, they should certainly return to the settlement without injury or insult, and no person, not even he, Captain Boston, should dare to oppose them.

The Chief of the rebels then ordered silence, and de-

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sired Mr. Abercrombie to make up a list himself of such articles as he, Araby, should specify; which that gentleman having done, and promised to deliver, the rebels not only gave him and his companions leave peaceably to return with it to town, but allowed their Governor and court a whole year to deliberate whether they were to chuse peace or war, unanimously swearing that during that interval all animosity should cease on their side; after which, having entertained them in the best manner their situation in the woods afforded, they wished them a happy journey to Paramaribo.

One of the rebel officers, on this occasion, represented to the commissioners how deplorable it was that the Europeans, who pretended to be a civilized nation, should be so much the occasion of their own ruin by their inhuman cruelties towards their slaves. “ We desire you,” continued the negro, “ to tell your Governor and your court, that in case they want to raise no new gangs of rebels, they ought to take care that the planters keep a more watchful eye over their own property, and not to trust them so frequently in the hands of drunken managers and overseers, who by wrongfully and severely chastising the negroes, debauching their wives and children, neglecting the sick, &c. are the ruin of the colony, and wilfully drive to the woods such numbers of stout active people, who by their sweat earn your subsistence, without whose hands your colony must drop to nothing;” and

“ and to whom at last, in this disgraceful manner, you are
 “ glad to come and sue for friendship.”

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Mr. Abercrombie now begged that he might be accompanied by one or two of their principal officers to Paramaribo, where he promised they should be well treated; but the chief, Araby, answered him with a smile, that it was time enough a year after, when the peace should be thoroughly concluded; that then even his youngest son should be at their service, to receive his education among them, while for his subsistence, and even for that of his dependants, he should take the sole care upon himself, without ever giving the Christians the smallest trouble.

After this, the commissioners left the rebels, and the whole detachment arrived safe at Paramaribo.

The year of deliberation being ended, the Governor and court sent out two fresh commissioners to the negro camp, to bring the so much wished-for peace to a thorough conclusion; which, after much debate, and many ceremonies on both sides, was at last finally agreed upon. Presents were promised to be sent by the Christians, agreeably to the wishes of the negroes; while these last, as a proof of their affection to the Europeans, insisted that each of the commissioners should, during their remaining stay in the rebel camp, take for his constant companion one of their handsomest young women.—They treated them also liberally with game, fish, fruit, and the choicest productions
 of

CHAPTER. of the forest, and entertained them, without intermission,
 III. with music, dancing, and repeated volleys.

At the return of the commissioners, the stipulated presents were sent to the negroes at the Jocka Creek, and, what is remarkable, under the care of the identical Mr. Mayer, who had formerly not dared to fight against them, and escorted by six hundred men, soldiers and slaves. The pusillanimity of this gentleman, however, appeared again on this occasion, and he had nearly undone the whole business by departing from his orders, delivering all the presents to the rebels without receiving the hostages in return. Fortunately Araby kept his word, and sent down four of his best officers as pledges to Paramaribo. By this the peace was perfectly accomplished, and a treaty of twelve or fourteen articles was signed by the white commissioners, and sixteen of Araby's black captains, in 1761; which ceremony took place on the plantation *Ouca*, in the river Surinam, where all the parties met, this being the spot of rendezvous appointed for the purpose, after four different embassies had been sent from the Europeans to the negroes.

Signing this treaty alone, however, was still not considered as sufficient by the rebel chief Araby and his people. They immediately bound themselves by an oath, and insisted on the commissioners doing the same, after the manner which is practised by themselves, not trusting
 entirely,

entirely, they alleged, to that made use of by the Christians, which they had seen them too frequently violate. It must indeed be confessed, that the negroes themselves are uncommonly tenacious of these solemn engagements, as I never heard of an instance, during all the time I resided in the colony, of one of them violating his oath.

The solemnity made use of on this day consisted in each party's letting a few drops of blood with a lancet or penknife from the arm, into a callibash or cup of clear spring water, in which were also mixed a few particles of dry earth, and of this all present were obliged to drink, without exception, which they call drinking each other's blood, having first shed a few drops upon the ground by way of libation ; when their gadoman or priest, with up-cast eyes and out-stretched arms, took heaven and earth to witness, and with a most audible voice and in a most awful manner, invoked the curse of the Almighty on those who should first break through this sacred treaty made between them, from that moment forward to all eternity. To this solemn imprecation the multitude answered *Da so !* which signifies in their language *Amen* *.

- “ Then loudly thus, before th' attentive bands,
 “ He calls the gods, and spreads his lifted hands :
 “ O first and greatest Power, whom all obey,
 “ Who high on *Ida's* holy mountain sway ;

* This fact is noticed by the Abbé Raynal.

“ Eternal

NARRATIVE OF AN

“ Eternal *Jove* ! and yon bright orb, that roll
 “ From east to west, and view from pole to pole !
 “ Thou mother *Earth* ! and all ye living *Floods* !
 “ Infernal *Furies*, and *Tartarean* gods,
 “ Who rule the dead, and horrid woes prepare
 “ For-perjur’d kings, and all who falsely swear !
 “ Hear and be witness.” — — —

“ From the same urn they drink the mingled wine,
 “ And add libations to the pow’rs divine.
 “ While thus their pray’rs united mount the sky,
 “ Hear, mighty *Jove* ! and hear, ye gods on high !
 “ And may their blood, who first the league confound,
 “ Shed like this wine, distain the thirsty ground !”

HOMER’S ILIAD.

The solemnity being ended, the chief Araby and each of his captains (to be distinguished from the inferior negroes, as the Seramican chief Adoe had been before in 1749) was presented with a fine large cane and silver pummel, on which was also engraven the arms of the colony.

The above-mentioned negroes are called *Oucas*, after the name of the plantation where the peace articles were signed; and by that name they are since distinguished from those of Seramica, whom I have already described.

At this time the charter was renewed to the West India Company, by their High Mightinesses, for the term of thirty years longer (as it had been before in 1670, 1700,
and

and 1730) in consideration of a loan of about five million sterling, at the rate of six *per cent*.

This same year peace was also a second time concluded with the Seramica rebels, who were at that time commanded by a negro called *Wille*, instead of their former chief Adoe, who was dead. But this second peace was unfortunately broken by a rebel captain, called Muzinga, who had received none of the presents, which had in fact been again intercepted and captured on their way to the chief *Wille*, as they had been formerly on their way to the chief Adoe, by the very same enterprising and rapacious plunderer Zam Zam, with this difference only, that none of the detachment that were sent with them were now murdered, as on the preceding occasion, nor even one single person injured.

Upon this supposed breach of faith, Captain Muzinga fought most desperately against the colonists; he gave battle face to face, and beat back, at close quarters, above one hundred and fifty of their best troops, killing numbers, and carrying off all their baggage and ammunition.

Soon after this, however, when the real cause of Muzinga's discontent was known, means were found and adopted to pacify this gallant warrior, by making him receive and share the presents sent out by the colonists, on an equal footing with his brother heroes, when peace was a third and last time concluded in 1762, between the Seramica rebels and the colony, which has providentially

CHAP. been kept sacred and inviolable, as well as that with the
 III. Ouca negroes, to this day. By their exertions in the field
 they thus obtained their freedom.

“ O Liberty ! thou goddess heavenly bright,
 “ Profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight ;
 “ Eternal pleasures in thy presence reign,
 “ And smiling Plenty leads thy wanton train.
 “ Eas’d of her load, Subjection grows more light,
 “ And Poverty looks cheerful in thy sight ;
 “ Thou mak’st the gloomy face of nature gay,
 “ Giv’st beauty to the sun, and pleasure to the day.”

The hostages and chief officers of both the above-mentioned negro cohorts, on their arrival at Paramaribo, were entertained at the Governor’s own table, having previously paraded in state through the town, accompanied by his Excellency in his own private carriage.

By their capitulation with the Dutch, the above Ouca and Seramica rebels must yearly receive, as I have mentioned, a quantity of arms and ammunition from the colony, for which the Europeans have received in return the negroes’ promises of being their faithful allies, to deliver up all their deserters, for which they are to receive proper premiums, never to appear armed at Paramaribo above five or six at a time, and also to keep their settlement at a proper distance from the town and plantations : the Seramica negroes at the river Seramica, and those of
 the

the Ouca negroes at the Jocka Creek, near the river Marawina, where one or two white men, called post-holders, were to reside among them, in the quality of envoys.

Both these tribes were supposed, at the period I speak of, to amount in all to three thousand, and but a few years after, by those that were sent to visit their settlements (including wives and children) they were computed to be not less than fifteen or twenty thousand. They are already become overbearing and even insolent, brandishing their silver-headed canes in defiance of the inhabitants, and forcing from them liquors, and very often money, and reminding them how cruelly their ancestors had murdered their parents and their husbands.

From these circumstances, and their numbers increasing from day to day, I must conclude, that should the peace be ever broken, these new allies will become the most dreadful foes that ever the colony of Surinam can have to contend with.

In 1763 the town of Paramaribo would have been burnt down to the ground, had it not been prevented by the courage and intrepidity of the sailors, who, at the hazard of their lives, without other assistance, prevented a general conflagration.

About this time a mutiny broke out on board the outward-bound East Indiaman, Neimburgh, commanded by Captain Ketell. The crew, consisting chiefly of French and

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German deserters, who had been kidnapped in Holland, rose in arms against their superiors, and having murdered most of the officers and warrant officers, while others were put in chains, carried the vessel to the Brazils: there the ringleaders went on shore, and being engaged in riot and disputation, soon discovered what they were to the Portuguese Governor, in consequence of which they were all taken into custody; but their accomplices on board suspecting what had happened, immediately slipped their cable, and set sail for the island of Cayenne, where this piracy was put to an end; for the French, seizing ship and crew, delivered both to the colony of Surinam, where, in 1764, seven of the most guilty were executed on board the same vessel which they had captured, then at anchor in the roads before the town of Paramaribo. One of these unhappy wretches was decapitated, and six hanged to the yard-arm, whose heads were also chopped off and planted upon iron spikes on the beach, in a cage made for the purpose. The others, who had been taken by the Portuguese, were sent from the Brazils to Amsterdam, after which they were also executed in Texel roads on board the Westelingwerf man of war, which ship was that sent out with us from Holland: their bodies were afterwards gibbeted in iron harness, and placed for an example along the coast.

This same year also three of the society or colony soldiers, who had been guilty of mutiny and desertion, were
executed

executed in Surinam ; but as their case is the most peculiar of its kind that ever happened, I must also beg leave to give some account of the transaction.

During the time of an insurrection, which happened in the year 1761, among the negro slaves in the colony of Berbice, where they had not been treated so cruelly as in other colonies, not only a regiment of marines, commanded by Colonel de Salse, which now belongs to General Douglas, was sent over from Holland to that settlement, but troops also from the neighbouring colonies were dispatched, in order to subdue the revolt. In this design they soon succeeded, since the woods in that part, being of small extent, are easily penetrated, which prevents the rebels from forming settlements, and since from the same cause they will not serve to conceal them from their pursuers. The consequence was, that after numbers had been shot dead, and others taken prisoners, the rest were forced to surrender at discretion, and implore for mercy, or they must have been starved to death for want of subsistence.

During these troubles, it happened that one officer and about seventy men, sent from the colony of Surinam, had been posted on the banks of the river Corrantine. This detachment, together with a party of Indians, who are natural enemies to the negroes, but friends to the Europeans, had one day beaten the rebels in a skirmish, having killed several of them, and retaken about the value of twenty or thirty pounds sterling in effects, which the negroes

CHAP. negroes had pillaged from the neighbouring estates. The
 III. officer who commanded this detachment having, however, unwarrantably distributed this booty among the Indians alone, without giving a share to his soldiers, disgusted them so much that they revolted; and deserting their commander, took their march for the river Oronoque through the woods, in hopes of soon falling in with Spanish settlements and being relieved: but how miserably were these deluded men mistaken, and disappointed in their desperate undertaking, by meeting the rebels or bush negroes on the second or third day of their march! These, notwithstanding the solemn protestations of the soldiers, that they were come without any evil intention towards them, and their intreaties to let them pass by unmolested, were suspected of being sent out to spy and betray them; the negroes therefore insisted that they should lay down their arms at mercy, which the deserters having complied with, the rebels immediately dressed them in one rank; then having picked out ten or twelve to assist them in attending the sick and wounded, repairing their arms, and trying to make gunpowder, (in which however they miscarried) they condemned all the others to death, which was instantly put in execution, and above fifty of those unfortunate men were one by one shot dead upon the spot.

It may well be supposed, that those who were saved alive by the negroes must have spun out a very melancholy existence among them, and indeed most of them died

within very few months after by ill treatment, hardships, and want ; and when the rebels surrendered themselves to the Europeans at discretion, the few remaining miserable wretches that were still found alive were directly loaded with irons, and sent back from the colony of Berbice to Surinam, where three of them were executed in the town of Paramaribo, one being hanged, and two broken alive upon the rack. One of these miserable wretches was a Frenchman, called *Renauld*, who seemed to have imbibed the sentiments of the negroes by his residence among them. With a truly heroic spirit he comforted his accomplice, who was a German, and, tied down by his side, just ready to receive the dreadful blows, he exhorted him to preserve his courage ; adding, that the voyage of life would soon be over, while his own bones were breaking by the executioner with an iron bar.

The ring-leading negroes were roasted alive by half dozens in a shocking manner, being chained to stakes in the midst of surrounding flames, and expired without uttering a groan or a sigh. The miserable fate of so many poor wretches excited great commiseration ; and it is impossible to reflect without the strongest feelings of indignation on a punishment so shocking to humanity, inflicted upon men, the most of whom were drove to misconduct by tyranny and oppression. But at the same time I shall ever think it my duty to support that the strictest discipline and subordination (when *tempered by justice*) is absolutely

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absolutely necessary amongst all large bodies of people, of whatever class or description, not only for the good of the public in general, but as the surest means of avoiding severity on the individual (the usual consequence of too much lenity) and of being painfully obliged to establish good order at last by a perpetual round of reluctant rigour and chastisement.—We will now leave these sable scenes, and point out what happened in the colony of Surinam, during its short and flourishing state.

CHAP. IV.

Short Interval of Peace and Plenty—The Colony plunged in new Distress by a fresh Insurrection, and nearly ruined—Review of the Troops for its Defence—An Action with the Rebels—Gallant Behaviour of a black Corps—The Arrival of Colonel Fourgeoud's Marines.

IN 1764, gold and silver specie being scarce, cards were stamped, to the amount of £.40,000 value, which passed as cash, at a discount of ten *per cent*.

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In 1765 a considerable degree of commotion was excited in the colony, on account of a free negro woman, called *Elizabeth Sampson*, marrying an European: she was worth above £.100,000 sterling, inherited from her master, whose slave she had formerly been: having addressed herself to their High Mightinesses, her request was granted; and accordingly, being christened, she entered into the lawful bond of matrimony with a Mr. *Zubli*.

In the succeeding year the colony was visited by an earthquake, which however did very little damage.

In 1769 the whole coast was on fire, from *Cayenne* to *Demerary*: this happened in the dry season, when all the forest is parched by the heat, and the underwood choked with dried leaves. The flames, which were supposed to have been kindled by the neglect of the Indians or

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rebels, were so violent, that they threatened destruction to several estates, and during the night appeared most tremendous from the sea; while the east wind made the smoke so thick throughout the day, that one person could not see another at the distance of six yards. During this time it is not surprising that the smell was almost insupportable.

This same year, a quantity of rock crystal was discovered in the inland parts of Dutch Guiana.

In 1770 the house of Somelsdyk sold its share or portion of the colony to the town of Amsterdam, for the sum of £.63,636 sterling; so that from that period that city possesses two-thirds, and the other third still belongs to the West India Company, which, as I have already stated, form together the society of Surinam.

The colony now seemed in a prosperous and flourishing state, since the concluding of the treaty with the Seramica and Ouca negroes, and every thing exhibited an aspect of peace and good order. The inhabitants believed their persons and effects in perfect security, so that nothing was thought of but mirth and dissipation, which was soon extended to lavishness and profusion. Surinam resembled, indeed, a large and beautiful garden, stocked with every thing that nature and art could produce to make the life of man both comfortable to himself and useful to society: all the luxuries, as well as the necessaries of life, abounded; every sense was apparently intoxicated with enjoyment; and,

and, to use the figurative language of a sacred book, Surinam was a land that flowed with milk and honey. C H A P.
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But this delusive felicity lasted not long. The planter, too earnest to become immediately opulent, never once considered the wretchedness of the slave; while drunkenness, luxury, and riot became predominant in the one party, the misery of the other proportionably increased; nor did the destruction that so lately threatened them seem to have the smallest influence on their minds; at the same time the successful example of the Seramica and Ouca negroes served to stimulate the other slaves to revolt, and from these complicated causes the colony was again plunged into its former abyss of difficulties. The most beautiful estates in the settlement, called Plantations, were once more seen, some blazing in flames, and others laid in ashes; while the reeking and mangled bodies of their inhabitants were scattered along the banks of the river Cottica, with their throats cut, and their effects pillaged by their own negroes, who all fled to the woods, men, women, and children, without exception.

These new revolters were now distinguished by the name of the Cottica Rebels, from the spot on which their hostilities commenced; and their numbers augmenting from day to day, they soon became as formidable to the settlement as the Seramica and Ouca negroes had formerly been, and in 1772 they had nearly given the finishing blow to Surinam. At that period all was horror and conster-

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nation—nothing but a general massacre was expected by the majority of the inhabitants, who fled from their estates, and crowded to the town of Paramaribo for protection. In this situation of affairs, the inhabitants were obliged to have recourse to the dangerous resolution of forming a regiment of manumitted slaves, to fight against their own countrymen. When we consider the treatment which was so generally exercised against the slaves of this settlement, it must surprise the reader to be told, that this hazardous resolution had providentially the desired effect. These brave men performed wonders above expectation, in conjunction with the Colonial or Society troops, whose strength and numbers alone were no longer thought sufficient to defend this settlement. But not to rely absolutely on such precarious assistance, the society of Surinam made application to his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange for a regular regiment, and our corps was in consequence dispatched in the manner which has been already related. As, however, the events which preceded our arrival were of the utmost importance, I shall endeavour to lay before my readers the most authentic information I was able to obtain.

The regular troops from Europe that belong to the society of Surinam, were intended to be twelve hundred men when complete, divided into two battalions, paid partly by the society, and partly by the inhabitants: but they can never produce that number in the field, for many reasons—

reasons—such as their either dying on their passage, while they are seasoning to the climate, or during their dangerous and fatiguing duty in the woods and swamps. Besides this number, a reinforcement of three hundred more was now sent them from the town of Amsterdam; but of these poor wretches scarcely fifty were landed fit for service; the remainder, owing to the inhumanity of their leader, Mr. H., having participated in a fate little better than that of the poor African negroes in the vessel of the inhuman Captain C—gw—d, who, in 1787, threw 132 living slaves into the sea to perish. The unhappy creatures, under the command of Mr. H. were starved and tormented by unnecessary severity; and his lieutenant, unable to continue a witness of the tyrannical punishments he inflicted, leaped from the cabin window, and terminated his existence.

The military in Surinam are composed of several very good and experienced officers, and well inured to the service, but for their private men I cannot say much; they are, in fact, little better than the outcasts of all nations: they are of all ages, shapes, and sizes, and seem by chance wafted together from all the different corners of the globe. Notwithstanding this, however, it has often been found that they behave well in action, and have on many different occasions, by their bravery, been of infinite service to this settlement*.

* A corps of European chasseurs, or rifle-men, was since added to these troops, after the manner of the light infantry in England.

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Here is also a small corps of artillery, being part of the twelve hundred, which I must acknowledge to be a very fine company in all respects. As for what they please to call their militia, they are, a few gentlemen excepted, who command them, so strange a collection of ill-disciplined rabble, that they can scarcely be mentioned as fighting men.

With respect to the new-raised corps of manumitted slaves, though in number they amounted but to three hundred, they indeed proved ultimately of as much service to the colony as all the others put together*. These men were all volunteers, and in general stout able young fellows, selected from the different plantations, the owners of whom received for them their full value in money. None were accepted but those who were reputed to be of unexceptionable character. It must, however, be observed, that what we Europeans call a good character, was, by the Africans, looked on as detestable, particularly by those *born* in the woods, whose only crime consisted in revenging the wrongs done to their forefathers. I have been an ocular witness to astonishing proofs of the fidelity of these enfranchised slaves to the Europeans, and their valour against the rebel negroes.

Their chief leaders are three or four white men, called Conductors, to whom they pay the strictest obedience:

* *Blood-hounds* were also proposed, to discover and attack the rebel negroes in the woods, but never adopted, from the difficulty of their proper training, &c.



A Cōromantyn. Free & Negro, or Ranger, armed.

one or two of these attend them when they set out on any enterprise of consequence. Every ten privates have one captain, who commands them in the forest by the different sounding of his horn, as the boatswain commands the seaman by his call, or as the cavalry of Europe are directed by the sound of the trumpets in the field; by which they advance, attack, retreat, spread, &c.: they are armed only with a firelock and sabre. Of both these weapons they understand the management in the most masterly manner: they generally go naked, in preference, in the woods, excepting trowsers, and a scarlet cap, the emblem of liberty, on which is their number, and which, together with their parole or watch-word, which is *orange*, distinguishes them from the rebels in any action, to prevent disagreeable mistakes. They have, indeed, of late years, been farther distinguished by green uniforms.—Thus far as to the force of the colony.

I have already stated, that the newly^d revolted rebels, called Cotticas, were just preparing to give the finishing blow to Surinam; and I shall now proceed to relate how this catastrophe was prevented.

These negroes, being commanded by a desperate fellow named Baron, had erected a strong settlement between the river Cottica and the sea-coast, whence they sallied forth to commit their depredations on the plantations in the Cottica river, &c.

I have called this settlement strong, because, like an island,

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island, it was entirely surrounded by a broad unfordable marsh or swamp, which prevented all communication, except by private paths under water, known only to the rebels, and before which Baron had placed loaded swivels, which he had plundered from the neighbouring estates : it was moreover fenced and inclosed on every side by several thousand strong pallisadoes, and was on the whole no contemptible fortification. To this spot Baron gave the name of *Boucou* or *Mouldered*, intimating that it should perish in dust rather than it should be taken by or surrendered to the Europeans. He even presumed to suppose that it would never be discovered.

After many marches and counter-marches, however, this nest of desperadoes was at last discovered, by the vigilance and perseverance of the Society troops, and the black soldiers or rangers, by which name I shall for the future distinguish them, their service being chiefly like that of the rangers in Virginia, who were sent out against the Cherokee Indians. Another settlement of the rebels was, indeed, well known to exist in that corner of the colony, known by the name of the Lee-shore, and situated between the rivers Surinam and Scramica ; but here the situation, by marshes, quagmires, mud, and water, is such, that it fortifies them from any attempts of the Europeans ; nay, they are even undiscoverable by negroes, so thick and impenetrable is the forest on that spot, and so choked with thorns, briars, and every species of underwood.

From

From these coverts they sally forth in small parties, during the night, to rob the gardens and fields surrounding Paramaribo, and carry off the young women, &c. In this wilderness a young officer, Lieutenant Freidreey, was lost two or three days and nights, as he went out on a shooting party, and would probably never have been heard of, had not the Governor, by ordering a gun to be fired at intervals, given a signal for him to find his way back, and thus restored him once more to his friends.

As soon as it was determined that the rebels commanded by Baron, at Boucon, should be besieged and rooted out, a strong detachment of white and black troops were sent against them, under the command of the brave Captain Meyland, who was to head the first; and Lieutenant Freidreey, a spirited young officer, with the Conductors, was to lead the latter. The detachment, on their arrival at the marsh, however, were obliged to encamp on its borders, not being able to pass through it on account of its unfordable depth.

On the discovery of the troops, the bold negro Baron immediately planted a white flag within their view, which he meant not as a token of peace, but of defiance; and an incessant firing instantly took place on both sides, but with very little effect.

It was then projected to throw a fascine bridge over the marsh, by the troops; but this plan, after several weeks had been spent in the attempt, and a number of men shot

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dead while employed upon it, was of necessity laid aside. Thus every hope of passing through the marsh into the fortress being frustrated, and the food and ammunition being considerably lessened, added to the loss of many men, affairs were at length arrived at such a crisis, that the siege must have been broken up, and the remaining troops must have marched back to Paramaribo, had not the rangers, by their indefatigable efforts, and (however strange to think) implacable enmity against the rebels, found out and discovered to the Europeans the under-water paths of communication to Boucon, several being shot and drowned in the execution of this important service.

Captain Meyland with the regulars, on this intelligence, now forded the swamp on one side, and instantly making a feint attack on the fortress, drew Baron with all the rebels, as was expected, to its defence; while Lieutenant Freidrecy, with the rangers, having crossed the swamp on the other side, embraced the opportunity of leaping, with his black party, over the palisadoes, sword in hand, without opposition.

A most terrible carnage at this time ensued, while several prisoners were made on both sides, and the fortress of Boucon was taken; but Baron, with the greatest number of the rebels, escaped into the woods, having first found means, however, to cut the throats of ten or twelve of the rangers, who had lost their way in the marsh, and whom he seized as they stuck fast in the swamp; and cutting off

the ears, nose, and lips of one of them, he left him alive in this condition to return to his friends, with whom however the miserable man soon expired.

This Baron had formerly been the negro slave of a Mr. Dahlbergh, a Swede, who on account of his abilities had advanced him to the rank of a favourite, had taught him to read and write, and bred him a mason ; he had also been with his master in Holland, and was promised his manumission on his return to the colony. But Mr. Dahlbergh breaking his word with regard to his liberty, and selling him to a Jew, Baron obstinately refused to work, in consequence of which he was publicly flogged under the gallows. This usage the negro so violently resented, that from that moment he vowed revenge against all Europeans without exception ; fled to the woods, where putting himself at the head of the rebels, his name became dreadful, and particularly so to his former master Dahlbergh, as he solemnly swore that he should never die in peace till he had washed his hands in the tyrant's blood.

To those who know how greatly mankind are affected by self-interest, it will not appear so extraordinary, as it may to a superficial observer, that these black rangers should so inveterately engage against their friends and countrymen. What will not men do to be emancipated from so deplorable a state of subjection ! and this emancipation was obtained upon more certain and advantageous grounds by the consent of the Europeans, than if they had

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absconded into the woods. Having thus once engaged in this service, it is evident they must be considered by the other party as apostates and traitors of the blackest dye; they must be convinced, that defeat must not only expose them to death, but to the severest tortures; they were therefore fighting for something more than liberty and life: success was to bring them the most solid advantages, miscarriage was to plunge them in the severest misery.

The taking of Boucon was now greatly spoken of, and deemed a very severe blow to the rebels: both the regulars and the rangers, indeed, behaved with unprecedented intrepidity and courage. Captain Meyland's gallant conduct was most highly acknowledged; while Lieutenant Freidrecy was presented by the Surinam Society with a beautiful sabre, a fusee, and a brace of pistols, mounted in silver, and ornamented with emblems expressive of his merit; besides which, he obtained the rank of Captain. It must be confessed, that on this occasion the whole detachment, white and black, without exception, justly met with the fullest marks of approbation for their spirited behaviour.—In this state were the public affairs of Surinam; when, in 1773, our fleet dropped anchor before the town of Paramaribo

C H A P. V.

The Scene changes—Some Account of a beautiful Female Slave—The Manner of travelling in Surinam—The Colonel explores the Situation of the Rivers—Barbarity of a Planter—Wretched Treatment of some Sailors.

HAVING in the first chapters given some account of our incorporation, our voyage, our landing, and our reception in the colony, in February 1773; and having described the colony of Surinam, its boundaries, and revolutions, from its earliest discovery; I shall now proceed in my narrative, by connecting the proceedings of our little corps with the general chain of events; and write precisely what I have learned by local and ocular observation.

Having already stated that from our arrival till February 27th we seemed to be landed in Guiana for little more than idle dissipation; I shall now proceed from the same date, which was about the commencement of the rainy season, when our mirth and conviviality still continued, to present to the reader, as a contrast to the preceding scenes of horror, a description of the beautiful mulatto maid Joanna. This charming young woman I first saw at the house of a Mr. Demelly, secretary to the Court of Policy, where I daily breakfasted; and with whose lady Joanna, but

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but fifteen years of age, was a very remarkable favourite.

Rather taller than the middle size, she was possessed of the most elegant shape that nature can exhibit, moving her well-formed limbs with more than common gracefulness. Her face was full of native modesty, and the most distinguished sweetness; her eyes, as black as ebony, were large and full of expression, bespeaking the goodness of her heart; with cheeks through which glowed, in spite of the darkness of her complexion, a beautiful tinge of vermilion, when gazed upon. Her nose was perfectly well formed, rather small; her lips a little prominent, which, when she spoke, discovered two regular rows of teeth, as white as mountain snow; her hair was a dark brown inclining to black, forming a beautiful globe of small ringlets, ornamented with flowers and gold spangles. Round her neck, her arms, and her ancles, she wore gold chains, rings, and medals: while a shawl of India muslin, the end of which was negligently thrown over her polished shoulders, gracefully covered part of her lovely bosom: a petticoat of rich chintz alone completed her apparel. Bare-headed and bare-footed, she shone with double lustre, as she carried in her delicate hand a beaver hat, the crown trimmed round with silver. The figure and appearance of this charming creature could not but attract my particular attention, as they did indeed that of all who beheld her; and induced me to enquire from Mrs. Demelly, with much surprise, who she was, that appeared

to



Joanna.

to be so much distinguished above all others of her species in the colony.

“ She is, Sir,” replied this lady, “ the daughter of a respectable gentleman, named Kruythoff; who had, besides this girl, four children by a black woman, called Cery, the property of a Mr. D. B., on his estate called Fauconberg, in the upper part of the river Comewina.

“ Some few years since Mr. Kruythoff made the offer of above one thousand pounds sterling to Mr. D. B. to obtain manumission for his offspring; which being inhumanly refused, it had such an effect on his spirits, that he became frantic, and died in that melancholy state soon after; leaving in slavery, at the discretion of a tyrant, two boys and three fine girls, of which the one now before us is the eldest*.

“ The gold medals, &c. which seem to surprise you, are the gifts which her faithful mother, who is a most deserving woman towards her children, and of some consequence amongst her cast, received from her father (whom she ever attended with exemplary affection). just before he expired.

“ Mr. D. B., however, met with his just reward: for having since driven all his best carpenter negroes to the woods by his injustice and severity, he was ruined, and

* In Surinam all such children go with their mothers; that is, if she is in slavery, her offspring are her master's property, should their father be a prince, unless he obtains them by purchase.

“ obliged

CHAPTER. “ obliged to fly the colony, and leave his estate and stock
 V. “ to the disposal of his creditors ; while one of the above
 “ unhappy deserters, a *samboe**, has by his industry been
 “ the protector of Cery and her children. His name is
 “ Jolycœur, and he is now the first of Baron’s captains,
 “ whom you may have a chance of meeting in the rebel
 “ camp, breathing revenge against the Christians.

“ Mrs. D. B. is still in Surinam, being arrested for her
 “ husband’s debts, till Fauconberg shall be sold by execu-
 “ tion to pay them. This lady now lodges at my house,
 “ where the unfortunate Joanna attends her, whom she
 “ treats with peculiar tenderness and distinction.”

Having thanked Mrs. Demelly for her account of Joanna, in whose eye glittered the precious pearl of sympathy, I took my leave, and went to my lodging in a state of sadness and stupefaction. However trifling, and like the style of romance, this relation may appear to some, it is nevertheless a genuine account, and on that score I flatter myself may not entirely be uninteresting to others.

When reflecting on the state of slavery altogether, while my ears were stunned with the clang of the whip, and the dismal yells of the wretched negroes on whom it was exercised, from morning till night ; and considering that this might one day be the fate of the unfortunate mulatto I have been describing, should she chance to fall into the

* A *samboe* is between a mulatto and a negro.

hands of a tyrannical master or mistress, I could not help execrating the barbarity of Mr. D. B. for having withheld her from a fond parent, who by bestowing on her a decent education and some accomplishments, would probably have produced, in this forsaken plant, now exposed to every rude blast without protection, an ornament to civilized society.

I became melancholy with these reflections; and in order to counterbalance, though in a very small degree, the general calamity of the miserable slaves who surrounded me, I began to take more delight in the prattling of my poor negro boy, Quaco, than in all the fashionable conversation of the polite inhabitants of this colony: but my spirits were depressed, and in the space of twenty-four hours I was very ill indeed; when a cordial, a few preserved tamarinds, and a basket of fine oranges, were sent by an unknown person. This first contributed to my relief, and losing about twelve ounces of blood, I recovered so far, that on the fifth I was able, for change of air, to accompany a Captain Macneyl, who gave me a pressing invitation to his beautiful coffee plantation, called Sporkesgift, in the Matapaca Creek.

Having mentioned tamarinds, I will, before we proceed on our journey, embrace the opportunity of introducing a short description of them. The tree on which this fruit is produced is about the size of a large apple-tree, and is very straight, and covered with a brownish-coloured bark;

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the twigs are slender, arched, and knotty, producing leaves and a pod, which will be best known by the annexed representation, where *A* is the leaf of the *natural* size; *B* the extremity of the branch; *C* the fruit green and unripe; *D* the pulp, which is brown when in perfection; and *E* the purple kernels or stones that are inclosed within it. The upper part of the leaves are a darker green than underneath: upon the whole, they form a very agreeable shade, on which account the tamarind-trees are frequently planted in groves.

The male and female species bear a remarkable distinction in their colour; that of the first having the deepest hue.

I shall not presume to be minute with respect to the medicinal qualities of these or any other vegetable in Guiana, which are as amply as I believe justly described by Dr. Bancroft, in his letters to Dr. Pitcairn, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in London, except in mentioning such efficacy as I have found them to possess by my own experience, and which consists in the pulp; which when preserved is a most delicious refreshment in hot climates: it is a laxative, and when dissolved with water, makes a very cooling and agreeable beverage, and is much recommended in all diseases, particularly in fevers.

We now set out from Paramaribo for Sporkesgift, in a tent-boat or barge, rowed by eight of the best negroes
 belonging.



Sprig of the Tamarind Tree.



View of the Estate, Alkmaar, on the River Comanewine.



Representation of a Tent Boat, or Plantation Barge.

belonging to Mr. Macneyl's estate ; every body, as I have already mentioned, travelling by water in this colony.

These barges I cannot better describe than by comparing them with those that accompany what is usually styled the Lord Mayor's Show on the river Thames. They are, however, somewhat less, though some are very little inferior in magnificence, and are often decorated with gilding and flags, filled with musicians, and abound in every convenience. They are sometimes rowed by ten and even by twelve oars, and being lightly built, sweep along with astonishing celerity. The rowers never stop, from the moment they set out till the company is landed at the place of destination ; but continue, the tide serving or not, to tug night and day, sometimes for twenty-four hours together, singing a chorus all the time to keep up their spirits. When their labour is over, their naked bodies still dripping with sweat, like post-horses, they headlong, one and all, plunge into the river to refresh themselves :—

“ The wanton courser thus, with reins unbound,

“ Breaks from his stall, and beats the trembling ground ;

“ Pamper'd and proud, he seeks the wonted tides,

“ And laves in height of blood his shining sides.”

We now passed a number of fine plantations, but I could not help taking particular notice of the Cacao estate, called *Alkmaar*, situated on the right side in rowing

CHAPTER. up the river Comewina, which is no less conspicuous for
 V. its beauty than for the goodness of its proprietor, the in-
 valuable lady the widow Godefroy, whose humanity and
 friendship must always be remembered by me with grati-
 tude.

At our arrival on the estate Sporkesgift, I had the pleasure to be the spectator of an instance of justice which afforded me the greatest satisfaction.

The scene consisted in Mr. Macneyl's turning the overseer out of his service, and ordering him to depart from the plantation in an inferior boat, called a *ponkee* *, to Paramaribo, or wherever he thought proper; which was instantaneously put in execution. The cause of his disgrace was having, by bad usage and cruelty, caused the death of three or four negroes. His departure was made completely joyful to all the slaves by an holiday, which was spent in festivity, by dancing and clapping hands on a green before the dwelling-house windows.

The overseer's sentence was the more ignominious and galling, as at the time of receiving it a negro foot-boy, who was buckling his shoes, was ordered back, and he was desired to buckle them himself. The spirited conduct of this planter, the joy of his negroes, the salubrity of the country air, and the hospitable manner in which we were entertained at his estate, had such an effect on my consti-

* A *ponkee* is a flat-bottomed boat of four or six oars, something like a square-toed shoe: sometimes it has a tilt, and sometimes not.

tution and my spirits, that on the ninth I returned, if not recovered, at least greatly benefited, to Paramaribo. But I should be guilty of partiality, did I not relate one instance, which throws a shade over the humanity even of my friend Macneyl.

Having observed a handsome young negro walk very lamely, while the others were capering and dancing, I inquired into the cause of his crippled appearance; when I was informed by this gentleman, that the negro having repeatedly run away from his work, he had been obliged to hamstring him, which operation is performed by cutting through the large tendon above one of the heels. However severe this instance of despotism may appear, it is nothing when compared with some barbarities which the task I have undertaken will oblige me, at the expence of my feelings, to relate.

On our return to the town of Paramaribo, the only news that occurred consisted in a few shocking executions; also that the Boreas man of war, Captain Van-de-Velde, had sailed for Holland; and that Colonel Fourgeoud had on the eighth, the Prince of Orange's anniversary, entertained a large company with a ball *en militaire*, in the officers' guard-room. The music on this occasion consisted of two fiddlers only, who had the conscience to make the colonel pay one hundred and twenty Dutch florins for rosin and catgut.

About this time I was attacked by a distemper called
the


CHAPTER. the *prickly heat*, by the colonists *rootvont*. It begins by
 v. the skin taking a colour like scarlet, (occasioned by a number of small pimples) and itching inconceivably; under the garters, or any place where the circulation is impeded, the itching is almost insupportable.

With this pest all new-comers from Europe are soon infested. The cure is to bathe the parts with the juice of limes and water, as for the bites of gnats or musquitoes. The prickly heat is supposed to be a prognostic of good health by the inhabitants; which I have reason to think true, since from that period my health and spirits were perfectly re-established, and I was once more as happy as Paramaribo could make me.

At this time Colonel Fourgeoud set out with a barge, to inspect the situation of the rivers Comewina and Cottica, in case the actual service of our troops should soon be wanted; being at his departure saluted by the guns from Fort Zelandia, and by those of the ships in the roads. This compliment I acknowledge astonished me, after the coolness which took place, and was now rooted, between this gentleman and the governor of the colony.

As we were still in a state of inaction, I made another excursion, with a Mr. Charles Ryndorp, who rowed me in his barge to five beautiful coffee estates, and one sugar plantation, in the Matapaca, Paramarica, and Wercapa Creeks; the description of which I must defer to another occasion; but on one of which, called Schoonoort, I was

the witness to a scene of barbarity which I cannot help relating.

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The victim of this cruelty was a fine old negro slave, who having been as he thought undeservedly sentenced to receive some hundred lashes by the lacerating whips of two negro-drivers, in the midst of the execution pulled out a knife, which, after having made a fruitless thrust at his persecutor the overseer, he plunged up to the haft in his own bowels, repeating the blow till he dropped down at the tyrant's feet. For this crime he was, being first recovered, condemned to be chained to the furnace which distils the *kill-devil**, there to keep in the intense heat of a perpetual fire night and day, being blistered all over, till he should expire by infirmity or old age, of the latter of which however he had but little chance. He shewed me his wounds with a smile of contempt, which I returned with a sigh and a small donation: nor shall I ever forget the miserable man, who, like Cerberus, was loaded with irons, and chained to everlasting torment. As for every thing else I observed in this little tour, I must acknowledge it to be elegant and splendid, and my reception hospitable beyond my expectation: but these Elysian fields could

* *Kill-devil* is a species of rum which is distilled from the scum and dregs of sugar cauldrons. This is much drunk in this colony, and the only spirits allowed the negroes; many Europeans also, from a point of economy, make use of it, to whom it proves no better than a slow but fatal poison.

not

CHAP. not dissipate the gloom which the infernal furnace had left
 upon my mind.

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Of the coffee estates, that of Mr. Sims, called Limeshope, was the most magnificent, and may be deemed with justice one of the richest in the colony. We now once more, on the sixth of April, returned safe to Paramaribo, where we found the Westerlingwerf man of war, Captain Crass, which had arrived from Plymouth in thirty-seven days, into which port he had put to stop a leak, having parted company with us, as already mentioned, off Portland, in the end of December 1772. This day, dining at the house of my friend, Mr. Lolkens, to whom I had been, as I have said, recommended by letters, I was an eyewitness of the unpardonable contempt with which negro slaves are treated in this colony. His son, a boy not more than ten years old, when sitting at table, gave a slap in the face to a grey-headed black woman, who by accident touched his powdered hair, as she was serving in a dish of kerry. I could not help blaming his father for overlooking the action; who told me, with a smile, that the child should no longer offend me, as he was next day to sail for Holland for education; to which I answered, that I thought it almost too late. At the same moment a sailor passing by, broke the head of a negro with a bludgeon, for not having saluted him with his hat.—Such is the state of slavery, at least in this Dutch settlement!

About

About this time, Colonel Fourgeoud made a second excursion, and now departed with a barge, to explore the banks and situation of the river Surinam, as he had before done those of Rio Comewina and Rio Cottica.

At this time died Captain Barends, one of the masters of the transports, which were still kept in commission, in case they should be wanted for our return to Europe. Five or six sailors now were buried every day, belonging to the merchant ships, whose lamentable fate I cannot pass by unnoticed, being actually used worse than the negroes in this scorching climate, where, besides rowing large flat-bottomed barges up and down the rivers, day and night, for coffee, sugar, &c. and being exposed to the burning sun and heavy rains, and besides stowing the above commodities in a hold as hot as an oven, they are obliged to row every upstart planter to his estate at a call, which saves the gentleman so many negroes, and for which they receive in return nothing—many times not so much as a mouthful of meat and drink; palliating hunger and thirst by begging from the slaves a few bananas or plantains, eating oranges and drinking water, which in a little time relieves them from every complaint, by shipping them off to eternity. In every part of the colony they are no better treated, but, like horses, they must (having unloaded the vessels) drag the commodities to the distant storehouses, being bathed in sweat, and bullied with bad language, sometimes with blows; while a few negroes are ordered

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to attend, but not to work, by the direction of their masters, which many would willingly do to relieve the drooping sailors, to whom this usage must be exceedingly disheartening and galling. The planters even employ those men to paint their houses, clean their sash-windows, and do numberless other menial services, for which a seaman was never intended. All this is done to save the work of their negroes; while by this usage thousands are swept to the grave, who in the line of their profession alone might have lived for many years; nor dare the West India Captains to refuse their men, without incurring the displeasure of the planters, and seeing their ships rot in the harbour without a loading;—nay, I have heard a sailor fervently wish he had been born a negro, and beg to be employed amongst them in cultivating a coffee plantation.

I now took an early opportunity to enquire of Mrs. Demelly what was become of the amiable Joanna; and was informed that her lady, Mrs. D. B., had escaped to Holland on board the *Boreas* man-of-war, under the protection of Captain Van-de-Velde, and that her young mulatto was now at the house of her aunt, a free woman, whence she expected hourly to be sent up to the estate Fauconberg, friendless, and at the mercy of some unprincipled overseer appointed by the creditors, who had now taken possession of the plantation and stock, till the whole should be sold to pay the several sums due to them by Mr. D. B.—Good God!—I flew to the spot in search of poor Joanna:

I found

I found her bathed in tears.—She gave me such a look—ah! such a look!—From that moment I determined to be her protector against every insult, and persevered, as shall be seen in the sequel.—Here, reader, let my youth, blended with extreme sensibility, plead my excuse; yet assuredly my feelings will be forgiven me—by those few only excepted—who delight in the *prudent* conduct of Mr. *Incle* to the hapless and much-injured *Yarico* at Barbadoes.

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I next ran to the house of my friend Lolkens, who happened to be the administrator of Fauconberg estate; and asking his assistance, I intimated to him my strange determination of purchasing and educating Joanna.

Having recovered from his surprise, after gazing at me silently for some time, an interview at once was proposed; and the beautiful slave, accompanied by a female relation, was produced trembling in my presence.

Reader, if you have perused the tale of *Lavinia* with pleasure, though the scene admits of no comparison, reject not the history of Joanna with contempt.—It now proved to be she who had privately sent me the cordial and the oranges in March, when I was nearly expiring, and which she now modestly acknowledged “was in gratitude for “ my expressions of compassion respecting her sad situation;” with singular delicacy, however, she rejected every proposal of becoming mine upon any terms. She was conscious, she said, “that in such a state, should I “ soon return to Europe, she must either be parted from

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“ me for ever, or accompany me to a part of the world where the inferiority of her condition must prove greatly to the disadvantage of both herself and her benefactor, and thus in either case be miserable.” In which sentiments Joanna firmly persisting, she was immediately permitted to withdraw, and return to the house of her aunt ; while I could only entreat of Mr. Lolkens his generous protection for her, and that she might at least for some time be separated from the other slaves, and continue at Paramaribo ; and in this request his humanity was induced to indulge me.

On the 30th the news arrived that the *rangers*, having discovered a rebel village, had attacked it, and carried off three prisoners, leaving four others dead upon the spot, whose right hands, chopped off and barbecued or smoke-dried, they had sent to the Governor of Paramaribo, as a proof of their valour and fidelity.

On receiving this intelligence, Colonel Fourceoud immediately left the river Surinam, where he still was, and on the first of May returned to town, in expectation of his regiment being employed on actual service, but there the business ended ; and we still, to our utter astonishment, were allowed to linger away our time, each agreeably to his own peculiar fancy. On the 4th of May the rangers however were reviewed in the Fort Zelandia, at which ceremony I was present, and must confess that this corps of black soldiers had a truly manly appearance : warriors
whose



whose determined and open aspect could not but give me the satisfaction of a soldier in beholding them. They here once more received the thanks of the Governor for their manly behaviour and faithful conduct, particularly at the taking of *Boucon*; besides which, they were entertained with a rural feast, at the public expence, at Paramaribo, to which were also invited their families; and at which feast several respectable people of both sexes made their appearance with pleasure, to witness the happiness of their sable friends, the day being spent in mirth and conviviality, without the least disturbance, nay even with decorum and propriety, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants.

The *Westerlingwerf*, Captain *Crass*, now left the river also, bound for Holland, but first for the colony of *Demerary*. Thus both ships of war having sailed without us, there was some reason to suppose we were soon to be employed on actual service. There were many motives, indeed, for wishing either that this might be the case, or that we might speedily be permitted to return to Europe. Not only our officers, but our privates, began to feel the debilitating effects of the climate, and many, of that continued debauchery so common in all ranks in this settlement: and as hard labour and bad treatment constantly killed the poor sailors, so now our common soldiers fell the victims of idleness and licentiousness, and died frequently six or seven in a day; whence it is evident to demon-

CHAPTER. demonstration, that all excesses, of whatever kind, are mortal to Europeans in the climate of Guiana.

v.

But men will give lessons which they do not themselves observe. Thus, notwithstanding my former resolution of living retired, I again relapsed into the vortex of dissipation. I became a member of a drinking club, I partook of all polite and impolite amusements, and plunged into every extravagance without exception. I did not, however, escape without the punishment I deserved. I was seized suddenly with a dreadful fever; and such was its violence, that in a few days I was no more expected to recover. In this situation I lay in my hammock until the 17th, with only a soldier and my black boy to attend me, and without any other friend: sickness being universal among the newcomers to this country, and every one of our corps having so much to do to take care of themselves, neglect was an inevitable consequence, even among the nearest acquaintance. This, however, is a censure which does not apply to the inhabitants, who perhaps are the most hospitable people on the globe to Europeans. These philanthropists not only supply the sick with a variety of cordials at the same time, but crowd their apartments with innumerable condolers, who from morning till night continue prescribing, insisting, bewailing, and lamenting, friend and stranger without exception; and this lasts until the patient becomes delirious, and expires. Such must inevitably have been
my

my case, between the two extremes of neglect and impotency, had it not been for the happy intervention of poor Joanna, who one morning entered my apartment, to my unspeakable joy and surprise, accompanied by one of her sisters. She informed me that she was acquainted with my forlorn situation ; that if I still entertained for her the same good opinion, her only request was, that she might wait upon me till I should be recovered. I indeed gratefully accepted her offer ; and by her unremitting care and attention had the good fortune so far to regain my health and spirits, as to be able, in a few days after, to take an airing in Mr. Kennedy's carriage.

Till this time I had chiefly been Joanna's friend ; but now I began to feel I was her captive. I renewed my wild proposals of purchasing, educating, and transporting her to Europe ; which, though offered with the most perfect sincerity, were, by her, rejected once more, with this humble declaration :

“ I am born a low contemptible slave. Were you to
 “ treat me with too much attention, you must degrade
 “ yourself with all your friends and relations ; while the
 “ purchase of my freedom you will find expensive, diffi-
 “ cult, and apparently impossible. Yet though a slave,
 “ I have a soul, I hope, not inferior to that of an Euro-
 “ pean ; and blush not to avow the regard I retain for
 “ you, who have distinguished me so much above all others
 “ of my unhappy birth. You have, Sir, pitied me ; and

“ now,

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“ now, independent of every other thought, I shall have
 “ pride in throwing myself at your feet, till fate shall part
 “ us, or my conduct become such as to give you cause to
 “ banish me from your presence.”

This she uttered with a down-cast look, and tears dropping on her heaving bosom, while she held her companion by the hand.

From that instant this excellent creature was mine ;— nor had I ever after cause to repent of the step I had taken, as will more particularly appear in the course of this narrative.

I cannot omit to record, that having purchased for her presents to the value of twenty guineas, I was the next day greatly astonished to see all my gold returned upon my table ; the charming Joanna having carried every article back to the merchants, who cheerfully returned her the money.

“ Your generous intentions alone, Sir, (she said) were
 “ sufficient : but allow me to tell you, that I cannot help
 “ considering any superfluous expence on my account as a
 “ diminution of that good opinion which I hope you have,
 “ and will ever entertain, of my disinterested disposition.”

Such was the language of a slave, who had simple nature only for her instructor, the purity of whose sentiments stood in need of no comment, and these I was now determined to improve by every care.

I shall now only add, that a regard for her superior

virtues, so singular amongst her cast, gratitude for her particular attention to me, and the pleasure of producing to the world such an accomplished character under the appearance of a slave, could alone embolden me to risk the censure of my readers, by intruding on them this subject: let this be my apology, and if it be accepted but by few, I shall not be inclined to complain.

In the evening I visited Mr. Demelly, who, with his lady, congratulated me on my recovery from sickness; and at the same time, however strange it may appear to many readers, they, with a smile, wished me joy of what, with their usual good humour, they were pleased to call my conquest; which, one of the ladies in company assured me, while it was perhaps censured by some, was applauded by many, but she believed in her heart *envied* by all.— A decent wedding, at which many of our respectable friends made their appearance, and at which I was as happy as any bridegroom ever was, concluded the ceremony; with which I shall beg leave to conclude a chapter, which, methinks I hear many readers whisper, had better never had a beginning.

CHAP. VI.

Account of a dreadful Execution—Fluctuating State of political Affairs—Short Glimpse of Peace—An Officer shot dead; his whole Party cut to Pieces, and the general Alarm revived throughout the Colony.

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ON the 21st of May our Lieutenant Colonel, Lantman, died, and a number of our officers lay sick.

Instead of gaiety and dissipation, disease and mortality now began to rage amongst us; and the devastation increased from day to day among the private men, in a most alarming proportion. The remains of the deceased officer were interred with military honours, in the centre of the fortress Zelandia, where all criminals are imprisoned, and all field officers buried. At this place I was not a little shocked to see the captive rebel negroes and others clanking their chains, and roasting plantains and yams upon the sepulchres of the dead; they presented to my imagination the image of a number of diabolical fiends in the shape of African slaves, tormenting the souls of their European persecutors. From these gloomy mansions of despair, on this day, seven captive negroes were selected, who being led by a few soldiers to the place of execution, which is in the Savannah, where the sailors and
soldiers

soldiers are interred, six were hanged, and one broken alive upon the rack, with an iron bar; besides which a white man was scourged before the Court House, by the public executioner, who is in this country always a black. The circumstance which led me to take particular notice of this affair was the shameful injustice of shewing a partiality to the European, who ought to have been better informed, by letting him escape with only a slight corporal punishment; while the poor uneducated African for the same crime, viz. stealing money out of the Town Hall, lost his life under the most excruciating torments, which he supported without heaving a sigh or making a complaint; while one of his companions, with the rope about his neck, and just on the point of being turned off, uttered a laugh of contempt at the magistrates who attended the execution. I ought not in this place to omit, that the negro who flogged the white man inflicted the punishment with the greatest marks of commiseration. These transactions almost induced me to decide between the Europeans and Africans in this colony, that the first were the greater barbarians of the two—a name which tarnishes Christianity, and is bestowed on them in too many corners of the globe, with what real degree of justice I will not take on me to determine.

Having testified how much I was hurt at the cruelty of the above execution, and surprised at the intrepidity with which the negroes bore their punishment, a decent looking

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man stepped up to me. “ Sir, (said he) you are but a new-comer from Europe, and know very little about the African slaves, or you would testify both less feeling and surprise. Not long ago, (continued he) I saw a black man suspended alive from a gallows by the ribs, between which, with a knife, was first made an incision, and then clinched an iron hook with a chain: in this manner he kept alive three days, hanging with his head and feet downwards, and catching with his tongue the drops of water (it being in the rainy season) that were flowing down his bloated breast. Notwithstanding all this, he never complained, and even upbraided a negro for crying while he was flogged below the gallows, by calling out to him—*You man?—Da boy fasy? Are you a man? you behave like a boy.* Shortly after which he was knocked on the head by the commiserating sentry, who stood over him, with the butt end of his musket.”—

Another negro (said he) I have seen quartered alive; who, after four strong horses were fastened to his legs and arms, and after having had iron sprigs driven home underneath every one of his nails on hands and feet, without a motion, he first asked a dram, and then bid them pull away, without a groan: but what afforded us the greatest entertainment (continued he) were the fellow’s jokes, by desiring the executioner to drink before him, in case there should chance to be poison in the glass, and bidding him take care of his horses, lest any



Baker Sculp^t

A Negro hung alive by the Ribs to a Gallows.



“ of them should happen to strike backwards. As for old
 “ men being broken upon the rack, and young women
 “ roasted alive chained to stakes, there can be nothing
 “ more common in this colony.”—I was petrified at the
 inhuman detail ; and breaking away with execrations from
 this diabolical scene of laceration, made the best of my
 way home to my own lodgings.

On the 24th, having received a supply of provisions
 from Holland, and absolutely doing no service in the co-
 lony, it was universally resolved that we should proceed
 home ; our regiment, notwithstanding its being partly paid
 by the United Provinces, still being exceedingly chargeable
 to the society and the inhabitants, who, in conjunction,
 paid all other expences : thus, in the hopes of sailing in
 the middle of June, the transports were ordered a second
 time to wood, water, and make all other necessary prepa-
 rations.

I must say nothing of what I felt on this occasion : I
 continued, however, not long in this state of suspense ;
 for the following day intelligence being brought that a
 plantation was demolished, and the overseers murdered
 by the rebels, our stay was prolonged a second time, at
 the request of the Governor himself and inhabitants ; and,
 in consequence, the three transports, which had since Fe-
 bruary the 9th been kept waiting at a great expence, were
 finally put out of commission, and the provisions stowed

at

CHAPTER. at the head-quarters in a temporary storhouse erected
 VI. for that purpose.

The minds of the people began now to be quieted, finding at last that the troops were in earnest preparing for actual service, a circumstance greatly indeed to be lamented as to the occasion, but certainly much better for the colony, than to let the regiment linger away an idle life at Paramaribo.

Thus our warlike preparations for some days proceeded, and our marines appeared in excellent spirits; when again, on the 7th of June, to our unutterable surprise, we were for the third time officially acquainted, that things seeming quiet, and presuming that tranquillity was at last re-established, the colony of Surinam had no farther occasion for our services. These fluctuating councils did not fail to produce much discontent among the military, as well as the inhabitants; and cabals were formed, which threatened to break out into a civil contest.

Some charged the Governor with being jealous of the unlimited power which was vested in Colonel Fourgeoud, who was also by many others blamed as abusing that power, and as not treating the Governor with that civility, which he might have evinced without lessening his own consequence. Thus, while one party acknowledged us to be the bulwark of the settlement, by keeping the rebels in awe, the opposition hesitated not to call us the locusts
 of

of Egypt, who were come to devour the fruits of the colony.

Without entering into the merits of the question, it is sufficient to say, that our life was rendered very uncomfortable, and a great number of us could not help thinking, that between the two parties we were but ill treated. This same day, while at dinner on board a Dutch vessel in the roads, the company were alarmed by the most tremendous clap of thunder I ever heard in my life. On our side of the continent, several negroes and cattle were killed by lightning; while, on the other side, nearly at the same time, the city of Guatimala, in Old Mexico, was swallowed up by an earthquake, by which eight thousand families are said to have instantly perished.

On the 11th, the ships, being taken again into commission, were ordered with all possible expedition to prepare for our final departure, and every one was making himself ready for the voyage.

Being thus apparently disengaged from military service, I received a polite invitation from a Mr. Campbel, who was lodged with a Mr. Kerry at my friend Kennedy's, to accompany him on a visit to the island of Tobago, where I might recruit my debilitated health and dejected spirits. His plan was to return with me by the Leeward Islands to Europe. It was, indeed, to me a most agreeable offer, all things considered, and I should certainly with pleasure have accepted it, had not my application to Colonel Fourgeoud.

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geoud been prevented by a fresh alarm, which was received on the 15th. The substance of this was no less, than that an officer of the Society troops had been shot dead by the rebels, and his whole party, consisting of about thirty men, entirely cut to pieces. So alarming a piece of intelligence could not fail to throw the whole colony once more into the utmost confusion and consternation. The above gentleman, whose name was Lepper, and only a lieutenant, was in a great measure the cause of this misfortune, by his impetuosity and intrepidity, totally unregulated by temper or conduct*: but as this censure in general terms may appear severe, it becomes in some degree incumbent on me to relate the particulars.

The period when this unhappy event took place was that which, in the language of the colony, is termed the *short dry season*. During this, Mr. Lepper having been informed that between the rivers Patamaca and Upper Cormootibo a village of negroes had been discovered by the rangers some time before, he determined with his small party, which was only a detachment from the Patamaca post, to sally through the woods and attack them. But the rebels being apprized of his intentions by their spies, which they constantly employ, immediately marched out to receive him; in his way they laid themselves in ambush,

* This gentleman formerly belonged to the life-guards in Holland, from which he fled, after thrusting

his antagonist through the heart with his sword in a duel.

near the borders of a deep marsh, through which the soldiers were to pass to the rebel settlement. No sooner had the unfortunate men got into the swamp and up to their armpits, than their black enemies rushed out from under cover, and shot them dead at their leisure in the water, while they were unable to return the fire more than once, their situation preventing them from reloading their musquets. Their gallant commander, being imprudently distinguished by a gold-laced hat, was shot through the head in the first onset. The few that scrambled out of the marsh upon the banks were immediately put to death in the most barbarous manner, except five or six, who were taken prisoners and carried alive to the settlement of the rebels. The melancholy fate of these unfortunate men I shall, in a proper place, describe, as I had it since from those that were eye-witnesses of it.

The intelligence had scarcely reached Paramaribo, than the whole town was in a tumult; some parties were so vehement that they were ready to tear the Governor and council to pieces, for having dismissed Colonel Fourgeoud with his regiment; while others ingenuously declared, that if we were intended for no further use than we had hitherto been, our company might without regret be dispensed with. All this could not but be exceedingly galling to our officers, who wished nothing more than to be employed on actual service for the advantage of the colony. On the other side, most bitter lampoons were spread

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CHAPTER. through the town against the Governor and his council;
 VI. libels of such a black and inflammatory nature, that no less than a thousand gold ducats were offered as a reward for the discovery of their author, with a promise of concealing the name of the informer if he required it; but the whole was to no purpose, and neither author nor informer made their appearance: the general clamour however still continuing, the Governor and council were forced a third time to petition us to remain in Surinam, and to protect the distracted colony. To this petition we once more condescended to listen, and the ships were actually a third time put out of commission.

We, however, still continued doing nothing, to the unspeakable surprise of every person concerned: the only part on duty, hitherto, having consisted of a subaltern's guard at the head-quarters, to protect the Chief, his colours, his store-houses, pigs, and poultry, which guard regularly mounted every day at half past four o'clock, and another on board the transports, until the provisions had been stowed on shore in the magazines. This, a few field-days excepted, when the soldiers were drilled for pomp alone in a burning sun till they fainted, comprehended the whole of our military manœuvres. But I perceive the reader is already impatient for some information respecting these two extraordinary men, who, from their inveteracy and opposition to each other, as well as from other causes, were the authors of these unaccountable and fluctuating
 proceed-



proceedings; and the outlines of these two characters may perhaps assist in unravelling the mystery.

As the ingredients of flattery or fear make but a small part of that man's composition who presumes to give them, and who pretends perfectly to have known both, the reader may depend on having them painted in their true original colours, however strong the shades.

Governor Nepveu was said to be rather a man of sense than of learning, and was wholly indebted to his art and address for having risen to his present dignity from sweeping the hall of the Court House. By the same means he was enabled, from nothing, to accumulate a fortune, by some computed at no less than eight thousand pounds sterling annually, and to command respect from all ranks of people, no person ever daring to attack him but at a distance. His deportment was affable, but ironical, without ever losing the command of his temper, which gave him the appearance of a man of fashion, and rendered his influence almost unbounded. He was generally known by the appellation of Reynard, and was most certainly a fox of too much artifice to be run down by all the hounds in the colony.

Colonel Fourgeoud was almost exactly the reverse of this portrait. He was impetuous, passionate, self-sufficient, and revengeful: he was not cruel to individuals, but was a tyrant to the generality, and caused the death of hundreds by his sordid avarice and oppression. With all this

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he was partial, ungrateful, and confused; but a most indefatigable man in bearing hardships and in braving dangers, not exceeded by Columbus himself, which, like a true bucaneer, he sustained with the most heroic courage, patience, and perseverance. Though unconquerably harsh and severe to his officers, he was however not wanting in affability to the private soldiers. He had read, but had no education to assist him in digesting what he read. In short, few men could talk better, but on most occasions few could act worse.

Such were the characters of our commanders; while the opposition of two such men to each other could not fail to produce unhappiness to the troops, and operated as a sufficient cause for the fluctuating state of political affairs in this dejected colony.

As we still continued totally inactive, I am necessarily deprived of the pleasure of relating any of our hero's warlike achievements.—To relieve the sameness of the narrative, I therefore take the liberty of describing one of his favourites.—This was no other than a bird called the *toucan*, and in Surinam *banarabeck* or *cojacai*, either from its bill having some resemblance to that fruit, or from its being accustomed to feed on it, and perhaps from both. This animal the Colonel kept hopping tame amongst his poultry.

The toucan is not larger than a tame pigeon, and yet its beak is no less than six inches in length, if not more.



The Toucan & the Fly-catcher.

It is shaped like a jackdaw, carrying its tail almost perpendicular, except when it flies: its colour is black, except a little white under the throat and breast, which is bordered with red in the form of a crescent reversed, and a few feathers above and under its tail, some white and some crimson. The head is large, with a bluish ring round the eyes, of which the iris is yellow, and its ash-coloured toes are much like those of a parrot. Its remarkable beak deserves the most particular attention, which is serrated, and of a size utterly disproportioned to its body. This beak, however, which is arched, is as thin as parchment, and consequently very light; it is yellow on the top, and on the sides of a beautiful deep orange, inclosing a tongue which bears a strong resemblance to a feather. The toucan feeds on fruit, especially pepper, and is very domestic.

I shall here also take the opportunity to describe another tame bird, which I saw with pleasure at the house of Mr. Lolkens, and which I take to be what we call the fly-catcher; they denominate it in this country *sun-fowlo*, because when it extends its wings, which it frequently does, there appears, on the interior part of each wing, the most beautiful representation of a sun. This bird is about the size of a woodcock, and of a golden colour, but speckled; its legs are very long, and also its slender bill, which is perfectly straight, and very pointed. With this it darts at the flies, while they creep, with such wonderful dexterity

dexterity and quickness, that it never misses the object, which seems to constitute its principal food; and this property renders it both useful and entertaining. This bird might, with some degree of propriety, be styled the perpetual motion, its body making a continual movement, and its tail keeping time like the pendulum of a clock.

Having described these two contrasts in appearance, I must add, that neither they, nor any of those birds in Guiana which are remarkable for their beautiful plumage, ever sing with any degree of melody, three or four perhaps excepted, whose notes are sweet, but not varied. Of these I shall speak at a proper opportunity.

“ ————— For Nature’s hand,
 “ That with a sportive vanity has deck’d
 “ The plummy nations, there her gayest hues
 “ Profusely pours. But if she bids them shine,
 “ Array’d in all the beauteous beams of day,
 “ Yet, frugal still, she humbles them in song.”

One bird more I shall only mention in this place, which may be considered as the rival of the mock-bird, viz. the *Caribbean wren*. This bird, which is called by the Surinam colonists *Gado fowlo*, or the bird of God, probably from its familiarity, inoffensiveness, and its delightful music, is rather larger than the English wren, which in its plumage it much resembles; it frequently perches upon the window-shutters with the familiarity of the robin. From its enchanting

chanting warbling, it has been honoured by many with the name of the South American nightingale.—But to proceed with my narrative.

On the 21st died Mr. Renard, one of our best surgeons, who was buried the same afternoon, a process quite necessary in this hot country, where putrefaction so instantaneously takes place, and more especially when the patient dies of a putrid fever, which is in this country extremely frequent. This dreadful disease first appears by bilious vomiting, lowness of spirits, and a yellowish cast of the countenance and eyes; and unless proper remedies be immediately applied, the distemper becomes fatal, and certain death in a few days is the consequence. The belly-hatty, or dry-gripes, by some compared to the Devonshire choleric, is also a common complaint in this country, and not only causes excruciating pains, but is exceedingly dangerous. This also had now attacked a great number of our people. As to the causes of this disorder I can give no account. The prevailing symptom is an obstinate costiveness, which they endeavour to remove by a quantity of castor oil taken internally, and also injected by the rectum.

It was, indeed, lamentable to observe the state to which we were already reduced, from a corps of the finest, healthiest young men that ever sailed from Europe, with blooming fresh complexions, now changed to the sallow colour

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colour of a drum-head. It was no alleviation of the calamity to reflect, that all this waste of life and health had been hitherto to no purpose; though some persons chose to report, that the whole was no more than a political scheme to have another regiment added to the war-establishment in Holland, as Colonel De Salve's marines had been before: but to this others gave but very little credit.

Of the hospitality of the country at least we could not complain, since this was actually one of the principal sources of our misfortunes, and we were likely in a few months to be caressed to death by the civilities of the men, and the kindness of the ladies: a circumstance which rendered Surinam a real *Capua* to these brave fellows.

On the 27th of June, the gentleman-like Lieutenant-Colonel Baron de Gersdorff died, much regretted indeed by every person; while the grim King of Terrors, conscientiously beginning at the head of the corps with the field officers, could not fail to afford some consolation to the inferior gentry who succeeded to their places, by the appointment of Colonel Fourgeoud, the Commander in Chief, who himself exhibited as yet no symptoms of mortality. Major Becquer was now made Lieutenant-Colonel, and a Captain Rockaph advanced to the rank of Major.

The European animals that live in this country are no less debilitated and diminutive than the human species.

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The oxen, for instance, are very small*, and their beef not near so delicate as it is in Europe, owing probably to their perpetual perspiration, and the coarseness of the grass on which they feed, which is not so good as that of the salt marshes in Somersetshire. On the banks of the Oro-nouque the oxen run wild, and are sold by the Spaniards for two dollars per head. A single piece of ready-roasted beef is often sent from Europe to Guiana as a most valuable and delicate present. The manner of preserving the meat for this long voyage, when roasted, is by putting it in a block-tin box or canister; then filling up the empty space with gravy or dripping till it is perfectly covered over; after which the box must be made fast and soldered round about, so that neither air nor water can penetrate: by this means, I was told, it may be with safety carried round the globe.

The sheep in this country are so small, that, when skinned, they seem not larger than young lambs in White-chapel market; they have no horns nor wool, but straight hair, and are to an European but very indifferent eating: the more so, since all beef, mutton, &c. must be consumed the same day that it is killed, which causes it to eat tough, while keeping it longer exposes it to putrefaction. Neither of these animals are natural to Guiana: the breed has

* This I am astonished to see contradicted by Dr. Bancroft, who says one bullock of Smithfield market assuredly weighs down two of the largest in Guiana.

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been imported from the Old Continent. So also was the breed of the hog, but with far better success; for these animals, in my opinion, thrive better in South America than in Europe. The hogs here are large, fat, good, and plentiful; as in England, they feed on almost every thing that is eatable, and on the estates are often fattened with green pine-apples, a fruit which grows spontaneously in this climate, and of which they are exceedingly fond. As for the poultry, nothing can thrive better; the common fowls are here as good and as plenty as in any country, but smaller, and their eggs differ in shape, being more sharp pointed. A smaller species of the dunghill kind, with ruffled inverted feathers, seems natural to Guiana, being reared in the inland parts of the country by the Indians or natives. The turkeys are very fine, and so are the geese, but the ducks are excellent, being of the large Muscovy species, with crimson pearls betwixt the beak and the head: these are here juicy, fat, and in great plenty.

After the various delays we had experienced, the reader will be surprised to learn that the hour of action at last arrived, and all the officers and men were ordered to be ready at a minute's warning to set out on actual service, though our little corps was already melted down from five hundred and thirty able men to about three-fourths of that number, by death and sickness, the hospital being crowded by invalids of every kind. The loss of so large a proportion

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tion of men was supplied in a manner that will appear extraordinary to an European.

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There were two negroes, one called *Okerá*, the other *Gowfary*, two desperadoes, who had both been rebel captains in the colony of Berbice, and who, for taking *Atta* their chief, and delivering him to the governor of that settlement, had received their pardon. By these two men the most inhuman murders had been committed on the Europeans in the year 1762, when the revolt was in the above colony. These were now admitted as private soldiers in our regiment, and were Colonel Fourceoud's greatest favourites.

Before we left Paramaribo, I had an opportunity of seeing two very extraordinary animals of the aquatic kind; the one was in Mr. Roux's cabinet of curiosities, and is called in the colony *jackee*, in Latin, *rana piscatrix*. This fish is about eight or ten inches long, without scales, exceeding fat and delicate, as I can testify by experience, and is found in all narrow creeks and marshy places. But what is extremely remarkable is, that this creature, however incredible it may appear, absolutely changes to a perfect frog, but not from a frog to a fish, as Merian, Zeba, and some random historians (among whom I am sorry to name Westley) have been pleased to assert; and of this truth I was at this time fully satisfied, by seeing the above animal dissected, and suspended in a bottle with spirits; when the two hinder legs of a very small frog made their

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appearance, growing inside from that part of the back to which usually the intestines are fixed. I nevertheless humbly presume to suppose, in this case, that the jackee is neither more nor less than a kind of tadpole, which grows to a large size before it undergoes the usual transformation.

The other animal I saw at the house of my friend Kennedy: this is what Dr. Bancroft calls the torporific, and others the electrical eel, and which Dr. Firmyn supposes to possess the same qualities with the torpedo. This wonderful animal is of a lead-blue colour, formed in a great measure like an eel, with one large fin that runs below from head to tail, not unlike the keel of a ship. It lives only in fresh water: its length is called by some three feet, and by others is asserted to be not less than four or five times as much*. When this animal is touched by the hand, or any rod of metal or hard wood, it communicates a shock, the impulse of which produces the same effect as electricity; and Dr. Firmyn has even assured me, that the shock of this electrical eel has been communicated to him through the bodies of eight or ten people, who stood hand in hand for the purpose of trying the experiment.

For my own part, all that I can say concerning this animal is, that I saw it in a tub full of water, where it

* Mr. Greenwood, of Leicester Fields, has told me himself that he killed one of eleven feet long.

appeared

appeared to be about two feet long; that I threw off my coat, and having turned up my shirt-sleeves, tried about twenty different times to grasp it with my hand, but all without effect, receiving just as many electrical shocks, which I felt even to the top of my shoulder, to the great entertainment of Mr. Kennedy, to whom I lost a small wager on the occasion. The electrical eel swims forward or backward at pleasure: it may be eaten with the greatest safety, and is even by many people thought delicious.

It has been said, that this animal must be touched with both hands before it gives the shock*, but this I must take the liberty of contradicting, having experienced the contrary effect: it is also alleged, that they have been found in Surinam above twenty feet long, but one of that length never yet came within the scope of my observation; nor have I ever heard of any person being killed by them, according to the account which is given by the same author, Alexander Gardon, M. D. F. R. S. in a letter to John Ellis, Esq. dated Charlestown, South Carolina, August 14th, 1774.

It is a painful circumstance, that the narrative of my travels must so frequently prove the record of cruelty and barbarity: but once for all I must declare, that I state these facts merely in the hope that it may, in some mode or other, operate for their future prevention. Before my

* Mr. Walsh purchased an electrical eel, which he shewed to many of the Royal Society and others, who, all joining hands, felt the stroke.—E.

CHAPTER. VI. departure, I was informed of a most shocking instance of depravity, which had just occurred. A Jewess, impelled by a groundless jealousy, (for such her husband made it appear) put an end to the life of a young and beautiful Quadroon girl, by the infernal means of plunging into her body a red-hot poker. But what is most incredible, and what indeed will scarcely be believed in a civilized country, is, that for this most diabolical crime the murderess was only banished to the Jew-Savannah, a village which I shall afterwards describe, and condemned in a trifling fine to the fiscal or town-clerk of the colony.

Another young negro woman, having her ancles chained so close together that she could scarcely move her feet, was knocked down with a cane by a Jew, and beaten till the blood streamed out of her head, her arms, and her naked sides. So accustomed, indeed, are the people of this country to tyranny and insolence, that a third Israelite had the impudence to strike one of my soldiers, for having made water against his garden-fence. On this miscreant I took revenge for the whole fraternity, by wresting the offending weapon out of his hand, which I instantly broke into a thousand pieces on his guilty naked pate.

I nevertheless was just enough to flog another man out of the regiment, for picking a Jew's pocket: and, to their credit be it mentioned, that so jealous are the Dutch soldiers of what they call a point of honour, that were a thief to be known, and kept in the ranks, the whole regiment

would lay down their arms. This etiquette is of great utility, and would be no bad practice to be introduced into some other armies, where a thief is too often accounted as good as another, if he is so fortunate as to be six feet high.

About this time Colonel Fourgeoud issued the following orders, viz. that in case it ever happened that two officers, or under-officers, of equal rank, the one of the European the other of the Society corps, should meet on any military duty, the first should always take the command, independent of seniority, unless the latter bore a higher commission.

We now seriously prepared for victory or death, on board the wooden walls of the Colony, which consisted of half a dozen crazy old sugar barges, such as are used by the colliers in the Thames, being only roofed over with boards, which gave them the appearance of so many coffins; and how well they deserved this name, I am afraid will too soon appear by the number of men they buried.

On the first of July were dispatched, for the river Comewina, one captain, two subalterns, one serjeant, two corporals, and eighteen men. Of this captain, I cannot help mentioning a very singular circumstance: the first day we landed in this colony, having entered the lodging on which he was billeted, his landlady declared she should ever pride herself in shewing all the civility in her power

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to either marines or naval officers, as she owed her life to one of them, who had some years before picked her up in an open boat with several others, after they had been tossed about sixteen days without either compass, sail, or provisions, a little sea-biscuit and water excepted, on the Atlantic ocean. To avoid circumlocution, this very gentleman, whose name was Tulling Van Older Barnevelt, proved to be the individual officer who had saved her from the jaws of death, as he at that time belonged to the navy, being a lieutenant of a Dutch man of war.

This same day we also dispatched another barge with two subalterns, one serjeant, one corporal, and fourteen men, commanded by Lieutenant Count Randwyck, to the river Pirica; and in the evening, having entertained some select friends in my house, I bade farewell to my Joanna, to whose care I left my all; and herself to the protection of her mother and aunt, with my directions for putting her to school until my return: after which, I at last marched on board, with four subalterns, two serjeants, three corporals, and thirty-two men under my command, to be divided into two barges, and bound for the upper part of the river Cottica.—

Now my Mulatto cast a mournful look,
 Hung on my hand, and then dejected spoke;
 Her bosom labour'd with a boding sigh,
 And the big tear stood trembling in her eye.

The

The above barges were all armed with swivels, blunderbusses, &c. and provided with allowance for one month: their orders were (that which went to the Jew's Savannah excepted) to 'cruise up and down the upper parts of the rivers, each barge having a pilot, and rowed by negro slaves, ten of which were on board of each for the purpose, and which made my complement, including my black boy Quaco, exactly sixty-five, thirty-five of which embarked with myself. With this ship's company was I now stowed in my hen-coop; while on board of my lieutenant's barge the crew consisted of twenty-nine only, and consequently were less crowded.

I must take notice that from our first landing in Surinam till this time our private men were paid in *silver* coin, which the captains had proposed to exchange for card money, at the rate of ten *per cent.* gain for them; by which the poor fellows would have benefited between two and three hundred pounds sterling *per annum*, to buy refreshment: but Colonel Fourgeoud insisted they should continue to receive their little pittance in coin, which in small sums, was of no more value than paper, and I thought unaccountably hard, since this was hurting the whole, without profit to one single individual. One thing more I must remark, which is, that all the officers who were now proceeding upon duty continued to pay at the mess, which cost each captain at the rate of forty pounds; but for which, in his barge, he was to receive in provi-

sions after the rate of ten pounds (thus he lost thirty pounds; and these provisions were salt beef, pork, and pease) on an equal footing with the private soldiers, a few bottles of wine excepted. But certainly some greater indulgence was due, and I must say necessary, to officers, who were going to be stationed where absolutely no kind of refreshment was to be had, being surrounded by the most horrid and impenetrable woods, beyond the hearing of a cannon-shot from any port or plantation whatever. This was not the case with the other barges, who were stationed in the midst of peace and plenty, being within view of the most beautiful estates. We were indeed pitied by all ranks without exception; who foreseeing our approaching calamities, crowded my barge with the best commodities they had to present, which they insisted upon my accepting. But the reader will have a better idea of the liberality of my benefactors from the following list, than from any encomiums which I could pass upon it:

24 Bottles of best claret,	6 Bottles of muscadel,
12 Ditto of Madeira,	2 Gallons of lemon-juice,
12 Ditto of English porter,	2 Gallons of ground coffee,
12 Ditto of English cyder,	2 Large Westphalia hams,
12 Ditto of Jamaica rum,	2 Salted bullocks tongues,
2 Large loaves of white sugar,	1 Bottle of Durham mustard,
2 Gallons of Brandy,	6 Dozen of spermaceti candles.

From

From this specimen the reader will easily perceive, that if some of the inhabitants of the colony of Surinam shew themselves the disgrace of the creation, by their cruelties and brutality, others, by their hospitality and social feelings, approve themselves an ornament to the human species.—With this instance of virtue and generosity, I therefore conclude this chapter; and trust I shall ever be found more ready to record the good actions of my fellow-creatures, than to remark their defects.

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CHAP. VII.

Armed Barges are sent up to defend the Rivers—Description of the Fortress New Amsterdam—A Cruise in the upper Parts of Rio Cottica and Patamaca—Great Mortality among the Troops—View of the Military Post at Devil's Harwar.

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ON the third of July, 1773, at four o'clock in the morning, the fleet cast off from their moorings, and with the ebb tide rowed down as far as the fortress New Amsterdam, where, being wind and tide bound, we dropped anchor off the battery.

It may not be improper, in this place, to describe the dress of our marines, which was blue turned up with scarlet, short jackets, and leather caps. They carried a musquet, sabre, and pistols; a large wallet or knapsack across one shoulder, and their hammocks slung over the other. While in the woods, they wore trowsers and check shirts, with short linen frocks, as most adapted to the climate.

Having first reviewed both my ships' companies, *viz.* four subalterns, two serjeants, three corporals, thirty-two privates, two pilots, twenty negroes, and my black boy Quaco; and having placed the arms, consisting of blunderbusses, swivels, &c. stowed the luggage, and slung the hammocks,



Blake sculp.

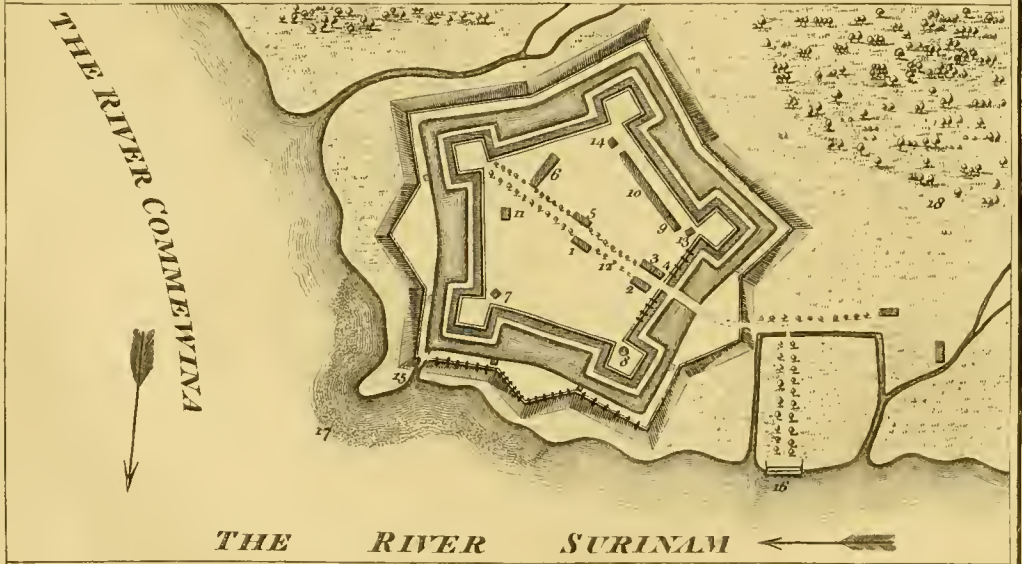
A privateer Marine of Col. Foy's Corps.



1. Governours House
2. Artillery Officers
3. Victualling Office
4. Main Guard
5. Infantry Officers
6. Carpenters Lodge

7. The Church
8. Corn Windmill
9. Secretary's Office
10. Barracks
11. Smith's Forge
12. Grove of Orange Trees

13. Gunpowder Magazine
14. Fresh Water Cistern
15. The Great Floodgate
16. The Landing Place
17. The Great Mud bank
18. Ground for Plantains



View & Plan of the Fortrefs called Amsterdam.

hammocks, I perused my orders, which were to cruise up and down Rio Cottica, between the Society posts, La Rochelle at Patamaca, and Slans Welveren above the last plantation, to prevent the rebels from crossing the river, to seize or kill them if possible, and protect the estates from their invasions: in all which operations I was to be assisted, if necessary, by the troops of the Society on the above posts, with whom I was also to deliberate on the proper signals to be given in case of an alarm.

Having now time and opportunity, I visited the fortress called New Amsterdam.

This fortification was begun in the year 1734, and finished in 1747. It is built in the form of a regular pentagon, with five bastions, being about three English miles in circumference, surrounded by a broad fossé, which is supplied from the river, and defended by a covert way, well palisadoed. Its foundations are a kind of rocky ground; and its principal strength by water a large bank of mud off the point, supported by a strong battery of cannon, which prevents even flat-bottomed vessels from making any approach in that quarter; and by crossing the fire of the guns with the opposite redoubts, Leyden and Purmerent, it protects the entry of both the rivers, Surinam and Comewina, as I have said before: it has, besides, powder-magazines and victualling-offices, and is well provided with all the other necessary buildings for the use of a strong garrison. There are even a corn wind-mill,

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mill, and a cistern which will hold above a thousand hogsheads of water. This in fact is no more than necessary; since, according to my opinion, it will take the whole army of Surinam to defend so large an extent for any length of time. Adjoining to the fortress is also a large spot of ground, well stocked with plantains, yams, &c. in order to feed the Society slaves, which are kept here, at the colony's expence, to work at the fortifications, under the inspection of a proper overseer.

In this fort is generally stationed a small garrison, commanded by an officer of the artillery, which obliges all vessels whatever to bring-to, shew their colours, and salute them with seven guns each, the compliment being answered with three guns from the battery, and the hoisting of a flag on the ramparts. I shall only add, that this fortress is, on the north-east side, surrounded with bogs and impenetrable bushes, and that the spot was, from these circumstances, formerly called the Tyger's Hole.

Having described fort New Amsterdam, I cannot leave it without taking notice of some very remarkable fish, which are always seen in great quantities near this fortress, and which have actually four eyes, swimming constantly with two above and two under the water. These fishes are about the size of a smelt, and swim in shoals with incredible velocity; they seem principally to delight in brackish water, are accounted no bad eating, and are called *coot-eye* by the inhabitants of the colony.

This evening my sentinel being insulted by a row-boat, which damned him, and spoke of the whole crew in the most opprobrious terms, I immediately manned the canoe, and gave chase; but by the help of hoisting a small sail, and the intervention of a dark night, the rogue, who kept course towards Braam's Point, had the good fortune to escape my resentment.

On the fourth of July, in the morning, we weighed anchor; and having doubled the Cape, rowed with the flood till we arrived before Elizabeth's Hope, a beautiful coffee plantation, where the proprietor, Mr. Klynhams, inviting us on shore, shewed us every civility in his power, and loaded my barge with refreshing fruits, vegetables, &c. He told us that he pitied our situation from his heart, and foretold the miseries we were going to encounter, the rainy season being just at hand, or indeed having already commenced, by frequent showers, accompanied with loud claps of thunder. "As for the enemy," said he, "you may depend on not seeing one single soul of them; they know better than to make their appearance openly, while they may have a chance of seeing you from under cover: thus, Sir, take care to be upon your guard—but the climate, the climate will murder you all. However," continued he, "this shews the zeal of your Commander, who will rather see you killed, than see you eat the bread of idleness at Paramaribo."—This pleasant harangue he accompanied with a squeeze by the hand.

We

C H A P. We then took our leave, while the beautiful Mrs. Dutry, his daughter, shed tears at our departure.—This evening
 { VII. we anchored before the Matapaca Creek.

I here created my two barges men of war, and named them the *Charon* and the *Cerberus*, by which names I shall distinguish them during the rest of the voyage; though the *Sudden Death* and *Wilful Murder* were much more applicable, as will be seen. We now continued rowing up the river Cottica, having passed, since we entered Rio Comewina, some most enchantingly beautiful estates of coffee and sugar, which line the banks of both these rivers, at the distance of one or two miles from each other.

My crew having walked and drest their dinner ashore on the plantation l'Avanture, we anchored, on the evening of the 5th, before Rio Pirica.

On the following day we rowed still further up the river Cottica, and went on shore on the estate Alia. At all the above plantations we were most hospitably received, but we met with fewer plantations as the river grew narrower.

On the 7th we continued our course, and having walked ashore on the estate Bockkestyne, being the last plantation up the river Cottica on the right, except one or two small estates in Patamaca, at night we cast anchor at the mouth of Coopman's Creek. This day the *Charon* was on fire, but happily it was soon extinguished.

On the 8th, we again kept rowing upwards, and at eleven o'clock, A.M. cast anchor off the post Slans Welvaren,

varen, which was guarded by the troops of the Society. Here I stepped on shore, with my officers, to wait on Captain Orzinga, the commander, and delivered three of my sick men into his hospital; where I beheld such a spectacle of misery and wretchedness as baffles all imagination: this place having been formerly called *Devil's Harwar*, on account of its intolerable unhealthiness—a name by which alone I shall again distinguish it, as much more suitable than that of *Slans Welvaren*, which signifies the welfare of the nation.

Here I saw a few of the wounded wretches, who had escaped from the engagement in which Lieutenant Lepper, with so many men, had been killed; and one of them told me the particulars of his own miraculous escape:—

“ I was shot, Sir,” said he, “ with a musquet-bullet in my
 “ breast; and to resist or escape being impossible, as the
 “ only means left me to save my life I threw myself down
 “ among the mortally wounded and the dead, without
 “ moving hand or foot. Here in the evening the rebel
 “ chief, surveying his conquest, ordered one of his cap-
 “ tains to begin instantly to cut off the heads of the slain,
 “ in order to carry them home to their village, as trophies
 “ of their victory: this captain, having already chopped
 “ off that of Lieutenant Lepper, and one or two more,
 “ said to his friend, *Sonde go sleeby, caba mkekwe liby den*
 “ *tara dogo tay tamara*; The sun is just going to sleep, we
 “ must leave those other dogs till to-morrow. Upon saying

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“ which, (continued the soldier) as I lay on my bleeding
 “ breast, with my face resting on my left arm, he, drop-
 “ ping his hatchet into my shoulder, made the fatal wound
 “ you see, of which I shall perhaps no more recover.—
 “ I however lay quite still. They went away, carrying
 “ along with them the mangled heads of my comrades,
 “ and five or six prisoners alive, with their hands tied be-
 “ hind their backs, of whom I never since have heard.
 “ When all was quiet, and it was very dark, I found
 “ means, on my hands and feet, to creep out from among
 “ the carnage, and get under cover in the forest, where I
 “ met another of our soldiers, who was less wounded than
 “ myself; with whom, after ten days wandering, in tor-
 “ ment and despair, without bandages, not knowing which
 “ way to proceed, and only one single loaf of black bread
 “ for our subsistence, we at last arrived at the military post
 “ of Patamaca, emaciated, and our putrefied wounds full
 “ of live worms.”

I gave the miserable creature half-a-crown; and having agreed with Captain Orzinga upon the signals, we left this pest-house, and stepping on board my man of war, rowed up till we arrived before a creek, called Barbacoeba, where we once more came to an anchor.

On the following day we continued to row farther up the river, till we came before the Cormoetibo Creek, where we moored the fleet, as being my head station, by Colonel Fourgeoud's command. Here we saw nothing but water,

wood, and clouds ; no trace of humanity, and consequently the place had a most dismal, solitary appearance.

On the 10th I detached the Cerberus to her station, viz. Upper Patamaca ; for which place she rowed immediately, with a long list of paroles, according to my orders, but which were never of any service.

We now tried to cook the victuals on board ; our furnace was a large tub filled with earth, and we succeeded, at the expence of having almost scalded one of my men to death, and at the hazard of setting the barge once more on fire. As we had no surgeon along with us, this office fell to my lot ; and, by the help of a small chest of medicines, I performed so well, that in a few days the scalded marine recovered.

To prevent, however, a similar accident again, I sought an opening in the creek above-named, which having found not very far from the mouth, I ordered my negroes to build a shed, and my men to dress their victuals below it, placing sentinels around them to prevent a surprise, and in the evening we returned to our station. This cooking we continued to perform every day, until the fourteenth, when we rowed down to Barbacoeba.

Here we built another shed on the 15th, for the same purpose ; and then, the rain already beating through my decks, we rowed down to Devil's Harwar for repair, where I put one of my negroes sick in the hospital.

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On the 16th, I got my deck caulked and payed, and sent an account of our arrival to Colonel Fourceoud.

On the 17th, we returned to Cormoetibo Creek, having lost an anchor among the roots of the mangrove-trees that on both sides line the banks of all the rivers in the colony. These trees are of two species, the red and the white, but the former is that of which I now speak: it rises from a number of roots that shew themselves above ground for several feet before they are joined together, and form the trunk, which is both large and tall; the bark is grey on the outside, but the inside is red, and used for tanning leather. The wood is reddish, hard, and good for building and other purposes; but the most remarkable property of this tree is, that from its extended branches, and even its trunk, descend thousands of ligneous shoots, like the ropes of a ship, which dropping to the earth, take root and again re-ascend, forming for a great circumference an impenetrable thicket, while, like so many props, they keep the tree steady in all weathers. The white mangrove is found mostly in places more distant from the water.

This evening my sentinel, when it was very dark, called out that he saw a negro, with a lighted tobacco-pipe, cross the Cormoetibo Creek in a canoe. We lost no time in leaping out of our hammocks; but were not a little mortified, when one of my slaves declared it was no more than a fire-fly on the wing—which actually was the case.

These

These insects are above an inch long, with a round patch under the belly, of a transparent greenish colour, which in the dark gives a light like a candle: its eyes are also very luminous, and by the light of a couple of these flies one may see very well to read small print. There is another species, which is smaller, and only to be observed when they fly elevated, at which time they appear like the intermitting sparks of fire emitted from the forge of a blacksmith.

On the 18th, having nothing else to do, I shot a bird, which is here called a *tigri-fowlo*, or tiger-bird, but which I take to be of the heron species; it is about the size of a heron, but of a reddish colour, covered over with regular black spots, from which it has derived its name: its bill, which is long and strait, as also the legs and toes, are of a pale green colour, and seem to indicate that it lives upon fish: the neck is also long, from which hangs down a kind of hoary feathers. On the head, which is small, it has a roundish black spot, and its eyes are a beautiful yellow.

By a water-patrol from the *Cerberus* I received intelligence this evening, that the men began to be sickly; and on the following day I was informed, that on the spot where we had dressed our victuals, in the *Cormoetibo* Creek, and which is on the rebel side of the river, a strong detachment had lately been murdered by the enemy. I therefore ordered the shed to be burnt to the ground, and the meat to be dressed on board the barges. Here
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all the elements now seemed to unite in opposing us ; the water pouring down like a deluge, the heavy rains forced themselves fore and aft into the vessel, where they set every thing afloat ; the air was infested with myriads of musquitoes, which, from sun-set to sun-rising, constantly kept us company, and prevented us from getting any sleep, and left us in the morning besmeared all over with blood, and full of blotches. The smoke of the fire and tobacco, which we burnt to annoy them, was enough to choke us ; and not a foot-step of land could we find, where we might cook our salt provisions in safety. To all this misery may be added, that discord broke out between the marines and the negroes, with whom, as promises or threats had as yet no weight, I was obliged to have recourse to other means. I tied up the ringleaders of both parties ; and after ordering the first to be well flogged, and the latter to be horse-whipped for half an hour, after due suspense and expectation, I pardoned them all without one lash. This had equally the effect of the punishment, and peace was perfectly re-established ; but to prevent approaching disease was totally out of my power. Not all the golden rules in Doctor Armstrong's beautiful poem upon health could avail in this situation.

We rowed down on the 20th, till we arrived before the Casepoere Creek, in hopes of meeting some relief, but were equally uncomfortable. So very thiek were the musquitoes now, that by clapping my two hands together,

gether, I have actually killed to the number of thirty-eight at one stroke.

In rowing down to Barbacoeba, we saw one or two beautiful snakes swim across the river. In the course of our progress we occasionally met with a little relief, by stepping ashore under the shade. I now had recourse to the advice of an old negro.—“Caramaca,” said I, “what methods do you take to preserve your health?”—“Swim every day twice or thrice, Sir,” said he, “in the river. This, Masara, not only serves for exercise where I cannot walk, but keeps my skin clean and cool; and the pores being open, I enjoy a free perspiration. Without this, by imperceptible filth, the pores are shut, the juices stagnate, and disease must inevitably follow.”—Having recompensed the old gentleman with a dram, I instantly stripped and plunged headlong into the river. I had, however, no sooner taken this leap, than he called to me for God’s sake to come on board; which having done with much astonishment, he reminded me of the alligators, as well as of a fish which is here called *pery*.—“Both these, Sir,” said he, “are exceedingly dangerous, but by following my directions you will run no hazard. You may swim entirely naked, only take care that you constantly keep in motion; for the moment you are quiet, you run the risk of their snapping off a limb, or being dragged to the bottom.”

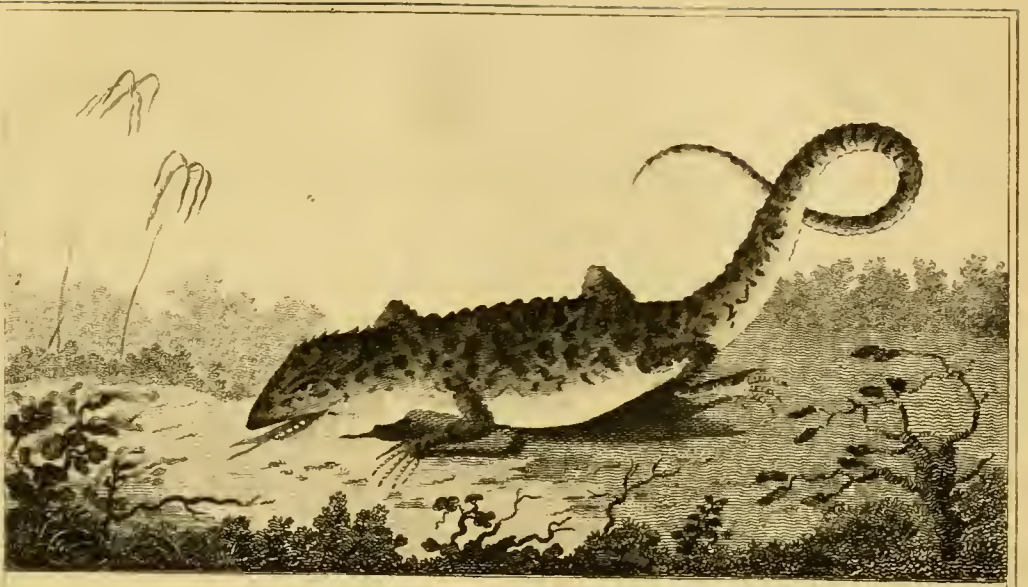
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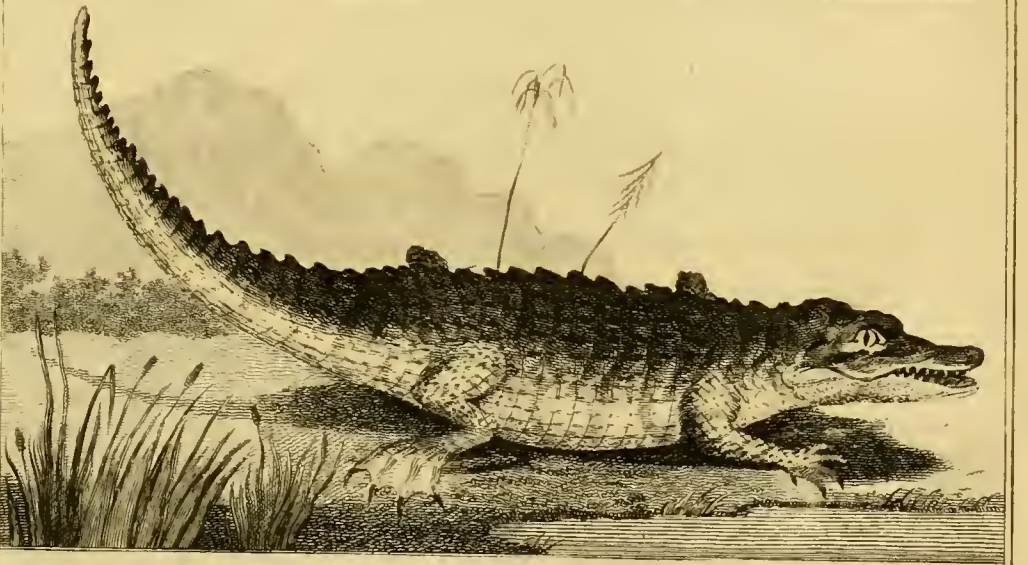
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Having mentioned the alligator, I shall take the liberty to offer to the reader (though he cannot but have met with some account of this creature in reading different voyages) some particulars which I have myself observed, or of which I have been informed on the best authority.

It is an amphibious animal, and found in most rivers in Guiana; its size is from four to eighteen or twenty feet in length; the tail as long as the body, both of which are on the upper part indented like a saw, its shape being something like a lizard; the colour on the back is a yellowish brown, approaching to black, variegated on the sides with greenish shades, the belly being a dirty white; the head is large, with a snout and eyes somewhat resembling those of a sow; the last immoveable, and guarded each by a large protuberance or hard knob. The mouth and throat, extremely wide, are beset with double rows of teeth, that can snap almost through any bone: it has four feet, armed with claws and hard sharp-pointed nails. The whole animal is covered over with large scales, and a skin so thick that it is invulnerable, even by a musquet-ball, except in the head or the belly, where it is most liable to be wounded; its flesh is eaten by the natives, but is of a musky taste and flavour, owing it is said to a kind of bags or bladders which are on the inside of each limb. The alligator lays its eggs on the shore to a great number in the sand, where they are hatched by the sun, the males



The Siquana or Iguana Lizard of Guiana.



The Alligator or Cayman of Surinam.

males eating the greater portion of them. On land this animal is not dangerous, for want of activity, but in the rivers, where he is often seen lurking for his prey, with his muzzle alone above water, something like the stump of an old tree, he is truly tremendous to all that approach him; yet of man, as I have seen, he is afraid, during the time he keeps his hands and feet in motion, but no longer. Some negroes even have the courage to attack and vanquish the alligator in his own element, notwithstanding his violent strength and unequalled ferocity, being particularly fond of human flesh.

The difference between the above animal and the crocodile (which is also found in Surinam) consists not merely in the name, but in the shape and in the nature also, the latter being longer and more slender in proportion, and not so ferocious; the alligator or cayman (as called by the natives and negroes) is besides more frequently met with than the crocodile, which partly may be the cause of its being supposed to be more destructive. I shall only add, that in *Asia* there is a considerable difference to be found, upon a nice examination, between the above two reptiles, where they are also larger than they are in any parts of America.

Had it not been for an accident, these creatures would never have been known by any other name than that of crocodile: for had the first navigators seen any thing more resembling their form than a lizard, they would

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have adopted that which the Indians called them by, *viz.* the *cayman*; but the Spanish sailors remarking their great resemblance to that little reptile, they called the first of them which they saw *lagarto*, or lizard. When our countrymen arrived, and heard that name, they called the creature *a-lagarto*, whence is derived the word *alligato*, or alligator.

The great advantage of such repositories of Natural History as the British Museum is, that they enable the lover of nature and truth to be satisfied by his own eyes of the extraordinary and almost incredible productions of nature. In the above-named collection may be seen a crocodile, differing in some particulars, but chiefly in its dimensions, from the creatures of the same name in other parts of India. Though so numerous in *Bengal*, I never heard upon good authority of one much larger than this, which measures above twenty-one feet. It was taken in the river *Indus*, but not till it had received on many parts of its body several three-pound balls, many of which could not penetrate, or produce the least effect against his scales.

As I cannot so easily produce my voucher, I must pledge my veracity for another specimen, which I have myself seen; which proves to me that there have been some of this species of more than twice the size of that which may be measured in the Museum.

At *Maestricht*, in 1781, I saw the head of a crocodile petrified,

petrified, which had been dug out of Mount *Saint Pierre*: the body of which, by calculation, must have measured above sixty feet in length.—Query, When, or how, did this animal come *there*? Yet *there* with astonishment I beheld it, in the possession of a priest, who since sent it to Paris as a very great curiosity.

In Guiana there are said to be lizards of the size of five or six feet; but that species which is here called the *iguana*, and by the Indians the *wayamaca*, is seldom above three feet long. From the head to the extremity of the tail, it is covered over with small scales, reflecting very brilliant colours in the sun; the back and legs are of a dark blue, the sides and belly of a yellowish kind of green, as also the bag or loose skin which hangs under its throat. It is spotted in many parts with brown and black, and its eyes are a beautiful pale red, while the claws are of a deep chesnut colour.

This lizard, like the alligator, has its back and tail indented, both which are formed into a sharp edge. It lays its eggs in the sand, and is often seen among the shrubs and plants, where the Indians shoot it with their bows and arrows. These people esteem its flesh, which is very white, as a great delicacy; it is sold dear at Paramaribo, and bought as a dainty by many of the white inhabitants. This creature's bite is extremely painful, but seldom attended with bad consequences.

But to return to my negro, Caramaca: I acknowledge his account at first discouraged me from the plan of daily bathing for health; but finding by following his direction that the dangers he represented were to be avoided, I resolved to follow it, and derived great benefit from the practice as long as I remained in the colony. This negro also advised me to walk bare-footed and thinly dressed. “Now is the season, Massera,” said he, “to use your feet to become hard, by walking on the smooth boards of the vessel; the time may come when you will be obliged to do so for want of shoes, in the midst of thorns and briars, as I have seen some others. Custom,” said he, “Massera, is second nature: our feet were all made alike. Do so as I advise you; and in the end you will thank old Caramaca. As for being thinly dressed,” continued the negro, “a shirt and trowsers is fully sufficient; which not only saves trouble and expence, but the body wants air, as well as it does water: so bathe in both when you have the opportunity.”—From that moment I followed his counsels, to which, besides being cleanly and cool, I in a great measure ascribe the preservation of my life. I now frequently thought on Paramaribo, where I enjoyed all the delicacies of life; while here I was forced to have recourse to many expedients much worse than any savage; yet should I not have repined had any person profited by our sufferings.—But I

am forgetting the articles of war, *viz.* implicitly to obey, and ask no questions.

Having, on the 22d, sent my serjeant and one man sick to the hospital at Devil's Harwar, we now rowed again to the head station before Cormoetibo Creek.

Here one of my negroes caught some fish, amongst which was the torporific eel already described, which he dressed and eat with his companions; the others were the *pery* and *que-quee*: the *pery* was that mentioned by the old slave as dangerously rapacious. This fish is sometimes near two feet long, of a flattish make, scaly, and of a bluish colour; the mouth large, and thick set with sharp teeth, which are so strong, and the *pery* so voracious, that it frequently snaps off the feet of ducks when swimming, nay even the toes, the fingers, and the breasts of women. The *que-quee* may be called a fish in armour, being covered over from head to tail with brown coloured moveable rings, sliding the one over the other, and joined like those of a lobster, which serve for its defence in place of scales. This last is from six to ten inches long, with a large head and of a roundish shape. Both the *pery* and the *que-quee* are very good eating.—But I must for some time lay aside the description, and return to my journal.

The 23d being the day appointed by Captain Orzinga and myself for the trial of the signals, at twelve o'clock precisely the whole number of blunderbusses and swivels were

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were fired at Devil's Harwar on board the Charon, and on board the Cerberus, still stationed at Patamaca; which proved to be to no purpose, no person on board either of the vessels having been able to hear the report of the guns fired by the other. During this, however, I met with a small accident, by firing myself one of the blunderbusses, which I placed like a musquet against my shoulder; when I received such a stroke by its rebounding as threw me backward over a large hogshead of beef, and had nearly dislocated my right arm. This however it seems was owing to my ignorance of the manner of using the blunderbuss, as I have since been informed that all such weapons ought to be fired under the hand, especially when heavy charged; and then by swinging round the body suddenly, the force of the rebound is broken, and the effect scarcely sensible. I insert this only to shew in what manner heavy-loaded muscatoons ought always to be fired; especially since, without any aim, the execution from their wide mouth is almost equally fatal.

On the 26th, by a canoe that came down from Patamaca, I received intelligence that the Cerberus was in danger of being surprised by the enemy, who had been discovered hovering round about her; and the part of the river where she was moored being very narrow, I considered her situation as critical. I therefore immediately rowed the Charon up before the Pinneburgh Creek; and having manned the yawl, as being the most expeditious,

went myself, with six men, to their assistance: but was agreeably surprised at finding the whole to be a false alarm. In the evening we returned back to our station. In rowing down I was astonished at being hailed by a human voice, which begged me for God's sake to step on shore. This I did, with two of my men; when I was accosted by a poor old negro woman, imploring me to afford her some assistance. It seems she was the property of a Jew, to whom belonged the spot of ground where I found her, and where the poor creature lived quite alone, in a hut not larger than a dog-kennel, surrounded by a wilderness, with only a few plantain-trees, yams, and cassava, for her support. She was no longer of use to work on the great estate, and was banished here only to support her master's right to the possession, since this spot had been ruined by the rebels. Having left with her a piece of salt beef, some barley, and a bottle of rum, I took my leave, when she offered me in return one of her cats: but this I could not accept; for by this token, I mean upon the information of the cats, my negro rowers firmly insisted that she must be a witch; which evinces that this superstition is not confined to Europe.

In this creek, the banks of which on both sides are covered with mangrove trees, thorns, and briars, we found floating on the surface of the water a kind of large white nut, which seemed to have dropped of themselves by ripeness from the shell. They are sweet, crisp, and exceedingly

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ingly good eating ; but I neglected to inquire from what tree they had fallen. A kind of water shrub, called the *mocco-mocco*, is here also to be found in great quantities. It grows about six or eight feet high, thick at bottom, jointed and prickly all the way to the top, where it is very small, and divided into three or four large smooth oval leaves, which possess almost the quality of blistering by their violent adhesion to the skin.

As we approached the Charon in the evening, I found my sentinel fast asleep, which enraged me so much, that having quietly entered on board the barge, I fired my pistol close to his ear, just over his head, assuring him that I would the next time blow it through his brains : the whole crew flew to their arms, and the poor fellow had nearly leaped into the water. But however it might be necessary to threaten in this manner, at a post where a surprise might be fatal, it would have been excessive cruelty to have executed it in such a situation, where the bite of the musquitoes rendered it impossible to reckon upon sleep at stated times ; and thus the interruption of it at one time made the approach of it unavoidable at another.

We now returned, on the 27th, to Cormoetibo Creek, where my negroes, having been ashore to cut wood for the furnace, brought on board a poor animal alive, with all its four feet chopped off with the bill-hook, and which lay still in the bottom of the canoe. Having freed it
from



The Wai, the Wuan, or the Sheep & Dog Natch

from its torment by a blow on the head, I was acquainted that this was the *sloth*, called *loyaree* or *heay* by the natives, on account of its plaintive voice. It is about the size of a small water-spaniel, with a round head something like that of a monkey, but its mouth is remarkably large; its hinder legs are much shorter than those before, to help it in climbing, being each armed with *three* very large and sharp claws, by which it holds its body on the boughs, but which, as being offensive weapons, my negroes had so cruelly chopped off: its eyes are languid, and its voice is squeaking, like that of a young cat. The greatest particularity of this creature however is, that its motion is so very slow, that it often takes two days to get up to the top of a moderate tree, from this it never descends while a leaf or a bud is remaining; beginning its devastation first at the top, to prevent its being starved in coming to the bottom, when it goes in quest of another, proceeding incredibly slow indeed while on the ground. Some say, that to avoid the pain of exercising its limbs, it forms itself into a ball, and drops down from the branches: that may be true or not, but this I know to be a fact, that it cannot mend its pace.

Of these animals there are two species in Guiana, *viz.* the *Ai* and the *Unan*; but in Surinam distinguished by the names of the *Sicapo* and *Dago luyaree*, or the Sheep and the Dog Sloth, on account of their hair; that of the

first being bushy, and of a dirty grey, while the other is lank and reddish-coloured. This last has also but *two* claws on each foot, and the head is less round than the former. Both these creatures, by forming themselves in a clow, have often more the appearance of excrescences in the bark, than that of animals feeding upon the foliage, which frequently prevents them from being discovered by the natives and negroes, who devour their flesh with avidity.

Now came down from Patamaca, on the 28th, Lieutenant *Stromer*, the commander of the *Cerberus*, in a burning fever, and scorched by the sun in an open canoe, drinking cold water from the river as his only relief. In this situation, a Jew soldier, of the Society post La Rochelle, accompanied him, with the account that the rebels had actually passed the creek two days before, one mile above the *last* estate, as had been first reported, *viz.* marching from east to west.—He at the same time delivered to me a negro woman, with a sucking infant, who had formerly been stolen by the rebels, and had now found means to make her escape. From below I received also the news, that Major *Medlar* had sent to town from the *Jew Savannah* two dried hands of the enemy, killed by the rangers; that an officer with ten men and some provisions were landed at Devil's Harwar, there to be under my command; and that one of my marines at that place was dead.

The

The same dispatches brought an order for me to look out for a dry spot, and, if possible, to build a temporary storehouse.

I immediately detached my lieutenant, Mr. *Hammer*, to take the command of the *Cerberus*, and having weighed anchor, rowed down till I arrived before the Casepory Creek, where we passed such a night as no pen can describe:—The sick groaned, the Jew prayed aloud, the soldiers swore, the negroes intreated, the women sung, the child squeaked, the fire smoked, the rains poured down, and the whole vessel stunk to such a degree, that I began to think myself but little better off than the unfortunate persons who were confined in the black hole at Calcutta. At six o'clock the next morning, however, the joyful sun broke through the clouds, and I dropped down with the *Charon* before Devil's Harwar.

On the 29th, I delivered my sick officer and five sick men, besides my other passengers, for whom I had done all that was in my power, but that was very little; and having stowed the newly-arrived provisions in a proper place, I once more returned to my dreadful station, where I came to an anchor on the first of August.

The following day, between the showers, we saw great numbers of monkies, of which I shot one, and having had no fresh meat for a long time, I ordered it to be dressed, and eat it with a good appetite. We were at this time in a shocking situation, not only wanting refreshment, but

CHAPTER. the men's clothes and hammocks were rotting from day to
 VII. day, not only from their being almost constantly wet, but being also composed of the very worst materials sent from Holland.

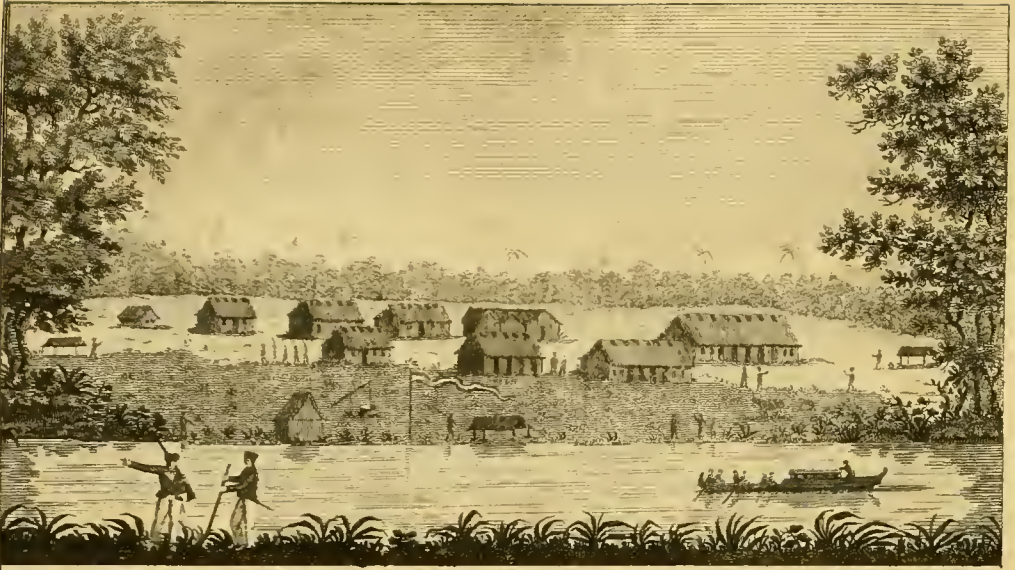
On the third, I received the account that Lieutenant Stromer was dead at Devil's Harwar.

On the fourth, we dropped down before the place, to bury him directly, in the hope of doing it with decency, but we were disappointed; for having contrived to make a coffin of old boards, the corpse dropped through it before it reached the grave, and exhibited a shocking spectacle: we nevertheless found means to go through the rest of the interment with some decorum, having covered it over with a hammock by way of a pall; then fired three vollies with all the troops that had strength to carry arms. This being over, I regaled the officers with a glass of wine, and once more took a farewell of Devil's Harwar.

On the sixth, having first written to Colonel Fourgeoud, to acquaint him that the rebels had passed above La Rochelle, and that I had found a spot for a magazine at Barbacoeba, I informed him also of the death of my lieutenant, Mr. Stromer; and recommended my serjeant, who had been an officer of hussars, for advancement.

To give the reader some idea of this spot called Devil's Harwar, I will here take the opportunity to describe it.

This place was formerly a plantation, but is now entirely occupied.



View of the Post Devil's Harwar, on Rio Cottica.



The Armed Barges, commanded by Capt. Hedman.

occupied by the military, who keep here a post, to defend the upper parts of the river Cottica. The soil is elevated and dry, which makes it the more remarkable that it should be so extremely unwholesome, yet such it certainly is: and here hundreds of soldiers have been buried. It lies on the right side of the river as you go upwards, and had formerly a path of communication with the river Pirica, on which were a few military guards; but this is now little frequented, and quite overgrown.

The buildings on Devil's Harwar are all made of the *pina* or manicole-tree; which tree, and the manner of using it for houses, &c. I shall afterwards attempt to describe: but now must content myself with only saying, that on this post the buildings consist of a dwelling-house for the commanding-officer, with four very good rooms; another for the subalterns; a good lodge for the private soldiers; and an hospital for the sick, which is large and roomy: but this is no more than is necessary, as it never is without inhabitants. There is also a powder and victualling magazine, proper kitchens, a bakehouse, &c. besides a well with fresh water. The Society troops feed a flock of sheep, pigs, and poultry at this place, for the use only of the hospital: here was also at this time a cow, which had been allotted for the rangers after Boeccow was taken, but the feast had not been kept at this place. She had now a calf, and afforded milk for the officers to their tea, &c. but for us poor fellows in the barges there

was

CHAPTER VII. was nothing at all of the kind. I may add, that some of the officers had also little gardens here, which afforded them salad, &c.

The circumstance which renders Devil's Harwar so unhealthy, in my opinion, is the myriads of musquitoes that prevent the people from rest, and the multitudes of *chigoes* or sand-fleas which abound in that station.

On the seventh, I arrived again at Cormoetibo Creek, where I resolved to make a landing on the south shore at all hazards, for my own soldiers to cook their beef and barley; concluding it as well to be shot by the enemy at once, as to be gradually consumed to death on board the *Charon*. It was, however, a difficult task to find the smallest spot for the purpose, the whole of that shore being so very marshy, and over-grown with every kind of underwood, that we could scarcely put our new project in execution; till at last, my negroes having made a temporary kind of bridge, to step from the yawl upon a small speck of dry ground, and having formed a slight shed of manicole leaves to keep off the rain, we found means to keep in a fire, and were infinitely more comfortable than we were on board the *Charon*. Our danger in this situation, however, was certainly greater than in our former station; since an old rebel settlement was not very far from this place, which was called Pinneburgh, from a neighbouring creek; though others allege that it obtained this name from the sharp pins stuck in the ground, like
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crow-feet, or *chevaux de frize*, with which the rebels had formerly fortified and defended it. Notwithstanding this village had been demolished, it was well known that the rebels still frequently visited the spot, to pick up some of the yams and casadas (which the ground continued, in its uncultivated state, to produce) for a temporary subsistence. I was indeed almost absolutely convinced that the rebels, who had lately passed above La Rochelle in Patamaca, were at this moment encamped at the above spot Pinneburgh, and ready to commit some depredations on the estates on the river Cottica or Pirica, if not to attack ourselves; on this account I always kept double sentinels round the landing-place, and gave orders that no men should be allowed to speak or make any kind of noise while on that spot, in order that we might hear the smallest rustling of a leaf, and so obviate our danger by vigilance and alacrity.

On the 8th my other officer, Macdonald, fell sick, but refused to be sent to Devil's Harwar, as he would not suffer me to be left quite by myself.

I have said that we had no surgeon, but carried with us a parcel of medicines, which consisted of emetics, cathartics, and powders, of which I knew not the proper use. At their desire, however, I daily distributed them to the men, who, loading their stomachs with heavy salt provisions, and using no exercise, had sometimes occasion for art to assist nature. But these briny meals of pork
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and beef, Colonel Fourceoud insisted were much more wholesome food in a tropical country than fresh provisions; for, by a most curious theory, he asserted that the latter corrupted in the stomach by the heat, whereas the others underwent a proper digestion. Unfortunately for us, there were but few on board either the Cerberus or the Charon whose stomachs were in a state to digest such food. I had also some plasters on board the barge, but these were soon expended by the running ulcers, with which the whole crew was covered; and this was easily accounted for, since in this climate, where the air is impregnated with myriads of invisible animalculæ, the smallest scratch immediately becomes a running sore. The best antidote and cure for such complaints in this country is lemon or lime acid, but this we had not. The next best mode of treatment is never to expose an open wound, or even the smallest scratch, to the air; but the instant they are received, to cover them with grey paper wetted with spirits, or any kind of moisture, so that it may stick to the skin. For my own part, no man could enjoy a better state of health than I continued to enjoy, wearing nothing but my long trowsers, and checked shirt loose at the collar and turned up in the sleeves. Nay, even when the sun was not too hot, I stripped all together, and twice every day continued to plunge into the water: by these means I was always cool and clean; I also daily used a cheering glass of wine, having first hung it a few

fathoms under water, which rendered it much more cool and pleasant.

During all these hardships, I must not forget the high gratification which was afforded us one day by a few marcusas that we found in this place, which had been left there standing ever since the estate, many years ago, had been destroyed. There was indeed but one single old tree, I should rather say a shrub, for the plant which bears them falls more properly under that description. This delicious fruit is of an oval form, and of an orange or golden colour; the blossom resembling the passion flower. They are commonly larger, but some less than a hen's egg, and are broken open as one would break an egg; they are then found to inclose an ash-coloured succulent jelly, full of small seeds. This is sipped out of the shell, being sweet mixed with acid, of an exquisite flavour, and so cool that it reminds one of ice marmalade.

Here we remarked a variety of beautiful butterflies, particularly some of an azure blue, which are exceedingly large, and between the showers skimmed and hovered amongst the green boughs, to which their ultramarine hue, brightened by the sun, bore the most enchanting contrast: but as I could not catch one of them while I staid here, I must defer the farther description to another part of the work.

This evening we heard the sound of a drum, which we

could suppose to be no other than that of the rebels ; nevertheless we determined to continue dressing our victuals ashore, still keeping on our guard, according to the advice of Mr. Klynhams.

On the 9th Mr. Macdonald was much worse ; however, on seeing me receive a letter from Colonel Fourceoud, he seemed to revive, as we all did, expecting now to be relieved from our horrid situation. But what was our mortification, at reading that we were still to continue on this forlorn station ! This letter was accompanied by a present of fish-hooks and tackle, to make up for the deficiency of other refreshments ; and, indeed, of salt provisions, which began daily to get both worse and less—

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

The receipt of such unwelcome intelligence made the whole crew declare they were sacrificed for no manner of purpose ; while the negroes sighed, pronouncing the words, *Ah ! poty backera !* Oh ! poor Europeans ! By the distribution however of a few tamarinds, oranges, lemons, and Madeira wine, which were by this opportunity sent me by my best friend at Paramaribo, I found means to impart, not only to my officers, but also to my drooping soldiers, some relief. But this cheering sun-shine could not last long : and the day following we were as much distressed as ever, when I had once more recourse

to the nimble inhabitants of the forest, and brought down two monkeys with my gun from the top of the mangroves, where they were sporting in flocks consisting of some hundreds.

On the 11th, I sent two men sick to the hospital, and the same evening we again heard the drums. On the following day, at noon, we were disturbed by a hurricane; the *Charon* broke loose from her anchors, and was driven ashore, her upper works being terribly damaged by the stumps of trees, &c. that hung over the river, while the water from the clouds broke in upon us like a torrent, and I expected no less than a shipwreck.

On the 15th the other officer, Lieutenant Baron Owen, came down sick from the *Cerberus*, and at his request I ventured to send him down to Paramaribo. I now received another letter from Colonel Fourceoud, with a little money for the men to purchase refreshments, where nothing was to be met with: but not a word intimating that we were to be relieved.

On the 20th I received a report, that the *Cerberus*, having only four private men left, had retired to the post at La Rochelle; and, on the 21st, I sent two of my men to her assistance, and ordered her back to her former station.

I now was myself at last attacked with a fever, and upon the whole felt myself in a truly distressed condition; de-

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prived by sickness of my two only officers, and my serjeant. My men upon the three stations (*viz.* the two barges and Devil's Harwar together) melted down to fifteen, from the number of forty-two, without a surgeon, or refreshment, surrounded with a black forest, and exposed to the mercy of relentless enemies; who must be formidable indeed, should they be informed by any means of our defenceless situation. The remaining few were, with truth, declaring they were doomed to destruction; insomuch, that they could with difficulty be prevented from mutiny, and from proceeding down the river Cottica with the Charon against my orders.

For my own part, I was not altogether free from uneasiness. In fact, a few troops from all quarters ought to have marched against the enemy, when they crossed the Patamaca Creek; that is, from La Rochelle, Devil's Harwar, and the river Pirica; when, being assailed at once from three quarters, the rebels might have been, if not entirely routed, at least severely punished for their presumption: not to speak of the happy effect which such a check must have had in saving the lives and property of those victims, who, after such incursions, are generally devoted to their rage.

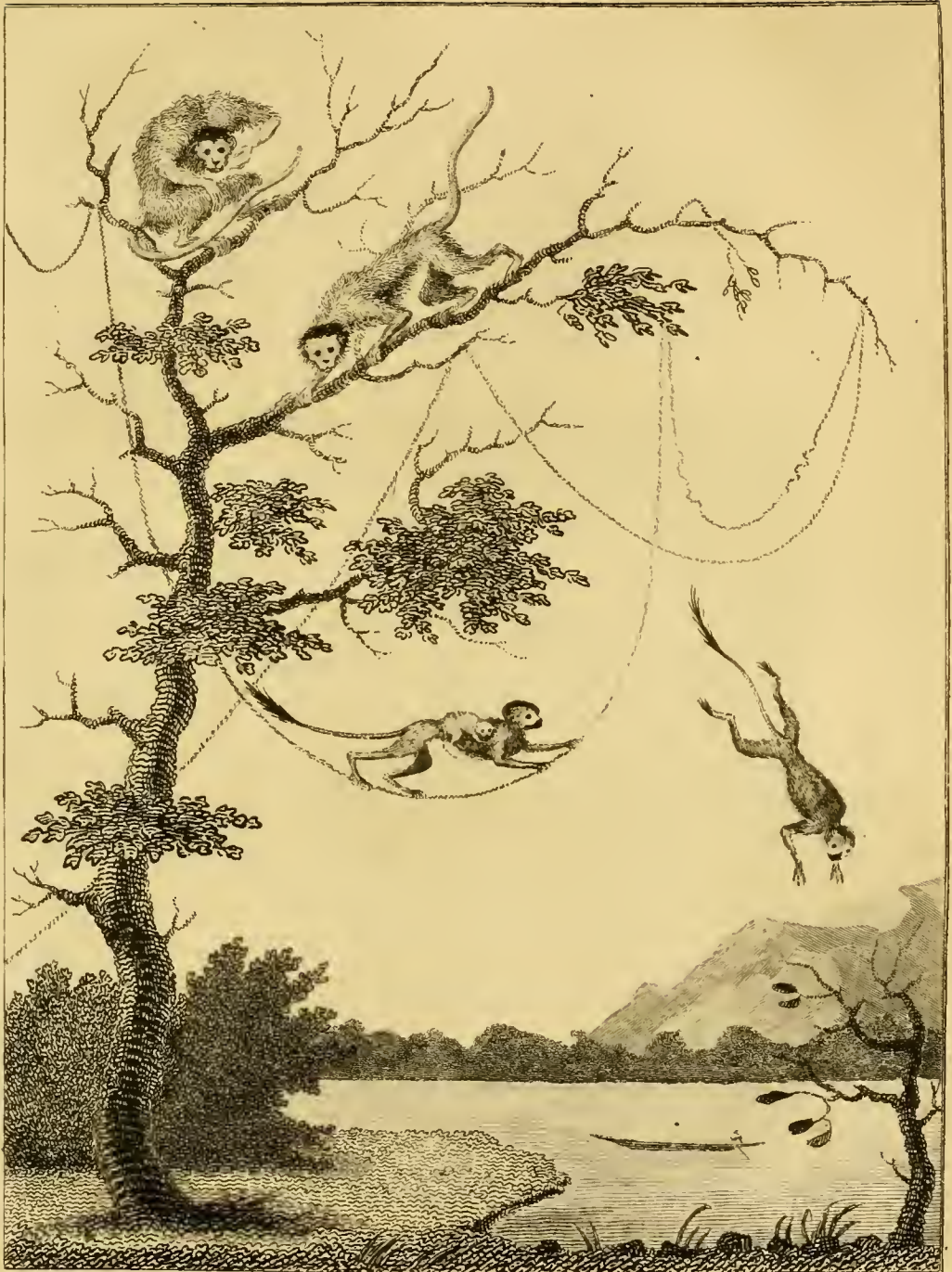
On the 23d I felt myself rather better; and between the fits of the fever shot a couple of large black monkeys to make some broth, to supply the want of fresh provisions:

sions: but as the destruction of one of these animals was attended with such circumstances, as for ever after had almost deterred me from going a monkey-hunting, I must beg leave to relate them as they happened:—Seeing me on the side of the river in the canoe, the creature made a halt from skipping after his companions, and being perched on a branch that hung over the water, examined me with attention, and the strongest marks of curiosity: no doubt, taking me for a giant of his own species; while he chattered prodigiously, and kept dancing and shaking the bough on which he rested with incredible strength and agility. At this time I laid my piece to my shoulder, and brought him down from the tree into the stream;—but may I never again be a witness to such a scene! The miserable animal was not dead, but mortally wounded. I seized him by the tail, and taking it in both my hands to end his torment, I swung him round, and hit his head against the side of the canoe; but the poor creature still continued alive, and looked at me in the most affecting manner that can be conceived, I knew no other means to end this murder, than to hold him under water till he was drowned, while my heart felt sick on his account: for his dying little eyes still continued to follow me with seeming reproach, till their light gradually forsook them, and the wretched animal expired. I felt so much on this occasion, that I could neither taste of him nor his companion, when they were dressed,

though

CHAPTER. though I saw that they afforded to some others a delicious
 VII. repast.

That monkees, especially when young, are no bad food, may easily be accounted for, since they feed on nothing but fruits, nuts, eggs, young birds, &c. ; and indeed, in my opinion, all young quadrupeds are eatable : but when one compares those which are killed in the woods to those filthy and disgusting creatures that disgrace the streets, no wonder that they should disgust the least delicate stomach. As for the wild ones, I have eaten them boiled, roasted, and stewed, and found their flesh white, juicy, and good : the only thing that disgusted me was, their little hands and their heads, which when dressed, being deprived of the skin, appeared like the hands and the skull of a young infant. I have already observed that there are in Guiana many different species, from the large ourang-outang to the very small sarcawinkee. The former, however, I never have seen, nor heard described, while I was in this country ; as for the latter, I shall describe him on another occasion, and shall only, for the present, give an account of those which I met with on this cruise. That which I shot the second instant is what is called in Surinam *micoo* : it is nearly the size of a fox, and of a reddish grey colour, with a black head and very long tail. Those I killed on the tenth were indeed exceedingly beautiful, and much more delicate when dressed than the former : they are called the *keesee-keesee* by the
 inha-



Blake sculpt.

The Hevoo & Kistee Kistee Monkeys.

inhabitants, are about the size of a rabbit, and most astonishingly nimble. The colour of their body is reddish, and the tail, which is long, is black at the extremity; but the fore-feet are orange colour. The head is very round, the face milk white, with a round black patch in the middle, in which are the mouth and the nostrils; and this disposition of the features give it the appearance of a mask: the eyes are black, and remarkably lively. These monkeys we saw daily pass along the sides of the rivers, skipping from tree to tree, but mostly about mid-day, and in very numerous bodies, regularly following each other like a little army, with their young ones on their backs, not unlike little knapsacks. Their manner of travelling is thus: the foremost walks to the extremity of a bough, from which it bounds to the extremity of one belonging to the next tree, often at a most astonishing distance, and with such wonderful activity and precision, that it never once misses its aim: the others one by one, and even the females, with their little ones on their backs, which stick fast to the mother, follow their leader, and perform the same leap with the greatest seeming facility and safety: they also are remarkable for climbing up the neebes or natural ropes, with which many parts of the forest are interwoven. These neebes grow in such a manner as to afford the appearance at first sight of a fleet at anchor.

The monkeys, I am told, have sometimes two young ones sucking, like the human species. I have been a wit-

ness

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ness how these animals towards sun-set ascend to the tops of the palm-trees, some of which are above one hundred feet in height, where they sleep safe in the large diverging branches. The *keesee-keesee* is such a beautiful and delicate fond creature, that it is by many people kept as a favourite, when it wears a silver chain. Besides its mimic drolleries, it is remarkable for its good-nature and chirruping voice, which pronounces *peeteeco peeteeco* without intermission. They are easily tamed, and are taken by means of a strong glue made by the Indians, which is something like our European bird-lime.

The other species; of the shooting of which I have just given the horrid account, were called by my negroes *monkee-monkee*. The only facts which I can relate farther of them is, that they are in size between the two former described, and all over black. One circumstance I ought not to omit, which is very remarkable, *viz.* that one morning I saw from my barge a monkey of this kind come down to the water's edge, rinsing his mouth, and appearing to clean his teeth with one of his fingers; he was first discovered by one of the slaves, who pointed him out to my great amusement.

Here I shall end the subject for the present, after adding that the above animals are sociable, and that they are very tenacious of life, as I have shewn. It is almost superfluous to mention, that the usual distinction between what are called monkees and apes, consists in this, that the

the first have all tails, of which the latter are divested; but never having met with in Guiana any of the latter description, I believe them more to be the inhabitants of Asia and Africa, than of the part of the new world distinguished by the name of South America. The monkies are often mischievous near the plantations, where they commit depredations on the sugar-canes, &c. yet of this I but one time have been a witness.

As I am speaking of the animals found in this part of the country, I must not omit the otters here, called *tavous*, which in the Cormoctibo Creek frequently attracted our attention by their disagreeable noise: as they are amphibious, they live mostly on fish; they are about three feet in length, grey-coloured, and all over spotted with white; their legs are short, they are web-footed, and armed with five claws; the head is round, the nose beset with whiskers like a cat; the eyes are small, and placed above the ears; the tail is very short. This animal moves awkwardly upon land, but in the rivers proceeds with great velocity. In Guiana it is said there is another species of otters, which are much larger, but these I never saw.

Notwithstanding the favourable appearances of the preceding day, I was, on the 24th, exceedingly ill indeed, not being able to sit up in my hammock, under which the black boy Quaco now lay, crying for his master, and on the following day the poor lad himself fell sick; at the

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same time I was also obliged to send three men in a fever to Devil's Harwar. As misfortunes often crowd together, I received, at this fatal period, the melancholy account that the officer, Mr. Ower, was also dead, having expired on his passage downwards at the Alida estate, where he was buried. My ensign, Mr. Cottenburgh, who had since gone to Paramaribo, died next; and for myself no better was now to be expected. In the height of a burning fever I now lay, forsaken by all my officers and men, without a friend to comfort me, and without assistance of any kind, except what the poor remaining negro slaves could afford me, by boiling a little water to make some tea. In this situation the reader may judge of the consolation which was afforded me, the very evening when these accumulated misfortunes seemed to threaten our extinction, by the receipt of an order from the colonel, to come down with both the barges to Devil's Harwar, where I was again to take post on shore, and relieve Captain Orzinga, of the Society service, who with his men was to proceed to La Rochelle in Patamaca, to strengthen the troops already there. Ill as I was, this had such a powerful effect on my spirits, that I immediately ordered the Cerberus down to the mouth of the Cormoetibo Creek, where she joined me that evening.

On the 26th, we bade farewell to this destructive place; and having weighed anchor, rowed down as far as Barba-

coeba, during which time a circumstance happened, which will probably prove more entertaining than the repeated accounts of sickness and deaths.

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As I was resting in my hammock, between the paroxysms of my fever, about half way between Cornoetibo and Barbacoeba, while the Charon was floating down, the sentinel called to me that he had seen and challenged something black and moving in the brushwood on the beach, which gave no answer; but which, from its size, he concluded must be a man. I immediately dropped anchor; and having manned the canoe, ill as I was, I stepped into it, and rowed up to the place mentioned by the sentinel. Here we all stepped ashore to reconnoitre, as I suspected it to be no other than a rebel spy, or a straggling party detached by the enemy; but one of my slaves, of the name of David, declared it was no negro, but a large amphibious snake, which could not be far from the beach, and I might have an opportunity of shooting it if I pleased. To this, however, I had not the least inclination, from the uncommon size of the creature, from my weakness, and the difficulty of getting through the thicket, which seemed impenetrable to the water's edge; and therefore ordered all of them to return on board. The negro then asked me liberty to step forward and shoot it himself, assuring me it could not be at any great distance, and warranting me against all danger. This declaration inspired me with so much pride and emulation, that I

determined to take his first advice, and kill it myself; provided he would point it out to me, and be responsible for the hazard, by standing at my side, from which I swore that if he dared to move, I should level the piece at himself, and blow out his own brains.

To this the negro cheerfully agreed; and having loaded my gun with a ball-cartridge, we proceeded; David cutting a path with a bill-hook, and a marine following, with three more loaded firelocks to keep in readiness. We had not gone above twenty yards through mud and water, the negro looking every way with an uncommon degree of vivacity and attention; when starting behind me, he called out, "Me see snakee!" and in effect there lay the animal, rolled up under the fallen leaves and rubbish of the trees; and so well covered, that it was some time before I distinctly perceived the head of this monster, distant from me not above sixteen feet, moving its forked tongue, while its eyes, from their uncommon brightness, appeared to emit sparks of fire. I now, resting my piece upon a branch, for the purpose of taking a surer aim, fired; but missing the head, the ball went through the body, when the animal struck round, and with such astonishing force as to cut away all the underwood around him with the facility of a scythe mowing grass; and by flouncing his tail, caused the mud and dirt to fly over our heads to a considerable distance. Of this proceeding however we were not torpid spectators, but took to our heels, and crowded
into

into the canoe. The negro now intreated me to renew the charge, assuring me the snake would be quiet in a few minutes, and at any rate persisting in the assertion that he was neither able nor inclined to pursue us; which opinion he supported by walking before me, till I should be ready to fire. And thus I again undertook to make the trial, especially as he said that his first starting backwards had only proceeded from a desire to make room for me. I now found the snake a little removed from his former station, but very quiet, with his head as before, lying out among the fallen leaves, rotten bark, and old moss. I fired at it immediately, but with no better success than the other time: and now, being but slightly wounded, he sent up such a cloud of dust and dirt, as I never saw but in a whirlwind, and made us once more suddenly retreat to our canoe; where now, being heartily tired of the exploit, I gave orders to row towards the barge: but David still intreating me to permit *him* to kill the animal, I was, by his persuasions, induced to make a third and last attempt, in company with him. Thus, having once more discovered the snake, we discharged both our pieces at once, and with this good effect, that he was now by one of us shot through the head. David, who was made completely happy by this successful conclusion, ran leaping with joy, and lost no time in bringing the boat-rope, in order to drag him down to the canoe; but this again proved not a very easy undertaking, since the creature, notwithstanding its
being

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being mortally wounded, still continued to writhe and twist about, in such a manner as rendered it dangerous for any person to approach him. The negro, however, having made a running noose on the rope, and after some fruitless attempts to make an approach, threw it over his head with much dexterity; and now, all taking hold of the rope, we dragged him to the beach, and tied him to the stern of the canoe, to take him in tow. Being still alive, he kept swimming like an eel; and I having no relish for such a shipmate on board, whose length (notwithstanding to my astonishment all the negroes declared it to be but a young one come to about its half growth) I found upon measuring it to be twenty-two feet and some inches, and its thickness about that of my black boy Quaco, who might then be about twelve years old, and round whose waist I since measured the creature's skin.

Being arrived alongside of the Charon, the next consideration was, how to dispose of this immense animal; when it was at length determined to bring him on shore at Barbacoeba, to have him skinned, and take out the oil, &c. In order to effect this purpose, the negro David having climbed up a tree with the end of the rope, let it down over a strong forked bough, and the other negroes hoisted up the snake, and suspended him from the tree. This done, David, with a sharp knife between his teeth, now left the tree, and clung fast upon the monster, which was still twisting, and began his operations by ripping it
up,



Blake Sculp^d

The skinning of the Moma Snake, shot by Cap. Hedman.

up, and stripping down the skin as he descended. Though I perceived that the animal was no longer able to do him any injury, I confess I could not without emotion see a man stark naked, black and bloody, clinging with arms and legs round the slimy and yet living monster. This labour, however, was not without its use, since he not only dexterously finished the operation, but provided me, besides the skin, with above four gallons of fine clarified fat, or rather oil, though there was wasted perhaps as much more. This I delivered to the surgeons at Devil's Harwar, for the use of the wounded men in the hospital, for which I received their hearty thanks, it being considered, particularly for bruises, a very excellent remedy. When I signified my surprise to see the snake still living, after he was deprived of his intestines and skin, Caramaca, the old negro, whether from experience or tradition, assured me he would not die till after sun-set. The negroes now cut him in slices, in order to dress and feast upon him, they all declaring that he was exceedingly good and wholesome; but to their great mortification I refused to give my concurrence, and we rowed down with the skin to Devil's Harwar.

Of this species several skins are preserved in the British and Mr. Parkinson's Museums. It is called by Mr. Westley *Lyboija*, and *Boa* in the British Encyclopædia, to which publication I refer the reader for a perfect account, and an excellent engraving, of this wonderful creature,

ture,

CHAP. ture, which in the colony of Surinam is called *Aboma*. Its
 VII. length, when full grown, is said to be sometimes forty feet,
 and more than four feet in circumference: its colour is a
 greenish black on the back; a fine brownish yellow on
 the sides, and a dirty white under the belly; the back and
 sides being spotted with irregular black rings, with a pure
 white in the middle. Its head is broad and flat, small in
 proportion to the body, with a large mouth, and a double
 row of teeth: it has two bright prominent eyes; is cover-
 ed all over with scales, some about the size of a shilling;
 and under the body, near the tail, armed with two strong
 claws like cockspurs, to help it in seizing its prey. It is
 an amphibious animal, that is, it delights in low and
 marshy places, where it lies coiled up like a rope, and
 concealed under moss, rotten timber, and dried leaves, to
 seize its prey by surprise, which from its immense bulk it
 is not active enough to pursue. When hungry, it will de-
 vour any animal that comes within its reach, and is indif-
 ferent whether it is a sloth, a wild boar, a stag, or even a
 tiger; round which having twisted itself by the help of its
 claws, so that the creature cannot escape, it breaks, by its
 irresistible force, every bone in the animal's body, which it
 then covers over with a kind of slime or slaver from its
 mouth, to make it slide; and at last gradually sucks it in,
 till it disappears: after this, the *aboma* cannot shift its
 situation, on account of the great knob or knot which the
 swallowed prey occasions in that part of the body where
 it

it rests till it is digested; for till then it would hinder the snake from sliding along the ground. During that time the *aboma* wants no other subsistence. I have been told of negroes being devoured by this animal, and am disposed to credit the account; for should they chance to come within its reach when hungry, it would as certainly seize them as any other animal. I do not apprehend that its flesh, which is very white, and looks like that of fish, is in any respect pernicious to the stomach. I should have had no objection to the negroes eating it till it was consumed, had I not observed a kind of dissatisfaction among the remaining marines, who would not have been pleased with my giving the negroes the use of the kettle to boil it. The bite of this snake is said not to be venemous; nor do I believe it bites at all from any other impulse than hunger.

I shall only add, that having nailed its skin on the bottom of the canoe, and dried it in the sun, sprinkling it over with wood-ashes to prevent it from corruption, I sent it to a friend at Paramaribo, whence it was since sent to Holland as a curiosity.

However extraordinary this account may appear to many readers, let them peruse the narrative which is related by a gentleman in the island of Ceylon, who saw a tiger killed there by a snake he calls the *anacunda*, but in a quite different manner, and their wonder will cease. I must add, however, that this gentleman's relation is so very marvel-

CHAP. lous, that, notwithstanding what I have experienced, I must
 VII. confess it very greatly staggered my faith*.

This business being ended, I also made an end of the cruise, by dropping down before the Society post Devil's Harwar, in order the next day to assume the command.

* Doctor Bancroft mentions the power of fascination in the *aboma*. This I am obliged to contradict. Nor can I, without great difficulty, attribute this quality even to the rattle-snake.

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Three Estates burnt, and the Inhabitants murdered by the Rebels—Real Picture of Misery and Distress—Specimen of a March through the Woods of Surinam—Colonel Fourgeoud and the remaining Troops leave Paramaribo.

ON the 27th of August I relieved Captain Orzinga with his men, and took the command of Devil's Harwar, having been on board the Charon exactly fifty-six days, in the most wretched condition that can be described: but I hoped now to get the better of my complaint by the help of a few refreshments, such as milk, &c. which could not be obtained in our former situation. The Society troops (above one hundred in number) being to set off next day with my empty barges to La Rochelle, in Patamaca, I reviewed my marines, when I found I had left out of five officers but two, who were both sick, the three others being dead; I had also only one serjeant, two corporals, and fifteen privates, out of fifty-four healthy men, who embarked with me on the 2d day of last July. This army was not more than sufficient to defend the hospital (which was crowded with sick), the ammunition and victualling magazine, &c. on a spot where lately had been

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kept three hundred soldiers, particularly while the enemy were certainly lurking not far off: in consideration of which, the Society Captain reinforced me with twenty of his men. The next evening he entertained me and my two subalterns with a supper of *fresh meat*, both roast and boiled, to our great comfort and surprise; but which, to my unspeakable mortification, proved to be the individual poor cow with her calf, on whom we had built all our hopes for a little relief. It appeared that one of his sentinels, as concerted between them, had shot it by a wilful mistake. Thus did Captain Orzinga, for the sake of a momentary gratification, deprive us all of that lasting comfort on which we had so much depended, and of which we had so much need, being altogether emaciated for want of wholesome and nutritive food.

On the morning of the 28th the Society troops rowed to Patamaca, when, examining the twenty soldiers they had left me, they proved to be the refuse of the whole, part with agues, wounds, ruptures, and rotten limbs, and most of them next day were obliged to enter the hospital.

On the 29th, having bastinadoed my late pilot for stealing from the soldiers, I dispatched the information to Colonel Fourgeoud, that I had taken post, and acquainting him with my weak situation, requested a proper reinforcement. In the evening two of my men died.

All things now being regulated and settled, I thanked Heaven in the expectation of getting some rest, being still

still



still extremely weak; and with these cheering hopes retired at ten o'clock at night to my hammock; but this tranquillity was again of short duration, for having scarcely closed my eyes I was awaked by my serjeant, and the following letter put into my hand, sent by an express from the captain of the militia, or bargers in Cottica.

“ SIR,

“ This is to acquaint you, that the rebels have burnt
 “ three estates by your side, Suyingheyd, Peru, and L’Es-
 “ perance, the ruins of which are still smoking; and that
 “ they have cut the throats of all the white inhabitants
 “ that fell in their way. As on their retreat they must
 “ pass close by where you are posted, be on your guard.
 “ —I am in haste.

“ Your’s, &c.

(Signed) “ STOELEMAN.”

Conscious of my defenceless situation, I immediately started up; and the express who brought the letter having spread the news the moment of his landing, there was no necessity for beating to arms, since not only the few soldiers who were well, but the whole hospital burst out; and several of them, in spite of my opposition, crawling on their hands and feet to their arms, dropped dead upon the spot.—May I never behold such another scene of misery and distress! Lame, blind, sick, and wounded, in
 the

CHAP. the hope of preserving a wretched existence, rushed upon
 VIII. certain death! They could only, in a word, be compared
 to the distressed army and navy at Carthage, commanded by the British Admiral Vernon, whom Thomson describes—

————— “ You, gallant Vernon, saw
 “ The miserable scene ; you, pitying, saw
 “ To infant weakness sunk the warrior’s arm ;
 “ Saw the deep-racking pang, the ghastly form,
 “ The lip pale quivering, and the beamless eye
 “ No more with ardour bright.”

For my own part, I was in a very weakly condition indeed ; however, we continued to lie all night on our arms, during which I pressed the messenger to stay, in order to add one to our miserable number, being determined to sell our lives as dearly as possible.—But no enemy appearing in the morning, we buried the dead in their hammocks, not having a board to make a coffin on the whole post. In this situation I lost all patience, and had the audacity to write to my commander, that (besides what had happened) my last men stood upon the brink of the grave, from hardships and for want of being properly supported ; the very waiters of the hospital having deserted on the moment of my arrival here, and gone to Paramaribo. Our whole number, indeed, was now melted down to twelve men, who were to protect twelve buildings, and

that with no more than two very small chests of ammunition, and no retreat for the sick, as the barges were gone to Patamaca, and the last canoe dispatched with my letter to Colonel Fourceoud; for I had set adrift that belonging to the express, who was a book-keeper of a neighbouring plantation, in order to prevent him or any other from making their escape. In this situation, I was now obliged to convert the slaves into soldiers: these I armed with a hatchet, not daring to trust them with a firelock. For this whole night we again watched under arms, and in the morning found two more of our little party dead on the ground.

I now began really to think we were all devoted to destruction, while the men, regardless of all order (self-preservation excepted) threw out the most bitter invectives against their persecutor, Fourceoud, which I could not prevent; nor can I help remarking the generalship of the rebel negroes, who had kept lying quiet till the removal of the Society troops from Devil's Harwar, and seized the very first day of their departure, convinced of its being guarded only by my sick and emaciated soldiers, in order to commit their depredations on the Cottica estates. They well knew that my force was not sufficient to pursue them, nay, hardly to stand in my own defence: all this, however, was but according to my expectation; while, on the contrary, had my strength been sufficient, they could never have escaped at least from being cut off

in

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in their retreat, especially if the troops in Rio Pirica had acted conjointly with those in Cottica, by patrolling the path between the two rivers, across which the rebels were twice unavoidably obliged to pass.

On the 1st of September we waited once more till morning, and then buried another of my poor men; while I yet cannot conceive how any one was able to survive such a series of toil, in such a debilitated state, and in a tropical climate; yet some did, though few. At length, being persuaded that the rebels must have past the cordon, without having thought proper to pay us a visit on their retreat, I determined to let the remaining few watch no longer, but permit them to die a natural death. At last, in the evening, when all was too late, there came down by water from the post La Rochelle to our assistance, one officer and ten men—I having had but nine left to do the duty at the time of their arrival.

On the 2d another man died; and I once more reviewed my forces, which now amounted exactly to seven marines, the few scarecrows of the Society excepted; however, the chance of being massacred by the rebels was at this time over, thanks alone to their pusillanimity, or rather their hurry!

I now received a letter from Colónel Fourgeoud, condoling with me on the loss of so many good officers, acquainting me that I was to be reinforced; and that on my recommendation my serjeant, Mr. de Cabanus, was appointed

appointed an ensign; which gave me pleasure, and took place at a very suitable time, since this day my poor ensign Macdonald was sent down very sick to Paramaribo. I answered to all this, that I was obliged to him; adding, that while I remained without reinforcement, I could not be accountable for what consequences might happen, in a place where I was left to defend a whole river with none but sick people; and even these without sufficient ammunition, and hourly expiring for want of proper medicines, or a surgeon to attend them, there being none here but one or two surgeon's mates belonging to the troops of the Society, who could do little more than occasionally draw blood, and cut off a beard or a corn.

On the 4th we buried another of my marines, and on the following day another died; and I had not one now remaining who was not ill, or who was not rendered unserviceable, by his feet being swelled with the insects called *chigoes*: these poor men were mostly Germans, who had been accustomed to a healthy climate in their own country. I began now to be reconciled to putting my last man under ground, and almost wishing to leap into the grave after him myself; when a barge arrived from Paramaribo with the proper reinforcement, ammunition, provisions, medicines, a surgeon, and an order from my chief to trace out the track of the rebels immediately, on the former path of communication called the Cordon, between Cottica and Perica, and to write him the result of my discoveries;

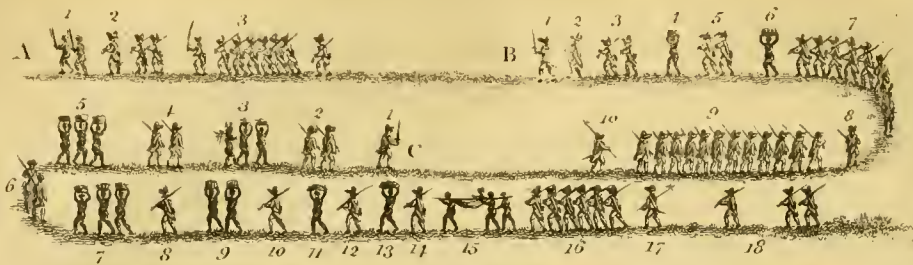
veries; he intimated also that he intended to keep his magazines at Devil's Harwar, and that I was not to make use of the spot I had found out for that purpose at Barbacoeba Creck.

On the 6th I prepared to march myself, having recovered a little strength, on the grand project of discovery, and then placed the ammunition in the magazine.

As the manner of marching in this country is so very different from that in Europe, I shall, before we set out, endeavour briefly to describe the nature of these expeditions.

In the first place, in Surinam no such thing is practicable as three or even two ranks; thus there is no marching by divisions or platoons;—but the whole party being dressed in one rank, face to the right, and every man follows his leader, the negro slaves interspersed between the men, in order to guard their persons as well as what they carry; and this manner of marching is called Indian file. With a detachment of sixty men, consisting of one captain, two subalterns, two serjeants, four corporals, one surgeon, and fifty privates, twenty negro slaves at least ought to be employed, for the use of whom their masters are paid at the rate of two shillings sterling a day by the colony; and this is a much greater expence than waggons and horses would be, which in this country cannot be employed for military service.

The manner of interspersing them amongst the troops



References to the above March.

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|---|--------------------------------|-----|
| 1. Two Negroes with Bill hooks to open a Path | Van | } A |
| 2. One Corporal & two Privates, to cover the Van . | | |
| 3. One Subaltern, Six Privates, & one Corporal .. | | |
| 1. The Captain or commanding Officer | Main Body | } B |
| 2. The Surgeon . | | |
| 3. Two Privates, to cover the Powder . | | |
| 4. A Negro with a Box of Ball Cartridges . | | |
| 5. Two Privates . | | |
| 6. A Negro with a Box of Ball Cartridges . | | |
| 7. Eight Privates . | | |
| 8. One Corporal . | | |
| 9. Twelve Privates . | | |
| 10. One Sergeant . | | |
| 1. A Subaltern Officer | Rear Guard or Corps de Reserve | } C |
| 2. Two Privates . | | |
| 3. Three Negroes, with Medicines, Kettles, Axes, Spades, &c . | | |
| 4. Two Privates . | | |
| 5. Three Negroes with Salt Beef, Salt Pork &c . | | |
| 6. Two Privates . | | |
| 7. Three Negroes, with Black Bread, or Rusk Biscuit . | | |
| 8. One Private . | | |
| 9. Two Negroes, with Kill-devil, or New Rum . | | |
| 10. One Private . | | |
| 11. One Negro, with the Captains Provisions . | | |
| 12. One Private . | | |
| 13. One Negro, with Provisions for the two Subaltern Officers . | | |
| 14. One Private . | | |
| 15. Three Negroes to carry the Sick & Wounded . | | |
| 16. Six Privates . | | |
| 17. One Sergeant . | | |
| 18. One Corporal & two Privates, to cover the Rear | | |

Marks to be cut on the Trees on a March.

- | | | | |
|------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | A + | B # | C ≡ |
| Fourcoud's | 1 st Column, Sub. A . | 2 ^d Ditto, Sub. B . | 3 ^d Ditto, Sub. C . |
| | D # | E ≡ | F ≡ |
| Society's | 1 st Column Sub. D . | 2 ^d Ditto, Sub. E . | 3 ^d Ditto, Sub. F . |

T. Comler Sculp.

Order of March thro' the Woods of Surinam.

is as follows: The foremost are generally two negroes, with bill-hooks to cut a way, so as to make a practicable path, with one corporal and two men to reconnoitre the front, and, in case of necessity, to give the alarm; and then one subaltern, six privates, and a corporal, form the van. Then follows, at some distance, the corps in two divisions; in the first, one captain, one corporal, twelve privates, one surgeon, and two negroes to carry the powder; in the second, is one serjeant and twelve privates; and then again follows, at some distance, the rear guard, consisting of one subaltern, one serjeant, one corporal, and eighteen privates, with sixteen negroes to carry the medicines, beef, bread, spades, axes, rum, &c.; the sick also are carried. The three last of all being one corporal and two men at a distance, to give the alarm in case of an attack, as the others had orders to do in the front; which ends the train.

Every thing being ready, according to the above rules, for my small party, which consisted of myself, an officer of the Society, Mr. Hertsbergh, one surgeon's mate, one guide, two serjeants, two corporals, forty privates, and only eight negro slaves to cut open the passage, and carry the baggage, we faced to the right at six o'clock in the morning, and sallied forth into the woods, keeping our course directly for the Perica river; and having marched till about eleven o'clock on the Cordon, I discovered, as I had expected, the track of the rebels by the marks of their footsteps in

CHAP. the mud, by the broken bottles, plantain-shells, &c. and
 VIII. found that by appearance it bore towards Pinneburgh,
 already mentioned.

I had now indeed found the nest, but the birds were flown. We continued our march till eight o'clock, when we arrived at the Society post Soribo, in Perica, in a most shocking condition, having waded through water and mire above our hips, climbed over heaps of fallen trees, and crept underneath on our bellies. This, however, was not the worst, for our flesh was terribly mangled and torn by the thorns, and stung by the Patat lice, ants, and *wassy-wassy*, or wild bees. This last is an insect not larger than an English blue-bottle fly, and is of a black colour, quite different from our bees; they are never kept in hives, but swarm wild in the forest, where they build in hollow trees or between the branches; their nests being sometimes as large as an inflated cow's bladder, to which they bear no bad resemblance, both in colour and smoothness, except in being less regularly oval; from these abodes (when the nest and the branches are inadvertently touched) thousands of warriors sally forth; and this little flying army is extremely formidable, pitching always by instinct on the eyes, lips, and hair, whence they cannot easily be dislodged; their stings generally cause a fever, and swell the parts so very much that they occasion blindness for several hours; their honey is of a dark-brown colour, and so is their wax, but gummy, being both of little value.

The worst of our sufferings, however, was the fatigue of marching in a burning sun, and the last two hours in total darkness, holding each other by the hand ; and having left ten men behind, some with agues, some stung blind, and some with their feet full of chigoes. Being in the most hospitable manner received at Soribo by the commanding officer, I went to my hammock very ill of a fever.

On the following morning I felt myself better for my night's rest ; but neither myself nor my men were able to march back, wherefore the other captain sent a small party of his soldiers to pick up the poor marines I had lost the day before, and of whom they brought with them seven, carried in hammocks tied to poles, each by two negroes, the other three having scrambled back to Devil's Harwar.

During our stay here I wrote a letter to Colonel Fourgeoud, couched in such terms as few people in their full senses would do to their commanders, *viz.* that I had found the path ; that if I had had support in time I might have cut off the enemy's retreat, instead of finding their footsteps only ; but that now all was too late, and the party all knocked up to no purpose. This letter, I have been since told, incensed him, as it is easy to suppose, in the highest degree. Being sufficiently refreshed to renew my march, we left Soribo on the 9th, at four o'clock in
the

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the morning, and at four o'clock P.M. arrived, after indescribable sufferings, at Devil's Harwar, covered over with mud and blood, and our legs and thighs cut and torn by the thorns and branches; most of the men being without shoes and stockings of necessity, while I, who had gone this march in the same condition from choice, had absolutely suffered the least of the whole party, by having inured myself gradually to walk barefooted on the barges.

At Devil's Harwar, I now found Lieutenant Colonel Westerloo and a quarter-master arrived to take the command, his troops not being expected till the next day. I was by this circumstance, however, made exceedingly happy, hoping at last to meet with some relief; and having ceded him my written orders, the magazine, hospital, &c. &c. I stripped and plunged into the river to wash myself and take a swim, by which (being before much overheated) I found myself greatly refreshed, as well as by receiving a quantity of fine fruit, Jamaica rum, wine and sugar, from Joanna;—but how did my blood chill, when the quarter-master told me, as a secret, that my serjeant, one Fowler, having first got drunk with my wine, offered violence to this poor woman; and that he was to be at Devil's Harwar next day, when I should see the marks of her just resentment on his face!

The reader will, I trust, excuse my violence, when I
tell

tell him, that I vowed immediate destruction to the villain : and having ordered a negro to cut twelve bamboo canes, I retired like a person deprived of his senses, determined to punish him according to his supposed crime.

On the 10th there arrived two subalterns, with a second barge full of men, ammunition, medicine, and provisions, which having marched into quarters and stowed, I sent for the hapless Fowler, whose face being in three places wounded, I locked him up in a room, and, without asking one question, broke six of the bamboos over his head, till he escaped all bloody out at the window, and my resentment gradually abated. He certainly had suffered much, but nothing equal to what were my sensations, at being still further informed, that Colonel Fourgeoud had seized all my effects, which he had sealed and locked up in an empty store-room, in expectation of my decease, which, according to all appearances, might be looked for ; while my house was given to another, by which means I could not procure so much as a clean shirt to relieve me from my disgraceful tatters : nevertheless, by the hope of going down myself, my spirits were supported. The other news, of more importance, was, that the hero in person, with most of the troops, had at last left Paramaribo ; that he had quartered them partly at Devil's Harwar, in Rio Cottica, the estate Bellair, in Rio Perica, and at the estates Clarenbeek, and Cravassibo, in Rio
Come-

Comewina; whence, conjunctly with the troops of the Society and the Rangers, he intended to move in quest of the rebels; that he had also ordered all the barges to be relieved at last, and their remaining troops to reinforce the above-mentioned posts, which I must remark was a very wise and well-planned regulation.

From Patamaca we were informed, that the rebels, on their repassing the river above La Rochelle, had again destroyed a small estate, and murdered its proprietor, a Mr. Nyboor.

It was either about this time, or very shortly after, that an overseer escaped by the assistance of a negro boy, who, desiring him to leap into a canoe, and lie down flat upon his belly, leaped himself into the water, where, by swimming with one hand, and guiding the canoe with the other, he ferried his master safe over the creek Patamaca, through a shower of musquet bullets, the rebels firing upon them all the while, but without execution; however, for this material piece of service, he was recompensed the week after with three hundred lashes by the same master, only for having forgotten to open one of the sluices or flood-gates.—On this act of inhumanity I shall make no comment, but proceed to my own miserable situation. Having remonstrated with Lieutenant Colonel Westerloo on the state of my health, which disabled me from joining the corps on their march, I
requested

requested that I might be removed to Paramaribo for the chance of recovery ; but this he peremptorily refused to allow me, by Colonel Fourceoud's express command. The refusal of so reasonable a request made me almost distracted, and agitated my spirits so much, that on the morning of the 12th, determined to exchange my wretched existence one way or other, I insisted on being immediately removed, or wished for *death*, which the surgeons declared must be the consequence soon, if I was not permitted to go down, and in the meanwhile I vowed that I should attribute my decease to their unprecedented barbarity. A consultation was now held on the subject ; and at last, not without great difficulties, a boat was ordered to row me down to Paramaribo, but no white servant was permitted to attend me. Thus leaving the Lieutenant Colonel employed in fortifying Devil's Harwar with pallisadoes, where now also was a numerous garrison, I at twelve o'clock at noon walked to the water side, supported by a negro, on whose shoulder I rested, till I at length stepped into the boat, followed by my black boy Quaco, and finally left the diabolical spot where I had buried so many brave fellows.

On the 14th, having rowed day and night, at two o'clock in the morning, we arrived at the town, extremely ill indeed ; where, having no residence of my own, I was hospitably received at the house of a Mr. De La

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Marre, a merchant: this gentleman not only received me, but immediately sent a servant for poor Joanna, who was at her mother's, and another for a physician to attend me, as my weak and hopeless condition now required every assistance that the town of Paramaribo could afford.

CHAP. IX.

Some Diseases peculiar to the Climate—Group of Negroes newly imported going to be sold—Reflections on the Slave Trade—The Voyage from Africa—Manner of selling them in the Colony—Description of a Cotton Plantation.

SEPTEMBER 15th, I found myself in an elegant and well-furnished apartment, encouraged by the hopes given by the physician, caressed by my friends, and supported by the care and attention of my incomparable Mulatto.

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A Captain Brant having at this time the command in Colonel Fourgeoud's absence, he sent, the morning after my arrival, my trunks and baggage, which had been sealed up; but on looking into them, I found I had enemies at home as well as abroad; since most of my shirts, books, &c. were gnawed to dust by the blatta or cock-roach, called *cackerlakke* in Surinam: nay, even my shoes were destroyed, of which I had brought with me twelve pairs new from Europe, as they were extremely dear and bad in this country.

This insect, which is of the beetle kind, is here one inch and sometimes two inches long, oval, flat, and of a dark reddish colour. By getting through the locks of

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chests or boxes, it not only deposits its eggs there, but commits its ravages on linen, cloth, silk, or any thing that comes in its way; by getting also into the victuals and drink of every kind, it renders them extremely loathsome, for it leaves the most nauseous smell, worse indeed than that of a bug. As most West India vessels (especially those loaded with sugar) bring them home in great quantities, I shall say nothing more concerning them, only that they are seldom seen to fly, but creep very fast; and that the best, and I think the only way to keep the boxes free from them is, to place them on four empty wine bottles kept free from dust, which, by their smoothness, prevent the insects ascending to get through the key-holes, or even the smallest openings in the bottoms; but this precaution had been neglected by my good friend Colonel Fourgeoud. I found, however, linen sufficient for present use, and by the industry of Joanna I was soon provided with a new stock. None can conceive the comfort I felt in being properly dressed and shifted; my mental faculties were recruiting apace, and I felt with gratitude the blessing of a strong constitution; but poor Macdonald was still ill at Mr. Kennedy's, who had humanely afforded him an asylum on his return from Devil's Harwar.

Having now time, I inquired concerning Fowler's conduct; when, to my infinite surprise, I was informed that he had indeed got drunk, as was reported to me, by which

he had fallen amongst the bottles and cut his face, but that he never had attempted the smallest rudeness: so much indeed was his conduct the reverse of what had been reported, that his inebriety had proceeded from his resentment at seeing both me and Joanna ill treated, and my property transported away against his inclination. I was now extremely chagrined at my past conduct, and was gently reproved by the *cause* of it, to whom I promised to be Fowler's friend for ever after—and I kept my word. My fever was now much abated, but I was infested with another disorder peculiar to this climate, and which I am afraid I shall but indifferently describe: it is called in Surinam the ring-worm, and consists of long scarlet irregular spots, particularly on the under parts of the body, which increase in magnitude from day to day, unless prevented by timely application. Those spots are surrounded with a kind of hard callous border, and are as troublesome by their itching as the prickly heat, or the sting of the musquitoes; and so very infectious is this complaint, that if any person seats himself by chance on a chair immediately after another who has the disorder, he is almost certain to be infected with it: it is, I believe, very difficult to get rid of; but the best cure is to rub the spots with a composition of refined saltpetre, benzoin, flower of brimstone, and white mercury, mixed with fresh butter or hog's-lard. The numerous inconveniences to which the inhabitants of this climate are exposed, are almost inconceivable.

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On the 26th I had a relapse, and was twice bled in one day. I was also this morning visited by poor Mr. Heneman, a young volunteer I have not before mentioned, who looked like a ghost, and was left sick at Paramaribo to manage for himself.

On the 2d of October I was a little better, and was exalted from living like a savage, to the temporary command of a few troops left at *Paramaribo*, Captain Brant being ordered to join Fourgeoud in Rio Comewina; when the colours, regiment's cash, &c. were transmitted to my own lodging, and a sentinel placed before my door.

The first exercise I made of my power was to discharge the sour wine, which had been bought for the sick officers as well as the men, whom I supplied, from the money now in my possession, with good wholesome claret; but I was sorry not to be able also to exchange the salt beef, pork, and pease, that were left at the *hospital*, for fresh provisions. This step was however particularly forbidden by the commander; while the butter, cheese, and tobacco were taken away, for which they got one quart of oil amongst ten, and their bread reduced to two pounds each man for a whole week. As to the officers, they were left to shift for themselves, or submit to the same allowance, notwithstanding they kept on paying their quota to a regimental mess, which now no longer existed.

On the 3d, I took the air for the first time on horseback, in company with Mr. Heneman, though we could
not



The Blue & Yellow & the Amazon Macaw.

not ride above three English miles distance out of town, on a species of gravel that leads to the Wanica Path, which I have already mentioned as communicating with the river Seramica, and as the only passable road in the colony. During this little ride, which (on account of the dry season being commenced) we took at six o'clock in the morning, we observed a great number of those large and elegant birds, known by the name of *macaws*, but in Surinam called ravens, from their proportion to the parrots, which may be looked upon as a kind of tropical crows.

The macaws are divided into different species, of which I shall only describe two, wishing to say nothing for which I have not competent authority, as I am sorry to observe too many authors have done, among whom are men of genius and learning: some indeed may have erred from ignorance or wrong information, but numbers for the gratification of vanity have, I fear, been guilty of imposing on the too credulous public.

The blue and yellow macaw is as large as a barn-door fowl, with short legs and a crooked bill, like that of the common parrot; the former dark coloured, with four black claws, two before and two behind; the latter also black, the upper mandible alone moveable. Its tail is like a wedge, and consists of a few very long and strait feathers. The back of this bird, from the head (the top of which is a sea-green) to the extremity of the tail, is a
most

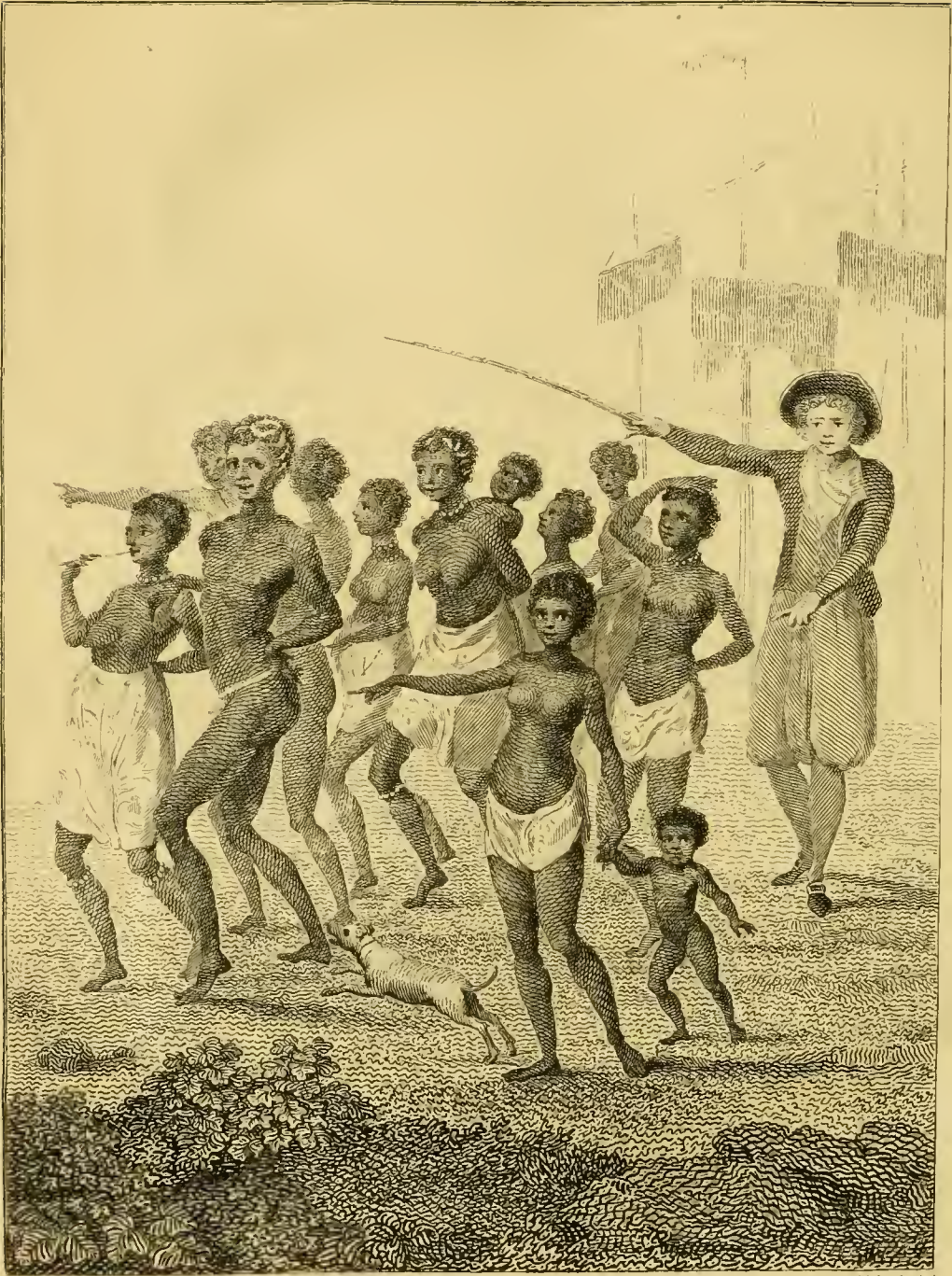
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most beautiful azure blue, and, underneath, its whole body is of a pale orange colour; round its eyes it is perfectly white, interspersed with black rings, composed of very small feathers.

The other is called in Surinam the *Amazon macaw*. This is rather less than the former; its tail, legs, and bill, are formed in the same manner, but the latter is of a dirty white; the head, the neck, and breast of this bird are of a bright scarlet, the space round the eyes only excepted, where it is white, with black rings; its wings may be said to be divided by bars into four colours, being scarlet at the top, next green, then yellow and blue, down to the extremity of the tail, which in the sun shines with a brilliancy and effect unequalled by art. The macaws fly in couples, and have a shrill disagreeable shriek, and bite severely; their bill being very hard and sharp, which is of great use to them in climbing: they are easily tamed, and may be taught to speak like other parrots. The Indians frequently bring them to Paramaribo, where they part with them for a bottle of rum, or for a few fish-hooks.

This evening arrived sick, from the head-quarters at the estate Crawasibo in Comewina, Colonel Texier, the commanding officer of the Society troops. This gentleman had intended to have marched conjunctly with Colonel Fourgeoud through the woods, in quest of the rebels; but his constitution, already weak, not being able to support



Blake Sculp.^d

Group of Negroes, as imported to be sold for Slaves.

port the regimen of the Commander in Chief, and to live only on salt provisions, had begun to flag from the beginning, till he was sent home to Paramaribo in this drooping condition.

On the sixth of October the fever had left me, and the ring-worms began to abate ; but the misery and hardships which I had so lately undergone still had an effect upon my constitution, and enormous biles broke out on my left thigh, which entirely prevented me from walking. My physician, however, ordering me daily to take the air, I had an opportunity this day of waiting on his excellency the Governor of the colony, by the help of my friend Kennedy's chaise ; and as I returned homeward, I stopped the carriage at the water-side, to behold a group of human beings, who had strongly attracted my attention. This group I shall circumstantially endeavour to describe. They were a drove of newly-imported negroes, men and women, with a few children, who were just landed from on board a Guinea ship that lay at anchor in the roads, to be sold for slaves. The whole party was such a set of scarcely animated automatons, such a resurrection of skin and bones, as forcibly reminded me of the last trumpet. These objects appeared that moment to be risen from the grave, or escaped from Surgeons' Hall ; and I confess I can give no better description of them, than by comparing them to walking skeletons covered over with a piece of tanned leather.

“ And the Lord caused me to pass by them round about,
 “ and behold there were many in the open valley, and lo
 “ they were very dry.

“ And he said unto me, Son of Man, can these bones
 “ live? And I answered, O Lord God thou knowest.”—
Ezekiel, xxxvii. ver. 2, 3:

Before these wretches, which might be in all about sixty in number, walked a sailor, and another followed behind with a bamboo-rattan; the one serving as a shepherd to lead them along, and the other as his dog to worry them occasionally, should any one lag behind, or wander away from the flock. At the same time, however, equity demands the acknowledgment, that instead of all those horrid and dejected countenances which are described in pamphlets and newspapers, I perceived not one single downcast look amongst them all; and I must add, that the punishment of the bamboo was inflicted with the utmost moderation by the sailor who brought up the rear.

Having viewed this sad assemblage of my fellow-creatures with amazement, I drove home to my lodgings in a state of perfect humiliation; where I noted down, as I could learn it from the best authority, both white and black, what is really the fate of these people, from the last moment of their liberty in Africa, to the present period of their slavery in America: and this I shall endeavour to relate, preceded by a few of my own unbiassed sentiments upon the Slave Trade, which has lately been the object of
 both

both public and private investigation; and this, I trust, I shall do with that candour and impartiality which not only every gentleman, but every man, should think it necessary to be possessed of.

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It has been said, Will you, for the sake of drinking rum, and sweetening your coffee with sugar, persevere in the most unjust and execrable barbarity?—To this it is answered, Take care, lest, under the enthusiasm of humanity, you do not, at the expence of your neighbour, and perhaps of your country, inconsiderately give up *your* advantages, without the least chance of benefiting or improving the condition of those, whom I most heartily join with you in calling our brethren.

After so many volumes which, within a few years, have been written on this subject, it may appear great presumption in me to offer my poor opinion: but I have made it a rule, among the various subjects I have mentioned, to dwell on those only to which I have been an eye-witness; and which I am convinced there are few others in this country that have seen and so accurately observed. I have seen the most cruel tortures inflicted, for submitting to the desire of a husband, or for refusing the same to a libidinous master, and more frequently a rascally overseer: nay, even on the most innocent, from the false accusations of a lustful woman, prompted alone by jealousy. I have seen in other places, negro slaves as well treated as the most favoured servants in England; and as I have seen some

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sailors, soldiers, and apprentices most tyrannically treated when under the command of ill-tempered despots, I must pronounce the condition of such not to be envied even by negroes. If, therefore, so much depends on the disposition or humour of those who are exercising a permanent or a temporary power, we must duly consider, before we hastily judge the whole from partial information.

Cruelty is too often exercised in *our* plantations; but if not so shockingly to human nature as in other countries, what are we doing by a sudden emancipation, but turning the poor creatures over to more cruel masters? The quantum of sugar, &c. will be had, and must be provided by negroes, natives of Africa, who alone are born to endure labour under a vertical sun.

The national character of these people, as I have remarked it, where they are as free to act by their own will and disposition as in Africa, is perfectly savage; the twenty thousand Ouca and Seramica free negroes have lived separated, and under no controul of Europeans, for a number of years, and yet I have never seen any marks of civilization, order, or government among them, but, on the contrary, many examples of ungovernable passion, debauchery, and indolence.

I love the African negroes, and have shewn how sincerely I have felt for them on many occasions; and whatever wrong construction may be put on what I have said on this subject, I wish, from the bottom of my heart, that

my words could be submitted to the consideration of that respectable body the British parliament; and so far be regarded, as to prevent the fatal decision of a total abolition of slavery till 1800, or the beginning of next century. For if such a measure should be rashly enforced, I take the liberty to prophesy, that thousands and thousands, both white and black, may repent, and more be ruined by it, when the evil can no more be redressed.

From what I have learned by inquiry, from persons well informed on the subject, it clearly appears, that numbers of the negroes offered for sale have been taken in battles, and made prisoners of war; while many others have been scandalously kidnapped, and some others transported for offences, &c.; of all which I shall produce a few examples in future.

These groups of people are marched from every inland part, to the factories erected by different nations upon the coast, where they are sold, or more properly speaking, bartered, like the other productions of their country, *viz.* gold, elephants teeth, &c. to the Europeans, for bars of iron, firearms, carpenters tools, chests, linens, hats, knives, glasses, tobacco, spirits, &c. Next they are embarked for exportation, during which time they, without contradiction, feel all the pangs that mental or corporeal misery can inflict. Being torn from their country and dearest connections, stowed hundreds together in a dark stinking hold, the sexes being separated; while the men are kept in chains

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chains to prevent an insurrection. In this manner are they floated over turbulent seas, not certain what is to be their destiny, and generally fed during the passage with horse-beans and oil for their whole subsistence. But these sufferings are often alleviated with better food by the more humane: so far, that none or few of the cargo die during the passage, and the whole crew arrive healthy in the West Indies. I even remember one instance, where the captain, mate, and most of the sailors, having expired at sea, so that the remaining few could not work the ship without the negroes assistance, yet these last having been well treated, helped at last to run the vessel on shore, by which means they not only saved many lives, but tamely and even cheerfully allowed themselves to be fetched and sold to any person who would please to buy them.—Having made these reflections, I shall now briefly proceed with the manner in which the slaves are disposed of.

No sooner is a Guinea ship arrived, than all the slaves are led upon deck, where they are refreshed with pure air, plantains, bananas, oranges, &c. and being properly cleaned, washed, and their hair shaved in different figures of stars, half-moons, &c. which they generally do the one to the other, (having no razors) by the help of a broken bottle and without soap. After this operation, one part of them is sent ashore for sale, decorated with pieces of cotton to serve as fig-leaves, arm-bands, beads, &c. being all the captain's property; while the others spend the day

day in dancing, hallooing, and clapping hands on board the vessel.

Having sufficiently described their figures after landing, we now may suppose them walking along the water-side, and through the streets, where every planter picks out that number which he stands in need of, to supply those lost by death or desertion, and begins to make a bargain with the captain. Good negroes are generally valued at from fifty to a hundred pounds each. Amongst these, should a woman chance to be pregnant, her price is augmented accordingly; for which reason I have known the captain of a Dutch Guinea vessel, who acknowledged himself to be the father, take advantage, with a brutality scarcely credited in the story of Inkle and Yarico, of doubling the value, by selling his own offspring to the best bidder; for which however he was highly censured by his companions.

The next circumstance that takes place before the bargain is struck, is to cause the negroes for sale, one after another, to mount on a hogshead or a table, where they are visited by a surgeon, who obliges them to make all the different gestures, with arms and legs, of a Merry-Andrew upon the stage, to prove their soundness or unsoundness; after which they are adopted by the buyer, or rejected, as he finds them fit for his purpose, or otherwise. If he keeps them, the money is paid down; and the new-bought negroes are immediately branded on the breast

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breast or the thick part of the shoulder, by a stamp made of silver, with the initial letters of the new master's name, as we mark furniture or any thing else to authenticate them properly. These hot letters, which are about the size of a sixpence, occasion not that pain which may be imagined, and the blisters being rubbed directly with a little fresh butter, are perfectly well in the space of two or three days. No sooner is this ceremony over, and a new name given to the newly-bought slave, than he or she is delivered to an old one of the same sex, and sent to the estate, where each is properly kept clean by his guardian, instructed and well fed, without working, for the space of six weeks; during which period, from living skeletons, they become plump and fat, with a beautiful clean skin, till it is disfigured by the inhuman flogging of some rascally proprietor, or rather his overseer.

Here I must leave them for some time, and continue my narrative, after observing that the negroes are composed of different nations or casts, such as the

Abo,	Congo,	Loango,	Pombo,
Conia,	Gango,	N. Zoko,	Wanway,
Blitay,	Konare,	Nago,	&c. &c.
Coromantin,	Riemba,	Papa,	

With most of which I have found means to get acquainted, and of which I shall speak more amply in another place of this narrative.

On

On the 10th, the surgeon having lanced my thigh, I scrambled out once more to witness the selling of slaves to the best bidder. After what has been related, the reader may form some judgment of my surprize and confusion, when I found among them my inestimable Joanna; the sugar-estate Fauconberg, with its whole stock, being this day sold by an execution, for the benefit of the creditors of its late possessor, Mr. D. B. who had fled.

I now felt all the horrors of the damn'd. I bewailed again and again my unlucky fortune, that did not enable me to become her proprietor myself, and in my mind I continually painted her ensuing dreadful situation. I fancied I saw her tortured, insulted, and bowing under the weight of her chains, calling aloud, but in vain, for my assistance. I was miserable, and indeed nearly deprived of all my faculties, till restored by the assurances of my friend, Mr. Lolkens, who providentially was appointed to continue administrator of the estate during the absence of its new possessors, Messrs. *Passelege* and son, at Amsterdam, who bought it and its dependants for only four thousand pounds.

No sooner was he confirmed in his appointment, than this disinterested and steady friend brought Joanna to my presence; and pledged himself, that in every service which he could render to myself or her, and which he had now more in his power than ever, no efforts on his side should be wanting. This promise I desired him to keep

CHAPTER. in remembrance, and accordingly he ever since most nobly
 IX. persevered.

Being informed that Colonel Fourgeoud had left Craw-assibo estate, and entered the woods just above the plantation Clarenbeck, on his way to the Wana Creek, to try if he could fall in with the rebels, I requested, by a letter, that I might join him there as soon as I should be recovered, and having shipped off for the last-mentioned estate medicines and such surgeons of ours as had been left at Paramaribo, I employed Mr. Greber, the surgeon of the Society, on my own authority, and at the regiment's expence, to attend the sick officers and soldiers, who were left in town, destitute of cash, and now without assistance. At the same time I also ordered to be purchased two more ankers of the best claret for their support. Thus was I determined properly to avail myself of my command, which at best could but last a few days longer.

This evening my friend De La Mara took his departure, with his twenty-five free mulattoes, for the river Surinam ; he being a captain of the militia, and they being infinitely preferable to the European scarecrows.

I was so far recovered as to be able to ride out every morning, when the following ludicrous adventure happened to me on the road that leads to Wanica. In this place a Mr. Van de Velde, boasting how fast his horse could gallop, proposed to me to run a race ; to which I agreed, allowing him the start at twenty paces distance.

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The start indeed he had, but did not long retain his advantage, for my English horse passing him with the rapidity of a cannot-shot, his galloway sprung, rider and all, through a hedge of thick limes, and left poor Mr. Van de Velde, not like Doctor Slop, in the dirt, but like Absalom, hanging among the branches.

The horses in Surinam are little better or larger than asses (except those which are brought from North America or Holland, the latter of which are generally employed for carriages) yet they are useful in the sugar-mills, where a number of mules are also employed. These last are brought over from Barbary, and sometimes sold as high as fifty guineas. None of these animals are indigenous to Guiana; but, as many other animals have been imported, and become the inhabitants of the climate, to save unnecessary repetition, I here give the following list of such quadrupeds as are not natives of the new continent:

The Elephant,	Sheep,	Wild Goat,
Hipopotamus,	Hog,	Rabbit,
The Rhinoceros,	Goat,	Small Guinea Stag,
Cameleopard,	Dog,	Ferret,
Camel,	Badger,	Rat,
Dromedary,	Sable,	Mouse,
Lion,	Stoat or Ermine,	Fat Squirrel,
Tiger,	Hyæna,	Garden Squirrel,
Panther,	Jackall,	Marmot,

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Horse,	Genett,	Ichneumon,
Ass,	Civet,	Jerboa,
Zebra,	Cat,	Maki; and
Ox,	Antelope,	several kinds
Buffalo,	Chamois Goat,	of Monkies.

Should the number of this list seem rather great, I in that case refer to the celebrated Count de Buffon, whence it was extracted.

On the 18th arrived sick from Devil's Harwar Ensign Mathew, one of the officers by whom I had been relieved; and the same day he was followed by his commander and friend, Colonel Westerloo, supported by two soldiers. They had ridiculed me for complaining, after a confinement of so many weeks on board the barges; while these gentlemen had been out but a few days and always on shore, the latter of them having attempted to accompany the old Colonel Fourgeoud to Wana (whom he had joined at La Rochelle in Patamaca) but was completely unfitted for proceeding by his very first entry into the woods. I was at dinner with a Mr. Day, when I saw him pass by a miserable spectacle, and chusing to forget what had passed at Devil's Harwar, and in reality having a regard for this gentleman, I started up immediately and got him a coach, in which I accompanied him to his lodgings, where, having placed a sentinel before his chamber-door to keep out the rabble, I sent for a Doctor

a Doctor Van Dam, as well as a Doctor Kissam, an American, to attend him, forbidding all other communication, that of an old negro woman, his man servant, and a black boy excepted, and by these means I apparently preserved his life.

On the 20th, Lieutenant Count de Randwyk came down also indisposed with Ensign Coene, and at last my poor old shipmate Lieutenant Hamer, who had been kept at Devil's Harwar near four months, till, overcome by disease, he obtained leave to be transported to Paramaribo.

On the 22d, the Governor sent me a cotton twig, which I copied; and as I cannot have a better opportunity, I will now proceed to a description of that useful plant, which has only been cultivated in Surinam from about the year 1735, but not with advantage till about the years 1750 or 1752. There are several species of the cotton-tree, but I shall confine myself to that which is the most common and the most useful in this colony. This species of cotton, which grows upon a tree about six or eight feet high, bears before it is a year old, and produces two crops annually, each of about twenty ounces in weight; the leaves are something like those of the vine, of a bright green, and the fibres of a cinnamon colour. The cotton-balls, some of which are as large as a small hen's egg, and divided in three parts, grow on a very long stalk, and in a triangular pod, which is first
produced

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produced by a yellow flower, and when ripe opens of itself, and discloses the globular contents as white as flakes of snow; in the middle of these are contained small black seeds, formed not unlike those that are usually found in grapes. The cotton will prosper in any of the tropical soils, and produces a good profit if the crops are not spoiled by a too long rainy season, being cultivated with very little trouble and expence: all indeed that is required is, to plant the seeds at a little distance from each other, when each seed, as I have said, produces the first year it is put in the ground. The separation of the seeds from the pulp, is the work of one man only, by the help of a machine made for the purpose; after which the cotton has undergone all the necessary process, and is put in bales of between three and four hundred pounds weight each for transportation, which bales ought to be well moistened at the time of stowing it, to prevent the cotton from sticking to the canvass. In the year before my arrival in Surinam, near three thousand bales of cotton were exported from this colony to Amsterdam and Rotterdam alone, which produced about forty thousand pounds sterling. The best estates make twenty-five thousand pounds weight. The average prices have been from eight pence to twenty-two pence per pound. The raw material is spun in the West Indies by a rock and spindle, and extremely fine, when by the negro girls it is knit into stockings, &c. one pair of which are sometimes



Sprig of the Cotton Tree!

sold for the price of a Portuguese joe, or sometimes for two guineas. The Indians or natives of Guiana make very good hammocks of cotton, which they barter with the inhabitants of Paramaribo for other commodities.— In the annexed plate *A* is the twig itself, *B* the pod, *C* the cotton ball, and *D* the seed, but on a smaller scale than nature. I should here also describe the coffee, cacao, sugar, and indigo plantations, but must reserve them till another occasion, having made it a rule to speak of things only as they occur, which is more pleasant to myself, and better adapted to diversify my narrative.

Being now perfectly recovered, I resolved to join Colonel Fourceoud at the Wana Creek, without waiting his orders, and to accompany him on his excursions through the forest: in consequence of which, having first cropt my hair, as being more convenient in the woods, as well as more cleanly, and provided myself with the necessary bush-equipage, such as jackets, trowsers, &c.; I waited on the Governor to ask his commands; he entertained me in a most polite manner, and told me, that what I was now going to suffer would surpass what I had already undergone. I nevertheless persisted in wishing to go without waiting an order from the chief, and accordingly applied to the magistrates for a boat, and the necessary negroes to transport me; which being promised for the succeeding day, I transferred the colours and regiment's cash, with the command of the remaining sick troops, to

Lieutenant

CHAP. IX. Lieutenant Meyer, the only healthy officer then at Paramaribo.

Indeed the colours, the cash, and the sick soldiers were nearly of equal use in Surinam, the first never having been displayed except at our landing, the second invisible to all except to Colonel Fourgeoud, and the third dying away one after another.

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Colonel Fourgeoud marches to the Wana Creek—Harasses the Enemy—Account of the Manicole Tree, with its various Uses—March to the Mouth of Cormoetibo River—Some Rebels taken—Shocking Treatment of a wounded captive Negro.

ON the 25th of October, being ready to proceed upon my second campaign, I repaired to the water-side at six o'clock in the evening; where, instead of a tent boat, I found a greasy yawl, with a few drunken Dutch sailors, to row me to an estate in the river Come-wina, whence they were going to bring their captain back to Paramaribo, and from which place I might, if I pleased, beg the rest of my passage upwards, or manage for myself in the best manner I was able. I had already one foot in the boat, when, reflecting that I was going voluntarily on a hazardous expedition, without orders, and only from a desire to serve an ungrateful people, I repented, and stepped back upon the shore, where, positively declaring I would not move in their defence till I should be decently transported, should the whole colony be on fire, I was seconded by all the English and Americans in the town, and a general tumult took place.

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The Dutch exclaimed against the expence of a tent-boat which would cost them thirty shillings, when they could have the other for nothing; while the others declared they were a set of mean and parsimonious wretches, who deserved not the smallest protection from Colonel Fourceoud's troops. A mob collected, and a riot ensued, before Mr. Hardegen's tavern, at the water-side, while hats, wigs, bottles, and glasses, flew out at his windows. The magistrates were next sent for, but to no purpose: and the fighting continued in the street till ten o'clock at night, when I with my friends fairly kept the field, having knocked down several sailors, planters, Jews, and overseers, and lost one of my pistols, which I threw after the rabble in a passion; nor would it have ended here, had not my friend Mr. Kennedy, who was member of the Court of Policy, and two or three more gentlemen whom he brought with him, found means to appease the disputants, by declaring I had been very ill treated, and should have a proper boat the next day.

Having now slept and refreshed myself a few hours, I was waited on by four American captains, *viz.* Captain Timmons of the Harmony, Captain Lewis of the Peggy, Captain Bogard of the Olive Branch, and Captain Minet of the America, who insisted on my refusing any vessel whatever from the colony this time, and offering to send me up in one of their own boats, manned by their own sailors only, to which each would equally contribute. I

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can aver, that notwithstanding the threatening rupture between Great Britain and her Colonies, which seemed then upon the eve of breaking out into open violence, nothing could surpass the warm and cordial friendship which these gentlemen possessed, not only for me, but for every individual that bore a British name, or had any connexion with that island; professing, that they still retained the greatest regard for every thing in Britain, but its administration. I accepted of their very polite proposal; after which, having received a letter from Mr. Kennedy, to be delivered to one of the militia captains, a Mr. N. Reeder, in the river Comewina, with orders to send me farther up in a proper tent-boat; and having arranged matters in such a manner at home, that neither Colonel Fourgeoud nor the cock-roaches could injure me, I shook hands with my Mulatto, and at six in the evening repaired once more to the water-side, escorted by my English and American friends, where, having drank a bowl of punch, we separated. I then departed for my station, they having hoisted the colours on board all their vessels in the road, and at the boat's going off saluted me with three cheers, to my great satisfaction, and the mortification of the gaping multitude by which we were surrounded. We soon rowed beyond the view of Paramaribo.

Being arrived at the fortress of New Amsterdam, we were obliged to stop for the return of the tide, to row up

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the river Comewina. In this interval, I was genteelly entertained with a supper by the Society officers quartered there; but at twelve o'clock we got aboard, and having rowed all night, I breakfasted with Captain Macneyl, who was one of General Spork's captains in 1751; after which we once more set out, and arrived at the plantation Charlottenburgh, where I delivered Mr. Kennedy's letter to Mr. Reeder, who promised next morning to assist me. So much incensed was I at the usage I had met with at Paramaribo, and so well pleased with the English sailors, that I ordered the tars a dinner of twelve roasted ducks, and gave them thirty-six bottles of claret, being my whole stock, besides a guinea. With the ebb tide they took their leave, and rowed down to their vessels, as well pleased, and as drunk as wine or strong spirits could make them.

I now pursued my voyage upwards as far as the estate Mondesir; afterwards, having viewed the ruins of the three estates, Zuzingheyd, Peru, and L'Esperance, which had been burnt when I commanded at Devil's Harwar, I arrived at Lepair. Here one of the overseers gave me an account of his miraculous escape from the rebels, which I shall relate in his own words. — "The rebels, Sir," said he, "had already surrounded the dwelling-house in which I was, before I knew of their being in the plantation, and were employed in setting fire to the four corners of it, so that to run out of doors was rushing
on

on certain death. In this dilemma I fled to the garret, where I laid myself flat upon one of the beams, in hopes of their dispersing soon, and that I might effect my escape before the building should be burnt down; but in this I was disappointed, as they still remained; and at the same time the flames encreased so fast, that the heat became insupportable in the place where I was, and I had no other alternative left, than to be burnt to death, or to leap from a high garret window into the midst of my exasperated enemies. This last measure, however, I resolved upon, and had not only the good fortune to light unhurt upon my feet, but to escape without a wound, from among so many men armed with sabres and bill-hooks. I flew to the river-side, into which I plunged headlong; however, not being able to swim, I immediately sunk to the bottom; but (said he) I still kept my full presence of mind, and while they concluded me to be drowned, found means, by the help of the *moco-moco* and mangrove roots, to bring myself not only under cover of the impending verdure, but just so far above water with my lips as to continue in a state of respiration till all was over. Having killed every other person, the rebels departed, and I was taken up by a boat from my very perilous situation."

On the 30th I arrived at Devil's Harwar, and the succeeding day rowed up the Cormoetibo Creek; where, having tied the boat to a tree which overspread it with thick

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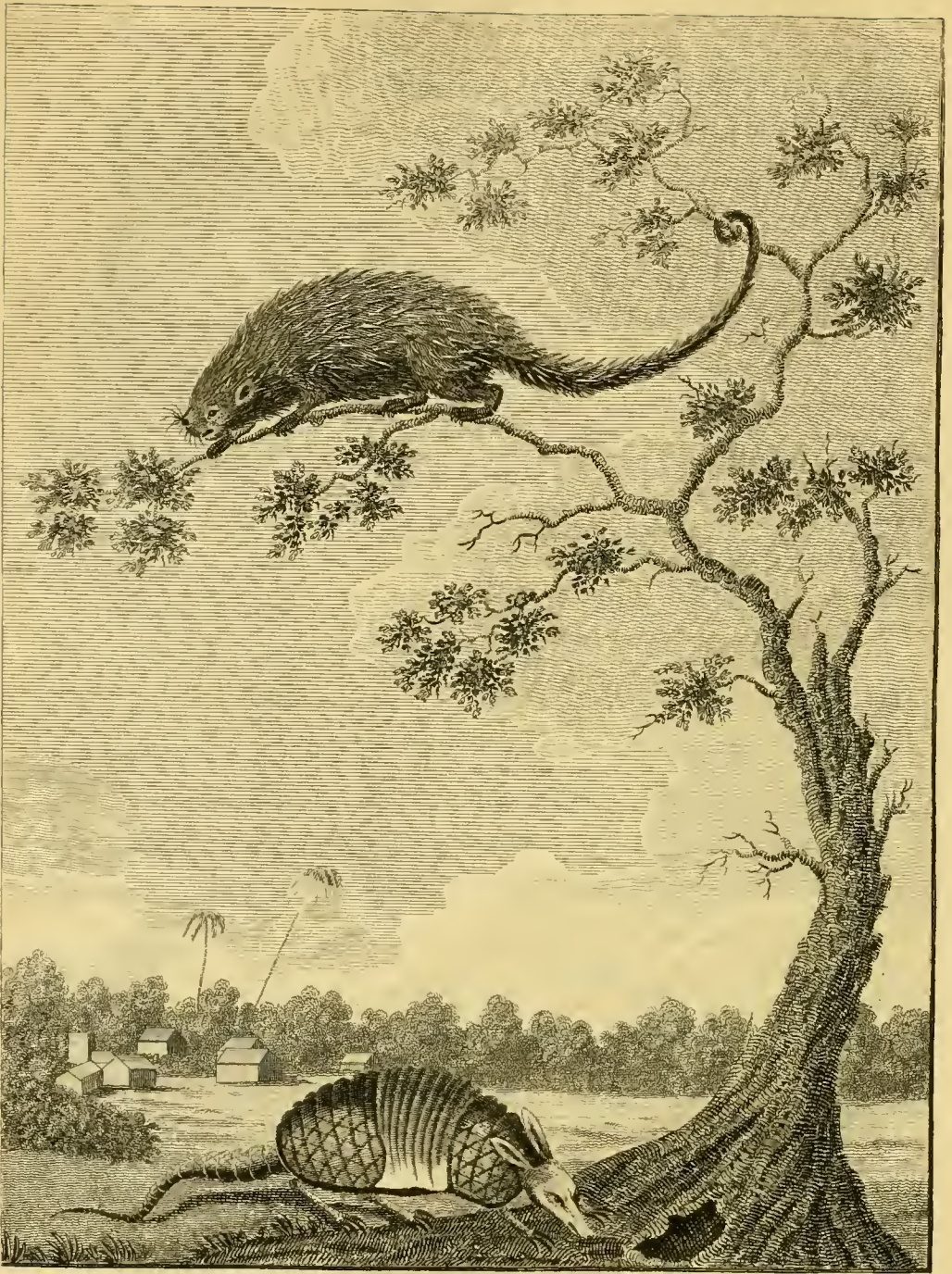
thick branches, we quietly lay down to sleep during the night; myself and Quaco in the boat upon the benches, and the negroes under the seats, except those whom I ordered alternately to keep watch, and awake me if they heard the least rustling in the woods, forbidding them all absolutely to speak or make any noise, lest the rebels, who were hovering on both sides of the Creek, might hear and surprize us. As for myself, who was the only white person amongst them all, I was confident I should not, in such a case, escape their fury. After these precautions, we all lay down and slept soundly, from nine o'clock till about three in the morning, at which time Quaco and myself were both suddenly thrown down from our benches, by the boat all at once heeling upon one side, while all the negroes leaped overboard into the water. I instantly cocked my pistol, and jumping up, asked aloud what was the matter? positively determined to defend myself to the last extremity, rather than be taken alive by so relentless an enemy. For the space of a few seconds I obtained no answer, when again the boat suddenly rectifying itself (by the motion of which I was thrown off my feet) one of the swimming negroes called out, "Masera, da wan sea-cow;" and to my great happiness it proved to be no other than the manati, or sea-cow, which is called in Cayenne the *lamentyn*. By the account of the negroes it had slept under the boat, which, by the creature's awaking, had been lifted up and thrown upon

one side, and again replaced when the manati made its escape from underneath it. I did not so much as see the creature, nor indeed hardly had the negro, owing to the darkness of the night, which lasted some hours after; but during that time we had no further inclination to rest. At last the sun's bright beams began to dart through the trees and gild the foliage; on which we cast off from our moorings, and continued rowing up Cormoetibo Creek (which was now very narrow) till near noon, when we discovered a smoak, and at last came to the mouth of the Wana Creek, which runs into the Marawina, and which was the place of rendezvous, where however the troops were not yet arrived; and opposite to which were encamped a few of the rangers, to guard the provisions that were waiting the arrival of Colonel Fourceoud and his party from Crawassibo, and last from Patamaca.

One of the rangers having killed a *tattu* or armadillo, called in Surinam *capasce*, I shall embrace this opportunity of describing it.—This animal is with propriety sometimes stiled a hog-in-armour; its head and ears being much like those of a roasting pig, and its whole body covered over with hard shells like shields, sliding in moveable rings, like those of the *quee-quee* fish already mentioned, the one over the other, except on the shoulders and the rump, which are covered something like turtle, with one solid mass of unmoveable bone, called

called by some a cuirass and a helmet. Of this creature there are many species in Guiana, the largest being from the snout to the tip of the tail above three feet in length, of a reddish colour, and marked all over with hexangular figures. Its eyes are small, the tail long and thick at the root, and tapering gradually like a carrot towards the point, and is covered over like the body with moveable rings. This animal has four short legs with four toes, armed with two claws on the fore-feet, and five on those behind. The armadillo walks generally during the night, being seldom seen through the day, and sleeps in burrows under ground, which it makes with great facility, and in which it sticks so fast that the strongest man cannot draw it out, though he were to pull its tail with both hands. When attacked or terrified, it forms itself into a round ball like a hedgehog, making its cuirass and helmet meet together, in which are enclosed its head, feet, and whole body. This creature feeds on roots, insects, fruits, birds, &c. and when dressed appeared to me a tolerably good dish, though in general by Europeans it is accounted no great delicacy; the Indians are, however, extremely fond of it.

I shall, in this place, also take the opportunity of mentioning the Guiana porcupine, which is frequently called here the *adjora*. This animal, which is from its muzzle to the root of the tail sometimes three feet in length, is covered



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The Armadillo, & Porcupine of Guiana?

covered with hard prickles, the feet, the face, and part of its tail excepted. These prickles are about three inches long, yellow at the root, a dark chesnut colour in the middle, and white at the points; they are extremely sharp, highly polished, and moveable, serving for the creature's defence, which, when irritated, it dresses in array, and makes a formidable appearance before its adversary; at other times these prickles lie flat on its back, something like the bristles of a hog. The head of the porcupine is of a roundish make, and joined to the body by a remarkably thick short neck; its eyes are large, bright, and placed under the ears, which are very small and round; it never bites. On each side of its nose it has long whiskers, very like the otter or the cat; its feet are shaped much like those of a monkey, which assist it in climbing trees to seek for its food, in which its long tapering tail is also very serviceable, which, like a fifth limb, it twists about the branches, and which near the extremity, is covered over with hair like the face, the under part near the tip only excepted, which is perfectly callous and black, as are also the inside of all its feet. The hedge-hog of this country is, I think, little different from that of the old continent, being about eight or ten inches in length, covered over with pale yellow prickles, but with hair on the face and under the belly, which is rather softer and longer than in the hedge-hog of Europe. It has dark brown spots like eye-brows over its eyes, and no ears but

CHAPTER. auditory holes, and five toes with bended claws on each
 X. foot; its tail is very short, and its defence consists in forming
 itself into a round ball in the manner of the armadillo. Its food consists of fruit, roots, vegetables, insects, &c. and its flesh is not disesteemed by the Indians or natives of the country.

Colonel Fourceoud not having yet arrived, I amused myself with swimming, and paddling up the mouth of the deep Wana Creek, with a canoe; during which time a Mr. Rulagh, one of our officers who was with me, observed (in the top of a mangrove-tree) a battle between a snake and a frog; and for an additional proof that frogs are to be found in trees, I refer the reader to the Monthly Review for March 1785, page 199, where, in the Abbé Spallanzani's Dissertation upon Frogs, the Tree Frog is particularly mentioned. But finding this animal amongst the branches did not so much excite my surprize, as the contest between a snake and a frog, which I shall distinctly relate, and in which the poor frog lost the battle. Indeed when I first perceived him, his head and shoulders were already in the jaws of the snake, which last appeared to me about the size of a large kitchen poker, and had its tail twisted round a tough limb of the mangrove; while the frog, who appeared to be the size of a man's fist, had laid hold of a twig with the claws of its hinder legs, as with hands. In this position were they contending, the one for life, the other

for his dinner, forming one straight line between the two branches, and thus I beheld them for some time, apparently stationary, and without a struggle. Still I was not without hope, that the poor frog might extricate himself by his exertions; but the reverse was the case, for the jaws of the snake gradually relaxing, and by their elasticity forming an incredible orifice, the body and fore-legs of the frog by little and little disappeared, till finally nothing more was seen than the hinder feet and claws, which were at last disengaged from the twig, and the poor creature was swallowed whole by suction down the throat of his formidable adversary, whence he was drawn some inches farther down the alimentary canal, and at last stuck, forming a knob or knot at least six times as thick as the snake, whose jaws and throat immediately contracted and re-assumed their former natural shape. The snake being out of our reach, we could not kill him, as we wished to do, to take a further examination. Thus we left him, continuing in the same attitude without moving, and twisted round the branch.

On the third of November, one party of the troops being arrived, and encamped on the south-west side of the Cormoetibo Creek, about one mile above the mouth of the Wana Creek, I went with a couple of rangers to pay them a visit; when Major Rughcop, the commanding officer, informed me that Colonel Fourgeoud had marched

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last from Patamaca in two columns, of which he led the one, while the other was hourly expected; and that the rest of the regiment was divided between the rivers Coticica, Perica, and Comewina, excepting those that were sick in the hospital at Paramaribo. I was now in excellent health and good spirits; and in the hopes of being reconciled to Fourgeoud by this voluntary proof of my zeal for the service, I returned to the rangers' camp to wait his arrival. I was indeed well acquainted with his irreconcilable temper, and at the same time conscious of my own wild and ungovernable disposition, when I thought myself ill treated; but soon forgot trifling injuries, and was now determined, by my active and affable behaviour, to make him my friend if possible.

At length the wished-for hour arrived; and being apprised of Colonel Fourgeoud's approach, I went half a mile from the camp to meet him, acquainting him that I was come *pour participer de la gloire*, and to serve under his immediate command, which he having answered with a bow, I returned it, and we marched together to the rangers' camp.

The occurrences in this march were the troops taking from the enemy three villages, particularly one called the *Rice Country*, on account of the great quantity of rice which was found there, some ripe and some in full blossom, which we totally destroyed, after putting the rebels to flight. These were commanded by one *Bonny*, a
relentless



The Skulls of Lieut. Leppard's, Sir of his Men.

relentless Mulatto, who was born in the forest, and was quite unconnected with Baron's party, which had lately been driven from Boucou. We further learned that they had found seven *human skulls* stuck upon stakes, under which lay mouldering the bodies above ground, and part of the garments, (as may be seen in the annexed plate) and which proved them to be the remains of the unfortunate Lieutenant *Lepper*, with six of his unhappy men, most of whom being taken alive, had one by one been stripped naked by the rebel negroes at the arrival in their village, and (for the *recreation* of their wives and children) by Bonny's orders flogged to death. This information we got from a rebel woman, who had been made a prisoner by Fourgeoud on his march through the above village or *rice condre*, and whom we treated with every kindness.

This inhuman conduct in Bonny was directly opposite to that of Baron, who, notwithstanding all his threats and menaces, it was well known had sent back to Paramaribo different soldiers, whom he might have killed. He even assisted in concealing them from his enraged accomplices, and furnished them with provisions, perfectly sensible that they were not the cause of the disturbance. But not a ranger, as I have said before, that had the misfortune to fall into his hands could escape his ungovernable fury.

On further conversation, we found that the whole party, being nearly starved, had conjunctly called out for bread,

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as it was known that there was plenty in the boxes, but that it had been kept back three days, and rice served out in its stead. To suppress this kind of mutiny, the officers had rushed in amongst the men with cocked pistols and drawn swords, and indiscriminately laying hold of the first in their way, had unluckily seized a poor man named *Shmidt*, whom, notwithstanding all the others averred to be innocent, they had, for an example to the rest, bastonaded between two corporals, till the blood gushed out of his mouth like a fountain ;—and thus ended the revolt. One of the conductors, named *Mangol*, disdaining at all to serve under Colonel Fourgeoud's command, had left him without asking his consent, after which he forsook the service entirely. These were the particulars of the march in both columns, from Crawassibo in Comewina to the Wana Creek.

Whilst I was now about noon resting in my hammock very contentedly, I was accosted by my friend Lieutenant *Campbell*, who acquainted me, with tears in his eyes, that the evening before Colonel Fourgeoud had given to the officers of the Surinam Society, not only of that brave and gallant corps the *Scots brigade* in the Dutch service, but of the *British* in general, the most unmerited character that could be invented. I immediately started up; and having got *Campbell's* information confirmed, went to Fourgeoud, and asked him in public the cause of this unmanly slander. He replied with a stare, that *his* observations

observations only regarded my petticoat-trowsers, which I wore for coolness and conveniency, as many British seamen do, and which he had never seen on the mountains of Switzerland. But as to the rest of what was said respecting us, he laid it totally to the charge of Mr. *Stoelman*, captain of the *Cottica* militia, who was absent. Thus I could only answer by denouncing, in the severest terms, vengeance upon this assassin of our reputation; and after promising to transform my short trowsers into long ones, we coolly separated.

An hour however after this, I received a sudden order to cross the *Cormoetibo* River, and be henceforth under the command of Major *Rugheop*, who was with his party or column at this time encamped on the south-side at the mouth of *Wana* Creek. "Force is indeed the ruling principle in military affairs," says a certain author; and, upon the whole, could the ingenious advice given to a commander in chief, as published in a late pamphlet, have been read by Colonel *Fourgeoud*, I must have imagined he had studied it, sentence after sentence, since nothing could better correspond with his general character.

Being arrived in Major *Rugheop*'s camp, and having got a couple of negroes to serve me, the next measure was to build a hut, or, more properly speaking, a shed over my hammock, to keep me free from the rain and the sun; which was done within the space of one hour. As these huts are of very material and of general use in tropical

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tropical marches and campaigns, where no tents can be pitched, and where (as I have seen so many thousands of these temporary erections) I will describe the manner in which they are constructed, being not only extremely curious, but very useful on different occasions—curious, because neither hammers nor nails, nor indeed any kind of carpenter's tools are required; a strong cutlass or bill-hook being all that is wanted,—and useful, as they are instantly raised, and form not only lasting, but the most delightful and convenient habitations, with even two stories, one above the other, if required.—For these erections not more than two articles are wanting; the first the manicole, by the French called *latanie*, and here *parasalla*, or the pine-tree; and the second the nebees, called by the French *liannes*, by the Spaniards *bejucos*, and in Surinam *tay-tay*.

The manicole-tree, which is of the palm-tree species, is mostly found in marshy places, and is always a proof of a rich and luxurious soil. It is about the thickness of a man's thigh, very straight, and grows to the height of from thirty to fifty feet from the ground: the trunk, which is jointed at the distance of two or three feet, is of a light-brown colour, hard externally for the thickness of half an inch, but pithy, like the English elder, and good for nothing within, except near the top, where the wood becomes green, and incloses a delicious kind of white fruit, called cabbage, and which, being peculiar to

all

all the palm-trees, I shall on another occasion amply describe. On the top of all this the manicole-tree spreads in beautiful green boughs, with leaves hanging straight downwards like silk ribbons, which form a kind of umbrella. The manner of using it for building huts or cottages, is by cutting the trunk in pieces of as many feet long as you wish to have the partition high; for instance, seven feet, which pieces are next split into small boards, the breadth of a man's hand, and divested of their pithy substance, and then they are fit for immediate use. Having cut and prepared as many of these laths as you may want to surround the dwelling, nothing remains but to lash them in a perpendicular position and close to each other to two cross bars of the same tree fixed to the corner posts, and the whole is cut and shaped with the bill-hook alone, and tied together by the nebees or *tay-tay*, which I think have derived their name from our verb *to tie*, since the English had possession of the colony. The nebees are a kind of ligneous ropes of all sizes, both as to length and thickness, that grow in the woods, and climb up along the trees in all directions; they are so plentiful and wonderfully dispersed, that, like the ligneous cordage of the mangrove, they make the forest appear like a large fleet at anchor, killing many of the trees by mere compression, and entwining themselves with each other to the thickness of a ship's cable, without any kind of foliage, which gives them some-

CHAP. times a wonderful appearance, particularly when ascend-
 X. ing lofty trunks in a spiral manner to the top, from
 which they next hang down to the earth, take root, and
 re-ascend. Sometimes the thin nebees are so closely in-
 terwoven, that they have the appearance of fishing nets,
 and game cannot get through them. These nebees are
 exceedingly tough, and may be used for mooring large
 vessels to the shore. Having only to add, that some of
 the species are poisonous, especially those that are flat,
 grooved, or angular, I shall proceed to the roofing of the
 cottage.

This is done by the green boughs or branches of the
 same manicole-tree that made the walls, and in the fol-
 lowing manner: each bough, which I can compare to
 nothing so well as to the shape of a feather, and which is
 as large as a man, must be split from the top to the
 bottom in two equal parts, as you would split a pen,
 when a number of these half boughs are tied together
 by their own verdure, and form a bunch; you next take
 these bunches, and tie them with nebees one above an-
 other upon the roof of your cottage, as thick as you
 please, and in such a manner that the verdure, which
 looks like the mane of a horse, hangs downwards. This
 covering, which at first is green, but soon takes the
 colour of the English reed-thatching, is very beautiful,
 lasting and close, and finishes your house, as I have said,
 without the help of a hammer or nails; the doors

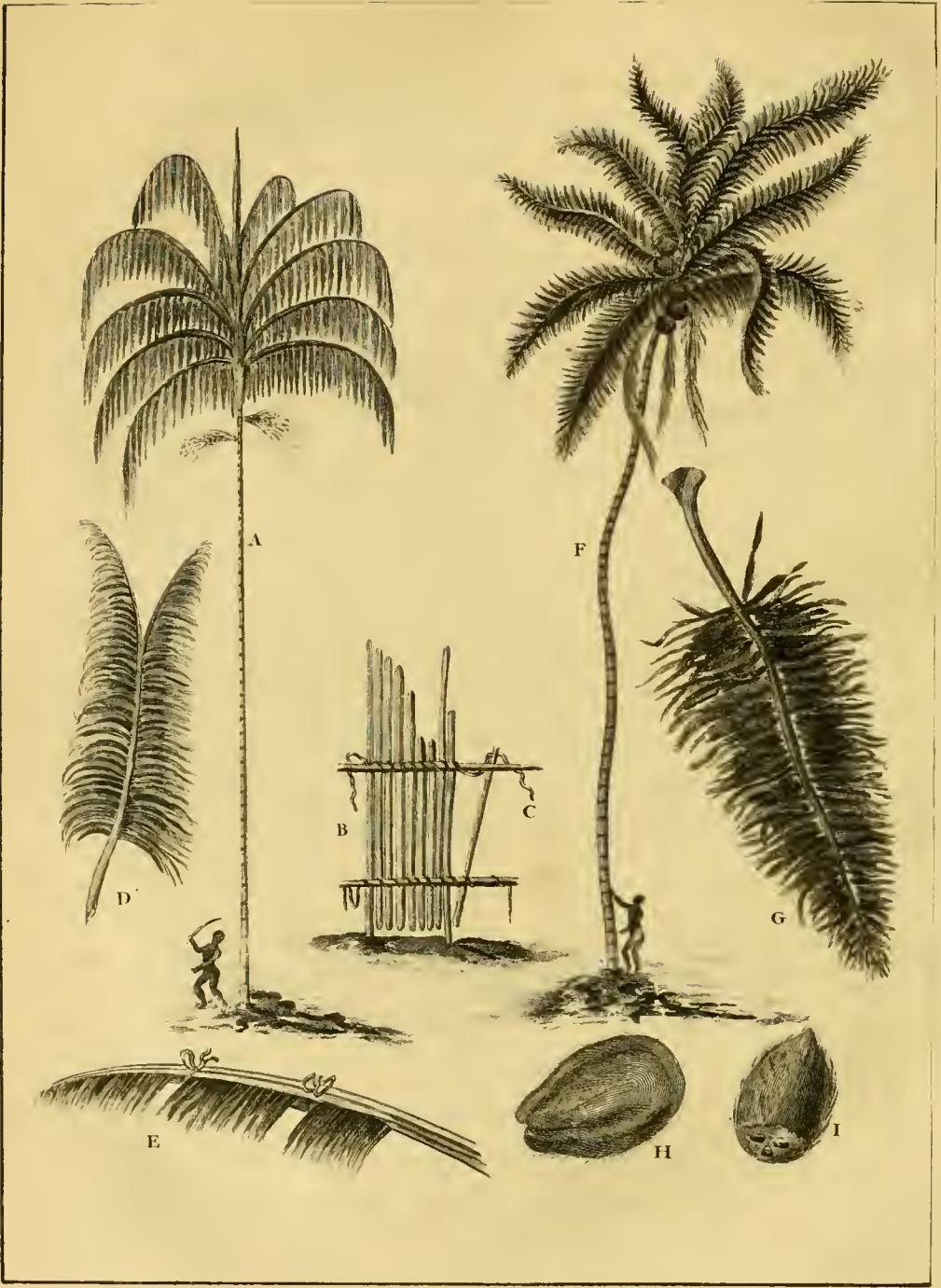
and windows, tables, seats, &c. are made in the same manner, so are the inclosures for gardens, or other places for keeping cattle; and by this conveniency it is that the rebel negroes never want good houses, which, if burnt to ashes one day, are again perfectly rebuilt the next, though they never rebuild them exactly in the places where they have once been discovered by Europeans. The Indians, instead of the manicoles, generally cover their wigwams with *tas* or with *trooly*, of which I shall speak on another occasion. I ought not to forget, that the seeds of these trees are contained in a spatha, near the top, of thirty or forty knotty fibres, forming a species of broom, for which they are used throughout the colony; thus, while the manicole supplies the materials for a house, it affords also the means of keeping it clean. This tree produces also the cabbage, which, as I have said, is found in all the other palm-trees, &c. The hut that I now lay under was not built in the convenient manner above described; it was not requisite, for the short time we generally continued in one place: my habitation consisted only of a roof or cover without any walls. The manner of erecting these little sheds, which every private soldier builds for himself, is simply by planting four forked poles in the ground, at such a distance that a hammock can conveniently hang between them; next, to rest two short poles, strong enough to support the weight of the body in the above forks, the one at the head and the

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other at the feet, to which are fastened the clews of the hammock. On the other extremities of these are laid two long sticks, and on them again two short ones, and thus alternately two long and two short, all which diminish by degrees. When the whole is finished, the top must be covered with branches from the manicole, exactly as they grow, without either splitting or tying them, and as thick as the season may require.

When this temporary fabric is completely finished, it will not only keep dry both the inhabitants and their boxes, but (by the help of the nebees) fuzees, swords, pistols, &c. may be suspended from the rafters. As I have been describing the manicole, I am induced also to mention the cocoa-nut tree, as I think it resembles that more than any of the palm species. This tree, which is so much celebrated, as affording to man food, clothing, shelter, &c. possesses not, in my opinion, all those qualities, but still is well worthy of notice. It grows like the former, in a tall jointed trunk, sometimes from sixty to above eighty feet high, and is thick in proportion, but seldom perpendicularly straight: its bark is of a grey colour; the wood is hard without, but pithy within, like the elder in Great Britain; its branches are larger; and of a deeper green, than those of the manicole-tree, but are equally divided, with pinnated leaves on both sides, which in the other I compared to green ribbons; but they neither hang so straight downwards, nor are the branches regularly



The Manicore & the Cocou Nut Trees.

larly arched, which gives them the appearance of large feathers, and they spring up at the top, in proportion as they fade and go off at the bottom: the cocoa-tree also produces a cabbage at its summit, but is too valuable to be cut down for the sake of a prize so inadequate to the loss of its other produce. It bears the nuts when six or eight years old, after which period it is never seen without them; they grow usually six or eight on one stalk, which diverges from the heart of the tree; they are the size of a man's head, but more conical. The nut, it is well known, when divested of its husk, is exceedingly hard, and requires a hammer to break it, or to be sawed through the middle to procure the nourishment it affords; when young, this consists of a white liquid, which I can compare to nothing better than to milk and water mixed with sugar, and which is an exceedingly cool and agreeable beverage; but at a riper period this is formed into a crisp kernel, which adheres close to the inside of the shell for about half an inch thick, while it remains perfectly hollow within. This kernel, which has a fine flavour, and tastes like the liquid, is good eating, as most of my readers have probably experienced.

In the plate annexed, *A*, is the manicole-tree; *B*, the trunk split into laths; *C*, the nebees to tie them together; *D*, the leaf split from the top downwards; and *E*, the same tied into bunches; *F*, is the cocoa-nut tree; *G*, the figure of one of its branches; *H*, the cocoa-nut in the
green

CHAPTER. green husk ; and *I*, the same divested of that outer substance.

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But to proceed with my narrative.—While we continued in this station, one morning, being returned from a patrol, with twenty marines and twenty rangers, and sitting round a species of table to take some dinner with the other officers, I was rudely insulted by a Captain *Meyland*, of the Society troops, who, as I said, with Lieutenant *Fredericy*, had taken *Boucou*, and who was Colonel *Fourgeoud*'s countryman and friend. The affront consisted in *Meyland*'s handing round to each a drop of claret, he having indeed but one bottle left, and, in an impertinent manner, excepting me alone, although I held the glass in my hand to receive it. Justly suspecting this insult to originate from my commander in chief, rather than appear to seek a quarrel, I endeavoured to make an apology, telling him, I had inadvertently erred in holding out my glass, not imagining I was to be distinguished from the other officers ; assuring him it was not for the value of his wine, which I politely relinquished to my next neighbour ; but this concession had no other effect than to increase the wrath of my fierce adversary, who, apparently mistaking it for pusillanimity, became overbearing and scurrilous, in which he was seconded by all the other Swiss and Germans without exception. I said no more, and having tore away a wing of a boiled bird called *powese*, that stood before me (which bird had been

been shot by one of the rangers) I devoured it with little ceremony, and left the table, with a determination to support my character or die. Thus resolved, I first went to the hut of a sick soldier, whose sabre I borrowed (my own being broken) on pretence of going out to cut a few sticks; after this I went in quest of Mr. Meyland, and found him contentedly smoking his pipe by the water-side, looking at one of his friends who was angling. Having tapped him on the shoulder, I hastily told him, before the other, that now if he did not fight me that instant like a gentleman, I was determined to take revenge another way, with the flat of my sabre, where he stood. He at first declared that he had only meant a joke, and seemed for peace; but perceiving that I persisted, he with great *sang froid* knocked the tobacco-ashes from his pipe against the heel of his shoe; then having brought *his* sabre, we walked together without seconds about half a mile into the wood: here I stopt the captain short, and drawing my weapon, now desired him to stand on his defence; this he did, but at the same time observed, that as the point of his sword was broken off, we were unequally armed; and so indeed we were, *his* being still near one foot longer than my own; therefore calling to him that *sabres* were not made to thrust, but to cut with, I offered to make an exchange; but he refusing, I dropped mine on the ground, and eagerly with both hands endeavoured to wrest his from him, till (as I had

hold

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hold of it by the blade) I saw the blood trickle down all my fingers, and I was obliged to let go. I now grasped my own sabre, with which I struck at him many times, but without the least effect, as he parried every blow with the utmost facility; at last, with all his force, he made a cut at my head, which, being conscious I could not ward off by my skill, I bowed under it, and at the same instant striking sideways for his throat, had the good fortune to make a gash in the thick part of his right arm at least six inches long, the two lips of which appeared through his blue jacket, and in consequence of which his right-hand came down dangling by his side. I had, however, not escaped entirely unhurt, for his sabre, having passed through my hat without touching my scull, had glanced to my right shoulder, and cut it about one inch deep. At this time I insisted on his asking my pardon, or on firing both our pistols left-handed; but he chose the first, which ended the battle. I now reminded him that such Swiss jokes were always too serious to Englishmen; when we shook hands, and I conducted him, covered with blood, to the surgeon of his own corps, who having sewed up the wound, he went to his hammock, and for the space of several weeks performed no duty. Thus was I reconciled to Captain Meyland; and what gave me the greatest satisfaction, was his acknowledging the affront was offered, as finding it would be agreeable to Fourgeoud to have me mortified; and

and indeed ever after this acknowledgment we lived in the utmost intimacy. Peace, however, was not yet decreed to be my lot, for that very afternoon I found myself under the necessity of challenging two other officers, who had espoused Meyland's quarrel against me at dinner; but in this I had the satisfaction of establishing my character without violence or bloodshed, both of the gentlemen acknowledged their error; and I became at once the favourite of the camp.

On the 9th of November both columns met, and encamped together on the north side of the Wana Creek, near its mouth, where it runs into the Cormoetibo, placing advanced guards at both creeks, at one mile distance from it; and this very evening I took the opportunity of acquainting Colonel Fourceoud, that I had nearly cut off the head of his beloved countryman in a duel (well knowing he must be informed of it by others); which trespass he was not only pleased graciously to pardon, but to tell me with a smile that I was a *brave garçon*, but in those smiles I put no more trust than I would in the tears of a crocodile.

My doubts of his friendship were soon confirmed, since my only true friend, Campbell, going down sick to Devil's Harwar, he would not so much as allow the boat or ponkee to wait till I had finished a letter, directed to Joanna, for some clean linen; however, a ranger (of which corps I by this time was become a remarkable favourite) found

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means to enable me to overtake this poor young man in a corialla or small canoe, composed of one single piece of timber; when, shaking hands with Campbell, we separated with tears, and I never saw him more, for he died in a few days after. Colonel Fourgeoud now being determined to scour the north banks of the Cormoetibo, we broke up in two columns, viz. his own first, and that of Major Rughcop, to which last I still belonged, following; we left behind a strong guard, with the provisions for the sick. Before we set out, I shall specify the substance of our orders to be observed on a march, as issued since by the chief on the 15th of August 1774 at Caravassibo, and which, though nine months after this date, (being rather late) are so judicious, that they do infinite honour to his Adjutant Captain Van Giurike, who had the principal share in their composition: in

Article I. Quietness and sobriety was strongly recommended.

Article II. On pain of death none to fire without receiving orders.

Article III. Also death to whoever quits or loses his arms.

Article IV. The same punishment for those who dare to plunder while they are engaging the enemy.

Article V. An officer and serjeant to inspect the distribution of the victuals at all times; and

Article

EXPEDITION TO SURINAM.

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Article VI. Each officer to be limited in the number of his black attendants.

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The other orders were, “ That in case our marines
“ marched in two or three divisions or columns, they
“ were to mark the trees with a sabre or bill-hook, to
“ give intelligence to each other where they had passed,
“ in the manner noticed on Plate XX. where *A*, *B*, and *C*,
“ denote the marks cut by our first, second, and third
“ division or column, and *D*, *E*, and *F*, the marks made
“ by the several divisions or columns of the troops of the
“ Surinam society; which marks were to be cut in such
“ trees only as were on the left side in marching. Also
“ when the troops marched over sandy deserts, heaths, or
“ savannahs, they were occasionally to drop small twigs
“ or reeds, tied together in the form of a cross: and in
“ each camp, on the troops leaving it, were to be left a
“ bottle and blank paper; but if any thing particular
“ should happen, the same to be specified thereon. In
“ case of the troops being attacked on a march, a small
“ entrenchment was to be formed of the baggage-boxes,
“ at the back of which the negro slaves were to lie flat on
“ the ground; and this entrenchment to be defended by
“ the rear-guard only, while the other troops had orders
“ not to linger on the defensive, but vigorously, with
“ bayonets fixed, to rush in upon the enemy’s fire;
“ nevertheless humanely giving quarter to all such as
“ should be taken alive, or surrender themselves to the

These were the stated rules of our future military conduct ; but for the present I beg leave to observe, that every thing was in the most unaccountable hurry and confusion. In this way, however, we proceeded, keeping our course toward the mouth of the Cormoetibo Creek, each officer provided with a pocket compass, by which we were to steer, like sailors, through a dark wood, where nothing is to be seen but the heavens, as at sea nothing appears but clouds and water : thus those who were acquainted with navigation were the best qualified for marching, and ran the least hazard of losing themselves in a black unbounded forest. But those wretches who most deservedly attracted my pity, were the miserable negro slaves, who were bending under their loads ; whose heads, on which they carry all burthens, bore the bald marks of their servitude ;—they were driven forward like oxen, and condemned to subsist on half allowance, while they performed double drudgery. In short, to increase our misfortune, though in the dry season, the rains began to pour down from the heavens like a torrent, continuing all night : during this deluge (according to Colonel Fourgeoud’s order) we were all ordered to encamp without huts or other covering of any kind, slinging our hammocks between two trees, under which, upon two small forked sticks, were placed our fire-arms, as the only method of keeping the priming-powder dry in the pan ; above this piece of architecture did I hang, like Mahomet betwixt



betwixt the two loadstones, with my sabre and pistols in my bosom, and, in spite of wind and weather, fell most profoundly asleep.

On the 14th, at five o'clock in the morning, I was awaked by the sound of Up! up! up! when the rain still continuing, the half of the officers and men were sick, and I rose from my hammock soaked as in a wash-tub; having secured the lock of my firelock, in imitation of the rangers, with a piece of the bark of a palm-tree, and swallowing a dram, with a piece of dry rusk biscuit, for my breakfast, we again marched on. But I ought not to forget mentioning the negroes, who had the whole night slept in the water on the ground, and yet were in better health than any of the Europeans. Had we now been attacked by the enemy, we must inevitably have been all cut to pieces, being disabled from resisting with our fire-arms, in which not only the priming but even many of the cartridges were completely wet; this might have been prevented by having cased and waxed down our arms, as is practised by the buccaneers of America; but these were trifles not to be thought of: one thing, however, now happened which threatened to be no trifle, and that was, that the provisions were gone, and those we expected to meet us in the creek not arrived, having by some mistake been neglected. By this accident we were now reduced, officers and men without exception, to subsist on one rusk biscuit and water for our allowance for
twenty-

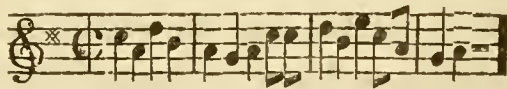
CHAPTER. twenty-four hours, to keep us from starving*: while it is to be remarked, that Monsieur Laurant, our hero's French valet-de-chambre, who had charge of the provision, was blown down to Baram's point, and another time sunk with all the provisions; which produced the impertinent remark from some of the soldiers, that the devil had mistaken him for his master. In the midst however of this distress, we were again presented by one of the rangers with a large bird, called here *booffij-calcoo*, being a species of wild turkey; of this fortunate acquisition it was resolved in the evening to make broth, each throwing a piece of his rusk biscuit into the kettle, and (standing round the fire) beginning to ladle away as soon as the broth began to boil, which had another virtue, viz. notwithstanding its being put over at six o'clock in the evening, at twelve o'clock at midnight the kettle was just as full as the first moment we had begun supper, though the broth was rather weaker I must acknowledge, the heavy rain having dashed into it without intermission. During this severe storm we were as destitute of huts as the night before, but I availed myself once more of my English petticoat trowsers, which, loosening from my middle, I hung about my shoulders, and continuing to turn round before the fire (like a fowl roasting on a string) I passed the hours

* This rusk biscuit is made of a coarse rye loaf, cut in two, and baked as hard as a stone; I often broke it with my fuzee, and was glad to eat it, though mouldered, and impregnated with worms, spiders, gravel, and even broken bottles.

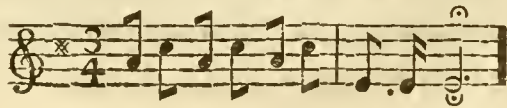
with rather more comfort than my miserable coughing companions. All I can say of the bird above mentioned is, that I thought it differed little from the common turkeys, which here frequently weigh above twenty pounds.

The largest bird in Guiana is there called *tuyew*, and by others *emu*. It is a middle species between the ostrich and the cassowary, as I was told, for I never saw one in the country : it is said to be about six feet high, from the top of the head to the ground ; its head is small, its bill flat, the neck and limbs long, the body round, without a tail, and of a whitish grey colour ; its thighs are remarkably thick and strong, and it has three toes on each foot, while the ostrich has but two. This bird, it is said, cannot fly at all, but runs very swiftly ; and, like the ostrich, assists its motion with its wings : it is mostly found near the upper parts of the rivers Marawina and Seramica. When speaking about birds, notwithstanding few of them *sing* here with any degree of melody, for which the beauty of their plumage is thought by some to compensate ; I was, during this march, so much charmed with two in particular, that I was induced to put their sweet notes to music. Those of the first

Rather quick



The second slow



These

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These notes they sung so true, so soft, and to such proper time, that in any other place I should have been inclined to believe they were the performance of a human artist upon his flute. As I never saw either of those birds but imperfectly and at a distance, I can say nothing more concerning them, than that they are frequently heard in marshy situations.

On the succeeding morning we marched again through very heavy rains, which by this time had swelled the water so high in the woods that it reached above our knees, and prevented us from crossing a small creek in our way, without the help of a temporary bridge.

I prevailed therefore on the rangers, with the help of a few slaves, to erect one, which they did in the space of forty minutes, by cutting down a straight tree, which fell directly across the creek, to this they also made a kind of railing; but still with this our commander Rughcop, whose temper was soured by misery, and whose constitution was already broken by hardships, was not pleased. He paid the rangers for their pains with oaths and reproaches, who, with a smile of contempt, left him swearing, and crossed the creek, some by swimming, and others by climbing up a tree whose branches hung over it, from which they dropped down on the opposite shore; in this I followed their example: and here we stopped till the arrival of the poor trembling and debilitated Major Rughcop, with two-thirds of his troops as sick as himself.

I still

I still continued in perfect health, but I was much stung by different insects, and torn by a thousand thorns or *maccaws*, particularly one species, which are strong black prickles of several inches long, that break short in the wound; they project like the back of a porcupine, on a kind of low or dwarf palm-tree, called the *cocareeta*, whose large branches diverge from the earth like the fire of a fúzz from a bomb. Another inconvenience to be met with throughout all the low and marshy places in the forest, is a kind of roots called *matakee*, and more vulgarly trumpets, on account of the form, resembling the windings of that instrument, which rise above ground like nebees, three or four feet high, continuing thus to an almost endless length, and so thick that, like our brambles, no dog can get through them; over these *matakees* it is extremely difficult to walk, as they every moment catch hold of the feet, and frequently trip up the body, unless at every footstep care is taken to step clear over them, which for short-limbed men is an absolute impossibility. With this inconvenience we were troubled throughout the whole march; but we had no opportunity of falling in with any kind of good roots, vegetables, or fruits for food, except a few *maripas*, which are a species of nuts that grow on a tall palm-tree, and are very much like the *avoira* that I have already described, only larger, and less of an orange colour, the stone and kernel being exactly the same.

We marched again with better weather, and arrived before noon at Jerusalem, near the mouth of Cormoetibo Creek, where I had formerly halted during my cruise. Here Colonel Fourceoud, with his drooping soldiers, was arrived just before us; and here we made our appearance, in such a shocking situation as will scarcely admit of description. It is sufficient to say, that the whole little army was exhausted by famine and fatigue, a very small number excepted; while several, unable to walk at all, had been carried upon poles by negro slaves in their hammocks: and during all this time we had discovered nothing. One thing is to be considered, that while the old gentleman himself went through all the above-mentioned hardships, (to which he seemed as invulnerable as a machine of iron or brass) we had the less reason to complain of bad usage. In short, having as usual plunged in the river, to wash off the mire and blood occasioned by the scratches, and having taken a refreshing swim, I looked round for my negroes to erect a comfortable hut; but in this I was disappointed, as they were employed by Mr. Rughcop to build his kitchen, although he had as yet nothing to dress in it. This piece of unpoliteness I for once overlooked; and the rangers having made me a nice bed of manicole-branches on the ground, (there being no trees in the place to sling a hammock) and having lighted a blazing fire by the side of it, I lay quietly down next to them on my green mattress, where, in a clear moonshine

moonshine night and no rain, I fell sound asleep. But about two hours before day-break I awaked, when the fire was out, the moon was down, and I almost dead with the cold dew and the damp that exhaled from the earth, being so stiff and benumbed that I had scarcely strength to crawl on hands and feet, and awake one of my sable companions; he, however, having kindled a new fire, I recruited so as at six o'clock to be able to rise, but with such excruciating pain in one of my sides that I could not avoid groaning aloud; but to prevent Fourgeoud and the others from hearing, I hid myself in the skirts of the wood; the pain however still augmenting, I soon was prevented from breathing without the greatest difficulty, and at last fell down behind the rotten trunk of an old cabbage-tree. In this situation I was discovered by one of the negro slaves who was going to cut rafters, and who, supposing me dead, ran instantly back, and alarmed the whole camp. I was taken up and carried in a hammock, by the care of a Captain Medler, under proper cover, and one of the Society surgeons instantly sent for to attend me. By this time I was surrounded by spectators, and the pain in my side became so acute, that, like one in the hydrophobia, I tore my shirt with my teeth, and bit whatever chanced to come near me; till being rubbed by a warm hand on my side with a kind of ointment, the complaint suddenly vanished like a dream, and I felt myself completely recovered.

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To prevent a relapse, however, the first use that I made of my strength was to cut a cudgel, with which I swore to murder the Berbice ruffian, Geusary, who had the management of the slaves, if he did not instantaneously employ them to build for me a comfortable hut, let who would order the contrary, my life being the dearest thing I had to regard; and following him close at his heels, with my cudgel clubbed upon my shoulder, I had the satisfaction to be well housed in the space of two hours. I must not omit, that Colonel Fourgeoud, during the crisis of my illness, had made me an offer of being transported to Devil's Harwar; but this I refused.

On the 13th the news arrived, that poor Campbell died on the preceding day; and now Major Rugheop himself was sent down extremely ill, being the eleventh sick officer during this short campaign. Being now almost starving for want of provisions, we were most opportunely supplied by a quantity of fish, particularly the *jackee*, already described as changing to a frog; and the *warappa*, which is of the same size, and equally good, both being very rich and fat; these fish were so plentiful in the marshes, where they were left by the retreating waters, that our negroes caught many with their hands, but mostly by striking at hazard in the mud with their bill-hooks and sabres; after which, grasping with their fingers, they brought up pieces and half fishes in great abundance. Another fish they also caught in the creek, called

coemma-

coemma-coemma, which is from one to three feet long, exceedingly sweet, but not near so delicious as the *jackee*, or *warappa*, which two last the negroes generally smoke-dry or barbacue, and which I was glad to eat without either bread or salt. The barbacuing consists in laying the fish upon twigs of wood above the fire, where, by the smoke, they dry to a consistency that gives them no disagreeable taste, and will preserve them for several weeks together: thus prepared, they require no further dressing.

On the 20th we detached a captain, with twenty privates and twenty rangers, to reconnoitre the demolished village of Boucou: on the following day Major Rugheop died; and now Colonel Fourgeoud resolved to march himself to Boucou, leaving me the command of four hundred men, white and black, two hundred of whom were sick in their hammocks; but of that number I transported thirty to die at Devil's Harwar, while I sent sixty rangers with leave down to Paramaribo. These latter went away declaring, that Fourgeoud's operations were only calculated to murder his own troops instead of the enemy's. Such is the nature of the negroes, that where they know nothing is likely to be done, they will not march; it is indeed extremely difficult to maintain proper discipline among them, and when they expect to see the enemy, nothing can possibly keep them back. It is amazing to observe, with what skill one negro discovers the haunts of another:

while

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while an European discerns not the smallest vestige of a man's foot in the forest, the roving eye of the negro-ranger catches the broken sprig, and faded leaf trod flat, without ever missing it; but when he finds the marks of the enemy being near, he can then no longer be restrained. This undoubtedly is inconsistent with modern tactics, but indicates that spirit of liberty, which in antient times alone completed the valiant soldier; and such was at this time the native and natural spirit of a people, who had but yesterday been slaves.

On the evening of the 21st, I availed myself once more of being commandant, by sending two barges for provisions, the one to La Rochelle and the other to Devil's Harwar, which last brought back a box with Boston biscuit, sent me from Paramaribo.

On this day two slaves were put in confinement, accused of having taken pork from the magazine; and I was addressed by the troops to inflict an exemplary punishment, the common soldiers despising the negro slaves, as in their imagination greatly below themselves, and stupidly considering them as the causes of their distress. Having found a large piece of pork in their custody, yet having no proof that was sufficient to establish the theft, I found myself greatly at a loss to distribute justice with satisfaction to both parties; the Europeans unmercifully accusing, and the poor slaves vindicating their starved companions in such a clamorous style, that the whole

camp was in an uproar. The first persisted that the latter had stolen it, and the others that they had saved it from their allowance, to take to their families. Affecting, therefore, the style of a despotic prince, I ordered first a ring to be formed of the plaintiffs, and next the prisoners to be let within it. I then, with a stern and loud voice, commanded a block and a hatchet to be brought. It was with heart-felt satisfaction that I found this solemn apparatus, and the apprehension that we might commit a rash and criminal action, soon dispelled every feeling of resentment in the soldiers, and I was implored by the very accusers to shew mercy. Obdurately stopping my ear, however, to all intreaty from either side, I made a strong negro slave take up the hatchet, and instantly chop the *pork* into three equal pieces; when, giving one share to the prosecutors, another to the malefactors, and the third to the executioner for having *so well* done his duty, the farce was ended to general satisfaction, and I heard no more of robberies or complaints.

On the 24th in the evening, two officers of the Surinam Society troops arrived from Devil's Harwar, recovered from their late indisposition. One of them, calling himself Le Baron de Z—b—h, and being infected with the *esprit de corps*, on his arrival seemed determined to espouse Captain Meyland's cause, abruptly alledging, that I had disgraced him by epithets unbecoming his dignity. I was amazed, and being conscious of my innocence, endeavoured

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to explain the matter in a friendly manner, in which I was seconded by a Mr. Rulagh, one of my officers; but the German, instead of being appeased, grew more outrageous, and plainly told me that he insisted on satisfaction. I never had less inclination to battle in all my life, I therefore left him without a reply, and walked towards my hut in the most gloomy mood imaginable. It was not long, however, before I felt my indignation suddenly re-ignite, when, armed with my sabre and pistols, I returned, fully determined to end the quarrel in the moon-shine. But now, finding the Baron retired to his hammock, I dispatched Mr. Rulagh with a summons, desiring he would tell him, that if he did not instantly turn out to fight me, I should come in, cut down the clews of his hammock with my knife, and treat him as I thought his pride and insolence deserved. Upon this appeared a figure that will never be effaced from my memory.

The Baron was more than the middle size, extremely thin and sallow, his meagre visage ornamented with a pair of enormous red whiskers under the nose, while a white *queue* near three feet long adorned his graceful back. He was in his under-waistcoat, and walked on stocking soles, which were black silk, darned with white worsted; these hanging down upon his heels, discovered his miserable spindle shanks; while on his head he wore a striped worsted night-cap of all colours, also in many holes;

holes; and over his breech his valour was displayed by his colours, which hung out, but the *blazon* of which I must not attempt to describe. Such was the figure that now, with all humiliation, offered to give me a *buss*, and intreated my forgiveness, pretending not to have understood me; which *last* I having granted with a loud laugh and a dram of brandy, he faced about, and by the quick step re-entered his den.

On the 26th Colonel Fourgeoud, with his party, returned from his trip to Boucou, having surrounded three straggling rebel negroes unarmed, as they were cutting a cabbage-tree for their subsistence. While one of them, called *Passup*, had escaped, another was taken alive, and a third, with his thigh shot to shivers by a slug cartridge, was first lashed hands and feet, and thus carried by two negroes on a pole, in the manner of a hog or a beer-barrel, bearing all the weight of his body upon his shattered limbs, which were dropping with blood, without a plaster or a bandage to cover the wounds, and with his head hanging downwards all the time; in which manner the unhappy youth, for he had not the appearance of being twenty, had been brought through thick and thin for above six miles distance from the camp, while he might just as well have been carried in one of the spare hammocks of the soldiers. I was shocked and surprised at this act of barbarity in Fourgeoud, whom I never had observed to be cruel in his cooler moments to an indivi-

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dual; indeed I must do him the justice to say, quite the reverse, unless he was opposed, as I must own he sometimes was by me; but on this occasion he was so flattered with this trophy of victory, that every spark of feeling and humanity was extinct. The body being laid on a table, I implored one of the surgeons, called Pino, to dress his wounds; on which, that he might seem to do something, he put just as many round patches as the slugs had made holes, declaring he could never recover, and singing *Dragons pour boire* during the operation.— Poor negro! what must have been his feelings! The fever increasing, he begged for some water, which I gave him myself clean out of my hat, when he said, “Thank ye, me Masera,” sighed, and, to my inexpressible satisfaction, instantly expired. His companion, called September, was more fortunate, for Fourgeoud, in hopes of making some discoveries, regaled and treated him with more distinction than he did any of his officers; while September, looking as wild as a fox newly caught, was put in the stocks during the night; and his companion was interred by the negro slaves, with those marks of commiseration which his unhappy fate demanded from every human being. According to their custom, they spread his grave with the green boughs of the palm-trees, and offered a part of their scanty allowance by way of libation. The following day Mr. Stoelman, the militia captain, being arrived, to stay one day only in the camp, I took the opportunity

opportunity to remind Colonel Fourgeoud of what he had told me concerning his unbecoming insinuations, which I begged him now to repeat in that gentleman's hearing, as I was determined to have this matter cleared up, and to obtain that satisfaction to which I thought myself entitled. But the gallant Colonel was not easily brought to proof.—He now imputed all the blame to Major Rughcop, who was dead, and requested of me to say nothing more about it. I left him with contempt, and shook hands with my supposed adversary; and then, to his inexpressible surprise, told him all that had happened. The consequence was, that in less than two hours the captain quitted Fourgeoud and Jerusalem in disgust, and was followed by the remaining rangers.

On the 29th, Captain de Borgnes was made major in Rughcop's place; but no new subalterns were created, Fourgeoud declaring he had no more materials to fabricate them with: which in part might be true amongst the serjeants; but two brave youths, both gentlemen's sons, who had entered as volunteers, and gone through every danger and fatigue, remained unnoticed in the ranks, the one named *Sheffer*, the other *Meyer*;—such ever was, and ever will be, *too frequently*, the consequence of wanting friends and fortune.

“ Et genus et virtus nisi cum re vilior alga est.”

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The Troops march back to the Wana Creek—The Rebels pass near the Camp—Pursued without Success—Great Distress for Want of Water—Mineral Mountains—The Troops arrive at La Rochelle, in Patamaca.

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ON the 30th of November, 1773, the whole of the troops broke up together, and leaving Jerusalem, we once more marched back to the Wana Creek, but did not keep exactly the track that had brought us thither: Colonel Fourgeoud, however, revoking his former orders, now allowed his remaining party to sling their hammocks *under cover*, of which indeed *he*, at this crisis, condescended to set them the example; thus were we at least more comfortably lodged, but, I am sorry to add, not more comfortably victualled, while the old gentleman himself wanted for nothing that was good.

We continued our march for three days successively, with good weather; but I was every night awaked out of my sound sleep by a sentinel, who was sent by the colonel's orders to disturb me, with a charge of having *whistled* or *spoke*.

On the 3d we arrived once more at the Wana Creek. Here, after a fatiguing march, I flattered myself with the hope

hope of recruiting my exhausted strength and spirits by a quiet night's rest ; but was once more awoken, though so sound was my sleep, that the sentinel was obliged to shake me three or four times by the shoulder. I then started up, denying the charge ; but Fourgeoud himself, sitting upright in his hammock, now swore, in a tremendous voice, that he was determined to *hang* and *quarter* whoever should dare to disobey his orders, the dark and gloomy woods resounding with his bellowing threats. A deadly silence succeeded this storm throughout the camp, till I happened to break it, by bursting out into an immoderate fit of laughter, in which I was instantly accompanied by so many others, that he began to roar like thunder, without being able to distinguish one person's voice from another. In this music he was seconded by a large toad, called here the *pipa*, to which monster he actually gave shelter in his hut, and which kept croaking every night, with such a voice as could only be exceeded by Fourgeoud himself, or by that of his countryman, a Swisserland bear. Morpheus I now invoked to befriend me again, but to no purpose, such was the impression which these several roarings had left on my mind ;—and in this gloomy temper I shall describe this hateful gloomy animal, the colonel's dear companion, *viz.* the *pipa*, the largest of all the toads in South America, if not in the world.

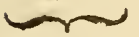
The *pipa* is an animal supposed by some to partake of

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both the nature of the frog and the toad. It is the most hideous of all creatures upon earth, covered over with a dark brown scrofulous skin, very uneven, and marked with irregular black spots; the hinder feet of the creature are webbed, and the toes longer than those before: thus it can both swim and leap like a frog, in which it differs from other toads. Its size is often larger than a common *duck* when plucked and pinioned; and its croaking, which takes place generally in the night, inconceivably loud. But what is most remarkable in this monster, is the manner of its propagation: the young ones being hatched till they become tadpoles in a kind of watery cells on the back of the mother, in which the embryo's existence first commences; for on the back she is impregnated by the male, and thence issues this most extraordinary birth.

Toads are not venomous, as is generally imagined, and are even tameable: as, for instance, Mr. Awcott fed one for many years, and Colonel Fourgeoud kept his as a domestic favourite during the whole time of our campaign at Wana Creek; indeed I myself have since lodged a tame *frog*. That the last mentioned animals are eatable as far as their thighs, I also know by experience: but their taste is extremely insipid.

To return at once to my hammock and journal.—The croaking of this pipa; the hammering of another, which produces a loud and constant sound of *tuck, tuck, tuck*, from



sun-set to sun-rise ; the howling of the baboons ; the hissing of the snakes, tigers, &c. ; to which add the growling of Fourgeoud, and sometimes heavy rains into the bargain, made the night very uncomfortable and gloomy indeed. The rising sun, however, dispelled my resentment ; and having taken a sound nap during the day, I was as well after it, and as well pleased, as the forest of Guiana could make me.

On the morning of the 4th, I discovered a couple of fine *powesas* on the branches of a high tree near the camp, and requested liberty from the chief to shoot one of them, which however was bluntly refused me, on pretence that the enemy might hear the report of my musquet, though by the way, if it be not a solecism so to express myself, they knew better where we were than we did ourselves. A little after, however, a large snake appearing on the top of another tree, it was ordered to be shot immediately, whether from fear or antipathy I know not. On the discharge of the musquet the animal fell to the ground, quite alive, and slid instantly into a thicket near the magazine. Upon this occasion I had an opportunity of remarking the uncommon intrepidity of a soldier, who, creeping in after the reptile, brought it out from among the brambles, superstitiously pretending that he was invulnerable to its bite. However this may be, the snake, which was above six feet long, erected its head and half its body successively to attack him, and he as often

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often knocked it down with his fist, and at last with his sabre severed it in two pieces, which ended the battle; for doing which he was regaled by Fourgeoud with a dram of rum.

Lest I should be accused of introducing a word which is probably new and unintelligible to my readers, I will beg leave to add, that the *powesa*, or peacock-pheasant of Guiana, is a beautiful bird indeed, about the size of a common turkey, to which it bears a resemblance both in appearance and taste. Its feathers are a shining black, except on the belly; its legs are yellow, and also its bill, except near the point, where it is blue and arched. Its eyes are lively and bright, and on its head it is crested with a brilliant plume of black frizzled feathers, which give it a noble appearance. These birds cannot fly far; and being easily tamed, may be reared for domestic purposes: at Paramaribo they are frequently sold for more than a guinea a-piece. Another bird peculiar to Guiana, called by the French the *agame*, and in Surinam *camy-camy*, I will also take this opportunity to describe.—It is, like the former, nearly the size of a turkey, but totally different in its formation and plumage; its body, which has no tail, being perfectly the shape of an egg: it is also black, except on the back, where it is of a grey colour, and on its breast, where the feathers are blue and long, hanging down like those of the heron. The eyes are bright, the bill is pointed, and of a blueish green, as are also its legs.

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The Agamy, & Plover or Peacock Pheasant.

The vulgar name of this bird in this country is the *trumpeter*, on account of the sound it frequently makes, which bears some distant resemblance to that of a trumpet, but whence that sound proceeds is not in my power to certify: some suppose it is made by the nose. Of all the feathered creation this bird is the most tameable, and the greatest friend to man, whom it follows, caresses, and even seems to protect with the attachment of a dog. I have seen many of them kept on the estates, where, like the *powesa*, they are reared for domestic uses, and feed among the turkeys and other poultry.

On the 6th I received six gallons of rum from Paramaribo, four of which I gave as a present to Fourgeoud.

About six in the evening two of our slaves, who had been out to cut *manicoles*, brought intelligence that a gang of rebels had passed not above a mile from the camp, headed by a Captain Arico, with whom they had spoken on the banks of the Cornoetibo Creek, but could not tell which way they steered their course, so much had they been terrified. On this information we received orders to pursue them by break of day; and the next morning, at five o'clock, all was ready, and we again broke up, leaving a detachment with the stores, and repaired to the spot whence the intelligence proceeded. Here we saw a large palm or *mawrisee* tree*, floating in

* The largest of all the palm species.

the river, and moored to the opposite shore by a nebee, which plainly indicated that Arico, with his men, had crossed the creek, which they do by riding astride on the floating trunk, the one behind the other, in which manner they are ferried over, (sometimes with women and children) by those who are the best swimmers.

Notwithstanding this plain evidence, the faith of our colonel, Fourgeoud, now began to waver, and he averred that it was no more than a stratagem of the rebels, who, he said, had come from the place to which we supposed them gone, and who had only tied the tree across the river to deceive us.

To this opinion neither myself nor the other officers could subscribe ; but no arguments would prevail with him, and we marched directly from them, *viz.* east, instead of crossing and pursuing them west, as the rangers would certainly have done : thus we kept on till it was near dark, though the bread was forgotten, and the whole day not a drop of water to be obtained, marching through high sandy heaths or savannahs. After inclining a little to the right, we were just upon the point of making a camp, when a negro called out that we were come to the Wana Creek. This in my ears was a welcome sound ; and giving him a calabash, and the best part of a bottle of my rum, I desired him to run to the creek, and make me some grog, and this he did ; but the poor fellow, never having made grog before, poured in all
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the spirits and but very little water, doubtless thinking, that the stronger it was the better; which beverage I swallowed to the bottom, without taking time to taste it, and I became instantly so much intoxicated that I could hardly keep my feet.

On the 9th we found ourselves returned to our old camp, from a fruitless cruise, when Colonel Fourceoud set the captive negro, September, at liberty, who followed like a shepherd's dog attending a flock; but our commander in chief was indefatigable, and not only crossed and reconnoitred the west side of the creek himself, but filling our knapsacks, we the next morning set out in the same track we had kept the eighth, he still persisting that he should overtake the enemy. Having thus marched till towards dark, we altered our course, and passed the night in an old camp of the rebel negroes, having again passed the whole day without water.

The following day we still proceeded, but neither enemies nor water were to be found: the men and officers now began to be extremely faint, and some were already carried in their hammocks. It was by this time indeed insufferably hot, being in the very heart of the dry season. In this dilemma we dug a hole six feet deep, in the bottom of which a ball cartridge being fired, a little moisture began to trickle forth, but so slow and so black, that it proved not to be of the least use.

We still marched on, and encamped in an old weedy field,

field, where the rebels some time before had cultivated plantations. During the night it was truly affecting to hear the poor soldiers lament for want of drink, but to no purpose; for in spite of all this misery, Fourgeoud still persisted in going forward even the third day, building his hopes on meeting with some creek or rivulet to alleviate this general distress. In this he was however mistaken; for having again, on the 12th, marched over burning sands till about noon, he dropped down himself, amongst a number of others, a miserable spectacle, for want of means to slake their raging and intolerable thirst. It was happy that in this situation we were not attacked by the negroes, as it must have been impossible to make any resistance, the ground being strewed with distressed objects that appeared to be all of them in raging fevers. Despair now seemed to be impressed even upon Fourgeoud's countenance, as he lay prostrate on the earth, with his lips and tongue parched black; and in this condition, though so little deserving of it, he again attracted my pity.

During all this, some of the soldiers still devoured salt pork, while others crept on all fours and licked the scanty drops of dew from the fallen leaves that lay scattered on the ground. I now experienced the kindness of which a negro is capable when he is well treated by his master, being presented by one attending me with a large calabash of as good water as ever I drank in my life; and this he

met with, after unspeakable difficulty, in the leaves of a few wild pine-apple plants, from which it was extracted in the following manner :

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The plant is held in one hand, and a sabre in the other, when at one blow it is severed from the root, through the thick under parts of the leaves. It is then held over a cup or calabash, and the water flows pure, cool, and to the quantity sometimes of a quart from each plant. This water has been caught in the time of the rains by the channelled leaves of the plant, and conveyed to their proper reservoir. Some other negroes found means to relieve themselves by the *water-withy*, but this was not sufficient to assist the dying troops. The *water-withy* is a kind of very thick nebee of the vine species, which grows only in very sandy places, this being slashed with the sabre in long pieces, and suddenly held to the mouth, produces a limpid stream, and affords a pleasing, cool, and healthy beverage, of great service in the parching forests of Guiana.

As Providence had graciously sent me this supply, I could not for my soul resist the impulse of sharing my relief with poor Fourgeoud, whose age and natural infirmities pleaded greatly in his favour ; and who, being now refreshed, saw himself at last obliged to return, without any further hope of overtaking the enemy. But so exhausted was the party, that many were carried on long poles in their hammocks by the slaves.

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As his last resource, our commander now detached the Berbicean negro, *Gausarie*, by himself, to try if he could bring him any intelligence while we continued our retreat. As we returned by our former footsteps, and of consequence approached the pit we had dug yesterday, I was convinced that by this time it must contain clear water. I therefore dispatched my boy Quaco to the front, to fill one of my gallon bottles before it should be changed to a puddle, and this he did ; but being met on his return by Colonel Fourgeoud, he with the butt end of his gun relentlessly knocked the bottle to pieces, and doubling his pace, placed two sentinels at the pit, with orders to preserve the water all for himself and his favourites. But at this moment subordination being extinguished, the two protectors were forced headlong into the pit, followed by several others, who all fought to come at the water, which being now changed to a perfect mire, was good for nothing. Having slung our hammocks in an old rebel camp, a dram of *kill-devil* was distributed to each without distinction ; but, as I never used this fluid, I offered my share to my faithful negro who had given me the water : this being observed by old Fourgeoud, he ordered it to be snatched out of the poor man's hand, and returned into the earthen jar ; telling me, " I must either " drink it myself, or have none." I was exceedingly exasperated at this mark of ingratitude, and finding means

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to procure that very evening a whole bottle, I gave it to the slave.

Near midnight, accidentally good water was discovered—Good God! what joyful news!—how sweet the taste! surpassing any wine; and such as I shall ever gratefully remember!—Now all drank heartily, and Fourgeoud ordered a warm supper to be boiled for himself, but not so much as a fire to be lighted for any other person, forbidding even the cutting of a stick; thus were we forced to eat our salt beef and pork *raw*. However, having tied my small allowance to a string, I hung it quietly over the side of *his* kettle, to have it dressed; but his black cook chancing to drop a log of wood upon another in his eagerness to assist me, alarmed the hero, when I was obliged to drop my luncheon into the kettle, and take to my heels.

The old gentleman now insisting that some person had cut sticks against his orders, I quietly stepped up to his hammock in the dark, to undeceive him, and softly assured him that the whole camp was fast asleep; when he, on pretence of not knowing me, suddenly gave a loud roar, and, with both his hands, caught hold of me by the hair of the head. I escaped, and got fairly under cover, while he called, “Fire at him! fire at him!” to the infinite amusement of the whole camp, who lay in their hammocks convulsed with laughter. Having found out Quaco, I instantly sent him back to bring my luncheon; and such was his diligence, that he actually brought

brought me back a piece of beef at least ten times as large as what I had left, with which I had once more the satisfaction to regale the poor slaves : and thus ended this horrid day.

The 13th we once more returned to the Wana Creek, fatigued beyond the power of description with these fruitless sufferings.

Here the old gentleman regaled his friends with my rum in my presence, and without offering me a single drop. Here also I found a letter from the island of Ceylon in the East Indies, where my friend and relation, Mr. Arnoldus De Ly, being governor of Poind-de-Gale and Maturce, I was invited to come and find my fortune ready made, but which for the present my evil stars prevented my accepting, as it would have been dishonourable to leave the service at this juncture.

The following day the negro Gausarie returned from his expedition, reporting that he had discovered nothing.

Captain Fredericy, who had marched on the 20th ult. with forty men, white and black, from Jerusalem, not having been heard of since, it was apprehended he had met with some dreadful accident, and, in consequence, on the 15th, two captains, two subalterns, and fifty men, were dispatched to the river Marawina for some intelligence.

The post at the Marawina, which is called Vredenburgh, consists of houses surrounded with palisades in a kind of square,



The Military Post Vreedenburgh, at the Marawina.



View of the three Encampments at the Mana Creek.

square, which are all built of the manicole-tree, with which the woods of Guiana so much abound. On the outer side are a guard and four sentinels, and the fort itself is defended by several cannon. It is situated in an opening, on the banks of the river, where is placed a large flag, and where the garrison communicates with the French post on the opposite shore, both being situated at but little distance from the mouth of the Marawina. To give the best idea of this spot, I shall present the reader with a view of it, as also of our situation at the Wana Creek, which, however beautiful on paper, was a dreadful post to many unfortunate sufferers.

In the annexed Drawing, three camps are distinctly exhibited; those of Colonel Fourceoud and of the deceased Major Rughcop, on both sides of the Wana Creek, and that which was lately the rangers, directly opposite to its mouth.

The barges, &c. were ordered on the same day to bring up provisions, and take down the sick; but at this very time the whole camp was attacked by that dreadful distemper the bloody flux, which is both infectious and epidemical, and daily carried numbers to their grave. An emetic, or some other medicine, administered at random, were the only relief in our power, as there was not a proper surgeon on the spot, all of them being engaged at the hospitals in Comewina and in Paramaribo.

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The poor slaves were peculiarly unhappy, who, as I have stated, having but half allowance, lived for months on the produce of the cabbage-tree, seeds, roots, wild berries, &c. and to this circumstance may be attributed the first introduction of this dangerous disease into the camp. So starved indeed were these wretched negroes, that they tied ropes or nebes about their naked bodies, which is a practice of the Indians when their abdomens are shrunk with hunger, as they find by experience, or at least fancy, that the pain occasioned by want of food is relieved by the compression. I, however, with a few others, escaped the infection, but I was laid up with a miserable bad cold and swelled foot; which disease is called the *consaca*, and is not unlike our chilblains in Europe, as it occasions a very great itching, particularly between the toes, whence issues a watery fluid.

The negroes are very subject to this complaint, which they cure by applying the skin of a lemon or lime, made as hot as they can bear it.

I have frequently had occasion to mention our provisions, *viz.* salt beef, pork, rusk, biscuit, and water, for our allowance, which were dealt out regularly every five or six days; the two former having perhaps made the tour of the world, after leaving Ireland, and were even so green, so slimy, so stinking, and sometimes so full of worms, that at other times they would not have remained upon my stomach.

stomach. But I have not described our furniture. This, however, will not occupy much time, as it consisted only of a square box or chest for each officer, to carry his linen, fresh provisions, and spirits, when he had either. These boxes served not only as cupboards, but as chairs and tables in the camp. On a march they were carried on the head of a negro: I must observe, moreover, that we had no light after six o'clock in the evening, that of the moon excepted, when all was solemn and melancholy beyond description.

I had not so much as a trencher, bason, spoon, or fork: for the first and second I made a negro's calabash serve me; a fork I wanted not, and a spoon but seldom: instead of that article, therefore, I used a folded leaf, agreeably to the practice of the slaves; and as for a knife, each person carried one in his pocket. I at last contrived to make a lamp by breaking a bottle; in which having melted some pork, it produced a quantity of oil, and a slip of my shirt served for a wick. Necessity is proverbially ingenious, and in such a situation every nicety is forgotten. Indeed, could I now have had what formerly I left upon my plate, I should have ardently thanked God for it.

When speaking of ingenuity, I ought not to forget a number of pretty baskets which were made by the negroes in the camp, and which, they having taught me to construct, I also made to amuse myself, and sent them as

presents to several friends at Paramaribo. These baskets were composed of a kind of strong ligneous cord that is found in the bark of the cabbage-tree, and, as Dr. Baueroft expresses it, consists of a web-like plexus, which is divided cross-wise in long, hard, polished threads, brown and as tough as whalebone. These threads are drawn from it, and the filaments or fibres are made use of as withies are used in England. For holding fish at ombre or quadrille, nothing can be better or more beautiful; but those that are large for holding fruit, vegetables, &c. are quite different, and made of a kind of bulrush, called *warimbo*, which is first split and deprived of its pithy substance: the thin nebees make also no bad baskets. The negroes here besides made curious nets, and even hammocks, of the silk grass plant.

This is a species of wild aloe that grows in the woods: the leaves are indented and prickly, and contain longitudinally very strong and small white fibres, which are bruised and beaten to hemp. With this we made ropes stronger than any in Europe. These would answer perfectly for the rigging of ships and other purposes, had it not been discovered that they are sooner liable to rot in the wet. This kind of hemp is so very much like white silk, that the importation is forbidden in many countries, to prevent imposition by selling it for the same; and the fraud is more difficult to be detected when it is artfully mixed with silk. By the Indians this plant is called *curetta*,

and in Surinam vulgarly Indian soap, as it contains a saponaceous, pulpy substance, which answers for washing as common soap, and is employed for that purpose by the negroes and many others. Another plant much resembling this, is by the black people termed *baboon knifée*, as it sometimes cuts through the skin to the very bone, of which I myself had some proofs in this wilderness, but without any ill consequence.

In the manner I have already related the time was spent during this period, in which the whole camp was destitute of stockings, shoes, hats, &c. Colonel Fourgeoud walked a whole day barefooted himself to furnish an example of patience and perseverance, and to keep the few remaining troops from murmuring. In this respect I had fairly the advantage of all the company, my skin being (the swelled foot or consaca, and a few scratches excepted) perfectly whole from my habit of walking thus, while not a sound limb was to be found among the rest, whose legs in general were broken out in dreadful ulcers, with a discharge of pus. I have already in part accounted for this inconvenience, and shall still farther account for it, by observing, that while the stockings and shoes of these unhappy people remained, they were never off the feet of many wearers, who, after marching through water, mud, and mire, in this filthy condition, rested during the night in their hammocks, where, in fair weather, before morning this filth was dried upon their limbs, and in consequence
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caused an itching and redness on the skin, which by scratching broke out in many places; these wounds soon became scrofulous, and ended in open sores and ulcers, which, from the want of care and proper application, often changed to mortification and intolerable swellings, by which some lost their limbs, and others even their lives when they were not saved by amputation. Such were the causes, and such the effects of the evils we had to struggle with; but they were far from the whole of our wretchedness, and might be called only the precursors of what we had still to undergo.

At this time a compliment of a fine *ham* and a dozen of port wine being sent me by Captain *Van Coeverden*, I gave all in a present to poor *Fourgeoud*, who was emaciated with fatigue, except four bottles which I drank with the other officers; and next day, the 29th, I had the honour to be ordered on a patrol with Colonel *des Borgnes*, and forty privates, *once more* to try if we could not take the negroes who had crossed the creek *three weeks* before.

Having dropped down the river with a barge, in which we lay all night, we landed the following morning, and marched N. E.; after which, being without a compass, we soon lost our way, and having crossed a large sand-savanna, slung our hammocks in the skirts of a thick and obscure wood. On the 31st we again set out the same course, in hopes of meeting with the marks of some former

former path cut upon the trees by some of our troops ; but were mistaken, for having got into a marsh, where we waded till noon up to our chins, at the hazard of being drowned, we saw ourselves under the necessity of returning the same way we came, perfectly soaked and in rags ; and after a forced march encamped once more on the banks of Comtoetibo Creek, in such a heavy shower of rain during the whole night as I did seldom remember, which caused so much confusion and hurry, each striving to build his shed, and get under cover first, that I got a broken head, but persevering was one of the first in slinging my hammock ; above which spreading green boughs, and under which having lighted a comfortable fire, I fell most profoundly asleep in the middle of the smoke, which saved me from the stings of the musquitoes.

While speaking of insects, I ought not to forget that this evening one of the negro slaves who had been looking for dry wood, presented me, to my great surprise, with a beetle no less than three or four inches in length, and above two in breadth, called in Surinam the *rhinoceros*, on account of its proboscis or horn, which is hooked, forked, and thick as a goose-quill ; on the head it has many hard polished knobs ; the limbs are six ; the wings are large, and the whole animal is perfectly black, being the largest of all the beetle kind in America.

In Guiana is also another species of these insects, called the *cerf-volant*, or flying hart, from its exuberances resembling the horns of a stag; both these beetles fly with an uncommon buzzing noise, and are so strong, that but very few birds dare to attack them. One of the greatest plagues however we met with in the forest, was a fly as large as a common bee, the stings of which were almost equally powerful; the negroes call it the *cow-fly*; this I can best I think compare to what is called the *hippoboscus* or *horse-fly* in Great Britain.

Having slept most soundly for six or seven hours, in spite of the rains, the smoke, the musquitoes, and my broken head, I turned out perfectly refreshed at five, and at six we commenced the year 1774, by marching up along the banks of the Cormoetibo till mid-day, when we arrived once more at the *grand* encampment at the mouth of the Wana Creek, from, as usual, a fruitless cruise.

On the 3d, to our joy returned also Captain Fredericy, with his party, bringing in a captive negro in chains, called *Cupido*; and relating that a poor soldier of the Society troops, on receiving his pardon, when on his knees to be shot, was gone out of his senses.

Colonel Fourgeoud being finally determined to break up this campaign, sent out a party of sixty men to cruise on the way to Patamaca before him.

I now washed my shirt, the last I had, in the Wana Creek (but was obliged to keep swimming till it was dried

by

by the sun) my letter, sent for linen, having never reached Paramaribo, and what I had brought with me being torn to rags.

On the 4th of January, at six o'clock in the morning, all were ready to decamp. Thus having sent down the barges with the sick to Devil's Harwar, we at last crossed Cormoetibo Creek, and marched first directly south for Patamaca, over steep mountains covered with stones and impregnated with minerals. This again contradicts Dr. Bancroft's observations, these mountains not being above twenty miles from the ocean, though he asserts that no hill is to be found at near fifty miles from the sea. In the evening we encamped at the foot of a high hill, where we found a small rivulet of good water, and a number of manicole-trees, the two chief requisites. It is curious, and indeed beautiful, to behold, in the space of an hour, a green town spring up as it were from nothing, and a little after all the fires lighted, on which the men are boiling their hard fare, while others are employed in drying their cloaths; though, as I have stated, this last was by no means a general rule, the greater number preferring to let them rot on their bodies.

This night, however, the whole camp was disturbed by a diarrhoea complaint, occasioned by drinking the water we found here, which indeed was very pure, but was so impregnated with minerals, that it tasted almost like that of Bath or the German Spa. This is a circumstance

CHAPTER. which I think indicates that these mountains contain
 XI. metals, if the Dutch would go to the expence of searching
 in their bowels.

On the 5th we marched the same course again over mountains and dales, some of which were so excessively steep that one or two of the slaves, not being able to ascend them loaded, threw down their burdens, and deserted, not to the enemy, but found their way to their masters estates, where they were pardoned; while others tumbled down, burthen and all, from top to bottom.

This evening we found our quarters ready-made, and lodged in the *wigwams* or huts that were left standing when the rice country was destroyed, and Bonny with his men put to flight; in that where I lay I found a very curious piece of candle, which the rebels had left behind, composed of bees-wax and the heart of a bulrush.

Bonny's own house, where Fourgeoud lodged, was a perfect curiosity, having four pretty little rooms, and a shed or piazza inclosed with neat manicole palisades.

The whole corps appearing on the 6th excessively fatigued, Fourgeoud ordered a general day of rest, only detaching Captain Fredericy with six men, as he knew the country best, to reconnoitre the banks of the *Claas Creek*, a water that issued from near this place in the upper parts of Rio Cottica. They were hardly marched when the eye of our chief by chance falling on me, he ordered

me

me instantly to follow *alone*, and return with a report of what I could discover on the *other* side the creek. I overtook the party soon, when after a short march we were in water up to our very arm-pits; Fredericy now ordered a retreat, but desiring him to wait for me, I took off all my cloaths, and with only my sabre in my teeth, swam by myself across the Creek, where having ranged the opposite shore, and finding nothing, I again swam back, after which we all returned to the camp.

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At noon, making my report to Colonel Fourgeoud, he was astonished indeed at this desperate action, which in fact he had not expected; but I was not less amazed when he took me by the hand, entertaining me with a bottle of wine, and ordering Monsieur Laurant to set some bacon-ham before me, to find, however incredible it may appear, that the one was actually sour, and the other creeping with live worms; while my own provisions, *now his*, which were fresh, were withheld me. This meanness so much exasperated me, that, starting up, I left Fourgeoud, his valet, his wine, and his reptiles, with that contempt which they deserved, alleviating my hunger with a piece of dry rusk biscuit and a barbacued fish, called *warappa*, which I got from a negro.

On the 7th of January we marched again; and this day having caught one of those beautiful large *butterflies* of which I made mention during my cruize in the river Cottica, I will here attempt to give a more particular

description of it, though I know nothing about their names. This fly measured, in the extension of the wings from tip to tip, about seven inches; the colour of both the superior and inferior wings is of such a vivid and splendid blue, as can only be compared to the azure sky in a bright day, to which not the purest ultramarine coloured satten can approach: the under side is of a lovely brown variegated with spots. I cannot help repeating, that its skimming and hovering with such a magnitude, and such a hue, among the different shades of green, had the most enchanting effect. Of the antennæ, head, thorax, and abdomen, I shall only say that they were dark coloured. This fly, if I mistake not, is, according to the division of Linnæus, of the Danai species. I never saw the chrysalite or aurelia; but the caterpillar, which is of a yellowish grey colour, is as thick as a large man's finger, and about four inches long. The annexed drawing I have improved from one of Miss Merian. Various and innumerable indeed are the butterflies with which the forests of Guiana abound; some people, in fact, who make fly-catching their business, get much money by it; and having arranged them in paper-boxes, with pins stuck through them, send them off to the different cabinets of Europe. Doctor Bancroft mentions, touching them with spirits of turpentine as necessary to preserve them, but fixing a piece of camphor in the box with the flies is quite sufficient.

This



Azure blue Butterfly of South America?

This evening we encamped near the Patamaca Creek, where the poor negro woman cried bitterly, and scattered some victuals and water at the root of a tree by way of libation, as being the spot where her husband was interred, who had been shot in some former skirmish by the Europeans.

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Here Captain Fredericy and myself, walking without the skirts of the camp in a sandy savannah, discovered the fresh footsteps of a large tiger with her young, at which time they are extremely ferocious: we thought it prudent therefore to make a sudden retreat. I measured the diameter of the dam's claws printed in the sand, which were nearly of the dimensions of an ordinary pewter-plate.

Having marched a few hours longer the succeeding morning, we at last arrived at the Society post La Rochelle in Patamaca; such a display of meagre, starved, black, burnt, and ragged tatterdemalions, and mostly without shoes or hats, as I think were never before beheld in any country. They could be compared to nothing but a gang of gypsies, while their leader was not unlike Bampfild Moore Carew, and myself at best like the forlorn Crusoe in his worst condition, with my only check shirt and the one-half of my trowsers, the rest being torn away. Here we found a set of poor wretches ready to enter the woods which we had just left, and destined to undergo in the same manner the severest misery that ever was inflicted

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on sublunary beings. I have already mentioned the prickly heat, ring-worm, dry gripes, putrid fevers, bilis, consaca, and bloody flux, to which human nature is exposed in this climate; also the musquitoes, Patat and Scrapat lice, chigoes, cock-roaches, ants, horse-flies, wild-bees, and bats, besides the thorns, briers, the alligators, and peree in the rivers; to which if we add the howling of the tigers, the hissing of serpents, and the growling of Fourgeoud, the dry sandy savannas, unfordable marshes, burning hot days, cold and damp nights, heavy rains, and short allowance, the reader may be astonished how any person was able to survive the trial. Notwithstanding this black catalogue, I solemnly declare I have omitted many other calamities that we suffered, as I wish to avoid prolixity, though perhaps I have been already too often guilty of it. I might have mentioned indeed lethargies, dropsies, &c. &c. besides the many small snakes, lizards, scorpions, locusts, bush-spiders, bush-worms, and centipedes, nay, even flying lice, with which the traveller is perpetually tormented, and by which he is constantly in danger of being stung; but the description of which cursed company I must defer to another opportunity.

The reader may form some conception of the famished state in which we came hither, when I inform him, that the moment of our arrival, observing a negro woman supping on plantain broth from a calabash, I gave her half-a-crown, and snatching the bason from her hands, I devoured

devoured the contents with a greater relish than I have ever tasted any delicacy before or since during my whole existence. I now observed to Colonel Fourgeoud, how pitiable it was, not to regale his remaining soldiers with vegetables and fresh beef or mutton, besides providing them with hats, stockings, shoes, &c.; but he replied, that Hannibal had lost his army at Capua by too much indulgence. In short, he quoted not only Hannibal but Horace for his example, according to the advice given in a certain pamphlet,

Ibit eo quo vis qui Zonam perdidit;

and appeared fully convinced, that no persons will behave so desperately in action as those who are tired of their lives.

On the 11th, the other party which had left Wana the day before ourselves, arrived, having, according to custom, neither taken nor seen any thing.

On the 12th, one of the rebels with his wife came to La Rochelle, and surrendered themselves voluntarily to the commander in chief. This day Fourgeoud acquainted me now himself, that I was at liberty to go and refit at Paramaribo when I thought proper. This proposal I gladly accepted, and that moment prepared for my departure, with some other officers, leaving behind us himself and a band of such scare-crows as would have disgraced

CHAP. disgraced the garden or field of any farmer in England.

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Among these was a Society captain, named Larcher, who declared to me he never combed, washed, shaved, or shifted, or even put off his boots, till all was rotted from his body. At last arrived the happy hour, when, taking leave of my tattered companions, I and five more, with a tent-boat and six oars, rowed straight down for Paramaribo, still in good health and in a flow of spirits, and at the very summit of contentment.

At Devil's Harwar I met a cargo of tea, coffee, biscuit, butter, sugar, lemons, rum, and twenty bottles of claret, sent me by my friends, directed to La Rochelle, which I again, notwithstanding the barbarous usage that I had so lately met with, gave all in a present to poor Fourgeoud, twelve bottles of wine excepted, which we drank in the barge to the healths of our wives and mistresses; nor could I help pitying Colonel Fourgeoud, whose age (he being about sixty) and indefatigable exertions claimed the attention of the most indifferent: for during this trip, though but few rebels were taken, he had certainly scoured the forest from the river Comewina to the mouth of the Wana Creek, dispersed the enemy, and demolished their habitations, fields, and gardens, and thus cut them off from all prospect of support.

On the evening of the 13th, we supped at the estate Mondesire, and thence kept rowing down all night and day, shouting and singing till the 15th at noon, when,

the tide serving, we went on shore at the fortress Amsterdam; whence crossing the river, we arrived before Mr. De Lamar's door at Paramaribo. I stept ashore among a croud of friends, who all flocked round to see and to welcome me to town.

I next sent for my inestimable Joanna, who burst into tears the moment she beheld me, not only for joy at my still existing (for it had been reported that I was no more) but also from seeing my very distressed situation.—Thus ended my second campaign, and with this I put an end to the chapter.

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*Description of the town of Paramaribo and Fort Zelandia—
Colonel Fourceoud's march to the river Marawina—A
Captain wounded—Some Privates shot—Strange Execu-
tion in the Capital—Account of Fort Somelsdyk—Of the
Hope in Rio Comewina.*

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BEING once more arrived at Paramaribo, it will not be improper to introduce in this place some account of that beautiful town. Before I commence the description however, I must observe, that being long accustomed to walk bare-footed, I could not bear the confinement of shoes and stockings for some time, they heated and even swelled my feet so much, that, dining on the 16th of January with my friend Kennedy, I was actually obliged to throw them off at his house, whence he was so kind as to send me home in his whisky. I have already mentioned that Paramaribo is situated on the right side of the beautiful river Surinam, at about sixteen or eighteen miles distance from its mouth. It is built upon a kind of gravelly rock, which is level with the rest of the country, in the form of an oblong square, its length is about a mile and a half, and its breadth about half as much. All the streets, which are perfectly straight, are lined with orange, shaddock,



View of the Town of PARAMARIBO, with the Road & Shipping, from the opposite Shore.

shaddock, tamarind, and lemon-trees, which appear in everlasting bloom ; while at the same time their branches are weighed down with the richest clusters of odoriferous fruit. Neither stone nor brick is made use of here for pavement, the whole being one continued gravel, not inferior to the finest garden walks in England, and strewed on the surface with sea-shells. The houses, which are mostly of two, and some of three stories high, are all built of fine timber, a very few excepted ; most of the foundations are of brick, and they are roofed with thin split boards, called shingles, instead of slates or tiles. Windows are very seldom seen in this country, glass being inconvenient on account of the heat, instead of which they use gauze frames ; some have only the shutters, which are kept open from six o'clock in the morning until six at night. As for chimnies I never saw one in the colony, no fires being lighted except in the kitchens, which are always built at some distance from the dwelling-house, where the victuals are dressed upon the floor, and the smoke let out by a hole made in the roof : these timber houses are however very dear in Surinam, as may be evinced by that lately built by Governor Nepven, which he declared had cost him above £.15,000 sterling. There is no spring water to be met with in Paramaribo, most houses have wells dug in the rock, which afford but a brackish kind of beverage, only used for the negroes, cattle, &c. and the Europeans have

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reservoirs or cisterns, in which they preserve rain-water for their own consumption; those of nicer taste let it first drop through a filtering-stone into large jars or earthen pots, made by the native Indians on purpose, which they barter at Paramaribo for other commodities. The inhabitants of this country, of every denomination, sleep in hammocks, the negro slaves excepted, who mostly lie on the ground; the hammocks used by those in superior stations are made of cotton, ornamented with rich fringe; these are also made by the Indians, and sometimes worth above twenty guineas; neither bedding nor covering is necessary, except an awning to keep off the musquitoes. Some people indeed lie on bedsteads; in that case they are surrounded, instead of curtains, with gauze pavilions, which admit the air freely, and at the same time keep off the smallest insect. The houses in general at Paramaribo are elegantly furnished with paintings, gilding, crystal chandeliers, china jars, &c.; the rooms are never papered or plastered, but beautifully wainscoted with cedar, Brazil, and mahogany wood.

The number of buildings in Paramaribo is computed at about one thousand four hundred, of which the principal is the governor's palace, whence there is a private passage through the garden which communicates with Fort Zelandia.—This house, and that of the commandant, which has lately been burnt, were the only brick buildings in the colony. The town-hall is an elegant new building,
and

- A. Fort Zeelandia .
- B. Governours House .
- C. Military Hospital .
- D. Court House .
- E. Calvinist Church .
- F. Lutheran ditto
- G. Portuguese Synagogue .
- H. German ditto .
- I. Exchange Coffee-house .
- K. Col. Fourgeouds Head Quarters .
- L. Gardens &c .
- M. Projected Streets &c .



Plan of the Town of Paramaribo.

and covered with tiles ; here the different courts are held, and underneath are the prisons for European delinquents, the military excepted, who are confined in the citadel of Fort Zelandia. The Protestant church, where divine worship is performed both in French and Low Dutch, has a small spire with a clock ; besides which there is a Lutheran chapel, and two elegant Jewish synagogues, one German, the other Portuguese. Here is also a large hospital for the garrison, and this mansion is never empty. The military stores are kept in the fortress, where the Society soldiers are also lodged in barracks, with proper apartments for some officers. The town of Paramaribo has a noble road for shipping, the river before the town being above a mile in breadth, and containing sometimes above one hundred vessels of burthen, moored within a pistol shot of the shore ; there are indeed seldom fewer there than fourscore ships loading coffee, sugar, cacao, cotton, and indigo, for Holland, including also the Guineamen that bring slaves from Africa, and the North American and Leeward Island vessels, which bring flour, beef, pork, spirits, herrings, and mackarel salted, spermaceti-candles, horses, and lumber, for which they receive chiefly mellasses to be distilled into rum. This town is not fortified, but is bounded by the river on the S. E. ; by a large savannah on the W. ; by an impenetrable wood on the N. E. ; and is protected by Fort Zelandia on the east. This citadel is only separated from the town by a large esplanade, where

the

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the troops parade occasionally. The fort is a regular pentagon, with one gate fronting Paramaribo, and two bastions which command the river; it is very small but strong, being made of rock or hewn stone, surrounded by a broad fosse well supplied with water, besides some out-works. On the East side, fronting the river, is a battery of twenty-one pieces of cannon. On one of the bastions is a bell, which is struck with a hammer by the sentinel, who is directed by an hour-glass. On the other is planted a large ensign-staff, upon which a flag is hoisted upon the approach of ships of war, or on public rejoicing days. The walls are six feet thick, with embrasures but no parapet. I have already spoken of its antiquity.

Paramaribo is a very lively place, the streets being generally crouded with planters, sailors, soldiers, Jews, Indians, and Negroes, while the river is covered with canoes, barges, &c. constantly passing and repassing, like the wherries on the Thames, often accompanied with bands of music; the shipping also in the road adorned with their different flags, guns firing, &c.; not to mention the many groupes of boys and girls playing in the water, altogether form a pleasing appearance; and such gaiety and variety of objects serve, in some measure, to compensate for the many inconveniencies of the climate. Their carriages and dress are truly magnificent; silk embroidery, Genoa velvets, diamonds, gold and silver lace,

being daily worn, and even the masters of trading ships appear with buttons and buckles of solid gold. They are equally expensive at their tables, where every thing that can be called delicate is produced at any price, and served up in plate and china of the newest fashion, and most exquisite workmanship. But nothing displays the luxury of the inhabitants of Surinam, more than the number of slaves by whom they are attended, often twenty or thirty in one family. White servants are seldom to be met with in this colony.

The current money, as I have already stated, are stamped cards of different value, from five shillings to fifty pounds: gold and silver is so scarce, that the exchange premium for specie is often above ten *per cent*. A base Dantzic coin called a *bit*, value something less than sixpence, is also current in Surinam. English and Portuguese coin are sometimes met with, but mostly used as ornaments by the Mulatto, Samboe, Quaderoon, and Negro girls. The Negro slaves never receive any paper money, for as they cannot read they do not understand its value; besides in their hands it would be liable to many accidents, from fire or children, and particularly from the rats, when it becomes a little greasy.

This town is well supplied with provisions, *viz.* butcher's meat, fowls, fish, and venison. Vegetables in particular the country abounds with; besides the luxuries peculiar to this climate, they import whatever Europe, Africa,

Africa, and Asia can afford. Provisions, however, are excessively dear in general, especially those imported, which are mostly sold by the Jews and masters of ships. The first enjoy extraordinary privileges in this colony; the latter erect temporary warehouses for the purpose of trade, during the time their ships are loading with the productions of the climate. Wheat flour is sold from four pence to one shilling *per* pound; butter two shillings; butcher's meat never under one shilling, and often at one shilling and six pence; ducks and fowls from three to four shillings a couple. A single turkey has cost me one guinea and a half; eggs are sold at the rate of five, and European potatoes twelve for six pence. Wine three shillings a bottle. Jamaica rum a crown a gallon. Fish and vegetables are cheap, and fruit almost for nothing. My black boy, Quaco, has often brought me forty oranges for six pence, and half a dozen pine-apples for the same price; while limes and tamarinds may be had for gathering. House-rent is excessively high. A small room unfurnished costs three or four guineas a month; and a house with two apartments on a floor, lets for one hundred guineas yearly. Shoes sell for half-a-guinea a pair; and a suit of cloaths, with silver binding, has cost me twenty guineas.

The wood with which the houses are generally built deserves also to be noticed, *viz.* the *Wana*, and the *Cuppy*. The *Wana* is a light durable timber of a coarse grain, and
 does

does not take the best polish; it is of a very pale red, approaching mahogany, and mostly used for doors and cupboards, also for boats and barges. This tree grows to a considerable height*.

The Cuppy-tree resembles the wild chesnut, is hard, knotty, and durable; it is sawed into boards, and used to enclose the houses for fences, instead of brick and stone walls; the timber is of a brown colour, and takes a good polish.

For a better idea of this town, I shall refer the reader to the annexed plan; and proceed to give some further account of its inhabitants.

The whites or Europeans in this colony, and who reside principally in town, are computed at five thousand, including the garrison. The negro slaves at about seventy-five thousand. The military mount guard every morning at eight o'clock, in the fortress; but the safety of the town is entrusted to the burghers or militia, who keep watch during the night. At six o'clock in the morning, and the same hour in the evening, the morning and evening guns are fired by the commanding ship in the harbour; at the evening signal, all the flags are instantly lowered on board the different vessels; their bells are set a ringing, whilst the drums and fifes beat the *tattoo* through the town. The watch is then set, and no negro

* This Dr. Bancroft, I think, calls the *Tetermer*.

of either sex is allowed to appear in the streets or on the river, without a proper pass signed by his owner; without this he is taken up, and infallibly flogged the next morning. At ten at night, a band of black drums beat the burgher, or militia retreat, through the streets of Paramaribo.

At this time the ladies begin to make their appearance, who are particularly fond of a *tête-à-tête* by moon-light, when they entertain with *Sherbet*, *Sangaree**, and wine and water; besides the most unreserved and unequivocal conversation concerning themselves, as well as the peculiar qualifications of their husbands, and the situation of their female slaves, whom they propose the acceptance of to the gentlemen they converse with at so much *per week*, according to their own estimation. Sometimes placing half a dozen of them in a row, the lady says, "Sir, this is a *callebasee*, that is a maid, and this is not"—thus are they not only unreserved in their conversation, but also profuse in their encomiums upon such gentlemen as have the honour of their instructive company, and whose person or figure meets with their approbation.

They are also rigid disciplinarians, as the backs of their poor slaves, male and female, sufficiently testify. Thus every country has its customs, and from these

* Water, Madeira wine, nutmeg and sugar.

customs exceptions are to be made; for I have known ladies in Surinam, whose delicacy and polite conversation would have graced the first circles in Europe. Besides the amusements of feasting, dancing, riding, and cards, they have a small theatre, where the inhabitants of fashion act plays for their own amusement, and that of their friends. As they are elegant in their dress, so they keep their houses extremely clean. They use the finest linen, exquisitely well washed with Castile soap; its whiteness can only be compared to mountain snow, and would make the best bleached linen in Europe appear like canvass. Their parlour floors are always scoured with sour oranges cut through the middle, which gives the house an agreeable fragrance: the negro girls taking one half in each hand, keep singing aloud while they rub the boards. Such is the town, and such are the inhabitants of Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam; and the character will apply to the natives of all the Dutch settlements in the West Indies. But to return to my narrative. Being once more reconciled to shoes, I visited Colonel Westerloo on board a West-India ship, bound for Holland. This gentleman, who had relieved me at Devil's Harwar when I was ill, was now himself in a most miserable condition, having lost the use of his limbs. In this debilitated state, it was doubtful whether any thing but the air of his native country would recover him. Several officers were now under the necessity of selling their effects to procure

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a subsistence, not being able either to procure their pay or allowance from Fourgeoud. I felt this hard usage the less, from the kindness I experienced from my numerous friends.

On the 23th of January, as I was walking in the morning by the river side, I saw a fish brought ashore, that deserves to be mentioned for its size and goodness, being sometimes near two hundred pounds weight*. It is here called *grow-muneck*, or grey friar, and is said to be of the cod genus, to which it bears some resemblance in shape and colour, the back being a dark olive brown, and the belly white; it was soon cut up into large slices, several of which I purchased, and sent as presents to my friends; as it was, in my opinion, even superior to turbot. It is an inhabitant of the sea, but is sometimes to be met with in the rivers. The negroes here are the only fishermen, and are regularly trained up to this profession by their masters, who make them pay a certain sum weekly. If they are expert and industrious, they soon acquire money for themselves, and some even become *rich*; but, on the contrary, if they are indolent, and do not fulfil their weekly engagements, they are certain to be punished very severely.

This custom is also common to many other trades, and by perseverance and sobriety they are actually enabled to

* Dr. Fermyn is mistaken, when he says this fish weighs but forty pounds.

live happily. Thus I have known slaves in Surinam, who have bought slaves for their own use. Some purchase their freedom from their masters, whilst others keep their money, preferring to be the slave of an indulgent master; being, so long as they continue slaves, free from all duties and taxes, which, in case of manumission, they become liable to. A particular instance of this kind was a negro blacksmith, named *Joseph*, who being offered his liberty upon account of his long and faithful services, positively refused it, chusing rather to be the slave of a worthy master. This man had several slaves of his own, kept a decent house, with handsome furniture, and some plate; and when visited by his humane master or mistress, entertained them with Sangaree, port or claret. I must, however, acknowledge this to be a very singular instance; and observe, that although a few live comfortably at Paramaribo, the greatest number are wretched, particularly those governed by a *lady*, who have many wales to show, but not the smallest indulgence to boast of.

Among the slaves, those of the class called *Quaderoons* are in general much respected for their affinity to Europeans; a Quaderoon being the offspring of a white and a mulatto, and they are very numerous in this colony.

Here one not only meets with the white, the black, and olive, but with

“ The Samboe dark, and the Mulatto brown,
 “ The Mæsti fair *, the well-limb'd Quaderoon.”

* The offspring of an *European* and of a *Quaderoon*.

These

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These boys are generally placed out to some good trade, such as cabinet-makers, silversmiths, or jewellers; whilst the girls are employed as waiting-women, and taught the arts of sewing, knitting, and embroidery, to perfection: they are generally handsome, and take much pride in the neatness and elegance of their dress.

To give the reader a more lively idea of these people, I shall describe the figure and dress of a Quaderoon girl, as they usually appear in this colony. They are mostly tall, straight, and gracefully formed; rather more slender than the Mulattoes, and never go naked above the waist, like the former. Their dress commonly consists of a satin petticoat, covered with flowered gauze; a close short jacket, made of best India chintz or silk, laced before, and shewing about an hand-breadth of a fine muslin shift between the jacket and the petticoat. As for stockings and shoes, the slaves in this country never wear them. Their heads are adorned with a fine bunch of black hair in short natural ringlets; they wear a black or white beaver hat, with a feather, or a gold loop and button: their neck, arms, and ancles are ornamented with chains, bracelets, gold medals, and beads. All these fine women have European husbands, to the no small mortification of the fair Creolians; yet should it be known that an European female had an intercourse with a slave of any denomination, she is for ever detested, and the slave loses his life without mercy.—Such are the



Female Quodroon Slave of Surinam.

the despotic laws of men in Dutch Guiana over the weaker sex.

But to change the subject.—The tyranny of our commander, Colonel Fourgeoud, seemed daily to increase. Lieutenant Count Runtwick, who was to proceed for Holland with Colonel Westerloo, being sick, was ordered to remain in Surinam, for having only said that he had been ill treated by him. As a specimen of his justice, I will only observe, that all the officers had now subsisted a whole year upon a private soldier's allowance of salt provisions, a few weeks at Paramaribo only excepted. This accommodation cost me thirty pounds; but I have already mentioned he kept back our money, and why should he not our allowance also, it not being the part of a good soldier to inquire after trifles?

On the 1st of February we, however, received notice that henceforth we should pay nothing, provided we could *fast*; but that if we could not, ten pounds yearly was to be the *ne plus ultra* of the expences for our salt beef and pork.

On the 2d I received intelligence that Lieutenant Colonel Becquer, scorning any longer to partake of Fourgeoud's bounty, had suddenly given up the ghost, by which in rotation I became possessed of his vacant company. This was some compensation for so much trouble and fatigue. But to counterbalance this good fortune, a certain lady, whose husband had shewn me
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extraordinary civilities, now made me an offer, which I could not with honour accept; besides, I had been sworn at Highgate. But persisting in my refusal of her favours and golden presents, I at last felt the effects of a woman's hatred and revenge. Her husband, who had lately been so much my friend, and whose honour I, in this instance, so much respected, was suddenly perverted into a bitter enemy. I bore their frowns with resignation, conscious of my own rectitude, in not committing a trespass of which too many others would have made a boast. Shortly after, however, this gentleman again became my friend, even more than before this affair happened, having been perfectly undeceived.

On the 6th, a poor drummer of the Society brought me a present of some *alligato*, or more properly *avogato* pears and oranges, for having supported him, he said, in Holland against my servant, who had knocked him down. This trait of gratitude afforded me more pleasure than the coolness of my late friend had given me pain.—The avogato pear grows on a tree above forty feet high, and not unlike a walnut-tree: the fruit, which is about the size and colour of a large pear, *viz.* a pale green, is the most exquisite, in my opinion, of any in the colony, or even in the world; the inside is yellow, and the kernel is inclosed in a soft rind like a chesnut. The pulp is so salubrious and nutritious, that it is often called the vegetable marrow, and is frequently eaten with pepper and salt: nor can I compare

it to any thing so well as a peach, melting in the mouth in the same manner, not so sweet indeed, but incomparably more delicious.

The oranges in Surinam are of three different species; the sour, the bitter, and the sweet, all being originally imported from Spain or Portugal. The sour oranges are an excellent cure for sores and running ulcers, so common in this climate, but painful in the operation; for which reason they are only used for the negroes, who it is supposed may bear any thing. The bitter are only used for preserving: the sweet, which have a luscious taste and exquisite flavour, may be eaten freely, without any pernicious effects, which is not the case with that kind called the China apples, which I shall afterwards describe. The trees that bear all these species are truly beautiful, and never without fragrant blossoms or fruit throughout the year.

On the 16th, the news arrived that Colonel Fourgeoud, with the remaining troops, having marched from La Rochelle, had been attacked by the rebels; and amongst others Captain Fredericy, marching in the front, had been shot through both thighs. This brave officer, clapping both his hands on the wounds, and sitting in water up to his breast to conceal the bleeding, and prevent his misfortune from discouraging the troops, remained in this situation until the surgeon had dressed them, when he was carried in his hammock by two negroes.

Nothing, indeed, could exceed the zeal which both this

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officer, and Fourgeoud's adjutant, Captain Vangewrike, shewed during the whole expedition; continually upon service; whether their constitutions could bear it or not. But honour was the only advantage they derived from a five years assiduous and extraordinary attendance. In my opinion, Colonel Fourgeoud never recompensed them according to their merit; while he treated the subalterns, and even some field officers, worse than ever I did my corporals.

I now made another offer to join him in the woods; but instead of permission, he sent me orders to hasten to L'Esperance, in English the *Hope* estate, as I shall henceforth call it, situated in the upper part of Rio Comewina, there to take the command of the whole river during his absence; which being new to me, I repaired to this post with the greater satisfaction.

Having provided myself with a complete camp-equipage, and purchased provisions, I was soon ready to depart for my new station. But before I leave Paramaribo, I must remark, that during my stay there no less than nine negroes had each a leg cut off, for running away from their masters. This punishment is a part of the Surinam administration of justice, and is performed at the desire of the proprietor, and was executed by a Mr. Greuber, the surgeon of the hospital. During this inhuman operation, the poor sufferers very deliberately smoked their pipe of tobacco. For this service the surgeon received about six pounds

pounds a limb : but, notwithstanding his great abilities, four of them died immediately after the operation. A fifth destroyed himself, by plucking away the bandages and bleeding to death during the night. These amputated negroes are common in this colony, and are employed in rowing the boats and barges of their masters. Others are seen deprived of an arm ; and this is the forfeit for daring to raise it against an European.

I embarked on the 17th of February for the Hope, in the river Comewina, on board a decent tent-boat rowed by six negroes, having once more bid adieu to my beloved Joanna. In the evening I passed the Sporksgift estate, in the Matapica Creek ; the next day I arrived at Arentrust in Comewina, having passed the Orelana Creek and the fortress Somelsdyk, which is about sixteen miles above Fort Amsterdam, and forms the separation between that and the river Cottica, commanding the two opposite shores by the fire of its cannon. This fortress was built in the year 1684, by Governor Somelsdyk, whose name it still bears. It is built in the form of a pentagon, having five bastions mounted with artillery ; it has a fosse, and is well provided with military stores : though it is not large, it is well defended, especially by its low and marshy situation. Not far above this, to the right, is a fine Creek, called Comete-Wana.

On the 19th, about noon, I reached the Hope ; having found this river still more charming than the river Cottica,

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both being bordered with beautiful estates of coffee and sugar, the first of which abounds principally near its mouth.

About half way up both these rivers are also in each a Protestant church, where the plantation people resort to hear divine worship: the expence of the parson, &c. being paid by the planters.

The estate L'Esperance, or the Hope, where I now took the command, is a valuable sugar-plantation, situated on the left side of the Comewina, at the mouth of a rivulet called Bottle Creek, and almost opposite to another creek called Cassivinica: the Bottle Creek communicating with the Comewina and Pirica, as the Wana Creek does with Cormoetibo and Rio-Marawina.

Here the troops were lodged in temporary houses built with the manicole-tree; but the situation was so low and marshy as at spring-tides to be entirely under water. The officers were all crowded in one apartment of the same construction; while the planter's fine house, which might have been serviceable for the pleasure and health of these gentlemen, was made use of by nobody but the overseer of the estate.

About a cannon-shot higher up the river is the estate Clarenbeek; where I went, on the 22d, to examine the state of the hospital, and where I found the troops more disagreeably quartered than at the Hope, owing chiefly to the amazing number of rats with which this place was infested, destroying the men's clothes and provisions, and

running over their faces by dozens as they lay in their hammocks. The only mode of remedying this horrid inconvenience, was to break holes in the bottoms of quart bottles, and then string them like beads upon the lashings of each hammock, both at head and foot: when this was properly done, their polish rendered it impossible for the rats to reach the canvass.

Here the crowded hospital afforded a melancholy spectacle, by the miserable objects it presented. Humanity suffers so much from such scenes, that I felt myself happy upon my return to the Hope. My orders here were much the same as they had been at Cottica, *viz.* to protect the estates from the enemy: the parole or watch-word was regularly sent me by Colonel Fourgeoud. One of the Berbice negro captains, before mentioned, named *Ackeraw*, here discovered an old decrepid slave called Paulus, belonging to this estate, to be his brother. He acknowledged him with cordial affection, and treated him with much kindness: the scene of their meeting was of course very interesting. In my walks round this plantation, I had an opportunity of observing several curious birds, which I shall now embrace the opportunity to describe.

The *queese-queedee*, so called on account of its note, is about the size of a thrush, and of a brown colour, except the breast and belly, which are of a beautiful yellow: it is very mischievous, and an unwelcome guest upon the plantations. The wild pigeons are also common here. I shot
one

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one that was very large, and resembling what is called the ring-tail pigeon of Jamaica. Its back and sides were of an ash colour; the tail a lead colour; the belly white; the neck reflecting a changeable green and purple; the iris and feet of this pigeon were red. I have also seen the dwarf pigeons here walking in pairs. They are about the size of an English sparrow, and rather of a lighter colour. I take these to be the *picui-nima* of Marcgrave. The eyes were bright, with a yellow iris, and upon the whole these diminutive creatures are very pretty. They are called *steen-duyfie* by the Dutch, because they are frequently found amongst stones and gravel. *Turtles are also found in Guiana, but seldom near the plantations, as they delight chiefly in the deepest recesses of the forest. They build their nests in trees of the thickest foliage, where I have found them, and even stroked them with my hand, without their attempting to fly away. They are little different from those in Europe in point of colour, but rather less, and their wings of a more considerable length than those of any other dove or pigeon whatever.

I became daily more charmed with my situation; I was at liberty to breathe freely, and my prospects of future contentment promised amply to compensate for my past hardships and mortifications. Respected as the prince of the river; caressed by the neighbouring planters, who

* Dr. Bancroft erroneously calls this bird the only dove in Guiana,

plentifully

plentifully supplied me with presents of game, fish, fruit, and vegetables, I was scarcely the same man, and had very few wishes unsatisfied.

One day (the 5th of March) during my residence here, I was surprised by the waving of a white handkerchief from a tent boat that was rowing up the river; when, to augment my happiness, it unexpectedly proved to be my Mulatto, accompanied by her aunt, who now preferred Fauconberg estate, four miles above the Hope, to residing in the town; and to this plantation I immediately accompanied them.

Here Joanna introduced me to a venerable old slave, her grandfather, who made me a present of half a dozen fowls. He was grey-headed and blind, but had been comfortably supported for many years through the kind attention of his numerous offspring. He told me he was born in Africa, where he had once been more respected than any of his Surinam masters ever were in their country.

It will no doubt appear surprising to many of my readers to find me mention this female slave so often, and with so much respect; but I cannot speak with indifference of an object so deserving of attention, and whose affectionate attachment alone counter-balanced all my other misfortunes. Her virtue, youth, and beauty gained more and more my esteem; while the lowness of her birth and condition, instead of diminishing, served to increase my affection.—What can I say farther upon this subject?

CHAPTER. subject?—Nothing; but content myself with the consolation given by Horace to Phocius, the Roman soldier:

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“ Ne sit ancillæ tibi amor pudori,” &c.

“ Let not my Phocius think it shame
 “ For a fair slave to own his flame ;
 “ A slave could stern Achilles move,
 “ And bend his haughty soul to love :
 “ Ajax, invincible in arms,
 “ Was captiv’d by his captive’s charms.

“ Atrides ’midst his triumph mourn’d,
 “ And for a ravish’d virgin burn’d ;
 “ What time the fierce barbarian bands
 “ Fell by Pelides’ conquering hands,
 “ And Troy (her Hector swept away)
 “ Became to Greece an easier prey.

“ Who knows, when Phillis is your bride,
 “ To what high rank you’ll be allied ?
 “ Her parents dear, of gentle race,
 “ Shall not their son-in-law disgrace.
 “ She sprung from kings, or nothing less,
 “ And weeps the family’s distress.”

On the 6th of March I returned to the Hope, loaded with fowls, aubergines, brocoli, agoma, and a few Surinam cherries. The aubergines are a species of fruit which
 grows

grows in the shape of a cucumber; they are of a purple colour without, and white within; they are cut in slices and eaten like salad, sometimes stewed: they are very good and wholesome. The leaves of the tree which bears this fruit are large and green, covered with a purple-coloured down. The agoma is a bitterish vegetable: the brocoli as in Europe, but scarce. The cherries are ribbed, very sour, and unless very ripe fit only for preserving.

On the Prince of Orange's anniversary, the 8th of March, I invited some company to drink his health, whilst Colonel Fourgeoud kept scouring the bushes; but the sum of his operations amounted only to having some of his men shot by the negroes, some lost in the woods; whilst the rebel Cupido escaped with all his chains. Of two men he sent me for the hospital at Clarenbeck, one was terribly cut by the rebels.

I received a present of a haunch of venison on the 17th from a Mr. D'Onis; and one of my slaves presented me with a lizard called *sapagala*, which is less in size and less agreeable food than the iguana, which I have already described, and which the Indians call *wayamaka*. Of this last dainty I did not partake, but gave it to the overseer, while with the venison I entertained all my officers.

Of the deer species there are two kinds; the stag or largest, called the *bajew*, is about the size of the English roebuck, with short curvated horns; the eyes are bright, and full of fire; the tail short; the hair a reddish brown,

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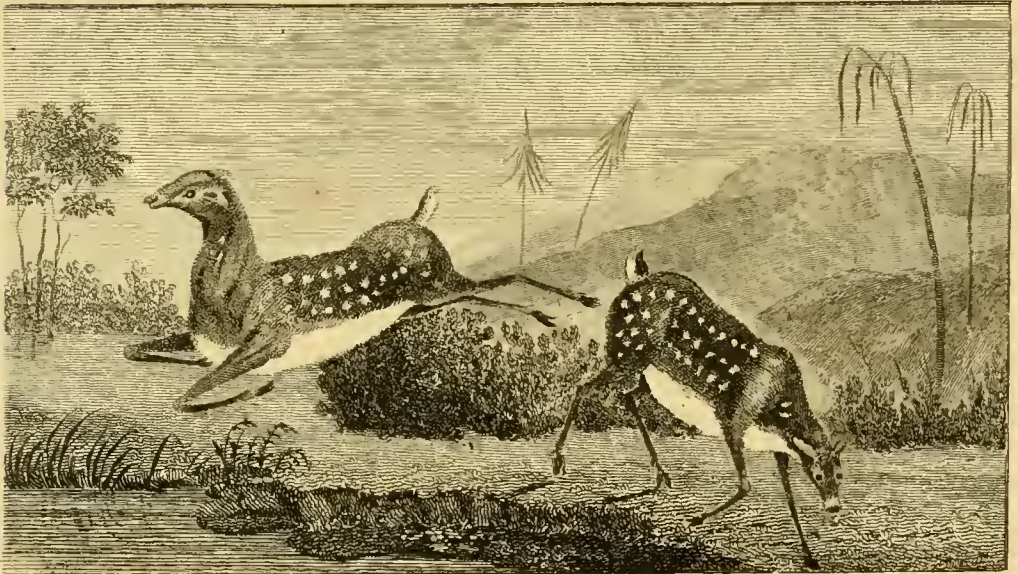
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except the belly, which is white. These animals, when pursued, run with amazing strength and velocity. They are frequently seen near the plantations, where they commit great devastations among the sugar-canes; they are often shot by the negro or Indian huntsmen, which the planters keep on purpose. Hunting is impracticable as a sport to Europeans in this country, owing to the thickness of the woods. The deer are sometimes taken alive in crossing rivers, which they often take to when over-heated, or to escape their enemies. The flesh of this stag is neither fat, tender, nor juicy, being much inferior to the European venison, though greatly esteemed by the inhabitants of Surinam. The other species the negroes call *boosee-cabritta*; the Indians *wirrebocerra*. These are much smaller, and more nimble in leaping; their colour a yellowish brown, covered with small white spots; their eyes lively and piercing; their ears narrow and short; they have no antlers; their limbs are small, but nervous and strong; and their flesh more delicate than any other venison I ever tasted.

On the 21st, having visited Mr. and Mrs. Lolkens at Fauconberg, we, after dinner, walked to a brick-manufactory, called *Appe-cappe*, which lies in the neighbourhood, and belongs to Governor Nepveu; where they make as good brick, and as expeditiously, as in Europe. It is also a profitable business, not being common in Surinam. This I only relate as a proof of the abundant advantages of



The Bajou, or Stag of Guiana.



The Wirreboerra, or Small Deer.

of this country ; where, moreover, the wood for burning the bricks may be had for cutting, if the inhabitants chuse to be industrious. We were here, however, so pestered with clouds of insects, called *monpeira*, that I was glad to take my leave, and return to the Hope. The *monpeira* are the smallest kind of gnats, but equally troublesome with the larger species called musquitoes. They fly so thick and close together, that they appear like a cloud of black smoke: they are so small that numbers of them stick in the eyes, whence they cannot be extracted without pain, and even danger.

I always visited by water, having at the Hope an elegant tent-boat, with half a dozen negroes at my command, who also shot and fished for me. Upon the whole, I was here so happy and so much respected, that I could almost have engaged never more to change my situation.

C H A P. XIII.

A Sugar Plantation described—Domestic Happiness in a Cottage—Further Account of Fourgeoud's Operations—Dreadful Cruelties inflicted by some Overseers—Instance of Resentment in a Rebel Negro Captain.

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I HAVE already said that I was happy at the Hope ; but how was my felicity augmented, when Mr. and Mrs. Lolkens came to visit me one evening, and not only gave me the address of Messrs. Passalage and Son at Amsterdam, the new proprietors of my Mulatto, but even desired me to take her to the Hope, where she would be more agreeably situated than either at Fauconberg or Paramaribo. This desire was unquestionably most readily complied with by me ; and I immediately set my slaves to work, to build a house of manicole-trees for her reception.

In the meantime I wrote the following letter to Messrs. Passalage and Son.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ BEING informed by Mr. Lolkens, the administrator
“ of the estate Fauconberg, that you are the present
“ proprietors ; and being under great obligations to one

“ of your Mulatto slaves named Joanna, who is the
 “ daughter of the late Mr. Kruythoff, particularly for
 “ having attended me during sickness; I in gratitude
 “ request of you, who are her masters, to let me purchase
 “ her liberty without delay: which favour shall be ever
 “ thankfully acknowledged, and the money for her ran-
 “ som immediate paid, by

“ Gentlemen,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ JOHN GABRIEL STEDMAN,

“ Captain in Colonel Fourgeoud’s
 “ Corps of Marines.”

This letter was accompanied by another from my friend Lolkens, who much cheered my prospects by the assurance of success.

Having dispatched these letters to Holland, I had now the opportunity of observing the whole process of a sugar-plantation; of which I shall endeavour to give an accurate description.

The buildings usually consist of an elegant dwelling-house for the planter, outhouses for the overseer and book-keeper, besides a carpenter’s lodge, kitchens, store-houses, and stables, if the sugar-mills be wrought by horses or mules; but on the Hope these are not requisite, as the wheels move by water, stored in canals during
 the

the spring-tide by means of sluices, which being opened at low water pour out like a deluge, and set the machinery in motion. A sugar-mill is built at the expence of four thousand, nay sometimes seven or eight thousand pounds.

A particular description of its construction might be too tedious. I shall only observe, that the large water-wheel moves perpendicularly, and corresponds with another large wheel placed in an horizontal direction, and this again acts upon three cylinders or rollers of cast-iron, supported underneath by a strong beam, so close together that when the whole is in motion, they draw in and squeeze as thin as paper whatever comes between them. In this manner the sugar-cane is bruised, to separate the juice or liquor from the trash.

Those mills that are wrought by cattle are constructed upon the same principles, only the horses or mules answer the purpose of the horizontal wheel, by dragging round a large lever. If the water-mills work the fastest, and be the cheapest, yet as they must wait for the tides, they can only work part of the day; whereas the cattle-mills are always ready whenever the proprietor finds it convenient to use them. Adjoining to the mill-house is a large apartment, also built of brick, in which are fixed the coppers or large cauldrons to boil the liquid sugar. These are usually five in number; opposite to these are the coolers, which are large square flat-bottomed wooden vessels, into
which

which the sugar is put from the cauldrons to cool before it is put into hogsheads, which are placed near the coolers upon strong channelled rafters, that receive the mclasses as it drops from the sugar, and convey it into a square cistern placed underneath to receive it. The distillery joins this apartment, where the dross or scum of the boiling sugar is converted into a kind of rum, mentioned before, and known by the name of *kill-devil*. Every estate in Surinam keeps a tent-boat and several other craft, for the conveyance of their produce; they have also a covered dock, to keep them dry and répair them.

The sugar estates in this colony contain five or six hundred acres; the parts for cultivation being divided into squares, where pieces of cane, about one foot long, are stuck into the ground in an oblique position, in rows straight and parallel. They usually plant them in the rainy season, when the earth is well soaked and rich. The shoots that spring from these joints are about twelve or sixteen months in arriving at maturity, when they become yellow, and of the thickness of a German flute, and from six to ten feet in height, and jointed, forming a very beautiful appearance, with pale green leaves like those of a leek, but longer and denticulated, and which hang down as the crop becomes ready for cutting. The principal business of the slaves during the growth of the canes is pulling up the weeds, which would otherwise impoverish them.

Some

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Some sugar estates have above four hundred slaves. The expence of purchasing these, and erecting the buildings, frequently amounts to twenty or five-and-twenty thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of the value of the ground.

But to give the reader a clearer idea of the sugar-cane, which is supposed to be a native of Guiana, I refer him to the annexed plate, where he may view it in the different stages, though on a smaller scale than nature; *A* being its first appearance above the ground; *B* the cane come to half maturity; *C* the same with drooping leaves, when fully ripe; *D* a piece cut off at one end, and broken off at the other.

We shall now examine its progress through the mill: here it is bruised between the three cylinders or rollers through which it passes twice, once it enters, and once it returns, when it is changed to trash, and its pithy substance into liquid, which is conducted as extracted, through a grooved beam, from the mill to the boiling-house, where it is received into a kind of wooden cistern.

So very dangerous is the work of those negroes who attend the rollers, that should one of their fingers be caught between them, which frequently happens through inadvertency, the whole arm is instantly shattered to pieces, if not part of the body. A hatchet is generally kept ready to chop off the limb, before the working of the

the



The Sugar Cane, in its four different Stages.

the mill can be stopped. - Another danger is, that should a poor slave dare to taste that sugar which he produces by the sweat of his brow, he runs the risk of receiving some hundred lashes, or having all his teeth knocked out by the overseer.—Such are the hardships and dangers to which the sugar-making negroes are exposed.

From the above wooden cistern the liquor is let into the first copper cauldron, filtering through a grating to keep back the trash that may have escaped from the mill; here, having boiled some time, and been scummed, it is put into the next cauldron, and so on till in the fifth or last it is brought to a proper thickness or consistency to be admitted into the coolers: a few pounds of lime and allun are thrown into the cauldrons to make it granulate; thus it is boiled gradually stronger and stronger, until it reaches the last cauldron. When it is put into the wooden coolers the sugar is well stirred, and scattered equally throughout the vessels; when cold it has a frozen appearance, being candied, of a brown glazed consistency, not unlike pieces of high polished walnut-tree. From the coolers it is put into the hogsheads, which, upon an average, will hold one thousand pounds weight of sugar; there it settles, and through the crevices and small holes made in the bottoms it is purged of all its liquid contents, which are called melasses, and, as I have said, are received in an under-ground cistern. This is the last operation, after which the sugar is fit for exportation to Europe, where it

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is refined and cast into loaves. I shall only farther observe, that the larger the grain the better the sugar, and that no soil can be more proper for its cultivation than Guiana, the richness of which is inexhaustible, and produces upon an average three or four hogsheads *per* acre. In 1771, no less than twenty-four thousand hogsheads were exported to Amsterdam and Rotterdam only, which, valued at six pounds *per* hogshead, though it has sometimes sold for double, returned a sum of near one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, besides the vast quantity of melasses and kill-devil; the first computed at seven thousand hogsheads, and sold to the North Americans for twenty-five thousand pounds; the second, which is distilled in Surinam, and used chiefly by the negroes, valued at as much more, which produces no less than two hundred thousand pounds *per annum* *.

The kill-devil is also drank by some of the planters, but too much by the common soldiers and sailors, and, when new, acts as a slow pernicious poison upon an European constitution. On the contrary, it never hurts the negroes, but is even necessary and wholesome, especially in the rainy seasons, when they are sometimes indulged with a single dram *per* day by their masters, though this custom is far from being general. There is no part of this

* The first sugar was refined anno 1659.

salutary plant useless; the chaff refuse, and leaves of the cane, being used for manure and fuel. All the estates are closely surrounded by the uncultivated forest, whence the herds of wild deer often commit very great ravages, when the pieces being surrounded by armed negroes, and dogs set in to disperse them, they are frequently shot. From what I have said upon this subject alone, the reader may form an idea of the riches with which this country abounds; which, nevertheless, did not seem to stimulate its enemies during the late war to attempt the possession of it: but I must say, I doubt whether Surinam, in the hands of any other nation than the Dutch, would not cease to be of its present consequence, the Hollanders being indisputably the most patient, persevering, industrious people that inhabit the globe.

Notwithstanding, however, the immense wealth that the West Indies in general afford, it will ever be my opinion that the Europeans might live as comfortably, if not more healthily, without them; the want of sugar, coffee, cotton, cacao, indigo, rum, and Brazil wood, might be amply supplied by honey, milk, wool, Geneva, ale, English herbs, British oak, &c.

And now once more to resume my narrative:—I have already mentioned that my slaves were employed in preparing an house for the reception of my best friend, which was about six days in completing. It consisted of a parlour, which also served for a dining-room; a bed-chamber,

C H A P. where I also stowed my baggage; a piazza or shed to sit
 XIII. under before the door; a small kitchen detached from
 the house, and a poultry-house, the whole situated on a
 spot by itself, commanding an enchanting prospect on
 every side, and surrounded with paling to keep off the
 cattle. My tables, stools, and benches, being all com-
 posed of manicole boards, the doors and windows were
 guarded with ingenious wooden locks and keys, that were
 presented me by a negro, and were the work of his own
 hands. My house being thus far finished and furnished,
 my next care was to lay in a stock of provisions from
 Paramaribo, *viz.* a barrel of flour, another of salted
 mackarel, which in this country are delicious, they are
 imported from North America; hams, pickled sausages,
 Boston biscuit; also wine, Jamaica rum, tea, sugar, a box
 of spermaceti candles; also two charming foreign sheep
 and a hog, sent me by Mr. Kennedy from his estate
 Vriedyk, besides two dozen of fine fowls and ducks pre-
 sented me by Lucretia, my Joanna's aunt; while fruit,
 vegetables, fish, and venison, flowed upon me from every
 quarter as usual.

On the 1st of April 1774, Joanna came down the river
 in the Fauconberg tent-boat, rowed by eight negroes, and
 arrived at the Hope: I communicated to her immediately
 the contents of my letter to Holland, which she received
 with that gratitude and modesty in her looks which spoke
 more forcibly than any reply. I introduced her to her

new

new habitation, where the plantation slaves, in token of respect, immediately brought her presents of casada, yams, bananas, and plantains, and never two people were more completely happy. Free like the roes in the forest, and disencumbered of every care and ceremony, we breathed the purest ether in our walks, and refreshed our limbs in the limpid stream: health and good spirits were now again my portion, while my partner flourished in youth and beauty, the envy and admiration of all the colony.

Colonel Fourgeoud now intending to quit the woods, and encamp at Magdenberg, a post near the source of the Comewina, I sent a large barge with provisions, escorted by an officer and twenty men, to that place; and upon reviewing my remaining marines, they did not amount to twenty men, besides a small detachment at Calis, near the mouth of Cassivinica Creek. Higher up the same creek, at an estate called *Cupy*, were also posted an officer and a few soldiers.

On the morning of the 4th, I was witness to a very wonderful battle between two snakes, the one about three feet long, the other no more than fourteen inches; when, after a severe contest of near half an hour, during which time the many wreathings and twistings were truly curious, the largest gradually shifting his gripe, at length caught the smallest by the head, and absolutely swallowed him alive.

My

My negro boy about this time throwing out some red-hot embers, I was surprized to see the frogs eat them with avidity, without receiving any visible damage from the fire, which most probably they had mistaken for the fire-fly. I saw another frog in the sugar-mill, feasting upon a regiment of ants, which are here very numerous, licking them up with his tongue as they marched before him. Another of these animals slept every day upon one of the beams of my cottage, which it regularly left every night; this was called *yombo-yombo* by the negroes, from its great power in leaping: it is very small, almost flat, a fine yellow, with black and scarlet specks; it is frequently found in the upper stories of houses, where it arrives by climbing up the walls. We thought it a pretty little animal, and would allow nobody to hurt it.

On the morning of the 8th, between six and seven o'clock, whilst we were interring one of my serjeants, we heard the report of several minute guns towards the river Pirica; in consequence of which, I immediately detached an officer and twelve men to give assistance. They returned next day with an account that the rebels had attacked the estate of *Kortenduur*, where, having pillaged some powder, the plantation slaves being armed by their master, had bravely beaten them back before my assistance could be of use.

A small detachment from Colonel Fourceoud at Wana
 11 Creek

Creek arrived at the Hope on the 11th, with *September*, the negro prisoner, who related that the rebels had spoken to Fourgeoud, and even laughed at him, having overheard him giving his orders, *viz.* not to fire on them, but to take them alive: and that amongst those lost in the woods was the unlucky *Schmidt*, who had lately been so unmercifully beaten, and of which he had never yet recovered.

About the 13th, the spring floods broke down the dams, and laid our whole post under water, except the spot where I had pitched my cabin, which remained dry, but unfortunately by this accident the officers and men were up to their knees in water. My worthy friend *Mr. Heneman*, the volunteer, arrived at this time from Colonel Fourgeoud's camp at Wana Creek, with a barge full of men and ammunition; he was now entered a lieutenant in my company: he informed us, that the remaining troops were marching for Magdenberg in Upper Comewina, there to go into quarters. This poor young man was much emaciated with misery and fatigue, I therefore introduced him at his first landing to the care of *Joanna*, who was a most incomparable nurse, and under whose care he felt himself extremely happy.

On the 14th, Colonel Fourgeoud with his troops being arrived at Magdenberg, the officers and privates of the Society, and the rangers to the amount of near two hundred men, were sent down in barges to be stationed on
different

different parts of the river Pirica. Some landed at the Hope to refresh, and behaved so very disorderly, as to oblige me and my officers to knock them down by half dozens, to keep the peace till they departed the same day, after which I dispatched a tent-boat and eight oars to row the Commander in chief with some of his favourites to Paramaribo, from which place he at last permitted the much-injured *Count Rantwick* to sail for Holland.

On the 16th, the greatest part of the sheep belonging to this estate were unfortunately poisoned by eating *duncane*, but mine, amongst some others, luckily escaped. I am sorry to say I have not particularly examined the *duncane*, as it is called by the negroes. All that I can say is, that it is a shrub with a large green leaf, something like that of the English dock; it grows spontaneously in low and marshy places, and is instant death to whatever animal eats of its leaves; the slaves therefore should be obliged carefully to root it out from the grass savannas or meadows where cattle graze, since sheep and bullocks are said to be remarkably fond of it, though contrary to nature, as most animals know, it is said, instinctively how to distinguish their food from their poison. But the sheep in question not being the natural inhabitants of Guiana, may for that reason be admitted as an exception to this general rule. This baneful plant had inadvertently been permitted to grow in a negro's garden, to which the sheep got access by breaking
down

down the fence, which occasioned this unpleasant catastrophe.



In this garden I saw several other roots and plants that deserve to be noticed. The *yamesy*, or yam, a well-known root in the West Indies, delights in a fat soil; this grows in Surinam sometimes to the weight of two or three score pounds, and an acre will produce an astonishing quantity*; its taste is very agreeable, either boiled or roasted, easy of digestion, and very wholesome. The inside is of a whitish colour, without it is of a deep purple approaching towards black; its shape is very irregular. The yams are cultivated by cutting them in pieces like potatoes; they are planted a few feet distant from each other, and in about six or eight months they arrive at maturity; they are known to be fit for use when the top or leaves begin to lose their verdure, till then they are of a deep green colour, and creep along the ground like ivy, with ligneous shoots. The yam is amongst the principal food of the slaves throughout the West Indies, and is alone sufficient to supply the want of bread; also being capable of preservation for almost a year, it is often transported, and used upon long voyages, and frequently brought to England. Another small root I found here, known in Surinam by the name of *naapjes*, and which is eaten in the same manner as the yams, but is infinitely

* Sometimes from ten to twenty thousand pounds weight.

CHAPTER. more delicious; both the one and the other serve here for
 XIII. food, as potatoes, carrots, or parsnips do in England.

The *maize* or Indian corn, which I also saw in this garden, grows on high perpendicular stalks, with long pale green leaves; the grain is of a shining yellow colour, as large as marrow-peas, and closely set together, round ears that are the size of the largest European carrot. This grain is cultivated in great quantities in Surinam; it is not only used for their poultry and cattle of every species, but is also ground into meal, of which the Creoles make excellent puddings and cakes, which are of a nourishing quality. With this they sometimes eat the young pods of the *ocro*, or *althea plant*, which grows upon a very small shrub, with oblong leaves, and which when boiled, as Dr. Bancroft expresses it, are of a mucilaginous, slimy, and lubricative texture, which ropy or glutinous quality, however disgusting in appearance, makes a very rich sauce when properly seasoned with Cayenne pepper.

The same evening that proved so fatal to the sheep, as I was walking out with my gun, as usual, I shot a bird called here the *subacoo*; it is a species of the grey-heron, its bill and legs of a greenish black, and very long, the last appearing as if jointed by large scales of a hard and horny substance, and the claws on each middle toe are denticulated. This bird, though apparently the size of a common fowl, was so very light, that an English house-



Blake Sculp^t

Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave.

pigeon would have easily counterbalanced it ; when dressed we found it to have a fishy flavour.

C H A P.
XIII.

I have for some time been happily silent upon the subject of cruelty ; and sorry I am, at a time when all appeared harmonious and peaceable, to be under the necessity of relating some instances, which I am confident must inspire the most unfeeling reader with horror and resentment. The first object which attracted my compassion during a visit to a neighbouring estate, was a beautiful Samboe girl of about eighteen, tied up by both arms to a tree, as naked as she came into the world, and lacerated in such a shocking manner by the whips of two negro-drivers, that she was from her neck to her ancles literally dyed over with blood. It was after she had received two hundred lashes that I perceived her, with her head hanging downwards, a most affecting spectacle. When, turning to the overseer, I implored that she might be immediately unbound, since she had undergone the whole of so severe a punishment ; but the short answer which I obtained was, that to prevent all strangers from interfering with his government, he had made an unalterable rule, in that case, always to double the punishment, which he instantaneously began to put in execution : I endeavoured to stop him, but in vain, he declaring the delay should not alter his determination, but make him take vengeance with double interest. Thus

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I had no other remedy but to run to my boat, and leave the detestable monster, like a beast of prey, to enjoy his bloody feast, till he was glutted. From that day I determined to break off all communication with overseers, and could not refrain from bitter imprecations against the whole relentless fraternity. Upon investigating the cause of this matchless barbarity, I was credibly informed, that her only crime consisted in firmly refusing to submit to the loathsome embraces of her detestable executioner. Prompted by his jealousy and revenge, he called this the punishment of disobedience, and she was thus flayed alive. Not having hitherto introduced the Samboe cast, I take this opportunity, by here representing the miserable young woman as I found her to the attention of the sympathizing reader.

A Samboe is between a mulatto and a black, being of a deep copper-coloured complexion, with dark hair, that curls in large ringlets. These slaves, both male and female, are generally handsome, and chiefly employed as menial servants in the planters' houses.

At my return to the Hope, I was accosted by Mr. Ebber, the overseer of that estate, who with a woeful countenance informed me he had just been fined in the sum of twelve hundred florins, about one hundred guineas, for having exercised the like cruelty on a male slave; with this difference, that the victim had died during the execution.

execution. In answer to his complaint, so far from giving him consolation, I told him his distress gave me inexpressible satisfaction.

The particulars of this murder were as follow : during the time that Captain Tulling commanded here, which was a little time before I came to the Hope, it happened that a fugitive negro belonging to this estate had been taken upon an adjoining plantation, and sent home, guarded by two armed slaves, to Mr. Ebber ; which fugitive, during the time Ebber was reading the letter that accompanied him, found means to spring aside, and again escaped into the forest. This incensed the overseer so much, that he instantly took revenge upon the two poor slaves that had brought him, tying them up in the carpenter's lodge. He continued flogging them so unmercifully, that Captain Tulling thought proper to interfere, and beg for mercy ; but, as in my case, his interference produced the opposite effect : the clang of the whip, mixed with their dismal cries, were heard to continue for above an hour after, until one of them expired under the cruel lash, which put an end to the inhuman catastrophe. A law-suit was instantly commenced against Ebber for assassination. He was convicted, but condemned to no other punishment than to pay the afore-mentioned hundred guineas, which *price of blood* is always divided between the fiscal and the proprietor of the deceased slave ; it being a rule in Surinam, that by paying a fine

of five hundred florins, not quite fifty pounds *per* head, any proprietor is at liberty to kill as many of his own negroes as he pleases; but if he kills those of his neighbour, he is also to pay him for the loss of his slave, the crime being first substantiated, which is very difficult in this country, where no slave's evidence can be admitted. Such is the legislature of Dutch Guiana, in regard to negroes. The above-mentioned Ebber was peculiarly tyrannical; he tormented a boy of about fourteen called *Cadetty*, for the space of a whole year, by flogging him every day for one month; tying him down flat on his back, with his feet in the stocks, for another; putting an iron triangle* or pot-hook round his neck for a third, which prevented him from running away among the woods, or even from sleeping, except in an upright or sitting posture; chaining him to the landing-place, night and day, to a dog's kennel, with orders to bark at every boat or canoe that passed for a fourth month; and so on, varying his punishment monthly, until the youth became insensible, walking crooked, and almost degenerated into a brute. This wretch was, however, very proud of his handsomest slaves, and for fear of disfiguring their skins, he has sometimes let them off with twenty lashes, when, for their robberies and crimes, they had deserved the gallows. Such is the state of public and private justice in Surinam.

* These triangles have three long barbed spikes, like small grapplings, projecting from an iron collar.

The wretch Ebber left the Hope upon this occasion; and his *humane* successor, a Mr. Blenderman, commenced his reign by flogging every slave belonging to the estate, male and female, for having over-slept their time in the morning about fifteen minutes. C H A P.
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The reader will, no doubt, imagine, that such cruelties were unparalleled; but this is not the case, they were even exceeded, and by a female too.

A Mrs. S—lk—r going to her estate in a tent barge, a negro woman, with her sucking infant, happened to be passengers, and were seated on the bow or fore-part of the boat. The child crying, from pain perhaps, or some other reason, could not be hushed; Mrs. S—lk—r, offended with the cries of this innocent little creature, ordered the mother to bring it aft, and deliver it into her hands; then, in the presence of the distracted parent, she immediately thrust it out at one of the tilt-windows, where she held it under water until it was drowned, and then let it go. The fond mother, in a state of desperation, instantly leapt overboard into the stream, where floated her beloved offspring, in conjunction with which she was determined to finish her miserable existence. In this, however, she was prevented by the exertions of the negroes who rowed the boat, and was punished by her mistress with three or four hundred lashes for her daring temerity.

Colonel Fourgeoud moved on the 20th, with all his troops,

С H A P.
XIII.

troops, from Magdenberg, in order to establish his headquarters nearer the infirmary. His army being in a very sickly condition, he fixed upon the estate called New Rosenback, situated between the Hope and the hospital, for his encampment. Thither I immediately repaired, to pay my respects to the chief; when I saw the remainder of his miserable army landed, and received a further detail of the campaign. I have already mentioned Captain Fredericy's being wounded; one man lost by neglect, and another cut and disarmed; the captives running away, chains and all; the hero scoffed at, and ridiculed by his sable enemies:—I shall now add, that a sick marine was left to die or recover by himself; and that one of the slaves, by bad usage, had his arm broke. The captive negro woman was also gone, never more to return to her conqueror, considerably increased in size from her connection with the troops, and likely to present a new recruit to her dusky monarch. These were the particulars of the last campaign. But I must mention the humanity of a poor slave, who, at every hazard, deserted Fourgeoud to attend the dying marine; and having performed the last sad office of friendship, returned to receive his punishment, but to his infinite surprise was pardoned.

In justice to Colonel Fourgeoud I must say, that upon such expeditions, and in such a climate, many of these accidents cannot be prevented; and that while he killed his troops by scores, without making captures on the enemy,



enemy, he nevertheless did the colony considerable service, by disturbing, hunting, and harassing the rebels, and destroying their fields and provisions. For, it is certain, no negro will ever return to settle in those haunts from which he has been once expelled. Colonel Fourgeoud's partaking personally in every danger and fatigue at his age, must make some amends for the other faults that stained his character, and may even serve, in some measure, to establish his reputation as a man of patience and fortitude. It would give me infinitely more pleasure to write nothing but in his praise; but truth, and the general benefit of mankind, requires, that whilst I display his good qualities I also point out his failings, as they may serve to correct others, and by these means even his vices may be rendered useful. What could be more ridiculous, than paying his troops with silver at Paramaribo, where paper was just as good? and now, while in the rivers, giving them cards, for which they could not procure a yam or a bunch of plantains, while he had whole chests of specie in his possession? But his object was to gain a profit of ten *per cent.* on the pay of the whole regiment, and for this he was justly blamed by the corps in general.

On the 21st, several officers came to visit me at the Hope, whom I entertained with a fish dinner—amongst which were the *kawiry*, the *lamper*, and *macrely-fisy*, all which I shall briefly describe. The *kawiry* is a small fish without scales, the head is large, with two long antennæ or

whiskers projecting from the upper jaw, and is very plentiful in the rivers. The lamper is a species of the lampern, that are caught in the Thames: those of Surinam are not large, but very fat, of a round shape, slimy or glutinous; its colour a blueish green with yellow spots, except the belly, which is white; this fish, like the salmon, frequents both the sea and the rivers. The macrely-fisy resembles a mackarel, whence it has its name, only its colour is more blueish, and not near so splendid.

We were very happy, and my guests perfectly satisfied with their entertainment. But on the morning of the 22d my poor Joanna, who had been our cook, was attacked with a violent fever; she desired to be removed to Faucenberg, there to be attended by one of her female relations, which I complied with. But on the evening of the 25th she was so extremely ill, that I determined to visit her myself, but as privately as possible, as Fourgeoud was to visit me at the Hope the next day; for his satirical jokes upon such an occasion I could very well dispense with; and I knew the most laudable motives were no protection against the ungovernable sallies of his temper.

However difficult the undertaking, as I had to pass close to his post, I like another Leander was determined to cross the Hellespont; of which having informed my friend Heneman, I set out about eleven at night in my own barge, when coming opposite New Rosenback, I heard Fourgeoud's voice very distinctly, as he walked on the

beach with some other officers, and immediately the boat was hailed by a sentinel, and ordered to come ashore. I now thought all was over; but, persisting to the last, I told the negroes to answer *Killestyn Nova*, the name of an adjoining plantation, and thus got leave to proceed unmolested. Soon after I arrived safe at Fauconberg, and found my dearest friend much better.

But on the 26th, in the morning, mistaking the day-light for moon-shine, I overslept myself, and knew not how to return to the Hope, as my barge and negroes could now not pass without being well known to the Colonel. Delay was useless; so out I set, trusting entirely to the ingenuity of my slaves, who put me ashore just before we came in sight of the head-quarters; when one of them escorted me through the woods, and I arrived safe at the Hope. But here my barge soon followed under a guard, and all my poor slaves prisoners, with an order from Fourgeoud for me to flog every one of them, as they had been apprehended without a pass, while their excuse was that they had been out a fishing for their *Massera*.

Their fidelity to me upon this occasion was truly astonishing, as they all declared they would have preferred being cut in pieces, rather than betray the secrets of so good a master. However, the danger was soon over, as I confirmed what they had said, and added, that the fish were intended to *regale the hero*; after which I made a donation of two gallons of rum among my sable privy-

CHAP. counsellors. This passage, however trifling, may serve as
 XIII. a sample not only of European weakness, but of African
 firmness and resolution.

Notwithstanding my preparation, still Colonel Fourgeoud did not visit me on the 27th, but the next morning Joanna arrived, accompanied by a stout black, who was her uncle, and whose arm was decorated with a silver band, on which were engraved these words: "True to the Europeans." This man, who was named Cojo, having voluntarily fought against the rebels, before his companions, by the inhuman treatment of Mr. D. B. and his overseer, had been forced to join them. From these he related to us the following remarkable story, having a little girl, called Tamera, by the hand:—"This child's father," said he, "is one whose name is Jolly Cœur, the first captain belonging to Baron's men, and, not without cause, one of the fiercest rebels in the forest, which he has lately shewn on the neighbouring estate of New Rosenback, where your colonel now commands. On that estate one Schults, a Jew, being the manager at that time, who formerly was the manager of Fauconberg, the rebels suddenly appeared, and took possession of the whole plantation. Having tied the hands of Schults, and plundered the house, they next began to feasting and dancing, before they thought proper to end his miserable existence. In this deplorable situation now lay the victim, only waiting Baron's signal for death, when his eyes chancing
 " to

“ to catch the above captain’s, Jolly Cœur, he addressed
 “ him nearly in the following words:—‘ O Jolly Cœur,
 “ now remember Mr. Schults, who was once your deputy-
 “ master; remember the dainties I gave you from my own
 “ table, when you were only a child, and my favourite, my
 “ darling, among so many others: remember this, and now
 “ spare my life by your powerful intercession.’—The reply
 “ of Jolly Cœur was memorable:—I remember it per-
 “ fectly well:—‘ But you, O tyrant, recollect how you
 “ ravished my poor mother, and flogged my father for
 “ coming to her assistance. Recollect, that the shameful
 “ act was perpetrated in my infant presence—Recollect
 “ this—then die by my hands, and next be damn’d.’—
 “ Saying this, he severed his head from his body with a
 “ hatchet at one blow; with which having played at bowls
 “ upon the beach, he next cut the skin with a knife from
 “ his back, which he spread over one of the cannon to keep
 “ the priming dry.”—Thus ended the history of Mr. Schults;
 when Cojo, with young Tamera, departed, and left me to
 go, with an increased impatience, to receive the news, that
 I soon was to expect from Amsterdam, *viz.* when the de-
 serving Joanna should be free from the villainy of such
 pests of human nature.

On the 28th, Colonel Fourgeoud arrived about ten
 o’clock with one of his officers, and with the very devil
 painted in his countenance, which alarmed me much. I,
 however, instantly introduced him to my cottage, where
 he no sooner saw my mate, than the clouds (like a vapour
 by

CHAP. by the sun) were dispelled from his gloomy forehead:
 XIII. and I must confess, that I never saw him behave with
 more civility.

————— “ Her heavenly form
 “ Angelic, but more soft and feminine,
 “ Her graceful innocence, her every air
 “ Of gesture, or least action, over-aw’d
 “ His malice; and with rapine sweet bereav’d
 “ His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought.”

MILTON.

Having entertained him in the best manner we were able, and now related the story of the Hellespont, he laughed heartily at the stratagem; and giving us both a shake by the hand departed to New Rosenback, in good-humour and perfectly contented.—From all the preceding circumstances, the above Chapter may be styled the golden age of my West India expedition.

C H A P. XIV.

Colonel Fourceoud at Paramaribo—Example of Ignorance in a Surgeon—Of Virtue in a Slave—Of Ferocity in a Commander—The Troops re-enter the Woods—Account of Loango Dancing—Uncommon Proof of Fidelity in a Negro.

HAVING delayed his departure to the 29th of April, Colonel Fourceoud now finally rowed down for Paramaribo, accompanied by a few of his officers, to refresh themselves ; of which, in truth, they had great need, while an armed barge kept floating up and down the river, and while the remaining emaciated troops (which were melted down to a very small number, and unfit, till recruited in their constitutions, for any further military service) greatly required some rest. Just before the chief's departure, he sent me (who now commanded the river) the following very curious instructions, which, as a proof of his generalship, I cannot help inserting : Amongst others, “ to ask the planters if the rebels were come to their estates, in which case to attack and drive them away ; but not to follow them, unless I was sure that I certainly should conquer them, and for any miscarriage I should be called to an account ;” which is, in plain English,

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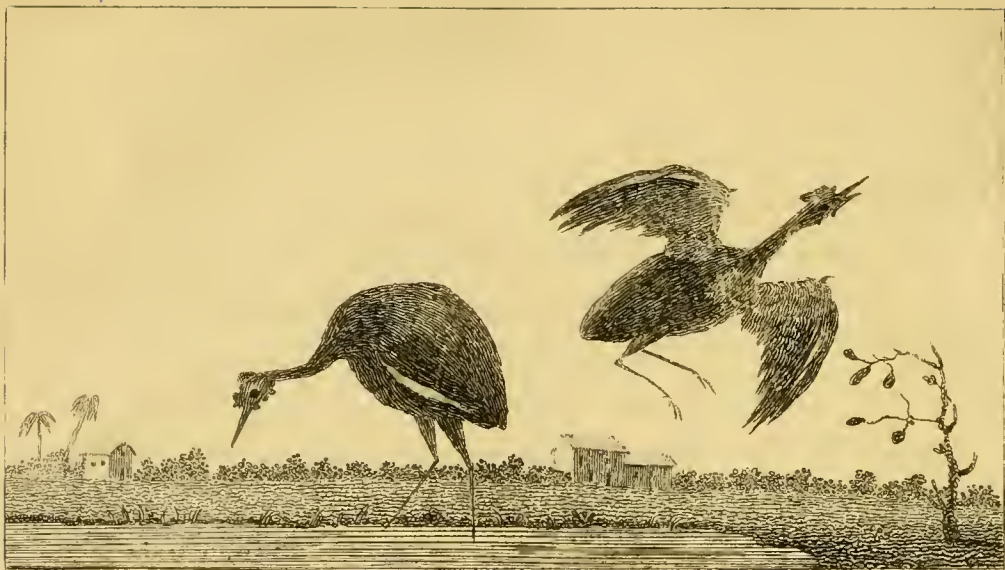
C H A P.
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English, that “ if I attacked the enemy without success, “ I must be punished; and if I did not attack them at “ all, I was to be called to account for neglect of duty.”

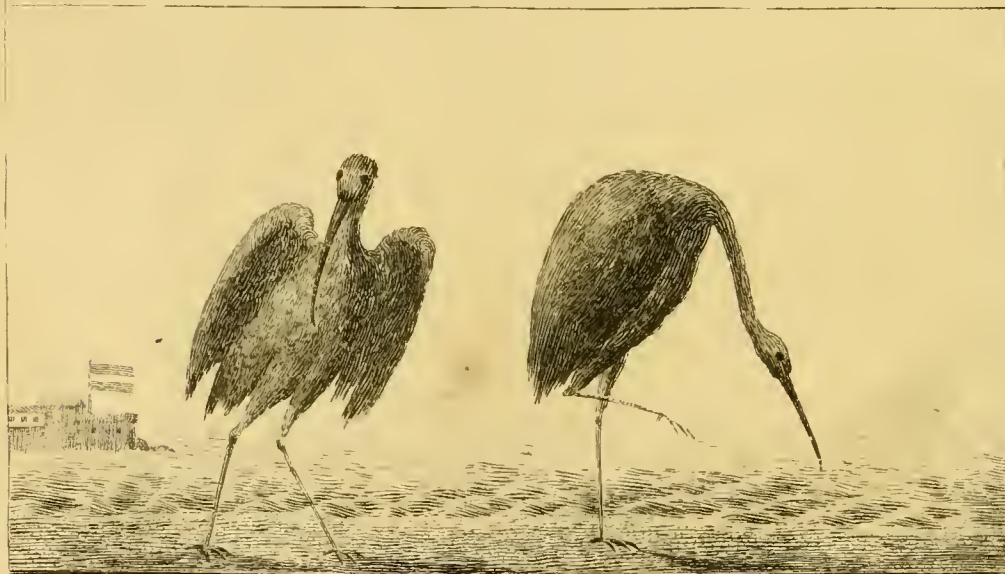
However judicious the other articles I had received, I could not help thinking the above so very absurd, that I immediately returned them back by an officer, and had the good fortune (at my request) to get them changed into common sense.

How happy was I at this time in particular, who wanted for nothing, and who had such an agreeable partner constantly near me, whose sweet conversation was divine music to my ears, and whose presence banished every languor and hardship from my mind!

One day, straying with me through a watery savanna, I shot a bird, which I found to be the spur-winged water-hen of Edwards. This beautiful creature is supposed to be of the plover kind, with the body about the size of a pigeon, being of a deep cinnamon colour, between red and a very rich orange; the neck and belly are perfectly black, the larger feathers of the wings of a bright yellow, and armed on each pinion with a short and sharp horny spur, which it uses for its defence, as game-cocks use theirs in England. It has no tail; its bill is near two inches in length; its legs are long, and, as well as the bill, are of a yellowish green colour; its toes, especially the hinder ones, are of a remarkable length, and seem calculated to support its weight in the mud, where it is most frequently seen, if
not



The Spur-winged Water hen of Guiana.



The Red Curlew of Surinam.

not wading in the water to seek its food. These birds, like plovers, never swim; they have a scarlet crest and small pearls (like those of the Muscovy duck) separating the bill from the eyes; they are always seen in pairs, and when they fly produce an agreeable whistling from their throats. The spur-winged water-hen, on account of its great beauty, reminded me of another fine bird I lately saw upon one of the neighbouring estates, but which I had forgotten to mention: this was the Guiana curlew, here called *flamingo*, from its great resemblance to the famous bird of that name, seen in Canada and many parts of North and South America, and which is supposed to be of the crane kind, with its body as large as that of an European swan. This bird, however, is only the size of a small heron; it has no tail, but a very long neck, and long limbs, with four toes: the head is small, and the bill also long, round, and arched. The flamingo lays always two eggs, which, when hatched, the chickens appear black, next grey, then white, as they come nearer maturity; and, finally, the whole bird becomes a bright scarlet or crimson, some not lighter than the colour of blood. They live in society like the storks, and mostly on the banks of rivers, or near the sea, where they are seen in such amazing flocks, that the sands seem dyed with vermilion; these birds, when young, are accounted very good eating, and are so tame, that on the plantations they are frequently seen walking and feeding

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among the poultry, though fish and animal food they generally prefer.

Thus I daily found some new object to describe, and spent the most agreeable hours, constantly accompanied by my young mulatto, upon this Elysian plantation—but alas! all at once, in the midst of my hopes, my truly halcyon days were blasted, and I was almost plunged into despair, by receiving the fatal news of the death of Mr. Passalage at Amsterdam, to whom I had written to obtain my mulatto's manumission: and what must certainly redouble my distress, was the situation in which she proved to be, promising fair to become a mother in the space of a few months. It was now that I saw a thousand horrors intrude all at once upon my dejected spirits; not only my friend but my offspring to be a slave, and a slave under such a government!—Mr. Passalage, on whom I relied, dead—the whole estate going to be sold to a new master—I could not bear it, and was totally distracted; nay, must have died of grief had not the mildness of her temper supported me, by suggesting the flattering hopes that Lolkens would still be our friend. In the midst of these reflections, on the evening of the 4th, we heard the report of several alarm-guns towards the North East, on which, by day-break next morning, I sent a detachment to Rio-Pirica, which returned about noon with the account of the rebels attacking the estate Merseille, in the river Cottica; but that they had been beaten back by the
plantation

plantation slaves, as they had before by those of Kortenduur. The other news was, that they had ill treated a party of poor Indians, suspecting them to have assisted the estates in making their defence; also that at Paramaribo, an insurrection was discovered among the negroes, who had determined to join the rebels, after first having massacred all the inhabitants; that, however, they were detected, and the ringleaders executed.

On the morning of the 6th, we again heard several musquet-shot in the woods, which apprehending to be some European party that had lost their way, I made my sentinel answer the signals of distress, by firing his piece alternately with theirs, shot for shot, to which I added two drums, that kept beating for several hours without intermission, when the report of their fire-arms gradually approached nearer and nearer: and now at length appeared a Society serjeant and six privates that belonged to Reedwyk in Pirica, and had been lost in the forest for three days, nearly starved, without hammocks, meat, or drink, excepting water. Having refreshed them in the best manner I was able, they all recovered to my very great satisfaction, though one of them remained perfectly blind for several hours, with the sting of a kind of wasps, which are known in this country by the name of *marobonso*; of which the only thing that I can say is, that they are extremely large, live in hollow trees, are the strongest of the bee kind, and sting so violently,

CHAPTER. that the pain is excruciating, and always occasions a
 XIV. fever.

Having, on the 12th, swam twice across the river Cottica, which is above half a mile broad, I came home in a shiver, and next day had an intermitting fever: by abstaining, however, from animal food, and using plenty of acid with my drink, I had no doubt of getting well in a few days; the more so, as tamarinds grew here in profusion.

Indeed, on the 16th, I was almost perfectly recovered, (weakness excepted) when about ten in the morning, as I was sitting with Joanna before my cottage, I had an unexpected visit from a Mr. Steger, who happened to be one of our surgeons. After having felt my pulse, and examined my tongue, he declared without ceremony that I should be dead before the morrow, unless without further delay I made use of his prescription. I acknowledge the sentence staggered me so much that, though at other times I never used medicines at all, I instantly swallowed the dose, which he had prepared for me in a tumbler, without hesitation, but almost as instantly I dropped down on the ground.

In this manner I lay till the 20th, being four days before I came to my senses, when I found myself stretched on a mattress in my little house, with poor Joanna sitting by me alone, and bathed in tears, who begged of me at that time to ask no questions, for fear of hurting my
 spirits,

spirits, but who next day related to me the dismal transaction, *viz.* that the moment I fell, four strong negroes had taken me up, and by her direction placed me where I now was; that the surgeon having put blisters on several parts of my body, had finally declared that I was dead, and had suddenly left the plantation, when a grave and coffin were ordered for my burial on the 17th, which she had prevented by dropping upon her knees to implore a delay; that she had dispatched a black to her aunt at Fauconberg for wine-vinegar, and a bottle of old Rhenish, with the first of which she had constantly bathed my temples, wrists, and feet, by keeping without intermission five wet handkerchiefs tied about them, while with a tea-spoon she had found means to make me swallow a few drops of the wine mulled; that I had lain motionless during all that time; while she had day and night, by the help of Quaco and an old negro, attended me, still hoping for my recovery: for which she now thanked her God. To all this I could only answer by the tear of sympathy that started from my eyes, and a feeble squeeze of my hand.

I had, however, the good fortune to recover, but so slowly that, notwithstanding the great care that was taken of me by that excellent young woman, (to whom alone I owed my life) it was the 15th of June before I could walk by myself, during all which time I was carried on a species of chair by two negroes, supported on two poles like

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like a sedan, and fed like an infant, being sô lame and enervated that I was not able to bring my hand to my mouth ; while poor Joanna (who had suffered too much on my account) was for several days following very ill herself.

Great was the change from what I had been but so shortly before—then the most healthy and most happy in body and mind, and now depressed to the lowest ebb, in my constitution and my spirits. My friend Heneman, who visited me every day, at this time told me that upon information he had discovered the medicine which had so nearly killed me to be only tartar-emetic and ipecacuanha, but in too great a quantity, *viz.* four grains of the first, mixed with forty grains of the latter ; the surgeon having measured my constitution by my size, which is above six feet. I was so much incensed at this piece of stupidity, that on the 4th of June, having drank his Britannic Majesty's health in a rummer of Madeira, and the fatal surgeon coming to make me a bow, he no sooner put his foot on the landing-place, where I was sitting in my palanquin or chair for air, than, having previously clubbed one of the poles that carried me, upon my shoulder, I let it fall upon his guilty pericranium, my strength being as yet too feeble to aim a blow. The poor fellow no sooner felt the weight of the pole, than forgetting the rest of his compliments, he skipped back into his boat with all expedition, with which he decamped as fast as the negroes could

could row him, to our no small entertainment, who saluted him with three cheers.

About this time, while the troops were doing nothing, two of the bravest men in the colony, with the rangers, entered the woods, *viz.* Captain Fredericy, and the militia captain, Stoelman ; they killed three or four of the rebels, and took a few more prisoners, who had been starving for want of subsistence ever since Fourgeoud had ransacked the surrounding forest, and destroyed their fields. In the creek Patamaca also, two rebel negroes, attempting to plunder Mr. Winey's plantation, were shot by his slaves, who sent their right hands barbacued to Paramaribo.

Being still so weak that I was unfit for any duty, even at the Hope, I now surrendered the command of that post to the next officer in rank : and expecting that a change of air would be beneficial to me, with the previous knowledge of Colonel Fourgeoud, I went on a visit to a neighbouring estate, called Egmond, where the planter, Monsieur de Cachelieu, a French gentleman, had given me a most hearty invitation, with Joanna, my boy Quaco, and a white servant. At this place I was extremely comfortable, and nothing could be better calculated for my speedy recovery than this Frenchman's hospitality and good-humour. How inconsistent with this was his injustice and severity to his slaves ! For instance, two young negroes, who well deserved a flogging, by breaking in and robbing their
master's

master's store-house, came off with a few lashes; while two old ones, for a trifling dispute, were each condemned to receive no less than three hundred.

On my asking the cause of this partiality, I was answered by Mons. de Cachelieu, that the young ones had still a very good skin, and might do much work; whereas the old ones had long been disfigured, worn out, and almost unfit for any service; nay, that killing them altogether would be a benefit to the estate.—At Aretrust, a few plantations lower down, some days before, a poor negro was sent with a letter from his proprietor to the manager there—this last, not liking the contents, gave the messenger four hundred lashes, telling the innocent man, at the same time, to carry that for the answer to his master.

But to return to my French host, (who was, in this alone excepted, as polite, hospitable, and well-bred a man as ever I would wish to converse with) I must mention some particulars of his remarkable œconomy, *viz.* a West-India rabbit, called in Surinam *coney coney*, and by the Indians *puccarara*, but properly the *agouti*, I saw one day come roasted to the table. Of this, he and I eat one quarter. Next day it made its appearance *a la crapodine*, that is, with salt and pepper on the gridiron. The third day the remaining half entered in the form of a French fricasee; and a fourth, the last quarter was converted into what I call meagre soup.

This

This I relate as a fact; and though the planter, his overseer, his dog, and his two cats, could not weigh fourteen stone amongst them all, no family in Surinam could be more healthy or contented.—As an instance of abstemiousness, the overseer, Mr. Bodewyn, declared that he never had fought a battle, fired a musquet, mounted a horse, or taken any illicit freedom; though he acknowledged he was every day dressed and shaved by the soft hand of a young negro female.

Nothing could be better than the oranges and china apples that I found on this estate.—The first I have already described; and, though often confounded with the latter, it is a very distinct fruit upon the whole. The China apples, or Seville oranges, as they are usually called, differ in this from the other oranges, that they are more lucid, and of a more savoury taste; that the shell is smoother, thinner, and not so deep coloured; and particularly, that while the oranges may be eaten in any quantity, without pernicious consequences, the immoderate use of the China apples is by long experience in this colony found to produce very dangerous effects. This fruit being here much the same as that which comes from Lisbon, it is supposed to have been imported at first (as was the other) by the Portuguese or the Spaniards; and it may well be conceived, that in those countries, where it drops ripe from the trees in golden clusters, it must be incomparably more delicious than it can ever be tasted in Great Britain, being sent

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thither green, after which it indeed becomes orange, but can never arrive to its proper state of maturity. As for the fine fragrance that is diffused through all this colony, by the continued groves of orange-blossoms and odoriferous fruits that it produces, it can be more easily conceived than described. I also found some fine lemons on this estate, which however are here thick shelled, but very large. There are also a species of sweet ones, which are smaller, and which have, in my opinion, a very insipid taste.

Having mentioned Mons. de Cachelieu's fine fruit, I ought not to forget his excellent French wines, which were perfectly unadulterated and truly delicious, particularly his muscadell. But in spite of all these good things, I still continued a valetudinarian, being oppressed with weakness and indigestion. Thus, in hopes that exercise on horseback might do me good, I determined to take leave of my hospitable French friend, and ask leave of absence to go for some time to Paramaribo.

In consequence, on the 9th, Colonel Fourgeoud arriving in the river at the estate Crawassibo, and expecting soon to renew his manœuvres, I, on the 10th, wrote him a letter for the above purpose, and also for above six months pay, which was due to me. I was answered, on the 12th, not only with a negative to both my requests, which had been granted to other officers, but in so truly impertinent a style, as I could not, even from himself, have expected—

such as calling in question my zeal, though he knew I was sick; and refusing me my own money, or even the proper remedies and means of recovering. This incensed me so much, that I wrote him a second letter, to let him know I was incapable of doing or asking any thing unbecoming my character, but on the contrary (ill as I was) ready to give him such proofs of my honour as should leave him no farther room to doubt of it, should he be pleased to put it to the proof. This epistle, weak and unfit as I was for service, I followed in person two days after, with my French friend Cachelieu for my companion and voucher, who gave me the use of his tilt-barge with eight oars for the purpose.

On our arrival I expected to see Fourgeoud raging with resentment, that he would put me under an arrest, and ask an explanation of our last correspondence. But I dreaded not the worst that he could do, after the many trials to ruin me which he had already put in execution, and death itself was almost preferable to his cruelty.

Monsieur de Cachelieu and I, however, were both disappointed. He not only took us politely by the hand, but solicited us to dine with him, as if nothing had happened. But this affectation I despised, and refused to accept of his invitation with contempt, in which I was followed by the French planter. When, in my turn, I enquired for the cause of his refusing my request, and sending me so strange a letter, this was the answer—That thirty or forty

of the Ouca negroes, who were our allies by treaty, had deceived him, in doing nothing while they had been in the woods, and during the time he had been at Paramaribo: that he was in consequence determined to push on the war with double vigour; on which account he had not only forbidden me to go to town, but had since ordered even all the sick officers to come up and to follow the enemy, while they had strength or breath remaining, not so much as leaving one at Paramaribo to guard the colours and the regiment's chest, which had both been left to the care of a quarter-master.—This, indeed, was literally the fact; but to this he might safely, and without hurting his conscience, have added, the inveteracy of his disposition, with which he had determined to persecute me and some others to annihilation. I ought to mention, that it was not till about this time that he issued orders to be observed on a march, and that previous to this every thing was performed in perfect hurry and confusion, which indeed even afterwards was too frequently the case.

Having now been near two months on the estate Egmond, where I could not recover, and not being permitted to go to Paramaribo, I preferred returning back again to take the command at the Hope; where having entertained Monsieur de Cachelieu in the best manner I was able, this gentleman in the evening returned to his plantation.

At the Hope I found my friend Mr. Heneman (who
was

was now made a captain) very sick, with several others. All these, as well as myself, were left without a surgeon, medicines, or money; while, as I stated before, the many hogsheads of wine sent from Amsterdam, together with scores of kegs containing preserved vegetables, and other fresh provisions, were for ever kept invisible from the poor, emaciated, and languishing troops, for whom they had certainly been intended by that city. I indeed here made one more attempt to recover our property, but to no purpose; money, medicines, wine, and refreshments, were all kept back. Thus did we continue to pine and lose strength, instead of gaining it. I mean the greatest part of us: as for myself, I had the least cause to complain, being well attended by Joanna and my servants, who the next day all arrived from Egmond at the Hope, besides receiving presents, which were as usual sent me from all quarters. One additional inconvenience I however felt—my feet were infested with chigoes, which I partly impute to having, during my illness, worn stockings and shoes while at the good Frenchman's estate Egmond. Of this troublesome insect I have already made some mention, as being extremely numerous at Devil's Harwar, but now shall circumstantially describe it.

The *chigoe* is a kind of small sand-flea, that gets in between the skin and the flesh without its being felt, and generally under the nails of the toes; where, while it feeds, it keeps growing till it becomes the size of a
large

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large pea, causing no further pain than a disagreeable itching; in process of time it appears in the form of a small bladder, in which are deposited thousands of eggs or nits, and which, if it breaks, produce so many young chigoes, that in course of time create running ulcers, which are often of very dangerous consequence to the patient: so much so, indeed, that I have known a soldier, the soles of whose feet were obliged to be cut away with a razor, before he could recover; and some men have lost their limbs by amputation—nay even their lives, by having neglected in time to root out these abominable vermin. The moment, therefore, that one perceives a kind of itching and redness more than usual about the feet, it is time to begin extracting the chigoe that occasions it: this is done with a sharp-pointed needle, at which operation the black girls are extremely dexterous, taking every care not to occasion unnecessary pain, and to prevent the chigoo or bladder from breaking in the wound. The cure is to put tobacco-ashes in the orifice, by which in a little time it is perfectly healed. Being at this time, as I have just mentioned, infested with the chigoes, Joanná with her needle picked twenty-three of these insects out of my left foot; which being all hatched under the nails, caused, as may be imagined, the most terrible torment, but which I bore without flinching, with the resolution of an African negro. These are the insects called *niquas* by the Spaniards at Carthagena.

On

On the 21st I received a letter from the Commander in chief, not an answer to my last, but orders to send him up to the estate Crawassibo (which was at present his head-quarters) all the provisions, kettles, axes, &c. that could be spared from the Hope, as he was preparing to re-enter the woods. I accordingly dispatched them the next day: but the supply of victuals was not great; for a whole barge, with beef and pork, bound for the Hope, had been shipwrecked in the river.

On the 25th Mr. Steger, the surgeon who had so nearly poisoned me that I could not yet get the better of the effects of his ignorance, was discharged from the regiment, as incapable of his profession. Still, notwithstanding my unsettled state of health, as several officers were going to join Fourgeoud about this time, and weak as I was, I intreated once more to be one of the party. But on the morning of the 26th, his adjutant, with another surgeon, visiting all the troops that were in Comewina, I was deemed totally incapable of supporting the fatigue: indeed so much so, that relapsing on the 29th, I was even glad to be superseded in the command of the river by the major, Mr. Medlar, who arrived at the Hope this day for that purpose. Nevertheless I was condemned to linger at this place, while one month at Paramaribo might have perfectly recovered me.—I had now nothing to do but to continue my drawings, for which the above gentleman at that time offered me one hundred crowns, but

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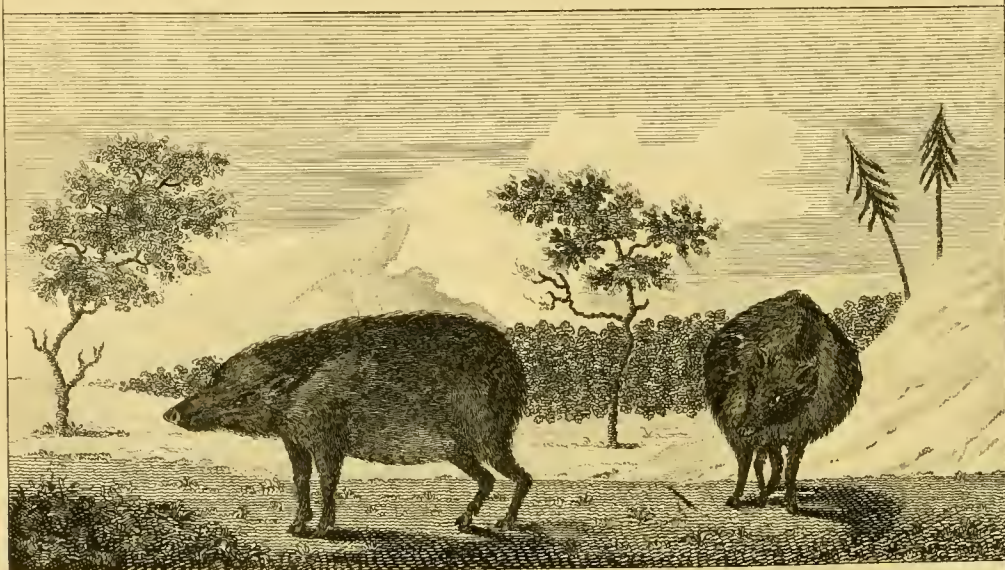
but my desire was, if possible, to complete the collection; and when I had the strength, I walked round the plantation with my gun. Amongst others, I shot, on the 3d of September, a small bird, called *kibry-fozolo*, on account of its continuing in a manner constantly under cover. It was about the size of a thrush, and very much the colour of a quail, which it also exactly resembled in shape, but the limbs were rather longer, and the bill was extremely sharp-pointed. This bird is very seldom seen on the wing, but runs incredibly fast through the grass and savannas, where it hides itself the instant it is perceived. When dressed, it was as fat as a lump of butter, and as delicious as an European ortolan.

On the 11th of September, Fourgeoud at last broke up from Crawassibo, and, with all the able troops he could collect (which were now not much more than one hundred) he again marched into the forest after the enemy; having previously taken away the post from the Jew Savannah, which he placed at the forsaken estate Oranjebo, in the very upper parts of Rio Comewina, leaving the river Surinam to take care of itself.

On the 19th of this month in the forenoon, a herd of wild swine, called *pingos*, (more than two hundred in number) having lost their way in the forest, came to the Hope, galloping over the plantation, when above a score of them were killed by the negroes, who knocked them down with their bill-hooks and axes. In Surinam the wild



The Ringo Warree, or Wild Boar of Guiana.



The Pecary, or Mexican Hog.

wild boars are of three species; which I will embrace this opportunity to describe—these are the *pingos* or *waree* above-mentioned, the *cras-pingo*, and the Mexican hog, called the *peccary*. The *pingos* are about the size of our English small hogs; they are black, and have coarse bristles thinly scattered; they live in herds of sometimes above three hundred, in the thickest parts of the forest, and run always in a line, the one closely following the other; when the foremost or leader is shot, the line is instantly broken, and the whole herd is in confusion; for which reason the Indians take care (if possible) to knock their captain on the head before the rest; after this the others even often stand still, stupidly looking at one another, and allowing themselves to be killed one by one, of which I have been a witness. They do not attack the human species, nor make any resistance at all, like the European wild-boar, when wounded, as has been by some authors erroneously asserted. As for their attacking dogs, I can say nothing about it, never having had any with me when I met them.—The *cras-pingos* are large, armed with strong tusks, and their bristles still coarser than the former. This large species indeed are very dangerous, as well from their strength as their ferocity, attacking any thing that obstructs them in their way, especially when wounded. They move in the same manner, and in as large herds, as the former, but inhabit chiefly the more inland parts of the country.

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Both these species, when they hear the smallest noise in the forest that indicates danger, stop short in their course, form in a close body, and gnash their teeth, preparing themselves for defence against the enemy: I am of opinion that these are not natural to Guiana, but originally from Africa and Europe. Their flesh is eaten with avidity by the natives, and even esteemed by the white inhabitants, but is in my opinion dry, hard, and unsavoury.—That species which is called the *peccary* or Mexican hog, is alone supposed to be indigenous to Guiana, and will not intermix with either the wild or domestic hogs. This animal is particularly remarkable by having an orifice on the back, which is vulgarly mistaken for its navel, and which, being about one inch deep, contains a stinking fetid liquor, which some compare to the smell of musk, but which is so very disagreeable, that the instant the animal is killed, the natives take care to cut away this part with a knife, to prevent its infecting the flesh, which it would soon do, making it so disgusting as not to be eatable. The length of the peccary is about three feet: it has no tail; fine limbs, short tusks, and yellowish grey bristles, much resembling those of an English hedge-hog; on the back they are very long, but on the sides and on the belly they are both short and very thinly scattered. This creature has a light-coloured spot that comes down from the shoulder on each side the breast, something like a horse-collar. Hogs of this species

are more uncommon in the low and marshy countries than in the inland parts, where they prefer feeding amongst the mountains and dry savannas. The peccary is easily tamed, and in that state harmless and inoffensive, but not so stupid as is asserted by the Count de Buffon, who says, they know no person, and have no attachment to those that feed them ; for Major Medlar had one at the Hope that followed him like a dog, and shewed the greatest delight in being caressed by its master. I ought also to observe that it is, when irritated, very vicious and mischievous. They go in large herds as the other species, produce many young at a time, and their grunting is extremely loud and disagreeable.

On the morning of the 29th, we again heard the report of several guns toward the river Cottica, where it since appeared the rebels were a second time beaten back from the plantation Merseille, by the fidelity and bravery of the slaves belonging to that estate.

On the 8th of the succeeding month, we received the news, that Colonel Fourceoud, having discovered and destroyed some fields belonging to the enemy (who had again kept up a distant conversation with him) and having found the mangled remains of poor Schmidt, who had been murdered by the rebels, as I related above, was once more come with his troops to Magdenberg, where he encamped till the eleventh. He then re-entered the forest, previously sending to the Hope the sick, and with

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them a young officer under an arrest, in order to be tried for not being able to undergo the fatigues as well as himself. In other words, having been ordered to watch two days and two nights, the youth had proved unequal to the task, and had dropt asleep under arms, as he was sitting on the ground. The climate indeed was such that even without these trials nature was often overcome.

The preservation of Fourceoud's vigour hitherto may, in a great measure, be attributed to his continually drinking a medicine he called *tisan*, in large full basons, which had a most nauseous taste, and was composed of the jesuits bark, cream of tartar, and stick-liquorice, boiled together, which he drank as hot as he could bear it, and to which having accustomed his constitution, he could not do without it. In this, however, he was followed by none of the rest, as they were apprehensive that when this should once cease to operate, (which it must at last) all other medicines in time of real need would be ineffectual. As for my own part, I still continued to be so exceedingly weak, that I almost despaired of evermore recovering; while my depressed spirits, on account of Joanna's critical and almost hopeless situation, greatly contributed to prevent the restoration of my health. These alarms were not diminished on the 21st, when, being visited by Mr. and Mrs. Lolkens at the Hope, this gentleman told me, that the whole estate Fauconberg was again transferred, with
its

its dependants, since the death of Mr. Passalage; that the new proprietor was a Mr. Lude of Amsterdam, with whom he had not the smallest interest; and that there was in town a general report that we had both been poisoned. This sentence was, however, greatly alleviated by the kindness of his lady, who insisted that my Joanna should accompany her to Paramaribo immediately; where, at her own house, she should meet with every care and attention that her situation could require, till perfectly recovered: for this I thanked her in the best manner I was able, and poor Joanna wept with gratitude. Having therefore conducted them as far as their estate Killestyn-Nova, where we dined, I took my leave of them and Joanna, and bid them all an affectionate farewell for the present.

At my return to the Hope, my indignation was scarcely to be restrained within the bounds of prudence, when I found myself upbraided by my mess-mates for taking care of my own offspring: “Do as we do,” said they, “Sted-
“ man, and never fear. If our children are slaves, they
“ are provided for; and if they die, what care we, should
“ they be d—n’d in the bargain? Therefore keep your
“ sighs in your own belly, and your money in your pocket,
“ my boy, that’s all.”—I repeat this in their own language, to shew how much my feeling must have been hurt and disgusted with similar consolation.

The following morning, awaking by day-break in my
hammock,

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hammock, the first thing that I saw, when looking up, was a snake about two yards long, hanging with its head downwards like a rope, and straight above my face, from which he was not one foot distance, while his tail was twisted round the rafters under the thatch. Observing his eyes bright as stars, and his forked tongue in agitation, I was so distressed that I scarcely had power to avoid him, which however I did, by running out; after which, I heard a rustling in the dry thatch, where the negroes attempted to kill him, but in vain, he having escaped, and thus I cannot say what species he belonged to. Being now by myself, and rather startled by this unwelcome guest, I shut up my house, and lodged and messed with my friends the Major, Heneman, and Macdonald.

On visiting my boxes, I now found that great depredations had been committed by the ants, which are throughout all Guiana so very numerous, and of so many different species, that once I had a pair of new cotton stockings perfectly destroyed by them in one night only. Those which frequent the estates are generally small, but very troublesome. The only way possibly to keep them from the refined sugar, is by hanging the loaf to the ceiling on a nail, and making a ring of dry chalk around it, very thick, which crumbles down the moment the ants attempt to pass it. I imagined that placing my sugar-boxes in the middle of a tub, and on stone, surrounded with deep water, would have kept back this formidable enemy,

enemy, but to no purpose: whole armies of the lighter sort (to my astonishment) marched over the surface, and but a very few of them were drowned. The main body constantly scaled the rock, and in spite of all my efforts made their entry through the key-holes; after which, the only way to clear the garrison is to expose it to a hot sun, which the invaders cannot bear, and all march off in a few minutes. That the ants provide for winter, as not only Dr. Bancroft and many others, but even King Solomon, reports, is found to be an error by the most modern investigation. In Surinam, indeed, there is no winter; but where there is, the ants lie dormant, during which torpid state they want no food.

My friend Captain Van Coeverden, at this time, marching in the woods, suffered a much worse depredation at Paramaribo, where not the ants, but the negro-slaves, had broken open his boxes, and robbed him of all his best effects, and near twenty guineas in money.

On the 6th, a marine drowned himself, in one of those phrenzy fevers which are so common in Guiana. About the same time another Society soldier was shot by order of a court-martial. Thus perished those men who were spared by the climate or the enemy.

Having written to a Mr. Seifke, to enquire whether it was not in the power of the Governor and Council to relieve a gentleman's child from bondage, provided there was paid to its master such a ransom as their wisdom should judge

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judge adequate ; I received for answer, that no money or interest could purchase its freedom, without the proprietor's consent ; since, according to law, it was just as much a slave as if it had been born in Africa, and imported from the coast of Guinea. This information now perfectly completed my misery, and I at last had recourse to drinking ; which temporary relief, however, only caused my spirits to flow higher, in order to make them sink low after its evaporation. During this conflict it happened that I was invited with the Major to dine, at an estate called Knoppemonbo, in the Casavinica Creek, where a Mr. De Graav, the proprietor, did every thing in his power to amuse me, but to no purpose.—At last, seeing me seated by myself on a small bridge that led to a grove of orange-trees, with a settled gloom on my countenance, he accosted me, and taking me by the hand, to my astonishment, pronounced the following words :

“ Sir, I am acquainted by Mr. Lolkens with the cause
 “ of your just distress. Heaven never left a good intention
 “ unrewarded. I have now the pleasure to acquaint you,
 “ that Mr. Lude has chosen *me* for his administrator ; and
 “ that from this day I shall pride myself in making it my
 “ business to render you any service with that gentleman,
 “ as well as the virtuous Joanna, whose deserving character
 “ has attracted the attention of so many people, while
 “ your laudable conduct redounds to your lasting honour
 “ throughout the colony.”

No

No angel descending from above could have brought me a more welcome message ; and no criminal under sentence of death could have received a reprieve with greater joy. The weight of a mill-stone was removed from my labouring breast ; and having made Mr. De Graav repeat his promise, I felt I should yet be happy. Soon after this I was surrounded by several gentlemen and ladies, to whom my friend had communicated his generous intentions. They congratulated me on my sensibility, and on having met with so valuable an acquaintance. All seemed to partake in the pleasure that I now felt ; and the day being spent in mirth and conviviality, I returned to the Hope, much better pleased than when I left it, where next day the whole company was entertained by Major Medlar ; nor did we separate, or cease feasting up and down the river, till the 13th, when we once more spent the day at Knoppemonbo.

Here Mr. De Graav, having bought some new slaves, gave a holiday to all the negroes on his estate ; and here I had the opportunity of seeing the diversions peculiar to that people : but of these I must reserve the particular account to another occasion, and for the present only give a short description of the Loango dancing, as performed by the Loango negroes, male and female, and not by any others ; which consists from first to last in such a scene of wanton and lascivious gestures, as nothing but a heated imagination and a constant practice could enable them to

perform. These dances, which are performed to the sound of a drum, to which they strike time by clapping of hands, may properly be considered as a kind of play or pantomime divided into so many acts, which lasts for some hours. But the most remarkable is, that during this representation, the actors, instead of being fatigued, become more and more enlivened and animated, till they are bathed in sweat like post-horses, and their passions wound up to such a degree, that nature being overcome, they are ready to drop into convulsions.

However indelicate the above exhibitions may be, fashion has rendered them no more disgusting than any other diversions to the European and Creole ladies, who in company with the gentlemen crowd about them without the least reserve, to enjoy what they call a hearty laugh; while such scenes would change an English woman's face from white to scarlet.

That custom and habit give a sanction, and render familiar, in some countries, many things which would be considered as preposterous in others, is an observation, which is more or less verified, in proportion to the variety of places which the traveller has visited. An officer in the India service has, in a late publication, described the variety of attitudes, gestures, looks, sighs, expressions of desire, fear, hope, trepidation, and every gradation of passion, which is acted by the dancing-girls in the East Indies; and yet, though these young women are exerting
all

all their faculties for promoting wantonness in the beholders, to obtain a living, the whole race of Gentoo women are most remarkable for the purest minds of any people in the universe*.

* Not to go so far eastward, it is notorious that nearly similar to these dances are those which we find practised on a part of this continent. They are called *fundangos*, and are said to have been brought from Peru to Spain. As I have been favoured with a very accurate and curious description of them, extracted from a collection of letters of Emanuel

Martinus, dean of Alicant, I shall venture to insert it as it came to my hands, since I doubt not but it may afford amusement to some of my readers, while I hope the admission of it will not be offensive to others; it being my wish and desire to please all, by bringing to light whatever might otherwise escape observation.

E. M. I. A. suo.

I nunc, et veterum morum licentiam accusa, nostrorum verecundiam lauda. Nosti saltationem illam Gauditanam, obscœnitate suâ per omne ævum famosam. At qui hodiè ipsammet per omnia hujus urbis compita, per omnia cubicula, cum incredibili astantium plausu, saltari videas. Nec inter Æthiopas tantum et obscuros homines, sed inter honestissimas fœminas, ac nobili loco natas.

Saltationis modus hoc ritu peragitur. Saltant vir et fœmina vel bini vel plures. Corpora ad musicos modos per omnia libidinum irritamenta versantur. Membrorum mol-

lissimi flexus, clunium motationes, micationes femorum, salacium insultuum imagines, omnia denique turgentis lasciviæ solertissimo studio expressa simulacra. Videas cevere virum, et cum quodam gannitu, crissare fœminam, eo lepore ac venustate, ut ineptæ profecto ac rusticæ tibi viderentur tremulæ nates Photidos Appulcianæ. Interea omnia constrepunt cachinnis et ronchis. Quin spectatores ipsi satyricæ atellanæque *ορχηστρας* furore correpti, in ipso simulatæ libidinis campo, leni quodam gestu nutuque, velitantur ac fluctuant.

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On the 14th I returned to the Hope, where I saw my cottage unroofed by a storm; but which now expecting no more to inhabit, I permitted to go to ruin—

“ The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces, &c. shall dissolve.”

Be that as it may, I had passed in it the happiest days of my whole lifetime.

On the 26th Colonel Fourgeoud marched once more to the Wana Creek; but having taken the troops from the Jew Savannah, the rebels availed themselves of their absence, and not only pillaged a plantation in the river Surinam, but burnt several dwellings in the Creek Casavinica. From the above river they were bravely pursued by a feeble Society-detachment, which chanced to be there, but without success; two soldiers were killed, and Mr. Negle their leader, with several others, wounded. The Major now broke up the new post formed at Oranjebo, which he also dispatched after the enemy; and having ranged a whole week in the forest, also returned without any manner of success. These frequent miscarriages evince how difficult it is for European troops to carry on a war in the forests of South America.

The 30th of this month being the Anniversary of St. Andrew, and now finding myself in excellent spirits, I roasted a whole sheep, with which I entertained all the
 officers

officers on the Hope, as well as with a couple of gallons of good Jamaica rum in punch, which we drank to the healths of all our friends on the old continent. This festivity I repeated on December the 4th, on receiving the tidings that my Joanna was delivered of a strong and beautiful boy. That very morning I dispatched another letter to Mr. Lude at Amsterdam, to obtain her manumission, couched much in the same terms as that which I had written to his predecessor Mr. Passalage, only praying for dispatch, as I was now uncertain how much longer the expedition was to last; in which request I was again seconded by my new friend Mr. De Graav, as I had been before by Mr. Lolkens; after which I entertained the sick with a dozen of old Rhenish, received from the former gentleman, which had been in his cellar from one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six.

Walking round the plantation the morning of the 10th with my gun, I found the whole of the slaves on the estate in a mutiny, on account of the cruel usage inflicted by the managers: happily for all parties the interference of the military soon ended this matter to mutual satisfaction. These frequent disturbances, which I have at different times mentioned, plainly indicate the inclination of the negroes to break out in an open rebellion; and this would certainly have been more often attempted, had they not been awed by the troops. The same morning I brought home two birds, the one called *toreman*, the other a species

of

CHAP. of grass-snipe. The *toreman*, or *hanaquaw*, is a shining
 XIV. black bird, as large as a pullet, with grey legs, and a bill
 of a dark brown colour; it is very good eating, and easily
 discovered in the trees (where it perches on the highest
 branches) by its note repeating distinctly the word *hana-*
quaw, *hanaquaw*, at the approach of any person in the
 forest; which has also occasioned the name of *toreman*,
 and which signifies, in the negro language of Surinam, a
 tale-bearer or a spy; on this account the rebels in parti-
 cular have an invincible hatred against it.

The grass-snipe is something less than a woodcock, of a
 beautiful silver-grey colour, and in shape much like the
 snipes of Europe. This bird is mostly found in the
 wet savannahs; it is very plump, and exquisitely de-
 licate food.

On the 11th the estate Rectwyk in Pirica was attacked,
 but the enemy was beaten back by the military.

Colonel Fourgeoud being now again arrived at Mag-
 denberg, and I at last being perfectly recovered, after
 seven months illness, I ventured to propose, by another
 letter to the Commander, that I might accompany him
 on his future excursions in the woods, or go for some
 time to Paramaribo; but neither the one or the other
 request was yet granted. In this situation I wrote a letter
 to town, to inform my poor friend that I was well, with
 which I went to the river side to look out for a boat,
 and towards noon hailed the tent-barge belonging to

Fauconberg, which was rowing with the overseer to Paramaribo. This was, unfortunately, a new superintendant; and not knowing me, he refused to come ashore for the message. However, seeing the negroes rest upon their oars, I took the letter in my teeth, and leaped instantly into the river to dispatch it, knowing they would put me again on *terra-firma*. Having thus swam with the stream, in my shirt and trowsers, till I came within two oars length of the boat, I held up the letter in my hand, and called out, "Who the devil are you, that refuse to take on board a piece of paper?" When, being answered in French, "Je suis Jean Bearnee, paysan de Guascogne, à votre service," I had the mortification to see them pull away without a possibility of overtaking them, or returning. In this distress I had now nothing left but to perish, it being impossible to swim against the stream, especially as I was incumbered with my cloaths. I struggled, however, but sunk twice to the bottom in the attempt; and must inevitably have been drowned, had I not caught hold of a projecting paling that was erected in the river for the purpose of catching fish. To this I remained sticking fast; when a Dutch carpenter, who observed me from the top of the sugar-mill, called out, that the English captain was trying to kill himself. On this news a dozen stout negroes immediately leapt into the river, and having dragged me safe on shore (under the direction of my good friend Medlar, who was inclined to believe the report)

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port) lifted me upon their shoulders to carry me home. The disappointment, the danger, the anger, vexation, and shame (for there was no contradicting them) had by this time wound up my passions to such a height, and made such an impression on my spirits, that I became perfectly mad, and had almost perpetrated the act of which I was accused; since, on crossing over a small bridge, I actually gave a sudden twist, and, from their shoulders, threw myself with a jerk headlong over the balustrades once more into the water. Here a second time I was picked up by the negroes; and now the suspicion being confirmed that I intended suicide, I was put to my hammock, with two sentinels appointed to guard me during the night, while several of my friends were shedding tears around me. Having, however, drank some mulled wine, I enjoyed a sound nap till morning; when appearing calm and perfectly composed, my words, to my great joy, began to gain credit, and the apprehensions of my companions were dispelled.—Such was the danger to which I was exposed by the unkind and inhospitable behaviour of this Frenchman, who nearly obliterated the memory of this transaction by his many succeeding instances of unprecedented brutality. The following day, however, by one of my negroes and a small canoe, I sent my letter to Paramaribo. Seeing now about noon a melasses-boat at anchor before the Hope, in which was broiling in the sun an English sailor and two negroes, I
made

made the first come ashore, and entertained the poor fellow with a bowl of punch and a good meal of eggs and bacon, to his great surprize, he not having expected this kindness, or to be accosted in his own country language at this place. What were this man's grateful acknowledgments, whose name was Charles Macdonald, will be seen in the sequel of my work.

A melasses-boat is a barge rowed by two oars, which fetches this commodity in large hogsheads from the sugar plantations, and delivers it on board the English-American vessels for exportation, to be distilled into rum in the islands; for which they pay the Dutch, on an average, three guineas *per* hogshead.

On the 16th another officer arrived from our hero under an arrest (the first was a Mr. Geelguin, and this was a Mr. Neys), for the crime of contending with the free negro Goasary for a bunch of plantains. Both these young men were afterwards sent to Europe by Fourgeoud, in expectation that they would be broke by a court-martial; but, after a very short confinement, they were honourably acquitted, to the joy of the whole corps, and the mortification of this hectoring Swiss. Such was the inveteracy of this old gentleman, who had not the smallest consideration for the foibles of youth; and who constantly saw the mote in the eye of his neighbour, overlooking the beam that appeared so conspicuously in his own. As I have been speaking of plantains, I shall take

CHAPTER. this occasion to give some account of a production, which
 XIV. in fact, I ought to have described long before.

This is rather a plant than a tree, as the trunk has neither wood nor bark, but consists of a stamen enwrapped by green vascular husks, succeeding each other in the manner of an onion, and above ten inches in diameter. These husks rise alternately about fourteen feet distance from the ground, and form not in branches, but in leaves, that spread like an umbrella, about twelve or fourteen in number, so as to cover the tallest person. They are of a shining sea-green till they fade, and hang down in tatters, as their places are supplied by the young ones. From the centre of all this there grows a strong stalk, about three feet long, and bending downwards by the weight of a purple spatha, something like a calf's heart; and on this stalk grows the fruit called plantains, in the shape of cucumbers, and above one hundred in number, which is usually called a bunch. Each tree, or plant, bears but one of these bunches at a time. When it is cut down, it is speedily supplied by the young shoots, which spring from its bulbous root, and which in the space of ten months time are ready to undergo the same operation. It requires a rich nourishing soil to make it prosper, without which it never arrives at proper maturity. This fruit being divested of its tegument when green, has in the inside a pale yellow farinaceous substance, and supplies (as I have already intimated) the want of bread, when





The Plantain Tree, and the Banana?

either boiled or roasted: it has an agreeable taste, and is very wholesome; when the shell becomes yellow the inside is soft, and then may be eaten raw, having much the taste of a very ripe pear; but when arrived at that degree of maturity it is only used by way of dessert.

Another species resembling this, is the banana, which only differs from the plantain, in its fruit being less, and more oval, and this species is never eaten till it is yellow and fully ripe. The former is most useful in point of food; but this last, which has the flavour of musk, is accounted by far the most delicate. For a more perfect idea, however, than I am capable of giving by description, I refer the curious to the annexed plate; where *A* is the plantain-tree with its fruit; *B* the young shoots that succeed it; *C* the fruit in its green tegument; *D* the same, cut through the middle; and *E* the fruit called *banana*, in full maturity. In Surinam the first is known by the name of *banana*, and the second goes by that of *bacooba*.

I now, obtaining my friend Medlar's concurrence, took a trip on the 18th to Paramaribo; where I found my boy bathing in Madeira wine and water*, while his mother was happy, and perfectly recovered. Having seen them

* This, however uncommon it may appear to an European, is often practised in Surinam by such as can afford it; amongst which class was the hospitable Mrs. Lolkens, who generously presented Joanna with the wine.

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well, and presented Joanna with a gold medal, that my father had given my mother on the day of my birth, also thanked Mrs. Lolkens for her very great kindness, I immediately returned to the Hope, where I arrived on the 22d.

The poor negro whom I had sent before me with a letter had been less fortunate than I was, having his canoe upset in the middle of the river Surinam, by the roughness of the water. With great address, however, he kept himself in an erect posture (for this man could not swim), and by the buoyancy and resistance of the boat against his feet, he was enabled just to keep his head above the water, while the weight of his body kept the sunk canoe from moving. In this precarious attitude, he was picked up by a man-of-war's boat; who, taking away the canoe for their trouble, put him on shore at Paramaribo. He kept the letter, however surprising, still in his mouth, and being eager to deliver it, he accidentally ran into a wrong house; where, being taken for a thief (for refusing to let them read it), he was tied up to receive four hundred lashes; but, fortunately, was reprieved by the intercession of an English merchant of the name of Gordon, who was my particular friend, and knew the negro. Thus did the poor fellow escape drowning, and being flogged, either of which he would have undergone, sooner than disclose what he called the secrets of his *masera*.—Query, How many Europeans are possessed of equal fidelity and fortitude?

Having

Having lately mentioned the mode of catching fish by means of a projecting paling, it will probably not be disagreeable to the reader to have some account of it, particularly as on many different occasions it helped me to a comfortable dinner. It consists simply of a kind of square enclosure, that juts out into the river, surrounded by long palisadoes of the manicole-tree, tied very close together by *nebees*. In this fence is a large door, which is left open with the flood, and shut at high water, to prevent the enclosed fish from escaping; and by this simple contrivance the negroes and Indians frequently catch very large quantities. Amongst those taken lately, were the *logo-logo* and *matuary*. The first is a species of eel, and is sometimes two feet long, and very thick; dark blue on the back and sides, but whitish on the belly: it is extremely fat, and very good eating. The other is a small sweet fish without scales; but one thing very remarkable is, that in Surinam most fishes, the moment they are out of the water, begin to make a noise, not unlike the grunting of a small pig: and that fish have hearing (after many doubts and disputes) has of late been clearly demonstrated by the most able inquirers into the history of nature*.

Having on the 23d dined at the estate Knoppemonbo, I will also mention two birds, which attracted my particular

* See the account given to the Members of the Royal Society, by *John Hunter*, Esq; F. R. S.

attention.

attention. The one on account of the very great peculiarity of its nest; it is called in this country *lipee-banana*, as supposed to feed much on the ripe bananas. Whether this is the mock-bird of Dr. Bancroft, I know not, but in some particulars it approaches his description.

These birds that I speak of had taken possession of a large tree near the water-side, which the negroes told me they had frequented undisturbed for many years; they were at least above two hundred in number, about the size of English thrushes, some were a shining black, with the tails and part of the wings of a bright crimson; the others were also black, but their tails and wings of a fine yellow colour. The first I was informed were the males, and the latter the females of the same species: they indeed whistled a variety of notes, but neither had that melody or imitation of other songsters, which is so generally ascribed to the mock-bird, and which, besides, I never heard mentioned in Surinam. These birds had their nests (above threescore in number) fixed to the extremity of the branches, where they were dangling in the wind, resembling egg-nets stuffed with hay, of which, indeed, they were built; and about the middle of them there was a small hole, at which the birds enter and go out. The bottom is built wide, and perfectly round; there they lay their eggs, and hatch their young ones, while the spiral roof protects them from birds of prey, and from the weather. But what is of more consequence, the monkeys, which

which are so numerous in this country, are, by such a situation, prevented from destroying them, since the branches or twigs from which they depend, though strong enough to support the nests, and what is in them, are too weak to bear the load of more weighty invaders; and, for greater security, I may add, they are mostly built depending over water.—(*See the nests in Plate XLV.*) The other bird which I shot in returning home, was the Surinam falcon or hawk. Its size and shape was like those of the same species in England: its colour light brown, variegated on the breast and tail with specks of red, black, and yellow; its tongue was cloven, its eyes remarkably bright, its legs a citron colour, and its talons armed with long and sharp-pointed claws. This bird is exceedingly destructive to the plantations, committing great ravages amongst the poultry, &c.

But I must once more return to the operations of our commander in chief, who having rested a few days at Magdenberg, again marched, on Christmas-day, with the remaining handful of his men, to the Jew Savannah, whence he returned (having seen nothing) back to Magdenberg, with the new title of being himself the wandering Jew. This did not prevent me and Major Medlar from renewing our solicitations to accompany him in his expeditions; but we were still prevented by his going to town, where about this time a fresh supply of troops was hourly expected

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pected to arrive from Europe. At last, however, he gave me leave to follow him, with some other officers who were actually in want, at a time when fifteen hogsheads of fine claret, and fifteen thousand florins in specie, were waiting his commands at Paramaribo.

CHAP. XV.

Description of the Indians, Aborigines of Guiana—Their Food—Arms—Ornaments—Employments—Diversions—Passions—Religion—Marriages—Funerals, &c.—Of the Caribbee Indians in particular—Their Trade with the Europeans.

ON the 18th of January 1774, I at last bid farewell to the Hope, of which I am convinced the reader by this time is as tired as I have been. Thence rowing down, I slept at the estate Arentlust, and next day dined at the beautiful plantation Catwyk. In this place I had nearly ended all my travels; for Mr. Goetzee, the owner, having lent me one of his horses to ride round the estate, the animal and I both at once disappeared: a wooden bridge over which we passed being rotten, the part under us gave way, and we dropped through into the canal. With much exertion however (being alone) I got ashore, and having run to call some negroes, the horse, which stuck in the mud, was (though with great difficulty) extricated.

In the evening I rowed to Paramaribo with the ebb tide, which gave me an opportunity of seeing the mangroves that line the banks of the river Surinam full of oysters, stuck in the branches like fruit, from the water's

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edge up to high-water mark. These oysters attaching themselves to trees as they do to rocks, has given rise to the vulgar error that they grow, or vegetate like fruit; but it is not more extraordinary that they should stick on any one substance than on another, for many species of shell-fish are as commonly found to adhere to ships bottoms as to rocks. These oysters, which at some distance look like mushrooms, are, indeed, very small and trifling; for one hundred are not comparable to one dozen that come from Colchester. In Surinam are also a kind of muscles, but these are so small and insipid, that they are scarcely worthy of mention.

The day after my arrival I visited the Governor: as also Mr. Kennedy, Mrs. Lolkens, Mrs. De Melley, &c. who all congratulated me on my acquaintance with Mr. De Graav, and highly honoured me, and approved of what I had done for my Mulatto and her infant.

On the 22d, our few remaining troops being mostly at Paramaribo, a Mr. Van Eys gave an entertainment to the whole corps.

On the 25th a great number of Indians, or natives, arrived at Paramaribo; which afforded me an opportunity of seeing and describing this people, who are the aborigines of the country. These Indians, who appear the happiest creatures under the sun, are divided into many casts or tribes, such as the



Indian Family of the Carribbee Nation.

EXPEDITION TO SURINAM.

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Caribbees,	Arrowouks,
Accawaus,	Tairas, and
Worrows,	Piannacotaus ;

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besides which, there are many others whose manners are unknown to us. All these tribes of Indians are in general of a copper-colour ; while the negroes of Africa, that live under the same degree of latitude, are perfectly black. This, however inconceivable it may appear, is easily accounted for, when one considers, first, that the American Indians in Guiana are constantly refreshed by the cooling sea breeze, or easterly wind, that blows between the tropics ; and that those who dwell in Terra-Firma and Peru, on the West coast, enjoy that same easterly breeze, still kept cool by the great chain of inland mountains over which it passes, and which have their summits perpetually covered with snow. While the inhabitants of Africa, south of the river Senegal, get the same east wind rather heated than cooled, by the prodigious quantity of inland, hot, sandy deserts over which it passes.

These are the most probable reasons why the Americans are of a copper-colour or red, and the inhabitants of Africa, called Negroes, are black, *viz.* the one being more burnt by the sun than the other, and not because they are two distinct races of people : since no person who examines and reflects, can avoid seeing that there is but one race of people on the earth, who differ from each other only according to the soil and the climate in which they live.

I am further of opinion, that these aborigines, or Indian natives, will appear to have still less title to be called a distinct people from those of the old continent, when we consider the proximity of Russia to North America, whence apparently they have emigrated, and hitherto but thinly peopled the New World, the Mexicans and a few others excepted, till they were butchered by Spanish avarice and superstition. A happy people I call them still, whose peace and genuine morals have not been contaminated with European vices; and whose errors are only the errors of ignorance, and not the rooted depravity of a pretended civilization, and a spurious and mock Christianity.

“ Lo ! the poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind
 “ Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind ;
 “ His soul proud science never taught to stray
 “ Far as the solar walk, or milky way ;
 “ Yet simple nature to his hope has giv'n,
 “ Behind the cloud-topt hill, an humbler heav'n ;
 “ Some safer world, in depth of woods embrac'd,
 “ Some happier island in the wat'ry waste ;
 “ Where slaves once more their native land behold,
 “ No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold,
 “ To be, contents his natural desire,
 “ He asks no Angel's wing, no Seraph's fire ;
 “ But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
 “ His faithful dog shall bear him company.
 “ Go, wiser thou ! and in thy scale of sense
 “ Weigh thy opinion against Providence.”

For

For my part I must say, with Socrates, that this kind of poverty is alone the truest kind of riches; as those who want least approach nearest to the gods, who want nothing. This naturally leads me to the speech of an Indian, in reply to a sermon preached by a Swedish minister at an Indian treaty, held at Covestogue, of which the principal substance was as follows:

“Do you then really believe, that we and our fore-
 “ fathers are all, as you would teach us, condemned to
 “ suffer eternal torments in another world, because we
 “ have not been taught your mysterious novelities? Are
 “ we not the work of God? And can the Almighty not
 “ manifest his will without the help of a book? If this is
 “ true, and God is just, then how is it consistent with his
 “ justice to force life upon us without our consent, and
 “ then to condemn us all to eternal damnation, because
 “ we did not meet with you. No, Sir, we are convinced
 “ that the Christians are more depraved in their morals
 “ than we Indians, if we may judge of their doctrines by
 “ the general badness of their lives.”

There cannot indeed be a more laudable undertaking, than the endeavour to engraft divine truths on the pure minds of these innocent people, so worthy of instruction; but I fear, and it is too observable, that the words of one good man will have but little effect, when the practice of the far greater number of Moravian preachers settled amongst them on the banks of the Seramica

CHAP. mica rivers, where they endeavour to convert the negroes
 XV. as well as the Indians, is in direct contradiction to his life
 and precepts.

All the Guiana Indians believe in God as the supreme author of every good, and never inclined to do them an injury; but they worship the devil, whom they call *Yawahoo*, to prevent his afflicting them with evil, and to whom they ascribe pain, disease, wounds, and death; and where an Indian dies, in order to avert future fatality, the whole family soon after leave the spot as a place of residence.

The Guiana Indians are a perfectly free people, that is, they have no division of land, and are without any government, excepting that in most families the oldest acts as captain, priest, and physician, to whom they pay a reverential obedience: these men are called *Peii* or *Pagayers*, and, as in some civilized nations, live better than all others.

Polygamy is admitted among them, and every Indian is allowed to take as many wives as he can provide for, though he generally takes but one, of whom he is extremely jealous, and whom he knocks on the head the moment he receives a decided proof of her incontinency. These Indians never beat their children on any account whatever, nor give them any education, except in hunting, fishing, running, and swimming; yet they never use abusive language to each other,

other, nor steal; and a lye is totally unknown among them. To which I may add, that no people can be more grateful when treated with civility, of which I shall in future relate a remarkable instance: but I must not forget that, on the other hand, they are extremely revengeful, especially when, as they suppose, they are injured without just provocation.

The only vices with which to my knowledge they are acquainted, if such amongst them they may be called, are excessive drinking when opportunity offers, and an unaccountable indolence: an Indian's only occupation, when he is not hunting or fishing being to lounge in his hammock, picking his teeth, plucking the hairs from his beard, examining his face in a bit of broken looking-glass, &c.

The Indians in general are a very cleanly people, bathing twice or thrice every day in the river, or the sea. They have all thick hair, which never turns grey, and the head never becomes bald; both sexes pluck out every vestige of hair on their bodies, that on the head only excepted: it is of a shining black, which the men wear short, but the women very long, hanging over the back and shoulders to their middle; as if they had studied the scriptures, where it is said that long hair is an ornament to a woman, but a disgrace to a man.

The Guiana Indians are neither tall, strong, nor muscular: but they are straight, active, and generally in
a good

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a good state of health. Their faces have no expression whatever, that of a placid good-nature and content excepted; and their features are beautifully regular, with small black eyes, thin lips, and very white teeth. However, all the Guiana Indians disfigure themselves more or less by the use of *arnotta* or *rocow*, by them called *cosowee*, and by the Dutch *orlean*. The seeds of the *arnotta* being macerated in the juice of lemon, and mixed with water, and gum that exudes from the *mawna* tree, or with the oil of castor, composes a scarlet paint, with which all the Indians anoint their bodies, and even the men their hair, which gives their skin the appearance of a boiled lobster; they also rub their naked bodies with *caraba* or crab-oil. This, it must be allowed, is extremely useful in scorching climates, where the inhabitants of both sexes go almost naked. One day, laughing at a young man who came from the neighbourhood of Cayenne, he answered me in French, saying, “ My skin, Sir, is kept soft, too
 “ great perspiration is prevented, and the musquitoes do
 “ not sting me as they do you: besides its beauty, this
 “ is the use of my painting red. Now what is the reason of your painting white?” [meaning powder in the hair] “ You are, without any reason, wasting your flour,
 “ dirtying your coat, and making yourself look grey before your time.”

These Indians also make use of a deep purple blue,
 which

which they call *tapowripa*; but this is purely for ornament, and is absolutely indelible for about nine days. It is the juice of a fruit in size like a small apple that grows on the *lawna* tree, and which is bruised and macerated in water. With this these people make figures on their faces, and all over their bodies, resembling hieroglyphicks, like those that were a few years since called *à la Grec* in Europe, and are still cut in coal-grates, fenders, &c. But for a more correct idea I must refer the reader to the annexed plate, where the children alone are not painted. So very permanently does this paint adhere to the skin, that one of our officers, who could not believe the fact, having by way of a frolic made a pair of enormous whiskers with it on his face, was obliged, to our great amusement, to parade Paramaribo with them for above a week, and wait till they gradually disappeared.

The only dress worn by these Indians consists of a slip of black or blue cotton worn by the men to cover their nakedness, and called *camisa*; something like that of the negroes. Being wound round their loins, it passes through between their thighs, and the ends of it, which are very long, they either throw over their shoulders, or negligently let them trail on the ground. For the same purpose, the women wear an apron of cotton, with party-coloured glass beads strung upon it, which they call *queiou*. This covering is of no great size, being only about one foot in breadth by eight inches in length,

ornamented with fringes, and fastened round the waist with cotton strings; but being heavy, though of no larger dimensions, it answers all the purposes for which it was intended. Many also wear a girdle made of human hair round their waist, through which, before and behind, they fasten a square broad piece of black cotton, but lighter, and without a train, like the *camisa* of the men: both sexes wearing these belts or girdles so low, that they almost slide down over their buttocks, and make their bodies appear wonderfully long.

In the inland parts, many Indians of both sexes go quite naked, without any covering whatever. The Indian women also, by way of ornament, often cut small holes in their ears and their lips, in the first of which they wear corks or small pieces of light wood, and through their lips they stick thorns, and sometimes all the pins they can lay hold of, with the heads inside against the gums, and the points like a beard dangling down upon their chins. Some wear feathers through their cheeks and through their noses, though this is but seldom. But the most unaccountable ornament in my opinion is, that the girls at ten or twelve years old work a kind of cotton garter round their ankles, and the same below the knee; which being very tight, and remaining for ever, occasions their calves to swell to an enormous size by the time they are grown women, and gives their limbs a very odd and unnatural appearance. They also wear girdles, bands,
and

and bracelets, of various coloured beads, shells, and fish-teeth, about their necks, across their shoulders, or round their arms, but generally above the elbow. Upon the whole, the Indian women, naturally disagreeable in their shapes, with their toes turned inwards, are still less attractive by their ornaments. But from this general description I must exempt one cast in particular, called *Arrowouks*, whom I shall describe in their proper place.

The ornaments of the men consist of crowns of various coloured feathers, or a sash of boars or tygers teeth across one shoulder, as a token of their valour and activity. The chiefs of families sometimes wear the skin of a tyger, and a silver plate resembling a croissant, called by them a *caracoly*; they also frequently have small oval bits of silver in the cartilaginous separation of their noses, and sometimes a green or yellow coloured stone. All these nations live in the forest, near rivers, and along the sea-coast, where they are scattered in small villages or hamlets. Their houses or wigwams, which they call *car-bets*, are built as I have already described those of the negroes; but instead of being covered with the leaves of the manicole-tree, they are covered with the leaves of rattans or jointed canes, here called *tas*, which grow in clusters in all marshy places: but they mostly use *troolies*, which are leaves that diverge immediately from the root, and are no less than twenty or twenty-four feet in length, and

CHAPTER. from two to three in breadth, and this will for years
 XV. effectually exclude all inclemencies of weather.

Their furniture is very simple, but sufficient for their wants, consisting of a few black earthen pots of their own making; a few calabashes or gourds; a few baskets, called *pagala*; a stone to grind, called *matta*, and another to bake their cassava bread; a fan to blow the fire; a wooden stool or *mulee*; a sieve they call *manary*; a press to squeeze the wet cassava, called *matappy*; and a cotton hammock or net for them to sleep in.

Besides these, since their intercourse with the Europeans, many of them are furnished with a hatchet and a knife, which last, like a dagger, the Indians always wear by their side. But I must not forget that every Indian family is provided with a large boat or canoe to carry all that they possess when they travel by water, which is not unfrequent.

The only vegetables cultivated by these people are the yams, plantains, and bananas, already described, and particularly *cassava* or *manioc*. This last is a shrub, which grows about three feet high, of a grey colour, and knotted; the leaves are digitated and large, and supported by cinnamon-coloured foot-stalks. Of this shrub there are two species, distinguished by the appellation of the sweet and the bitter cassava, of which the roots alone are for use. These are soft and farinaceous; and in colour, size, and shape, much resemble European
 parsnips.

parsnips. The sweet cassava, roasted in hot ashes, like the green plantains, and eaten with butter, is an agreeable and healthy food, tasting much like the chesnut. But the bitter cassava, which when raw is the most fatal poison both to man and beast, is (however strange it may seem), when prepared by fire, not only a very safe food, but the most natural bread of the Indians in this country, as well as of several Europeans and negroes. The manner in which the Indians prepare it is first by grinding or grating these roots on the matta or rough stone: after which they put it in a press, to separate the juice from the meal. This press is a kind of long tube, made of *warimbo* or reeds; which being hung to a tree, and filled with ground cassava, a heavy stone or log of wood is fixed to the bottom, the weight of which gradually lengthens the tube, which is compressed in proportion, and the liquid substance is squeezed through the plated reeds. This done, the meal is baked on a hot stone in thin round cakes, until it becomes brown and crisp, and then it is a wholesome food, that will keep good for half a year; yet I must acknowledge that the taste, which by that process becomes sweetish, is at the same time extremely insipid. The extracted water of this root, if not carefully prevented by the slaves, is sometimes drunk by cattle and poultry on the estates, whom it instantly kills with convulsive tortures and swelling; yet this very liquid, if boiled with pepper, butcher's meat, &c. is frequently made use of

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for soup. None should use the cassava root for food but such as are perfectly acquainted with it; many people having been poisoned, to my knowledge, by using the one species for the other; the distinction between the two consisting chiefly in a tough ligneous fibre or cord running through the heart of the sweet or innocent cassava root, which the fatal or bitter has not. The *acajou* nuts are also used by the Indians; and they often bring them to Paramaribo, where they are called *inginotto*. The kernels of these nuts are in size and shape very like lambs kidneys, and are exceedingly delicate. They grow very far inland upon high trees, which having never seen, I cannot describe.

The other food of the Indian consists of sea and land turtle, and crabs, called *seereeca*, which last are seen in great quantities in the mud all along the coast of Guiana at low water. Of these they are extremely fond, as also of the river lobsters called *sarasara*, which are here in great abundance. But nothing pleases them so much as the *iguana* or *wayamacca* lizards, that I have already described: every thing they eat is so highly seasoned with Cayenne pepper, that the mere tasting of their food excoriates the mouth of an European. They use little or no salt, but barbacue their game and fish in the smoke, which equally preserves it from putrefaction; and if an Indian has neglected to provide food by hunting or fishing, his hunger is assuaged by eating

the seeds of the *green-heart* or the *eta* tree, or of similar productions of the forest.

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Their drink consists of various fluids, such as the juice of the *coumoo* fruit. The *coumoo* tree is one of the smallest of the palm kind. Its seed grows in bunches of purple blue berries, resembling grapes, the pulp of which thinly adheres to a round hard stone, about the size of a pistol bullet. These berries are dissolved and macerated in boiling water; which beverage, when mixed with sugar and cinnamon, is frequently used by the fair inhabitants: it tastes very much like chocolate. A drink they call *piworree* is a composition of the cassava bread, chewed by the females, and fermented with water, when it has something of the taste of ale, and will intoxicate. It appears at first very extraordinary, that what has been within the teeth, mixed with the saliva, and spit from the mouths of others, should be drank without loathing by the people of any country: but those who have read Cook's Voyages will find that this practice was so common in the islands he discovered, that had he not complied with it, his refusal might have fatally offended the inhabitants. His officers, indeed, did not think it so necessary for them to comply, and therefore excused themselves from the disgusting draught. A beverage nearly of the same kind they compose from the maize, or Indian corn; which is first ground and baked into bread, after which it is crumbled and macerated

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macerated with water till it ferments like the former, and this they call *chiacoar*. Another drink called *cassiree* is also much used by these Indians, being a composition of yams, cassava, sour oranges, and sugar or treacle, well macerated, and fermented with water. I shall only add, that all these beverages are inebriating, if used beyond moderation, which is frequently the case with both males and females among the copper-coloured generation I am speaking of. This is the only time when they are unruly, and when quarrels arise among themselves.

In pronunciation the language of the Indians in general much resembles the Italian, their words being sonorous and harmonious, mostly terminating with a vowel, as may be observed by the few specimens above. They have no calculation of time, a string with some knots being the only calendar they are acquainted with. Their musical instruments consist of a kind of flute called *too-too*, and made of a single piece of thick reed, on which they make a sound no better than the lowing of an ox, without either measure or variety.—Another instrument is also used by them to blow upon, called *quarta* (by Ovid a *sirinx*; by some poets *Pan's chaunter*) and consists of reeds of different lengths, that are joined together like the pipes of an organ, but even at the top, which they hold with both hands to the lips, and which, by shifting from side to side, produces a warbling of clear but discordant sounds, agreeable to none but themselves;

nor

nor have I seen a better representation of the god Pan playing on his chaunter, than a naked Indian among the verdant foliage playing upon one of those reedy pipes. They also make flutes of the bones of their enemies, of which I have one now in my possession. Their dancing, if such it may be called, consists in stamping on the ground, balancing on one foot, and staggering round in different attitudes for many hours, as if intoxicated.

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The Indians are a very sociable people among themselves, and frequently meet together in a large wigwam or carbet that is in every hamlet for the purpose, where, if they do not play or dance, they amuse each other with fictitious stories, generally concerning ghosts, witches, or dreams, during which they frequently burst out into immoderate fits of laughter. They greatly delight in bathing, which they do twice at least every day, men, women, boys, and girls, promiscuously together. They are all excellent swimmers without exception. Among these parties not the smallest indecency is committed, in either words or actions.

The employments of the men are, as I have stated, but very few, and, indeed, may be comprized in two words, hunting and fishing: at both of these exercises they are indisputably more expert than any other nation whatever. For the first they are provided with bows and arrows of their own manufacturing, the arrows being of different kinds for different purposes. The Indian

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bows are all made of the hardest and toughest kind of wood, about five or six feet in length, and wonderfully well polished; and this is effected by means of a stone. In the middle they are wound round with cotton, and strung with chords made of silk-grass. The arrows are generally about four feet long, made of a very straight and strong kind of reed, to the end of which is fixed a thin twig about one foot long, to balance them; this is armed with a point made of steel or of fish-bone, generally barbed. Some of the Indian arrows are pointed like a lance, others are doubly and trebly barbed, and so contrived as to stick in the wound when the reedy part is pulled back. These are used mostly for game and fish; for though they be not mortal, they encumber the first, and being buoyant bring the latter to the surface, till both are taken. These arrows, like all others, are stuck with feathers six or seven inches long. Some arrows have blunted heads instead of points, about the size of a large chesnut, like what our ancestors called bolts; with these they do not kill, but stun the macaws, parrots, and small monkeys, so that they can take them with their hands, soon after which they recover, and are sent alive to Paramaribo. Some of the arrows for killing fish have the appearance of a trident, three and sometimes five barbed sticks being fixed to the reed instead of one, which enables them to shoot fish even at random. A few of the above arrows are fre-

quently dipped in the *woorara* poison*, which is instantaneously fatal: but when intent on certain destruction, this people make use of another kind of arrow that is not above ten or twelve inches long, extremely thin, and made of the hard splinters of the palm-tree bark, having, instead of feathers, one end wound round with a tuft of raw cotton, so as to fill up a hollow tube made of reed near six feet in length, through which they blow them with their breath. These little implements of death will carry to the distance of forty paces, and with so much certainty, that the intended victims never escape, the points being dipped in the *woorara* poison. As an instance of the dreadful effects of this poison, I shall only mention a negro woman, who, during the late rebellion in Berbicè, being slightly wounded by a poisoned arrow, not only almost instantly expired, but her sucking infant, though not touched by the arrow, lost its life by tasting her milk.

Their manner of catching fish is much the same as I have described at the Hope, by inclosing the entry of small creeks or shoal water with a paling, shooting them with their trident arrows, or poisoning the water by throwing in it the roots of *hiarce* †, in Surinam called

* The bark of a tree so called, mixed with others; but for a very particular description of this acute poison, viz. of its composition, and of its dire effects, I refer the reader to Dr. Bancroft, and the repeated experiments

which that gentleman has made to ascertain its instant fatality.

† This tree is much sought after by the Indians, who send quantities of it to Paramaribo and the plantations.

tringee-woodo or *konamee*, by which the fish become stupified, and are taken by the hand, while they float on the surface of the water; as boys in England, who by mixing the *Coculus Indicus*, or drugs of similar effect, with baits which the fish will take, find them soon after rise to the surface, whence, if they are not speedily taken, they will recover and escape, the drugs only stupifying them for a while. These are the only occupations of the men, except making their furniture, ornaments, and arms.

I must not forget that every Indian carries a club, which they call *apootoo*, for their defence. These clubs are made of the heaviest wood in the forest; they are about eighteen inches long, flat at both ends, and square, but heavier at the one end than the other. In the middle they are thinner, and are wound about with strong cotton threads, so as to be grasped, having a loop to secure them round the wrist, as the sword-tassels are used by some cavalry. One blow with this club, in which is frequently fixed a sharp stone, scatters the brains. They are used by the Guiana Indians like the tomahawk by the Cherokees, on which, besides other hieroglyphical figures, they often carve the number of persons they have slain in battle. The manner of fixing the stone in the club or *apootoo* is by sticking it in the tree while it is yet growing, where it soon becomes so fast that it cannot be forced out; after which the wood is cut, and shaped according to fancy.

The

The women are occupied in planting cassava, plantains, and other roots, besides yams, &c. in dressing the victuals, and in making earthen pots, bracelets, baskets, or cotton hammocks. Their best baskets are called *pagala*, and are formed of a double matting of rushes called *warimbo*, some white, some brown, between which is a separation of *tas*, or trooly-leaves, to keep out the wet. The covering is usually larger and deeper than the basket itself, which it altogether envelops, and thus makes it stronger; the whole resting on two cross pieces of wood fixed to the bottom. Their hammocks are woven, which must require a considerable portion of time and trouble, being done thread after thread, traversing the warp in the manner that a hole is darned in a stocking; after which they are stained with the juices of trees according to fancy.

The Indian girls arrive at the time of puberty before twelve years old, indeed commonly much sooner, at which time they are married. The ceremony consists simply in the young man's offering a quantity of game and fish of his own catching, which, if she accepts, he next proposes the question, "Will you be my wife?" If she answers in the affirmative, the matter is settled, and the nuptials celebrated in a drunken feast, when a house and furniture is provided for the young couple. Their women are delivered without any assistance, and with so little inconvenience or suffering, that they seem exempt from

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from the curse of Eve. They go about the menial services for their husbands the day after their delivery; then, however ridiculous and incredible it may appear, it is an absolute fact, that every one of these gentlemen lie in their hammocks for above a month, groaning and grunting as if they had been themselves in labour, during which time all the women must attend them with extraordinary care and the best food. This the Indian calls enjoying himself and resting from his labour. Most of these people esteeming a flat forehead a mark of beauty, they compress the heads of their children, it is said, immediately after their birth, like the Chactaws of North America.

No Indian wife eats with her husband, but serves him as a slave: for this reason they can take but very little care of their infants, which, nevertheless, are always healthy and undeformed. When they travel, they carry them in small hammocks slung over one shoulder, in which sits the child, having one leg before and the other behind the mother. For an emetic they use the juice of tobacco, which they seldom smoke.

When the Indians are dying, either from sickness or old age, the latter of which is most frequently the cause, the devil or *Yawahoo* is at midnight exorcised by the *peii* or priest, by means of rattling a calabash filled with small stones, pease, and beads, accompanied by a long speech. This office is hereditary, and by these pretended di-

vines

vines no animal food, as I have before said, is publicly tasted, and yet on the whole they live better than all the others. When an Indian is dead, being first washed and anointed, he is buried naked, in a new cotton bag, in a sitting attitude, his head resting on the palms of his hands, his elbows on his knees, and all his implements of war and hunting by his side; during which time his relations and neighbours rend the air by their dismal lamentations; but soon after, by a general drunken riot, they drown their sorrows till the following year. This practice, by the way, bears some affinity to Dr. Smollet's description of a burial in the Highlands of Scotland. At the expiration of the year, the body, being rotten, is dug up, and the bones distributed to all the friends and acquaintance, during which ceremony the former rites are repeated for the last time, and the whole neighbourhood look out for another settlement. Some tribes of Indians, having put their deceased friends in the above posture, place them naked for a few days under water, where the bones being picked clean by the *piree* and other fish, the skeleton is dried in the sun, and hung up to the ceiling of their houses or wigwams; and this is done as the strongest instance of their great regard for their departed friend.

When these Indians travel by land, their canoe, which is made of a large tree hollowed by means of fire, is always carried along with them to transport their luggage across

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across swamps, creeks, and rivers; it is, like themselves, all over besmeared with arnotta. If they travel in the rivers, they generally paddle against the tide, to have a better opportunity of shooting such game as they see in the trees or on the banks; whereas, if they went with the current, the rapidity of the stream would often make them run past it. When travelling on the coast, it frequently happens that these canoes ship a sea which fills them, but no such thing as a shipwreck is heard of: both sexes immediately leaping overboard; then with one hand they hang by the canoe, with the other, and by means of calabashes, they throw out the water.

Notwithstanding the Guiana Indians are upon the whole a peaceable people, they sometimes go to war among themselves, purely for the sake of capturing prisoners, to which they are too much encouraged by the Christians, who receive them in exchange for other commodities, and make them slaves, which is too frequently practised. But these kind of slaves are only for shew and parade, as they absolutely refuse to work, and if at all ill-treated, or especially if beaten, they pine and languish like caged turtles, even refusing food, till by affliction and want they are exhausted, and finally expire.

The Indians always fight their battles by midnight: indeed their contests resemble more a siege than a battle, as these broils consist only in surrounding the hamlets of their enemies while they are asleep, making prisoners of
the

the women, boys, and girls, while they shoot the men with poisoned arrows, or with their clubs or apootoos divide their skulls when they come to close quarters; they also scalp their male prisoners, bring home their hair, and even their bones, as trophies of war, and presents to their wives, unless they intend to sell them to the Europeans at Paramaribo. In their open rencounters, which happen very seldom, the bows and barbed arrows are their principal weapons of offence; with these they often kill at the distance of sixty paces: nay, the swiftest bird in its flight, provided it has the magnitude of a crow, seldom escapes them. In truth, such is the skill of these people at these manly exercises, that the best archers at Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, must have yielded to their superiority.

Now with full force the yielding bow he bends,
 Drawn to an arch, and joins the doubling ends;
 Close to his breast he strains the nerve below,
 'Till the barb'd point approach the circling bow.
 Th' impatient weapon whizzes on the wing,
 Sounds the tough bow, and twangs the quivering string.

POPE'S HOMER.

I shall only add farther on this subject, that when these Indians go to war they chuse one general commander, whom they distinguish by the title of *Uill*.

The trade or traffic which the Indians of Guiana carry

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on with the Dutch consists chiefly in slaves, earthen jars, canoes, hammocks, baskets, Brazil-wood, hiaree-roots, macaws, parrots, monkeys, balsam capivi, arracocerra, caraba or crab oil, and arnotta, for which they receive in return checquered cloth, fire-arms, gunpowder, hatchets, knives, scissars, different coloured beads, looking-glasses, fish-hooks, combs, needles, pins, &c. The *balsam capivi* exudes from the bark of a thick tree that grows far inland, with large pointed leaves, bearing a fruit like a cucumber. This gum is yellow, hard, and transparent, resembling amber; when melted, it has an agreeable smell: its uses are for varnish, and to stop diuretic complaints, &c. The gum called *arracocerra* exudes from an inland tree also; it is yellow as the former, but tenacious and soft; it has a most fragrant smell, and is held in great esteem by the Europeans as well as Indians, on account of its efficacy in curing wounds, and many other complaints. The *caraba* or crab oil is made by bruising, macerating, and boiling the kernels that grow on the crab-tree in brown angular nuts, much about the size of a large chesnut; this oil, which is bitter, besides anointing the Indians, is used for many purposes by the Europeans. The tree grows to near fifty feet high, with leaves resembling those of the laurel; but as I neither have seen this nor the two former growing, to my knowledge, I can say nothing more concerning them. The *mawna tree* is high, straight, and light brown coloured;

loured ; its leaves are oval ; its nuts resembling nutmegs, but without either taste or flavour. The gum exuding from its trunk by incisions in the bark is dissolved by the Indians in water, and, as I have said, mixed with arnotta to anoint them. The castor or *palma-christi* bush, by botanists called the *ricinus*, is a shrub about four feet high, jointed, being covered with large digitated leaves on long foot-stalks, *viz.* both the stem and the branches. This shrub consists of the red and the white, and produces triangular nuts inclosed in a green husk, which, when ripe, turns to brown, and falls off. From these nuts is expressed the castor oil ; in Surinam it is called *carrapat oil* ; it is very like that made of olives, and, as I have mentioned before, is much used by the Indians to paint themselves with.

Among all the Indian nations, the *Caribs* are the most numerous, active, and brave. These reside in great numbers near the Spanish settlements, which they often harass, in immortal revenge for the inhuman cruelties inflicted on their forefathers at Mexico and Peru. They are commanded by a captain, and assemble by the blowing of a conch or sea-shell ; they have also frequent battles with neighbouring Indians ; but what disgraces them above all others in Terra Firma is, that however unnatural it may seem, and however much it has been contradicted, they are anthropophagi, or cannibals ; at least they most certainly feast on their enemies, whose flesh they tear and

devour with the avidity of wolves, though this is generally supposed to be more from a spirit of revenge than from any depravity in their taste.

The *Accawaw* Indians are few in number, and live farther distant from the sea than the former. Though like these they live in friendship with the Dutch, they are both treacherous in administering slow poison concealed under their nails, and very distrustful, as they palisade the ground round their hamlets with poisoned spikes.

The *Worrow* Indians, if not the most cruel, are the most despicable of any in Guiana. These are settled along the coast from the river Oronoque to Surinam; they are dark-coloured and extremely ugly; though strong they are pusillanimous, and withal so very lazy and indolent, that their poverty will scarcely afford them a covering to hide their nakedness, which they often supply by the web-like bark of the palm-tree. They often go quite naked, and are stinkingly dirty; from their sluggish inactivity they are reduced to live mostly upon crabs and water. If it should seem strange to have called these people happy, let it be recollected that their wishes are confined to their enjoyments, and that no Indian was ever heard to complain that he was unhappy.

The *Tairas* are settled also on the sea-coast between Surinam and the river Amazon. These are exceedingly numerous, being computed, in this settlement alone, to
amount

amount to near twenty thousand: they are a very peaceable but indolent people, and in many particulars resemble the *Worrows*.

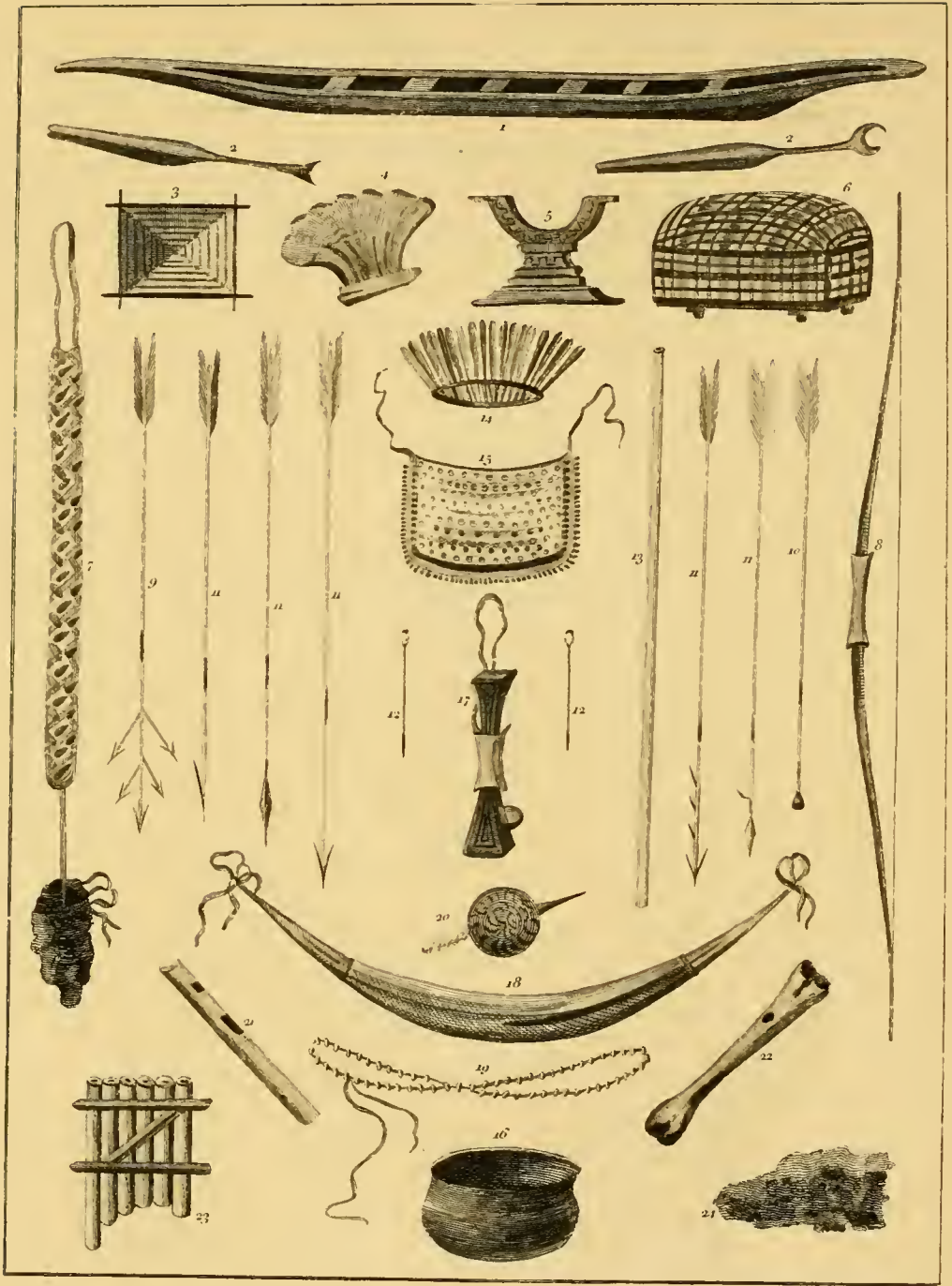
The *Piannacotaus* live very far inland, and are enemies to the Europeans, with whom they refuse all connection or dealings whatever: of this tribe the only thing that I can say farther is, that they would murder all the Christians in Guiana, if they had an opportunity.

The only Indian nation within my knowledge now remaining to be mentioned are the *Arrowouks*, my favourites; but as this Chapter is already swelled to a considerable length, I must defer them to another opportunity.—Thus for the present do I take my leave of this happy people, who with the distinctions of rank or land (the causes of contention in more enlightened states) are unacquainted; who know no evil but pain and want, with which they are very seldom afflicted in this ever-verdant, this ever-blooming climate; who, while their wishes are so very limited, possess all that they desire in this world: and who, while they expect a future state, never give their minds the smallest uneasiness, but die in peace; nay, who seldom think upon to-morrow. But while I allow them this species of negative happiness, let it not be understood that to the contented European I have held up their condition as an object of envy.

For

For a better idea of their furniture, ornaments, and arms, I refer the curious to the annexed plate, where

- N^o 1. is an Indian coriala or canoe, which is generally made of one tree.
2. Paddles in place of oars.
3. A sieve called *manary*.
4. An Indian fan, or *way-way*.
5. A stool called *mulee*.
6. A pagala or basket.
7. A *matappy*, or cassava press.
8. An Indian bow.
9. Arrows for shooting fish.
10. A blunted arrow for birds.
11. Common arrows barbed.
12. Small poisoned arrows.
13. The pipe or tube to blow them.
14. A crown of various feathers.
15. An apron called *queiou*.
16. An Indian earthen pot.
17. An *apootoo* or Indian club.
18. An Indian cotton hammock.
19. A sash of tigers or wild boars teeth.
20. A magic shell or gourd
21. An Indian flute called *too-too*.
22. A flute made of the human bone of an enemy.
23. An Indian flute or syrinx called *quarta*.
24. A stone to grind cassava, called *matta*.



Arms, Ornaments & Furniture of the Indians.

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COLONEL GEORGE EARL CHURCH
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NARRATIVE,
of a five years' expedition, against the
Revolted Negroes of Surinam,
in GULINA, on the WILD COAST of
SOUTH AMERICA;

from the year 1772, to 1777:
Amplifying the History of that Country, and
describing its Productions, *Viz.*
Quadrupedes, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, Trees, Shrubs, Fruits, & Roots;
with an account of the INDIANS of Guiana, & NEGROES of Guinea.

By CAPTⁿ J. G. STEDMAN.

illustrated with 80 elegant Engravings, from drawings made by the Author.

VOL. II

Second Edition corrected.



*"O quantum terre, quantum cognoscere cæli
Permissum est! pelagus quantos aperimus in usus!
Nunc forsàn grave veris opus; sed lata revertet
Cum ratis, et earam cum jam mihi reddet Idæcor;
Quis pudor heu! nostros tibi tunc audire labores!
Quam referam visus tua per suspiria gentes!"*

Valerius Flaccus.

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NARRATIVE
OF AN
EXPEDITION TO SURINAM.

CHAP. XVI.

A Reinforcement of fresh Troops arrives from Holland—Encampment on Mount Magdenberg, in Tempatee Creek—Remarkable Instance of Lunacy in a Negro—Mountains—Beautiful Views—The Sick sent to Europe.

I NOW once more return to the principal object of my CHAP.
XVI.
Journal, *viz.* Fourgeoud's military operations. I have before mentioned, that a supply of fresh troops was expected to reinforce our decayed little army; and, on the 30th of January 1775, the news came to Paramaribo that the transport ship Maastroom, Captain Eeg, was arrived in the river Surinam, and come to an anchor before the fortress Amsterdam, with Colonel Seyburgh and two divisions, consisting together of one hundred and twenty men, under his command, two more divisions being expected.

The following day I went down with a row-boat to welcome them; and having dined on board together, the

ship weighed anchor, and I sailed up with them till before the fortress Zealandia, where they moored, and were saluted by a few guns. Among the officers, I with pleasure recollected my old ship-mate, poor Ensign Hesseling, whom we had left behind us on the Helder, according to every appearance dying of the small-pox, when we sailed from the Texel, the 24th of December 1772. This young man, who now joined us with rank of second lieutenant, had been peculiarly unfortunate since his recovery; for, soon after taking a passage on board another ship for Surinam, the vessel encountered a gale in the Bay of Biscay; when off Cape Finisterre, her quarter-gallery and rudder were beat away; besides which she lost her fore-mast and main-top-mast. In this dangerous condition, having the wind against her for Lisbon, the vessel run with difficulty into Plymouth. From this place Mr. Hesseling took a passage for France, on board a small sloop loaded with coals, with which he had no better success; for she ran, through the inadvertence of the master, on the Caskets, which rocks went through her bottom, and she foundered immediately. Before the vessel sunk, however, he had time to break open his chest, and take out some linen and other necessaries, with which he arrived in a crazy yaul at Brest. He now took shipping again for Amsterdam, on board a Dutchman; but the master ran the ship a-ground, and he had nearly been once more wrecked. Nevertheless he arrived safe at the Texel, whence he had twice in vain attempted

to set out for South America ; and on this last passage it blew so violently hard, that all the boats, the sheep, the pigs, and the poultry, were washed overboard. Till this date I had been the oldest officer in the corps, excepting only Colonel Fourgeoud.

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On the arrival of the troops, our commander invited them to a dinner, which consisted of salt beef, pork, barley, and hard pease, of which I had the honour to partake, to my no small amusement, when I observed the significant looks which were directed by these new-comers on their commander and his entertainment. In the evening we conducted them to the play-house, where the death of *Cæsar*. and *Crispin Doctor*, were performed, the one exactly as laughable as the other. I must however confess, that I was better entertained the next day, when the governor gave to all a superb dinner and supper, where the strangers seemed to be as much surprised with the magnificence of the feast, as they had been the day before amazed with Colonel Fourgeoud's frugality.

Having met at this table with some excellent preserved fruits, among which was the *guava*, I will embrace an opportunity which is barren of incident to say something of it. The *guaba*, or *guava-tree*, grows to about twenty-four feet high, with leaves like those of a plum-tree. It is light-coloured, and the wood of little consequence ; but the fruit, which is yellow, oval, and about the size of

a gold pippin, incloses a reddish pulp, full of small seeds; the pulp is very sweet, and may be eaten raw, or made into marmalade or jelly, and then it is delicious. There are two species of guava; that which is the sweetest has the smallest quantity of seeds.

On the 5th of February, the troops that were so lately landed were sent to the upper parts of the river Comewina to be encamped. I speak of the privates, for most of the officers remained to partake of a feast at the house of a Mr. Mercellus; by whose command (to crown the banquet) half a dozen negroes continued blowing the trumpet and French horn in the room where we dined, till the company were absolutely deafened by discordancy and noise.

On the 6th, the whole corps, without exception, received orders to leave Paramaribo, and to encamp at Magdenberg, a mountain near the Tempatee Creek, in the upper parts of the river Comewina, to which, as I have just mentioned, the reinforcement was already dispatched. Having, therefore, prepared myself to set out on my fourth campaign, and taken leave of my little family and friends, I repaired to the water side, to set out in the same barge with Colonel Seyburgh, but who, erroneously supposing that the troops which came with him from Holland were a distinct corps from those arrived with Fourgeoud in 1773, made the negroes shove off the boat in my presence, when I was not a stone's cast from it, and left me



View of L'Esperance, or the Hope, on the Commewine.



View of Clarenbeck, on the River Commewine.

me on the beach, to my utter surprize and mortification. I knew Fourgeoud had sworn that he should “dance just as much to his pipes as the youngest ensign in the regiment;” and in that he was perfectly right: I therefore strenuously supported the chief against his antagonist, and setting off immediately with another boat, soon overtook him, to his astonishment, when we all went ashore at the plantation Vossenburgh, in the river Comevina. The next day we came to the estate Arentrust, having passed the heavy barges that departed from Paramaribo on the 5th; and on the 10th we made the Hope, where having spent so many months, I here present the reader with a view of that estate, and of the estate Clarenbeek, where still our hospital was kept. This day Colonel Fourgeoud also came up the river, and slept at Wajampibo.

On the 11th, we arrived at the plantation Crawassibo, where we passed the night. Here the overseer, a Mr. De Bruyn, was so very impertinent, that, as I already had no abundance of affection for the fraternity of overseers, I gave him such a sound beating that, with a bloody face, he suddenly decamped from the estate in a small canoe with one negro, and in this trim, at twelve o’clock at night, like Banquo the ghost, appeared before the amazed Fourgeoud; who thought proper to give him no other consolation than to dismiss him with a hearty curse.

On the 12th we arrived safe at Magdenberg, viz.
Fourgeoud,

C H A P.

XVI.

CHAPTER: Fourgeoud, the officers, and the barges with the privates.

XVI.

From the Hope, the estates now began to appear thinner; and after passing Goet-Accord, about ten or twelve miles farther upwards, not a cultivated spot was to be seen, the plantations having been all laid in ashes by the rebels in 1757, as I have already mentioned, a small place excepted, just below Magdenberg, which is, I think, called the *Jacob*, and where a few negroes are kept to cut timber. The river above Goet-Accord becomes very narrow, being lined on each side with impenetrable brush-wood, like the river *Cotica*, between *Devil's-Harwar* and *Patamaca*; and the *Tempatec* Creek, which may be considered as the source of the whole river *Comewina*, becomes also much narrower. *Magdenberg*, which is about a hundred miles from *Paramaribo*, was formerly an estate, but has now not a vestige of cultivation left, a poor old orange-tree excepted, and is at present neither more or less than a barren desolate mountain.

Here we found the surface of the earth in some places covered with a kind of strata, that had the appearance of mother-of-pearl, and lay scattered in small scales, about the size of an English shilling. In many places of *Surinam* are found the marks of fossils and ores, as I have already hinted. Indeed, iron ore is common, and I have no doubt but gold and silver mines might be met with if the Dutch would be at the expence, and persevere in making the discovery. I have already mentioned the *Marawina* diamond, and white and red agate, which are
often

often seen in the upper parts of the river Surinam. On this mountain we also found the air cooler and more pure, and of course more healthy than in any other part of the colony.

On the 17th the news reached us, that the transport ship, the Maria Helena, with the remaining two divisions of one hundred and twenty men, commanded by Captain Hamel, had also arrived in the river Surinam on the 14th instant. Thus the reinforcements together consisted of two hundred and forty men, and, on the 5th day of March, they all arrived in heavy barges at Magdenberg, where I may now say that Colonel Fourgeoud's whole forces were assembled. The same day, one hundred negro slaves also arrived, to carry the loads when we should march. One of the new negroes being missed from on board a military barge, and marks of blood discovered in it, the commanding officer, a Mr. Chatteauview, and a sentinel, were both put under an arrest to be tried for murder. On the same eventful day also, two of our captains fought a duel, in which one of them received a wound in his forehead.

On the 13th, a barge with provisions, coming from Paramaribo (shocking to relate!) found the negro that was missed on the 5th at the water's edge, lying in the brush-wood, with his throat cut from ear to ear, but still alive, the knife having missed the wind-pipe. This miserable apparition of skin and bone they took on board, and brought to Magdenberg, where, by a skilful surgeon,

Mr.

CHAPTER. Mr. Knolaert, the wound was sewed up, and the man
XVI. surprisingly recovered, having lain nine days in that
dreadful condition without any subsistence or covering
whatever, and weltering in his own blood, even without a
bandage. The week after I had nearly lost my own life
by an accident. Two negroes of the estate Goet-Accord
being employed in hunting and fishing for Fourgeoud,
one of them, named *Philander*, proposed to me to accom-
pany them in the wood, where we might chance to meet
with some *pingoes*, or *powesa*; but a heavy shower of rain
coming on, when we had only walked two miles, we de-
termined to relinquish the project, and repair to the small
spot called the Jacob for shelter, to gain which we were
obliged to pass through a deep marsh. Having waded
till up to our arm-pits, *Philander*, who was the finest man
without exception that I ever saw, began to swim, as did
his companion, with one hand, holding their fowling
pieces above the water with the other, and desired me
to follow them. This I tried, having nothing on but my
shirt and trowsers; when, after swimming two or three
strokes, I sunk to the bottom like a stone, with the
weight of my musquet; but relinquishing it, I immedi-
ately rose to the surface, and begged that *Philander*
would dive for it; who having secured his own to a man-
grove, brought it up without difficulty. At this mo-
ment a thundering voice called out through the thicket,
—“ Who

—“Who *fomma datty*? and another *fotoo fotoo da Bonny kiry da dago*? Who is that? Who is there? Fire! shoot! it is Bonny, kill the dog!”—and looking up, we saw the muzzles of six musquets presented upon us at a very little distance indeed. I instantly dived, but Philander answering that we belonged to Magdenberg, we were permitted to come on shore one by one at the Jacob, and found that these trusty negro slaves, having heard a flouncing in the water, and seeing three-armed men in the marsh, took it for granted that the rebels were coming, headed by Bonny himself, for whom they had mistaken me, being almost naked and so much sun-burnt; besides my hair, which was short and curly, I entirely resembled a mulatto. Being refreshed with some rum, and having dried ourselves by a good fire, we now returned back to the Magdenberg, where I congratulated myself on my escape.

On the 19th, Colonel Fourgeoud being now supplied with fresh troops, sent a whole ship-load of invalids to Holland, who sailed this day; and on February the 26th, my dear friend Heneman also sailed for Holland, in an extremely debilitated state.

Among the troops which sailed at the same time with Heneman were several officers, not very sick, but justly disheartened and disgusted at Fourgeoud's injustice, in having stopped their preferment, as I have intimated in the end of the tenth chapter; while they now saw themselves superseded by raw youths, who were at school

CHAPTER. at the time they were serving the colony in 1772. With
 XVI. this vessel sailed also the officers whom he had put under
 an arrest, the 16th December, 1774. Never was an hos-
 pital ship so ill provided with refreshments.

On the 21st, Fourgeoud reviewed with pleasure his recruited little army, where I was sorry the rangers did not appear. He now dispatched one hundred men as a patrol to reconnoitre the skirts of his new encampment, of which number I had the honour to be one. During this time nothing remarkable happened, except meeting with a large company of *quatas*, which being one of the most remarkable species of monkeys in the world, from their affinity to the human race, I cannot tacitly pass over. One evening, walking with my black boy Quaco without the camp, they came down so low to look at us, and threw small sticks and excrements at us, that we stopped, and I had an opportunity thoroughly to examine them. The *quata*, or *quato*, is very large, with an enormous tail; their arms and legs being covered over with long black hair, they make a very hideous appearance indeed; the more so, as the creature's face is quite naked and red, with deep sunk eyes, which gives it much the appearance of an old Indian woman. It has short ears, and only four fingers without a thumb on its hands or fore feet, but it has five toes on the hinder feet, all of which have black nails. The extremity of its tail has a spiral turn inwardly; it is naked and callous, by its fre-



The Quato & Succawinkee Monkeys.

quently hanging to the branches of the trees; for when so employed, it serves the animal as a fifth limb. Most wonderful is the agility of these monkies in swinging from one tree to another, but I never saw them leap. Their throwing short sticks and excrements seems to be no more than a mimicking of the human actions without any purpose, as they neither have strength to throw far, nor dexterity to hit their objects, and if they befoul them it is by accident only. But what appears peculiarly remarkable is, that when one is hurt by a musket or arrow, the poor animal instantly claps its hand on the wound, looks at the blood, and with the most piteous lamentations ascends to the very top of the tree, in which he is assisted by his companions; where, hanging by the tail, he continues to bewail his fate, till by the loss of blood he grows totally faint, and drops down dead at the feet of his adversaries.

It is not so extraordinary that one of this species, when wounded, should be assisted by his companions in climbing; but that they should have so much knowledge in botany, as to procure vulnerary herbs, and chew and apply them to the wound, is what I cannot credit, though it is so confidently asserted by a late traveller: and as to the assistance they give in passing a river, by holding each other's tails, and swinging till the lowermost is thrown up to the branch of a high tree, though I have a great opinion of Ulloa, who relates it, and has given a print of

CHAPTER.

XVI.

it in a vignette; since he does not say he saw it himself, I must take the liberty to doubt this fact*, and even what he says he witnessed.

I must here mention another monkey that I saw at Colonel Fourgeoud's house, which is in Surinam called the *wanacoe*, and is covered over with long black hair, like the quato; but its limbs are shorter and more hairy, and its face is a kind of dirty white. This monkey is the only one of the species that is not sociable, being constantly found alone; and so despicable is this solitary animal, that he is continually beaten and robbed of his food by all the others, from whom he is too lazy to escape, though too cowardly to fight.

Of the long-haired monkies, the *saccawinkee* is the smallest; indeed, I may say of all the monkies in

* It is most probable, that Ulloa took the account from Acosta's History of the West Indies. This is his account, taken from a translation printed in 1604.

"They leap where they list, winding their tails about a branch to shake it, when they will leap farther than they can at once; they use a pretty device, tying themselves by the tails one of another, and by this means make as it were a chain of many, then do they launch themselves forth."

Acosta does not say he saw this himself; but to the following he professes he was an eye-witness. These are his words:—"I saw one in Car-

thagene, in the governor's house, so taught, as the things he did seemed incredible. They sent him to the tavern for wine, putting the pot in one hand and the money in the other; they could not possibly get the money out of his hand before he had his pot full of wine. If any children met him in the street, and threw stones at him, he would set his pot down and cast stones against the children, till he had assured his way; then would he return to carry home his pot. And, which is more, although he were a good bibber of wine, yet he would never touch it till leave was given him."

Guiana,

Guiana, if not in the world, being not much larger than a Norway rat.

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This is a beautiful little animal, with blackish grey frizzled hair, a white face, and very bright shining eyes; its ears are large and naked, yet they are not very perceptible, being covered by the very long and white whiskers that grow round the whole visage of this little creature: its feet are not unlike those of a squirrel, and its tail is bushy and annulated. So very delicate is the saccawinkee, and so sensible of the cold, that scarcely one of them is brought to Europe alive, and if they are they very soon pine and die. The Dutch call them the *shagarintee*, from their being chagrined at the smallest trifle. In the annexed plate, I have delineated both those monkies, the large quato, and the small saccawinkee, thus endeavouring to correct with my pencil the deficiency of my pen.

On my return to the Magdenberg, I narrowly escaped being crushed to death by an enormous tree, which dropped by age just at my feet. These accidents frequently happen in the forest; this, however, only slightly wounded two or three of our marines. During this trip we had much rain, and were obliged to cross over a small creek. We cut down one of the palm trees on the water's edge, which falling across the river formed a temporary bridge.

I now paid a visit to the miserable negro who had been found with his throat cut, and who was so well as to be able to converse; when he declared to me, that he committed

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committed this violent action with his own hand. The suspected officer and sentinel were, therefore, instantly acquitted. I asked him by what reason he had been incited to suicide? and he answered—"None."

"I have," said he, "as good a master and mistress as I could wish, and a family of my own that I much love: I had slept sound during the whole night till about four o'clock in the morning, when awaking I took my knife to pick my teeth with it, and instantaneously cut my throat without knowing why; but the moment after repented of what I had done. I then rose from my hammock and got into the canoe to wash myself, and try to bind up the wound, but stooping over the side and bleeding very fast, I turned faint and fell into the river. I was now no more able to get on board, or to cry for assistance. However, by struggling, I made shift to get on shore where I fell down and lay helpless, till I was picked up by a boat going to Magdenberg; during all which time of nine days I had my perfect senses, and saw a tamanoir or ant-bear come to smell the putrid blood about my neck, who, on seeing me move, retired into the forest."

I gave the poor man some Boston biscuits which I had got from Paramaribo, a large calabash with barley to make him some soup, and also some wine. This negro appeared to be about sixty years of age.

I now to my sorrow received a letter from Mr. Kennedy, who was preparing to visit Holland, requesting that my
boy

boy Quaco might be returned to his estate. I accordingly sent him down with a letter, offering to buy him of his master as soon as it should be in my power to pay him.

On the 2d of April, Colonel Fourgeoud ordered all the sick remaining in the colony to Magdenberg, where he had erected an hospital and a large victualling magazine. Thus all the invalids from Clarenbeck arrived here, with surgeons, apothecaries, attendants, &c.: and here, in fact, as I said, the air was more healthy. At this period the old gentleman was particularly ill-natured, and abused both friend and foe without distinction; swearing, that not a soul should be exempt from duty, provided they could but stand on their legs. About this time a strong detachment was sent to the estate Bruyinsburgh in Comewina, where an insurrection was expected, the slaves refusing to work upon a Sunday; to which, however, they were driven by the lash of the whip.

It was now in the midst of the rainy season, that Fourgeoud declared his intention of scouring the woods; and, in consequence, gave orders for two strong columns to march the next day. The reason for chusing this season was, that if he could now dislodge the rebels they must starve for want, which would not be the case in the dry months, for then the forest abounds with fruits and roots of many kinds. This was, however, in my opinion, a false piece of generalship; if it be considered on the other hand, the dreadful havock which the wet weather

must

CHAP. must produce among his troops, of which he killed, I
 XVI. suppose, at the rate of twenty to one rebel negro.

Fourgeoud was himself of a very strong constitution, having been used to hunting and shooting the whole of his life-time: to which he added temperance, and the daily use of his beloved *Ptisan*.

His dress consisted of nothing but a waistcoat, through one of the button-holes of which he wore his sword: on his head he wore a cotton night-cap, with a white beaver hat above it, and in his hand a cane; but he seldom carried his musket or his pistols. I have seen him all in rags and bare-footed, like the meanest soldier.

On the morning of the 3d of April, at six o'clock, the two columns set out upon their march, the one commanded by Colonel Seyburg, the other by Fourgeoud; to which last I had the honour to belong. Our poor men were now loaded like asses. They were ordered to put their fire-locks in their knapsacks, of course the muzzles excepted: this was to keep them from the rain, which absolutely poured in torrents. Our course was south by east, up among the banks of the Tempatee Creek, where we soon came to swamps, and were marching in the water above our knees.

During the first day's march we met some very pretty squirrels, which are of several kinds in this country. Those that we saw were brown, with the belly white, the tail not so bushy; nor were they, upon the whole, so large

as

as those of Europe. There are also white squirrels in this country with red eyes, and flying squirrels. These, it is well known, have no wings, but a membrane between the fore and hinder leg, being a part of their skin, which, when they leap, expands like the wing of a bat, and by this, like a parachute, they rest upon the air, and in their flights are carried to a considerable distance.

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On the 4th of April we marched again, our course south by east, till two o'clock, when we changed our course to south-south-west.

This day we passed by piles of fine timber, that were left there to rot since 1757, when the estates were demolished by the negro slaves who were in rebellion. Among these were the *purple-heart-tree*, the *iron-wood-tree*, and the *bourracourra*, known in England by the name of Brazil.

The *purple-heart-tree* grows sometimes to the height of fourscore feet, and thick in proportion, with a smooth dark brown bark; the wood is of a beautiful purple colour and an agreeable smell, and is much esteemed on account of its weight and durability.

The *iron-wood-tree*, so called from the gravity and permanent quality of its timber, grows to about sixty feet in height, with a light-coloured bark. It is much valued by the natives as well as the Europeans, on account of its hardness in particular (resisting even the hatchet), and for taking a most beautiful bright polish. This wood sinks in water.

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The bourracourra, or brazil, grows to between thirty and forty feet high, but not very thick, with a reddish bark. The heart only of this tree is valuable, after the white pithy part is cut away, though then it is much diminished. This wood is as truly beautiful as it is useful, the colour being a fine crimson, variegated with irregular and fantastical black spots, from which, by the French, it is called *bois de lettres*. It is heavy, hard, and durable, though rather brittle, and is capable of taking the brightest polish; this last is scarce in Guiana, but the others are more plentiful, growing on the highest grounds; where also is found ebony. The heavy trees, being shaped into timbers for sugar-mills, are chiefly sent to the English West India islands, and often sold for the price of fifty guineas each piece.

The word of command being again given on the 5th, we unslung our hammocks, then marched south-south-east, and south by east, through deep and dangerous marshes up to our breasts in water, and in very heavy rains; in which helpless situation we were suddenly alarmed, not by a party of rebels, but by a company of large monkies, which we discovered in the tops of the trees, knocking a kind of nuts against the branches to break them for their contents, with the greatest regularity, as it were keeping time alternately at every stroke, while some of them threw down their burthens; and a nut falling from a considerable height, broke the head of one of our marines. The sound of breaking these nuts, we had mistaken for the rebel negroes cutting wood with an axe.

In

In the evening we encamped near the Tempatee Creek ; where we made large fires, and built comfortable huts : thus this night we slept protected from the wet. Here we found the best water I ever tasted : and in the camp I saw two remarkable lizards, the one called the *devil of the woods*, and the other *agama*, in this country. The first is an ugly small lizard of a deep brown or blackish colour, which runs with amazing swiftness up and down the trees : it has no scales, a large head, and it is said to bite, which is supposed to be an uncommon property in a lizard. The other is called the *Mexican cameleon*, which is remarkably splendid ; and, like others of the kind, is endued with the property of changing its colour ; but of its nature and qualities I can say little more, having never had the opportunity of a close examination. In Surinam there is also a species of lizard, known by the name of *salamander*, which also I never saw.

On the 6th we marched again, keeping due west till twelve o'clock, through very heavy rain and deep water ; when we changed our course to the north, and passed over very high mountains, by many supposed to be pregnant with treasure.

- “ Rocks rich with gems, and mountains bright with mines,
 “ That on the high equator ridgy rise ;
 “ Where many a bursting stream auriferous plays :
 “ Majestic woods of every vigorous green,
 “ Stage above stage high waving o'er the hills.”

THOMSON.

The two highest mountains in South America, are that peak of the Andes called *Chimborazo*, which measures 20,460 geometrical feet above the surface of the South Sea ; having, though under the line, 4000 feet of its summit continually covered with snow. The other is that, on the slope of which is built the city of Quito, at the height of 9,370 feet, and is thought to be the highest inhabited land in South America, if not in the world.

We still continued marching north, on the 7th, over mountains, from which, at intervals, we had undoubtedly the most enchanting prospects, as well from the wildness of the country, as the beautiful variegated verdure displayed in so many different shades through this amazing forest. Here I saw a bird which is called a *woodcock*, which appears to have much of the colour of those in Europe, but which flew very heavily ; I was however informed, that it can run with incredible swiftness. But the objects which most attracted my attention were the *arnotta-trees*, a few of which we met with : of these I have copied one of the twigs with great exactness. This tree, which is also called the *rowcow*, or the *orlean-tree*, and by the Indians *cossowee*, may rather be styled a shrub, as it does not grow above twelve feet in height. The leaves are greener on one side than the other, and are divided by fibres of a reddish brown colour, as is also the stem ; the pods, which are as large as a small hen's egg, are bristled like the outer husk of a chesnut. At first they are a beautiful rose colour, which, as they ripen,



Sprig of the Anotta, or Rowcon Tree.

ripen, changes to a dark brown, when they burst open and display a rich crimson pulp, in which are contained seeds that are black, like those of a grape. The use of this pulp I have already described, when speaking of the Aborigines or Indians; and now I present the reader with a view of it, though from necessity on a small scale:—*A* is the leaf above; *B* the same below; *C* the pod before it is yet ripe; *D* the same ripe, and exposing the crimson pulp; *E* the black seed covered over with part of the pulp. Here again I must take the liberty to observe, that the *rowcow* plant, exhibited by the celebrated Madam Merian, is very unlike the original that I saw; and to my great surprize she says it grows on a large tree.

Having crossed an arm of the Mapanee Creek in the evening, we once more returned to our camp at Magdenberg; Mr. Noot, one of our officers, and several others, were so ill, that they were carried in their hammocks upon poles by the negro slaves, and a great number were so very weak that they could scarcely support the weight of their emaciated bodies; but to complain of sickness was to mutiny, till they dropped down almost ready to expire. During this expedition, in which we still perceived nothing of the enemy, I was remarkably fortunate, having neither suffered by fatigue, nor been persecuted by extraordinary bad usage. The succeeding day Colonel Seyburg's column arrived, having, like us, seen no appearance of the rebels.

On the 9th, my boy Quaco returned from Paramaribo;

his

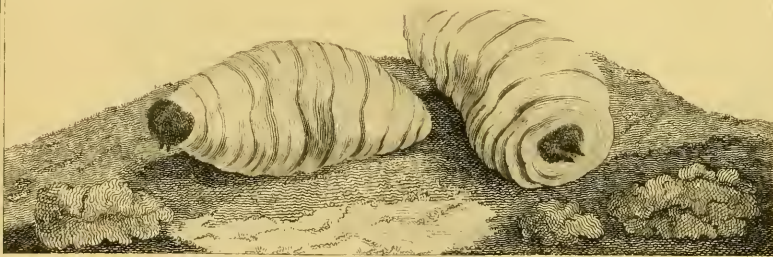
his master, Mr. Walter Kennedy, having, to my great joy, sold him to me for the sum of five hundred Dutch florins, amounting with the expences to near fifty pounds, for which Colonel Fourgeoud very civilly gave me a bill on his agent. The payment of this faithful servant's ransom, of course revived my impatience for the long-wished moment of emancipation of my poor Joanna and her boy; from whose new master I had not yet received any answer.

While we continued here, a negro brought me a beautiful butterfly, which I copied with all the correctness I was master of; and which I saw since in Madam Merian's collection, where it is coloured very ill. This fly was a dark blue tinged with green, and variegated with spots like a peacock's feather, and on each wing it had a spot of pale yellow; the under part of the wings were a charming crimson and purple; the body a pale red.—The caterpillar is green and yellow; it is crowned with eight horns on the head, and has two on the tail. About the same time Captain Fredericy returned also from traversing the woods. He had a corporal drowned by slipping off a tree in crossing over a creek; which accident frequently happened, but the men were generally picked up, except this poor fellow, who sunk to the bottom instantly with all his accoutrements.

Another negro also brought me a regale of *groe-groe*, or cabbage-tree worms, as they are called in Surinam.



The Blue & Crimson Butterfly of South America.



The Groo-groo, or Palm Tree Worms.

This reptile is produced in a tree called the *mountain-cabbage-tree*, which is one of the palm species. The worm grows to the size and thickness of a man's thumb, is produced from the spawn of a black beetle, and is extremely fat. However disgusting to appearance, these worms are a delicious treat to many people, and they are regularly sold at Paramaribo. The manner of dressing them, is by frying them in a pan with a very little butter and salt, or spitting them on a wooden skewer. In taste they partake of all the spices of India, as mace, cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, &c. Several species of these worms are produced in all the palm trees when beginning to rot, but some are larger than others. They are all of a pale yellow colour, with black heads. In the plate annexed are represented the above-mentioned fine butterfly, and the cabbage-tree-worm, both of the natural size, taken from the life. By the Indians and negroes they are called *toecoema*.

On the 13th, a detachment departed for La Rochelle in Patamaca, and the following day a captain was sent with a few men back to the Hope, in Comewina, to protect the estates in that river.

On the same day, the miserable old negro who had cut his throat on the 5th day of March, but had since recovered, was seen by some slaves to enter the wood with a knife, from which he no more returned, being soon after found stabbed to death. We were afterwards informed

informed by his master, that for some time before he had attempted to do the same almost regularly from month to month.

On the 17th, the detachment returned from La Rochelle, where the troops of the Society were all sick.

Colonel Fourgeoud now treated me with the greatest politeness. And at his earnest request I presented him, on the 20th, with various drawings, representing himself and his troops struggling with the hardships annexed to the service they were sent on; and which drawings he told me were intended to shew the *Prince of Orange* and the *States* a specimen of what he and his marines did undergo in the forests of Guiana.

He now gave me leave, for fourteen days, to go to town to wish Mr. Kennedy a prosperous voyage to Europe. Availing myself therefore of his good humour, I left Magdenberg within one hour, and made such dispatch that I came to Paramaribo on the 22d, where I found my friends and little family all well, at the house of Mr. *de la Mare*, to which they were immediately sent from that of Mr. Lolkens, who had, during my last absence, entertained them, and treated them with the greatest attention and hospitality.

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New Instances of unprecedented Barbarity—Occurrences on Mount Magdenberg—Prices of Provisions at Paramaribo—Description of a new Animal—Great Mortality amongst the Troops in Tempatee and Comewina River.

THE first visit I now made was to Mr. Kennedy, to bid him farewell; I then paid five hundred florins for the black boy, for which he gave me a receipt, and Quaco was mine. About this time I fell ill with a fever, which however lasted but a few days. Walking out on the 1st of May, I observed a crowd of people along the water-side, before the house of Mr. S—lk—r, where appeared the dreadful spectacle of a beautiful young mulatto girl, floating on her back, with her hands tied behind, her throat most shockingly cut, and stabbed in the breast with a knife in more than eight or ten different places. This was reported to have been the work of that infernal fiend, Mrs. S—lk—r, from a motive of jealousy, suspecting that her husband might fall in love with this poor unfortunate female. This monster of a woman had before drowned a negro infant merely for crying, as I have said; nay, she was accused of still greater barbarity, were greater barbarity possible. Arriving one

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CHAPTER. day at her estate to view some negroes newly purchased,
 XVII. her eye chanced to fall on a fine negro girl about fifteen years of age, who could not even speak the language of the country. Observing her to be a remarkably fine figure, with a sweet engaging countenance, her diabolical jealousy instantly prompted her to burn the girl's cheeks, mouth, and forehead with a red-hot iron; she also cut the tendon Achilles of one of her legs, thus rendering her a monster of deformity, and a miserable object as long as she lived: the poor victim not knowing what she had done to deserve so severe a punishment.

Some of the negroes now representing to this lady the many cruelties she daily inflicted, and supplicating her to be of a milder disposition; it was reported that she instantly knocked out the brains of a Quaderoon child, and caused the heads of two young negroes, its relations, to be chopped off for having endeavoured to prevent her; these heads, when she had left the estate, were tied in silk handkerchiefs, and carried by the surviving relations to Paramaribo, where they were laid at the feet of the governor, with the following speech:

“ *This*, your Excellency, is the head of my son, and
 “ *this* is the head of my brother, struck off by our mistress's command, for endeavouring to prevent her murders. We know our evidence is nothing in a state of
 “ slavery; but, if these bloody heads be a sufficient proof
 “ of what we say, we only beg that such pernicious acts
 “ may

“ may be prevented in time to come; in acknowledgment of which we will all cheerfully shed our blood for the preservation and prosperity of our master, our mistress, and the colony.”

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To this humble and pathetic remonstrance the answer was, that they were all liars, and should, as such, be flogged round the streets of Paramaribo; and this most iniquitous sentence was executed with the greatest severity.

Such is the consequence of the law of the colony, that the testimony of a negro is never to be taken. Had any one white person been present at the above carnage, the evidence would have been good, but even then this fury would have escaped by paying a fine of fifty pounds for each murder.—But enough—my soul sinks within me while I dwell so long upon the subject.

On the 2d of May, being again perfectly recovered, I took leave of Joanna and her Johnny, for thus he was named after myself, though the ceremony of baptism could not yet be performed; they now continued at my friend De la Mare's house, whilst I set out once more for Magdenberg in a tent-boat with six oars.

On the 3d, I called at Egmond, on my French friend Monsieur Cachelieu, and next day stopped at Oranjebo or Ornamibo, where I was heartily entertained by my old adversary Captain Meyland, with whom I had fought at the Wana Creek. But now this gentleman declared, that

CHAP. he loved me better than any man in the colony. He
 XVII. was just returned from a twelve days cruize through the
 woods.

Among his men I recollected one Cordus, a gentleman's son from Hamburgh, in which character I had known him, and who had been trepanned into the West India Company's service by the crimps or silver coopers as a common soldier. This corps, as I have already said, is composed of all nations, Christians, Gentiles, and even Jews; the latter, I must observe, devoured pork and bacon, without scruple or hesitation, as often as they could find it.

On this spot, which had formerly been a plantation, but was now choked with weeds, I met with some herbs which again I cannot pass unnoticed, though I have no other names for them than those given me by the negroes, one only excepted, which is commonly known by the name of the *siliqua-hirsula*, cow-edge, or cow-itch, and called by the black people *crassy-weeree-weeree*. I can only describe this as a kind of pea or rather flattish small purple bean, growing in a pod from a slender creeping vine; these pods are covered with a kind of fine elastic spicula, which, when touched, cause an intolerable itching. This hairy coat scraped from the pod, and taken in a tea-spoon with jelly, &c. has been strongly recommended as a vermifuge. A sort of wood was also shewn me here by one of the slaves, which he called *crassy-wood*;

wood; this had the same itching effect when touched, but with respect to its general qualities I can say nothing further. The other shrubs that we found were what they called *consaca-weeere-weeere*; these grow with large green leaves, which the negroes use for the cure of a disorder in the feet called *consaca*, when they can procure no limes or lemons, as I have already mentioned: this plant also makes an excellent sallad. The *dea-weeere-weeere* is a fine wholesome herb, and very much esteemed; but the *catty-weeere-weeere* is amongst the most serious pests in the colony, being a kind of strong edged grass, which is in some places very plentiful; and when a man walks through it will cut his legs like a razor. Herbs in general are in this country known by the name of *weeere-weeere* by the negroes.

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On the 5th, I arrived at Magdenberg. Here Colonel Seyburg, and what he called his officers, seemed to form a distinct corps from those of Fourgeoud. They appeared totally destitute of politeness, and treated each other with the greatest rudeness, while their colonel was most cordially hated by the commander in chief. This state of things contributed to render our situation still more disagreeable: I however had at this time little reason to complain, being for the present, at least, in the good graces of Fourgeoud, which, by a trifling accident, I had nearly again forfeited. Colonel Fourgeoud having purchased of some Indians a couple of most beautiful parrots, called here *cocatoos*, which were

in.

C H A P.

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in a cage ready to be shipped off as a present to her royal highness the princess of Orange, I persuaded Monsieur Laurant, his valet-de-chambre, to take one of them out, that I might the better examine it, but the cage-door was no sooner opened, than it gave a shriek, and disappeared in an instant, flying over the Tempatee Creek. The poor valet stood perfectly petrified, and could only pronounce "Voyez-vous?" whilst I took to my heels to avoid the approaching storm, but stopped near enough to observe Fourgeoud's motions through the underwood. He was no sooner informed of the *dreadful* accident, than he began to storm, swear, and dance like a man totally deprived of reason; he next, by kicking it, killed a poor waddling duck belonging to one of our officers; and at last actually trampled his very wig under his feet, while I stood trembling, and the rest of the spectators were laughing aloud. In about half an hour his passion began gradually to cool, and then he had recourse to a stratagem which actually brought the parrot back into his possession. He placed the remaining captive on the top of its cage, tied by a small cord round its claw; this he set in the open air, putting a ripe banana inside, and leaving the door open, so that any other bird except the prisoner might come at it; the poor captive at last becoming very hungry, made such a noise and shrieking as to be heard by his mate, who returning entered the cage in quest of food, and was once more deprived of his freedom. I now ventured from my conceal-

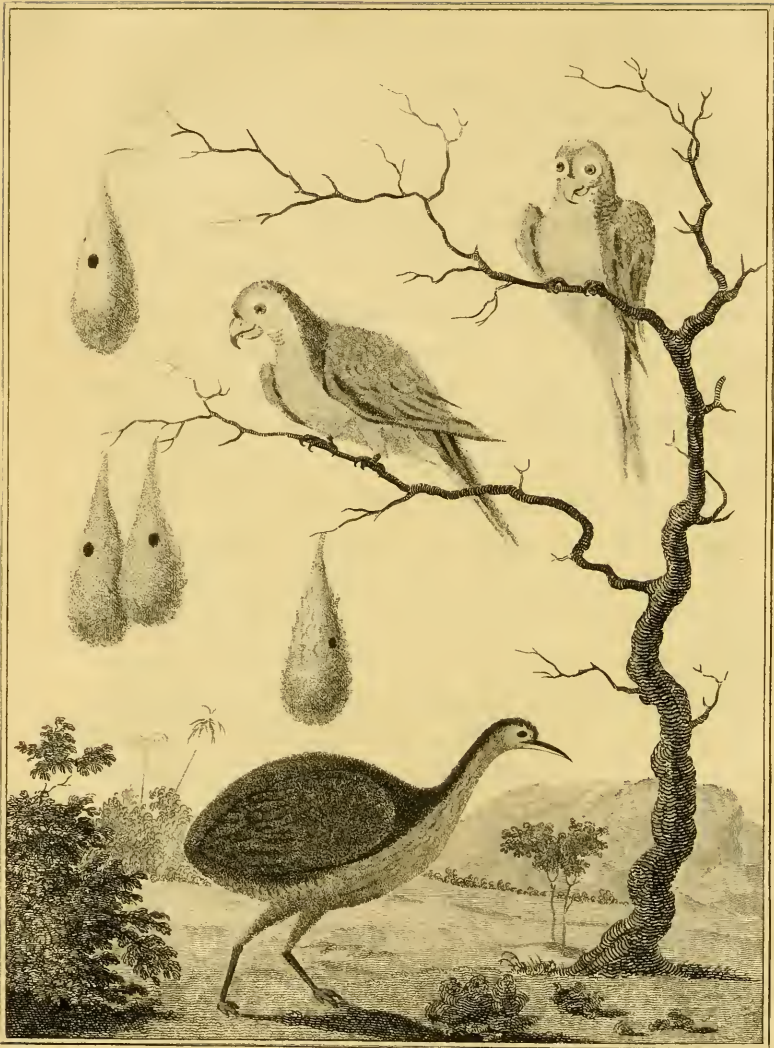
ment, and was acquitted after a gentle reproof; though poor Laurant, as may well be imagined, did not escape without a thundering lecture.

The cocatoos are less than the parrots, and of a green colour, except the head and a few feathers in the tail, which are of a pale red. This bird is crowned with a *panashe* or bunch of feathers, and which generally lie backward, but which it crects at pleasure, when it is irritated or afraid.

I have also seen in Surinam a parrot of a deep slate blue colour, though not like those that come from the coast of Guinea, which are rather of a lead-grey. This parrot is said to be very scarce, and only inhabits the deepest recesses of the forest, whence it is brought to Paramaribo by the Indians: this bird is less than the common parrot, but appears very strong and lively. The most common parrots in Guiana are those which Maregrave calls *ajurucura*. These birds are not so large as those that come from Africa; they are green, with the breast and belly a pale yellow; on the top of the head they have a blue spot, and the feet are grey, with four toes like the rest of the genus, two before and two behind; in the wings they have some feathers of a bright blue, and some a deep crimson; they are more a nuisance than a pleasure in Surinam, where, in prodigious flocks, they perch amongst the coffee, maize, rice, &c. and commit great devastations; and what makes them a still greater nuisance, their shrieking noise is almost insupportable. They always fly in pairs, and very swift, towards the
 east,

east, as I have observed, meeting the sun in the morning, and toward the west they follow it in the evening: they generally breed in remote places and lay two eggs. I brought down two of these parrots at a shot when I was at Sporksgift estate; these animals not being quite dead, scratched me most terribly with their sharp claws, as they are very strong and tenacious of life. We had them dressed, and they made no bad soup; they may also do in a pie as rooks in England, but dressed in any other way they are tough and disagreeable. These green parrots may be taught to speak, laugh, cry, bark, whistle, or mew, but not near so well as those which come from Africa. It is said, they are often intoxicated by the seeds of the cotton plant. These parrots are also subject to fits, perhaps from their choleric disposition, yet longevity is peculiarly ascribed to them by the Indians: they have strong hooked bills, which assist them in climbing and cracking very hard nuts, and they sometimes bite very severely; they delight in swinging and balancing, hanging from the branches of trees, and in their wild as well as domestic state use one of their claws as a hand to take their food.

In Surinam there are also some beautiful paroquets, which are a species of parrots, but smaller though not less common; the finest of these is of the size of a very small pigeon; they are of a lively green on the back and tail, but the head and neck are auburn, the feathers on the last being edged with a gold colour, which gives them the appearance



The Anamoc & Green Parrots of Guiana.

appearance of rich scollops or scales: the breast is of a leaden hue, the belly lilac, the wings tipped with orange and azure, and the bill of a very dark blue; the eyes are the colour of fire, and the feet quite black. The other species are perfectly green, with a white bill, and a crimson spot on the head; these make an agreeable chattering, but are not so easily domesticated as the former.

I was presented this evening by a soldier with a bird of a quite different kind, which he had actually caught with his hands. This was no other than the *annamoc*, or Surinam partridge, and a finer creature I never saw: it was of the size of a large duck, extremely fat, and of a dark brown colour on the back and wings, and on the top of the head, the under part of which, the breast, the belly, and the thighs, were of a fine cream-colour, intermixed with orange feathers, and very small transverse black bars. The body was exactly the shape of an egg, it had no tail, the neck was long, the bill short, but very sharp-pointed, and a little curved; the eyes were bright and as black as jet; the legs short, of the colour of vermilion, with three small toes on each foot. This bird, it is said, runs with amazing swiftness, hiding itself amongst the grass and weeds, but flies very heavily on account of its plumpness, which was the cause of its being thus overtaken by the marine. We had it roasted, and indeed no-

thing could be more delicious. As I took a correct drawing of it, I refer the reader to the annexed plate; where he may also see the parrot of South America, as described above, besides a few curious nests, of which I have given an account in Vol. I. p. 375, but where I had no opportunity of placing them; and which, besides their curiosity, may serve to shew how much the public are imposed upon; when, in Goldsmith's *Animated Nature*, Vol. V. p. 253, that author asserts, that they are built on the banana and plantain trees, where he also describes the monkies, and numbers of large serpents as assembling. All this I here think it my duty to pronounce erroneous, as I consider it would be unpardonable in me to let such absurdities pass by unnoticed.

On the 9th, an accident had nearly befallen me, which must have caused me much poignant and lasting sorrow. My black boy, washing my cotton hammock in the *Tem-patee Creek*, was suddenly carried to the bottom by the rapidity of the stream, and entangled in its lashings, so that both the one and the other disappeared; the boy, however, luckily extricated himself, though with great difficulty, and to my great joy, though more than half drowned, appeared once more on terra firma; when he had the presence of mind instantly to sink a large fish-hook, with a lead tied to a strong line, some yards below the spot, with which he actually brought up the ham-

mock, to our astonishment, the stream running so swift that it rolled over the ground, and was liable to shift its station every moment.

The following day, as Captain Hamel was angling, his tackle got fast at the bottom of the creek, when, in diving to clear it, I struck my ancle with such violence against a rock, that it was several months before it was perfectly recovered.

These accidents appeared greatly to entertain Colonel Seyburg, while in return I could not help feeling a degree of indignation at what I considered as unhandsome behaviour; but the most extraordinary circumstance was, that this disgust between Seyburg and myself seemed to gain me the favour of old Fourgeoud, almost as much as if I had destroyed half the rebel negroes in the colony.— During all this time strong patroles cruized between Magdenberg, La Rochelle, and the Jew Savannah; and on the 17th, the commander in chief marched to Patamaca with nearly the half of his troops, leaving *me* the command of those that remained on the mountain, for I was not able to accompany him, having by this time a dangerous mortification in my ancle.

As I had now the prospect of remaining some time at Magdenberg, I dispatched Quaco to Paramaribo for provisions, and orders to buy me a live goat.

Whatever may be thought of Fourgeoud's manœuvres, in not being able to bring the rebels to a pitched battle,

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it is very certain that he exerted himself and his troops to the utmost; and that by his constantly traversing the upper parts of the rivers, and scouring the skirts of the colony, he prevented many depredations on the estates, which was undoubtedly a very essential service to the inhabitants, though at a dreadful expence of blood and money.

Being now the commander in chief at this post, the two negroes I have formerly mentioned hunting and fishing for me, brought me almost every day one or two *pingos*, which are the wild boars formerly mentioned, besides a fish called *newmara*, some of which are as large as cod, and which I shall afterwards describe. With these dainties I regaled all the officers without exception, while I gave to the hospital all the plantains, bananas, oranges, and lemons, that were occasionally sent me as presents from the *Jacob* and the plantations in Upper Comewina; and never was a deputy-governor more universally beloved. Patroles were also daily sent out to every quarter; and the environs of Magdenberg were so completely scoured, that no invasion from the rebels could be practicable. These precautions were the more necessary, as they had *formerly* surprised and taken by storm different military posts for the sake of ammunition and fire-arms, which are to them of the utmost value, and their seizure of the most pernicious consequence to the colony. Indeed, some posts had not only been attacked and plundered of their

their stores and ammunition, but were actually massacred to a man.

Mortified that it was not in my power to take a more active part at present, I availed myself of this leisure, by taking drawings of every animal, reptile or shrub, that I thought could illustrate my little collection of natural curiosities, which I now began to form some idea of exhibiting to the public, if it should be my fate ever more to return to Europe.

One of my negroes, on the 24th of this month, brought me two curious insects; which, though I had no opportunity of drawing, I will endeavour to describe:—The one (which seemed to have some small affinity to the grasshopper kind) was what is here generally called *spaanse-juffer*, and is without exception the most singular animal I saw in the colony. The body of this surprising creature, though not thicker than a quill, was no less than seven inches and a half in length, including the tail; it had no wings, and was mounted like a spider on six legs that were near six inches long; it had four antennæ projecting from its head, two being nearly five inches, and two much shorter; the head was small, the eyes large, black, and prominent, and the tail articulated like that of most insects: its colour was a brownish green, and, upon the whole, it seemed a monster. This creature is found near the marshy places, where its long legs appear designed to enable it to wade through the water, but not to swim,

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swim, (according to Mr. Farmine's opinion) for which its feet are not calculated, as they terminate in two small claws like those of some beetles. The other was a large fly, which Madam Merian, who gives a drawing of it, calls the *vielleur*, but which I have generally heard called the *scare-sleep* by the Dutch. These words being extremely applicable, from the noise it makes towards the evening, which nearly resembles the sound of a cymbal or that of a razor-grinder when at his work. This remarkable fly, whose grinding noise always begins at sun-set or six o'clock, is also called the *porte-lanterne*, or *lantern-bearer*, from the light it diffuses after that time, and which is much stronger than that of any of the fire-fly species, affording sufficient light for almost any purpose: these flies are above three inches long, and very thick, the body green, with four transparent wings variegated with little marks of all colours, particularly the under wings, on which are two large roundish spots not unlike those on the tail feathers of a peacock. Beneath the head of this insect is seen an inverted straight trump or tube like a needle, with which it is said to suck its food from the flowers. With the same instrument it is here supposed to produce that disagreeable, loud, and grinding noise, which I have already noticed. But, for my own part, I should rather ascribe the noise to the fluttering of its transparent wings, as is supposed to be the case with some flies in England: a large proboscis or snout striped red

red and yellow, and shaped like the first joint of a man's finger, projects from the head, and makes one-third of the whole animal; this protuberance is vulgarly called its lantern, and emits that surprising light whence it takes its second name. I shall only add, that it is a very slow creeper, but flies with amazing velocity.

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On the 26th, my boy Quaco arrived from Paramaribo with the following list of provisions, which he had purchased for me. In order to give the curious a just idea of the prices in Surinam when things are cheapest, I will here insert some articles as charged to my account, with the prices in English money, calculating at the rate of eleven florins to one pound sterling.

These articles were as follow :

- 2 bacon hams, 31 lbs. at 15*d.* per lb.
- 1 small cag of butter, 10 lbs. at 1*s.* 10*d.* per lb.
- 1 small ditto of flour, 100 lbs. at 4*d.* per lb.
- 1 Dutch cheese, 11 lbs. at 10*d.* per lb.
- 2 quart bottles of vinegar, at 1*s.* 10*d.* per quart.
- 4 lbs. spermaceti candles, at 3*s.* 8*d.* per lb.
- 2 lbs. dried sausages, at 2*s.* 9*d.* per lb.

The prices of wine and spirits I have already mentioned in the twelfth chapter.

He also brought me a goat with its kid to supply me with milk, for which I paid twenty florins, or near two pounds

CHAPTER. pounds sterling: these prices are at least double, and some
 XVII. treble, to what they used to be in England.

Goats are very common in all Guiana; they are not large, but very beautiful creatures, with small horns, and very short smooth hair, mostly of a dun-colour; they are as nimble as stags, and are kept on all the estates, where they breed fast and give much milk; they are also delicious eating when killed young.

I had now the disagreeable news, that all my letters for Europe were sunk on board Captain Visser, who was wrecked in the Texel Roads among the ice. I was also sincerely grieved to hear that my good friend Mr. Kennedy, with his lady and family, had taken their final farewell of the colony, and sailed for Holland. This gentleman, Mr. Gordon, and a Mr. Gourluy, were the only Scotch; a Mr. Buckland, a Mr. Townsend, and Mr. Halfhide, the only English; and Captain Macneal, the only native of Ireland, residing in this colony.

On the 28th, Colonel Fourgeoud returned with his command from Patamaca, much emaciated himself, and his men nearly exhausted by fatigue. He had left a great number behind him in the hospital at La Rochelle, but heard no account whatever of the rebels, although he varied his route every time. It was therefore pretty evident that they were routed, if latterly there had been any settled at all: but where to find them in this unbounded
 forest

forest was the question. He however never despaired, and seemed as eager to discover the haunts of the rebels as he had been formerly in springing a covey of partridges, or discovering a nest of black badgers.

On the 29th, Mr. Matthew, one of our officers who had been out shooting, presented me with the *Taibo*, an animal that is here called the wood-rat. This creature was the size of a young hare, and of a reddish brown colour, being remarkably thin, with long limbs, a roundish head, and a tail not unlike that of a sucking-pig; the claws were exactly like those of a common rat, but larger in proportion, and so was the head, mouth, teeth, and whiskers; the ears were short and naked, the eyes black and prominent, with a white iris; it is said to run very fast: we had it dressed, and ate it, having been told that it was very good, and so we found it, sweet, tender, and even fat, notwithstanding its lank appearance. This creature, on account of its size, reminds me of another animal, known in this country by the name of *crabbdago*, or the crabbed dog, for its matchless ferocity, as it kills and devours every thing that comes in its way, without exception, whether quadrupeds, fowls, or reptiles; and never seeming to be glutted with blood, it murders, even without being hungry, all it can vanquish, which, on account of its courage, activity, and strength, are not a few, though it be not larger than a common cat. From what I have said, I should apprehend it much resembles

C H A P. the *ichneumon*, but still more that animal mentioned by
 {^{XVII.} Mr. Allemand, in the Count de Buffon; (see Vol. IV. p. 266.) which he there calls the *grison* or grey-weazel, though this that I mention was rather larger; and he says, that notwithstanding its being a native of Surinam, none of the people coming from that country could give any account of it. If this be the same animal, (as I doubt not, and have therefore given it the name of the *crabbo-dago* or *grison*) I am happy to have had it in my power to give the reader some account of it. I shall now literally quote the Count's own words, as extracted from Mr. Allemand, which will afford the best proof of its being the same animal, when compared with the annexed plate, where both the wood-rat, and the *crabbo-dago* or *grison*, are represented; and had I seen this account during the Count's life, I would have most assuredly taken the liberty of informing him by a letter, of what I now, though in this unconnected method, relate to the public.

“I received,” says Mr. Allemand, “the small animal
 “represented in the plate*. In the catalogue it was
 “called the grey-weazel, from which circumstance I de-
 “rived the name *grison*, because I knew not how it is
 “denominated in the country where it is found. The
 “whole upper part of its body is covered with deep
 “brown hair, having white points, which gives it a greyish
 “brown colour: under the head and neck is a bright

* The Dutch edition, Vol. XV.

“grey,



The Wood-Rat of Surinam!



The Crab-eater, or Grifson?

Del. & Sculp.

“grey, because the hairs are very short, and the white part is of equal length with the brown. The muzzle, the under part of the body, and legs, are black, which singularly contrasts with the grey colour on the head and neck.

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“The head of this animal is very large in proportion to its body, its ears almost form a semicircle, its eyes are large, and its mouth is armed with strong grinders and sharp tusks: it has six cutting teeth in each jaw, four of them hardly rising above the gums. Both the fore and hind feet have five toes, with yellowish claws; the tail is pretty long, and terminates in a point.

“The grison has a greater resemblance to the weazel, than to any other animal, but it belongs not to the weazel tribe: for its body is not long enough, and its legs are too long. It is not mentioned by any author or traveller. I shewed it to several persons who had lived long in Surinam, but none of them knew it; hence it either must be a rare animal, even in its native country, or it must live in deserts and unfrequented places: the length of its body is about seven inches; I have not been able to learn any thing of its history.”

To this I shall only add my surprize.—It is true that this animal is very rare in Surinam, but it probably owes its not being described by naturalists to its extreme ferocity,

city, which is without example, it being a very uncommon circumstance to take a *crabbo-dago* or grison alive.

Our old commander and I were now inseparable friends, to whose board being daily invited, he requested me to paint his portrait at full length in his bush equipage, which was to be engraved at the expence of the town of Amsterdam, and where he thought himself now as great a man as the Duke of Cumberland was in England after the battle of Culloden.

Having provided a large sheet of paper, and some China ink, I began to delineate this wonderful character in his own hut. While I was now looking full in his face, to examine the features of this first of despots, and laughing aloud, to think how he and I now sat staring at one another, the whole mountain was suddenly shook by a tremendous clap of thunder, while the lightning actually scorched the Colonel's forehead; and, what is very curious, broke all the eggs under a hen that was sitting in a corner of the room where we were engaged. The hero's features being re-composed, I proceeded, and the picture was completed in a short time after, to his great satisfaction.

About this time the captive rebel, September, who was taken in the year 1773, died of a dropsy. Ever since his capture, when his companion was shot, this poor fellow was obliged to follow Fourgeoud like a dog through all his

his expeditions; the colonel always expecting that this negro would, one day or other, conduct him to different haunts of the rebels—but he was mistaken. The other negro slaves, suspecting that he had actually given some information, attributed his dreadful death to a punishment from God, for his want of fidelity to his countrymen, to whom they supposed he had sworn to be true.

The reader may remember, that I have stated it in the third Chapter, as an invariable article of belief among the African negroes, that whoever breaks his oath shall die miserably in this world, and be punished for ever in that which is to come.

By the 2d of June, the Hope in Comewina was become so very unwholesome for want of cleanliness, and being kept free from inundations (as it was much neglected by the newly-arrived troops which were now stationed there,) that the commanding officer and most of his men were rendered unfit for duty by sickness, and many of them already buried. To this place Colonel Fourgeoud ordered down Captain Brant to take the command, with a fresh supply of men, and orders to send, not to town but to Magdenberg, all the invalids he should relieve. These orders he gave to the above officer in such a brutal manner, and dispatched him so suddenly, that he had not even time to pack up his cloaths; while Colonel Seyburg deprived him of his only servant, whom he took for himself. This usage so much affected Captain Brant, that he burst
into

C H A P. into tears, and declared he did not wish longer to survive
 such galling treatment: he then departed to the Hope,
 truly with a broken heart.

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Upon his arrival he was informed that Captain Brough, the late commanding officer, was dead. This poor man had been on hard service in the woods, and being very corpulent could no longer support the fatigues and excessive heat; he melted down very fast, and a putrid fever at last occasioned his dissolution. Captain Brant was soon followed by Colonel Seyburg to the Hope, with orders to inspect the sick.—In this interval of inaction, I shall describe two fishes, which, though very different in size and colour, equally merit particular attention.

The first, and indeed the only one of the kind I ever saw, was caught by an angler. It was about the size of a large anchovy, and, the dorado excepted, was certainly the most beautiful coloured fish I ever saw. Its back and sides were divided in longitudinal bars of fine yellow and a deep blueish black, the belly was silver, the eyes were black and gold, and the fins a glowing transparent vermilion; its shape was not unlike that of a trout, and the whole was covered with small scales; it had one dorsal fin on the middle of its back, with only the vestige of another near the tail, which was forked: under its belly were five fins, two pectoral, two ventral, and one behind the anus; the under jaw projected before the upper jaw, and made its mouth appear reversed; the gills were small.

Having enquired concerning this little fish, the only information I could obtain was from a black man, who called it *dago-fisce*. C H A P.
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The other is that fine large fish called by the English *rock-cod*, by the Indians *baro-ketta*, and *new-mara* by the negroes, which I have several times mentioned, but not described; they are taken plentifully in all the upper parts of the rivers. This fish is the size of a large cod, but covered with scales, and by some compared to a salmon; the back is a brown olive colour, the belly is white, the head is strong, with small eyes, of which the pupil is black and the iris grey; the mouth is very large, and beset with one row of sharp teeth like those of a pike, and, like it, this creature is extremely voracious; the tail is obtuse and dark olive; as also the fins, six in number, one dorsal, two pectoral, two ventral, and one abdominal. This fish is extremely delicious eating, and particularly esteemed by the white inhabitants at Paramaribo, where it is very scarce, though in the upper parts of the rivers they are taken in great abundance. I painted these two fishes very correctly, the *dago-fish* as large as life, and the *new-mara* considerably less. The drawings were honoured in Surinam with the epithets of masterly performances.

Several officers who kept poultry and hogs at this period lost all the latter in the space of two days, being poisoned probably by eating duncane, or some other fatal weed

CHAP. weed that was unknown to us. And yet it has been a
XVII. general observation, as I have said before, that all animals know by instinct to distinguish their food from their poison.

Mr. Seyburg now returned from the Hope in triumph, with Lieutenant *Dederlin* (one of Colonel Fourgeoud's officers) guarded by a serjeant and six marines with fixed bayonets, for having been wanting in respect, as that gentleman pleased to call it.

On the 7th, the sick officers and soldiers also arrived from the Hope in barges; some of the latter, being too ill to bear removing, died on the passage without medicines and without assistance. One of our surgeons died also this day in camp, and a number of the privates died daily. This was the consequence of having marched so much in the wet season, which was judged however by our chief to be the only season in which he was likely to root the rebels from the forest of Guiana.

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A Tyger taken in the Camp—Fatal Rencontre of a Party with the Rebels, who killed several of the Troops, and forced the rest back—Description of a Planter of Surinam—Contagious Distempers—Suicide—Scene of primitive Nature.

I HAVE just mentioned that several officers kept poultry, numbers of which were now taken away every night by some unknown marauder; when a Captain Bolts (suspecting the *coati-mondi* or *crabbo-dago*) made a trap of an empty wine-chest, only by supporting the lid with a stick fixed to a long cord, into which (having first secured all the other poultry) he put a couple of live fowls, the whole guarded by two negroes at some distance. They had not been many hours on their post, when hearing the fowls shriek, one negro pulled the rope, and the other ran to secure the invader by sitting on the lid: when this proved to be actually a young tyger, who would yet have cleared his way by beating against the box, but that it was immediately secured by strong ropes, and drawn along, with the prisoner in it, to the river; where, being held under water, he was drowned, under the most vigorous efforts, by beating against the chest to effect his

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escape. Captain Bolts ordered the skin to be taken off, which he kept in remembrance of so very strange a circumstance.

The Count de Buffon asserts, that there are no tygers in America, but animals much resembling them, which go by that name. I shall however describe them from actual observation, as I found them, and leave the reader to determine whether they are tygers or not.

The first and largest is that called the *jaguar* of Guiana. This animal, which has by some been represented as a despicable little creature, not larger than a greyhound, is, on the contrary, very fierce, strong, and dangerous; some of them measuring, from the nose to the root of the tail, not less than six feet: and let us not forget the print of that enormous tyger's foot, seen by myself in the sand, near Patamaca; though it may be allowed, that creature was of an extraordinary size, and the sand very loose.—The *jaguar* is of a tawny orange colour, and the belly white; on the back it is spotted with longitudinal black bars; on the sides with irregular rings, light-coloured in the center; and all over the rest of the body, and the tail, the spots are smaller, and perfectly black: its shape is in every sense like that of the African tyger, and being all of the cat kind, they need no particular description; but their size and strength being so much greater than that little domestic animal, they devour a sheep, or a goat, with the same facility as a cat would kill a mouse or a rat;

nay,

may, cows and horses are not protected from their attacks, for these they frequently kill on the plantations; and though they cannot carry them off into the forest on account of their weight, they tear and mangle them in a dreadful manner, only for the sake of the blood, with which this ferocious animal is never glutted. It has even happened that the *jaguar* has carried off young negro women at work in the field, and too frequently their children. This contemptible animal, as it is called and misrepresented by some authors, will beat down a wild boar with the single stroke of its paw, and even seize by the throat the strongest stallion that ever was mounted in Guiana; while its savage nature, and thirst after blood, is such that it cannot be tamed: it will, on the contrary, bite the very hand that feeds it, and very often devours its own offspring; still this creature is not a match for the *aboma-snake*, which, when it comes within its reach, has the power of crushing it to a jelly in but few moments.

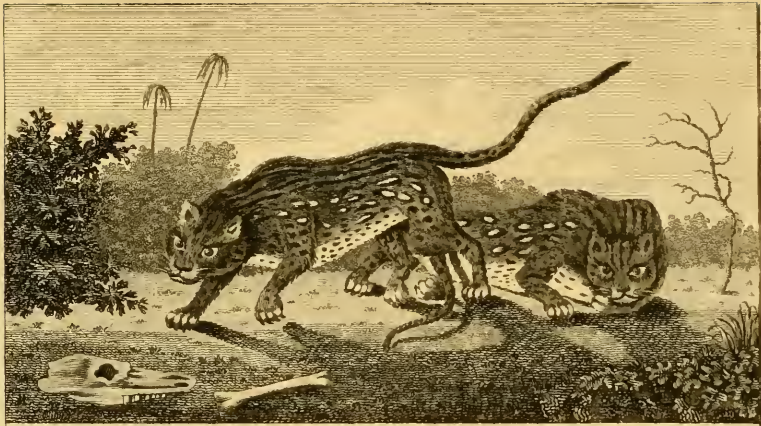
The next is the *couguar*, called in Surinam the *red tyger*.—This indeed may, with more propriety, be compared to a greyhound, for its shape, though not for its size; being much larger than the dog which it resembles in make, but it is not in general so large and heavy as the *jaguar*. The colour of this animal is a reddish brown; the breast and belly are a dirty white, with long hair, and not spotted; the tail an earthy colour, the extremity black;

the head is small, the body thin, the limbs long, with tremendous whitish claws; the teeth are also very large, the eyes prominent, and sparkling like stars. This creature is equally ferocious with the former.

Another of the same species is the *tyger-cat*, which is extremely beautiful. This animal is not much larger than I have seen some cats in England: it is of a yellow colour, with small annulated black spots, which are white within; the belly is a light colour; the ears are black, with a white spot on each; the hair is smooth, and the skin is very much esteemed: the shape like that of the *tyger*. The *tyger-cat* is a very lively animal, with its eyes emitting flashes like lightning; but ferocious, mischievous, and untamable, like the rest of the kind.

In Guiana is still another of this species, called the *jaguaretta*, of a blackish colour, with still blacker spots; but of this last I can say very little, having never seen one; and, indeed, the others but very seldom. Of the *jaguar*, however, and the *tyger-cat*, I present the reader with a drawing. All these animals have long whiskers, like common cats; they sometimes climb trees, but generally lie in ambush under the verdure, whence they bound with uncommon agility on their helpless prey; which having murdered, they drink the blood warm, and never cease to tear and devour it till they are gorged; but when no longer animated by hunger, they are cowardly, and may be put to flight by a common spaniel.

Of



The Jaguar, or, Tiger of Terra-Firma?



The Tiger-Cat of Surinam?

Of fire also they are exceedingly afraid, which is the best guard to keep them at a distance, and as such, made use of every night by the Indians in Guiana. More than once it has been observed, that tygers had entered our camps for want of these precautions, but fortunately without committing any depredations.

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As I now seemed to be on a friendly intercourse with Colonel Fourgeoud, I one day presented the old gentleman with a plan and bird's-eye view of all the encampment of Magdenberg, which pleased him so much that he sent this (as he had done the first) to the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Brunswick, as a specimen of his military manœuvres, &c. This present had the desired effect; for I not only became one of his favourites, but, declaring his highest esteem for the Scots and English, he even promised to recommend me in particular at court. I was so satisfied with this change in his behaviour, that I now took the blame of all former animosity on myself. His attention, however, was suddenly attracted by affairs of more consequence; since, on the 14th of June, the news arrived that some rebel huts were discovered near the seaside; that Captain Meyland had marched in quest of the enemy, with one hundred and forty men of the Society troops, and had actually discovered them; but in wading through a deep marsh, had been first attacked by the negroes, who had killed several of his people (among whom his nephew, a young volunteer), wounded more, and
beaten

beaten back the whole detachment, after they had already passed the marsh, and were mounting fast on the opposite beach to storm the village. From this news it was evident, that our sable foes were not to be trifled with; and since they were thus discovered, orders were immediately issued for all the troops that were able to march to keep in readiness, *viz.* Fourgeoud's marines, the Society regiment, and my favourite rangers, who wanted no spur, and now could hardly be restrained till the others were prepared. These troops were to be assembled at a certain place of rendezvous, while also a detachment marched to La Rochelle, to give information. In consequence of these orders all was activity and vigour in the camp, in hopes that this decisive stroke would end the war, and their misery together; and this, therefore, was the time to lead them on to a spirited attack; but, for reasons best known to himself, our commander delayed his movement till the 20th of August, which was above two months.

In the mean time the disagreeable news arrived, that Captain Brant was almost dead with a violent illness at the Hope, which was at present the place where a number of the troops were quartered, though no better than a pest-house, by the inundations; and for the command at this place (as being one of his favourites) Fourgeoud now singled me out: declaring, that I might thank my sound constitution for bestowing on me this honour. From this conduct, I plainly discovered that all his friendship was

entirely interested ; and I felt my resentment involuntarily rekindled against him, for thus sending me to an inglorious death, when he had so fair an opportunity of employing me honourably on actual service.

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On my arrival at the Hope, my orders were to send poor Captain Brant not down to Paramaribo, but to Magdenberg. This young man, however, frustrated the tyrannical command ; for, justly suspecting it, he had set out with a tent-barge to town a few hours before I came, where he was no sooner carried to his lodgings than he expired, from the effects of a burning fever, and a broken heart. No man could be more regretted than Captain Brant ; nor did Fourgeoud ever lose a better officer, or I a sincerer friend.

This being the second commander dead in so short a time, I quietly took for my motto—

Hodie tibi cras mihi.

But I was happily mistaken, and continued still as well as ever I was in my life, following the advice of old Caramaca, and bathing twice a day in the river ; while I despised shoes and stockings, as useless and unnecessary lumber.

On the 20th of June, a few days after my arrival, I had the honour to receive a visit from the governor, Mr. Nepveu, on his return from his estate Appecappe to Paramaribo, with whom I condoled on the loss of his lady, who had

had died very lately; I also received daily visits from several planters, who complimented me with refreshments from their plantations: and here I had an excellent opportunity of acquainting myself with the customs and manner of living of these West-India nabobs.

A planter in Surinam, when he lives on his estate, (which is but seldom, as they mostly prefer the society of Paramaribo) gets out of his hammock with the rising sun, *viz.* about six o'clock in the morning, when he makes his appearance under the *piazza* of his house; where his coffee is ready waiting for him, which he generally takes with his pipe, instead of toast and butter; and there he is attended by half a dozen of the finest young slaves, both male and female, of the plantation, to serve him; at this *sanctum-sanctorum* he is next accosted by his overseer, who regularly every morning attends at his levee, and having made his bows at several yards distance, with the most profound respect informs his Greatness what work was done the day before; what negroes deserted, died, fell sick, recovered, were bought or born; and, above all things, which of them neglected their work, affected sickness, or had been drunk or absent, &c.; the prisoners are generally present, being secured by the negro-drivers, and instantly tied up to the beams of the *piazza*, or a tree, without so much as being heard in their own defence; when the flogging begins, with men, women, or children, without exception. The instruments of torture on these occasions

occasions are long hempen whips, that cut round at every lash, and crack like pistol-shot; during which they alternately repeat, "*Dankee, massera,*" (Thank you, master). In the mean time he stalks up and down with his overseer, affecting not so much as to hear their cries, till they are sufficiently mangled, when they are untied, and ordered to return to their work, without so much as a dressing.

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This ceremony being over, the dressy negro (a black surgeon) comes to make his report; who being dismissed with a hearty curse, for *allowing* any slaves to be sick, next makes her appearance a superannuated matron, with all the young negro children of the estate, over whom she is governess; these, being clean washed in the river, clap their hands, and cheer in chorus, when they are sent away to breakfast on a large platter of rice and plantains; and the levee ends with a low bow from the overseer, as it begun.

His worship now saunters out in his morning dress, which consists of a pair of the finest Holland trowsers, white silk stockings, and red or yellow Morocco slippers; the neck of his shirt open, and nothing over it, a loose flowing night-gown of the finest India chintz excepted. On his head is a cotton night-cap, as thin as a cobweb, and over that an enormous beaver hat, that protects his meagre visage from the sun, which is already the colour of mahogany, while his whole carcass seldom weighs above eight or ten stone, being generally exhausted by

the climate and dissipation. To give a more complete idea of this fine gentleman, I in the annexed plate present him to the reader with a pipe in his mouth, which almost every where accompanies him, and receiving a glass of Madeira wine and water, from a female quaderoon slave, to refresh him during his walk.

Having loitered about his estate, or sometimes ridden on horseback to his fields, to view his increasing stores, he returns about eight o'clock, when, if he goes abroad, he dresses, but if not, remains just as he is. Should the first take place, having only exchanged his trowsers for a pair of thin linen or silk breeches, he sits down, and holding out one foot after the other, like a horse going to be shod, a negro boy puts on his stockings and shoes, which he also buckles, while another dresses his hair, his wig, or shaves his chin, and a third is fanning him to keep off the musquitoes. Having now shifted, he puts on a thin coat and waistcoat, all white; when under an umbrella, carried by a black boy, he is conducted to his barge, which is in waiting for him with six or eight oars, well provided with fruit, wine, water, and tobacco, by his overseer, who no sooner has seen him depart, than he resumes the command with all the usual insolence of office. But should this prince not mean to stir from his estate, he goes to breakfast about ten o'clock, for which a table is spread in the large hall, provided with a bacon ham, hung-beef, fowls, or pigeons broiled; plantains and sweet cassavas
12
roasted;



A. Surinam Planter in his Morning Dress.



roasted; bread, butter, cheese, &c. with which he drinks strong beer, and a glass of Madeira, Rhenish, or Mozell wine, while the cringing overseer sits at the farther end, keeping his proper distance, both being served by the most beautiful slaves that can be selected;—and this is called breaking the poor gentleman's fast.

After this he takes a book, plays at chess or billiards, entertains himself with music, &c. till the heat of the day forces him to return into his cotton hammock to enjoy his meridian nap, which he could no more dispense with than a Spaniard with his *siesta*, and in which he rocks to and fro, like a performer on the slack-rope, till he falls asleep, without either bed or covering; and during which time he is fanned by a couple of his black attendants, to keep him cool, &c.

About three o'clock he awakes by natural instinct, when having washed and perfumed himself, he sits down to dinner, attended as at breakfast by his deputy governor and sable pages, where nothing is wanting that the world can afford in a western climate, of meat, fowls, venison, fish, vegetables, fruits, &c. and the most exquisite wines are often squandered in profusion; after this a cup of strong coffee and a liqueur finish the repast. At six o'clock he is again waited on by his overseer, attended as in the morning by negro-drivers and prisoners, when the flogging once more having continued for some time, and the necessary orders being given for the next day's work, the

assembly is dismissed, and the evening spent with weak punch, saugaree, cards and tobacco.—His worship generally begins to yawn about ten or eleven o'clock, when he withdraws, and is undressed by his sooty pages. He then retires to rest, where he passes the night in the arms of one or other of his sable sultanas (for he always keeps a seraglio) till about six in the morning, when he again repairs to his piazza walk, where his pipe and coffee are waiting for him; and where, with the rising sun, he begins his round of dissipation, like a petty monarch, as capricious as he is despotic and despicable.

Such absolute power indeed cannot fail to be peculiarly delightful to a man, who, in all probability, was in his own country, Europe, a — nothing.

But, in this colony, this is too frequently the case, where plantations are sold upon credit, and left (by the absent proprietor) to the appraisers, who, by selling cheap, have generally an understanding with the buyer.

These are the planters who are the pest of the colony; such as the fine gentleman just described, who, while he lives at the above rate, pays nobody, under pretence of bad crops, mortality amongst the slaves, &c. but like an upstart rascal massacres the negroes by double labour, ruins and pillages the estate of all its productions, which he clandestinely sells for ready money, makes a purse, and runs away. Exceptions, however, take place in every circumstance of life; and I have known many planters

in

in Surinam as good men as I ever would desire to be acquainted with, which I have already mentioned.

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As for the ladies, they indulge themselves just as much, by giving way to their unbounded passions, and especially to the most relentless barbarity. But while I can bear witness to the exalted virtues of such a woman as Mrs. Elizabeth Danforth, now Mrs. Godefrooy, and a few more whose characters shine with treble lustre, I shall draw a veil over all the imperfections, too common to their sex in this climate. Before I drop this subject, however, I must attest, that hospitality is in no country practised with greater cordiality or with less ceremony, a stranger being every where at home, and finding his table and his bed at whatever estate necessity or choice may occasion him to visit. This is the more to be regarded, as no inns are to be met with in the neighbourhood of any of the Surinam rivers.

To vary the subject a little, I will now describe three kinds of fish, with which I occasionally entertained my friends. The *sun-fish*, the *snake-fish*, and the *spotted-cat*. The first frequents both the salt and fresh water, like the salmon: it is about eighteen or twenty inches long, shaped not unlike a kite; and being covered over with scales of a golden colour, when it swims in clear water darts forth very bright beams, from which it has derived its name of the *sun-fish*. The *snake-fish* takes its name from its resemblance to that reptile: this is a black eel with

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with a white belly, it is not large, and is very common in all the rivers. The *spotted-cat* is called so from its tabby colour, and long whiskers: this fish is formed not unlike a *pike*, with very sharp teeth; it has no scales, it is extremely fat, weighing sometimes above seventy pounds, but its flesh is yellow, and not esteemed the most delicate food: however, here excellent fish is seldom wanting, such as the *new-mara*, *passessee*, *warappa*, *jackee*, and many others already noticed. The Hope, with all this, was now truly a most shocking place of residence: here I much regretted my former cottage, and sweet companion, the one in ruins, the other at Paramaribo; while, at present, not a man was to be seen without an ague or fever, or some other wasting complaint. The dysentery also began to make its appearance; and to add to our distress, we had neither surgeon, medicines, nor so much as a light, and very little bread left. I was moved with the situation of the troops, and again distributed all my biscuits, lemons, oranges, sugar, wine, ducks and fowls, amongst the unhappy sufferers, with a few spermaceti candles.

On the 23d I sent up to the hospital at Magdenberg two sick officers, *Orleigh* and *Francen*, with all the privates that could bear to be transported; and, at the same time, I repeated my humble entreaties to be soon relieved from so very disagreeable a situation (for the confinement to which there was not the least necessity), and requested

requested to be one of the party to march against the rebels, but to no purpose; while the accounts came from below that a fresh nest of negroes were discovered, even close to Paramaribo, and the news came from above that the troops there were daily dying away; amongst others, on the 22d, expired a Captain Seyburg, brother to the Colonel. This was actually the third captain who died within the space of one month.

On the 26th two fine young officers arrived, unfit for service by ruptures, occasioned by the slippery state of the ground in the rainy season.

This evening one of our marines named Spanknevel, was missing, and was not found till the 29th, when he was discovered suspended by a nebee to the branch of a tree. Not one of his comrades would cut him down, he having hanged himself; alleging, that to touch him, according to their prejudices, (being Germans) would render them as infamous as himself. Wherefore, by my orders, he was taken down, and interred by the negroes.

An order at last came for my relief, and I immediately set out for Goed-Accoord, in company with Captain Bolts; where the planter, Mr. de Lange, and his lady, received us with great hospitality. This sugar estate being the farthest that is cultivated in Rio Comewina, and consequently exposed to the neighbourhood of the rebel negroes, makes the slaves liable to their seductions; they are there-
fore

fore treated with peculiar kindness and indulgence, to prevent their concurring in any insurrection, or being persuaded to leave their present situation.

Here we saw a great novelty indeed, the young negro women waiting at the table all stark naked, as they came into the world. I was at first startled at the unusual appearance; and asking the cause, was modestly answered by the lady of the house, that it was ordered so by their mothers and matrons, to prevent (by such means of detection, said they) their too early intercourse with the males, and child-bearing, which would spoil their shapes, weaken their strength, and cramp their growth. Indeed finer made figures I never beheld than were both the men (witness Philander) and the women on this plantation, whose beautiful shapes, liveliness, strength, and activity, were inferior to no Europeans.

Next day we departed for Magdenberg an hour before sun-set, against the advice of Mr. and Mrs. de Lange, in a small barge, covered only with a loose awning. We had not rowed above two miles when not only night came on, but we were overtaken by such a shower of rain, as had nearly sunk us, the boat's gunwale not being more than two inches above the water: however, by the help of our hats and calibashes, we kept her afloat, while a negro sat upon the bow, holding out a boat-hook straight before him to prevent us from being overset, by inadvertently

tently running, in pitch darkness, against the roots of mangroves, &c. which thickly lined both the banks of the river all the way upwards.

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In this state of wet and obscurity, at ten o'clock at night, we came to the Jacob, being just afloat and no more; for Bolts and I had no sooner leaped on the beach, than the boat sunk with all that was in her, the slaves luckily swimming ashore. Alas! amongst the wreck, was my poor box, with my journal, and all my paintings, which had cost me above two long years so much labour, care, and attention. I was truly distressed at this loss, when a skilful negro dived several times to the bottom, and at last brought up my little treasure, which, though thoroughly soaked, I was very happy to have again in my hands. Thus ended our shipwreck, when having drank some warm grog and slung our hammocks, we all fell asleep round a good fire, by which I made shift to dry myself, and, what was of more consequence, my papers.

The following morning we again set out, and rowed for Magdenberg, but about half-way our voyage was once more obstructed by an enormous tree which had accidentally fallen across the Creek, so that we could neither drag the boat over nor under it. Thus we were again obliged to return to the Jacob, whence we now proceeded to Magdenberg on foot, through thorns, roots, brambles, and briars, and where we finally arrived wet and bloody; and my ancle, which had been nearly well, fresh wounded to

the bone, the skin and flesh being quite torn away by the numberless obstructions to our steps.

Here we were acquainted that Mr. Orleigh, one of the two officers that I had sent up to Magdenberg from the Hope on the 23d, was no more. Thus died almost all our gentlemen, who had been during the last month upon the hopeless Hope, from which now scarcely one single private returned in health; and this, I am firmly of opinion, was greatly owing to the dry and burning month of June, when the sun suddenly scorched them, after marching and even sleeping in cold watery swamps, and constant heavy showers during the rainy season. However, I hitherto escaped by the strength of my constitution and good spirits, which I determined by every possible means to keep from depression, by laughing, whistling, singing, and (God forgive me!) sometimes swearing, while all the rest were sighing, bewailing, and dying around me.

CHAP. XIX.

The Troops march to Barbacoeba, in the River Cottica—Frenzy Fever—Gratitude in an English Sailor—Description of the Government of Surinam—Some Account of the Emigrant Americans during the late War—Scene of unprecedented Generosity.

THE rainy season being again approaching, Colonel Fourgeoud, having selected all the remaining healthy people, who now amounted to but one hundred and eighty in number, on the 3d of July, 1775, proceeded on his march for Barbacoeba, in the river Cottica; which spot he appointed for the general rendezvous, previous to the grand attack on the rebels. Of this party I had the honour to be one: but on the surgeon's declaring that I should run the hazard of losing my foot if I marched in the woods, I was ordered to remain at Magdenberg, with liberty, if I soon recovered, to join Fourgeoud, and make the best of my way to Barbacoeba. My limb, indeed, was now so swelled, and my wound so black with the mortification, that an amputation was dreaded by Mr. Knollaert, Fourgeoud's surgeon, and I could not even stand without excruciating pain.—I shall bear the mark of it as long as I live.

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During this confinement I received daily presents from Philander and the other negroes, as I was always kind to them. Among these was a dish of mountain-cabbage. This is the most esteemed of all the various sorts which grow, as I have mentioned formerly, on the different species of palm-trees; this tree grows sometimes near fifty feet high, the trunk of a brown colour, hard, ligneous, divided into short joints, and pithy within, like the elder: it is thick in proportion, straight and tapering like the mast of a ship; near the top the tree assumes a fluted form and a green colour, occasioned by the husky tegument that forms the branches; which, near the summit, diverge in a horizontal direction, like the crown of a pineapple or ananas. These branches are covered over on both sides with strong pinnated leaves about three feet long, of a deep green colour, and sharp pointed, but folded and confusedly intermixed, not gracefully drooping like those of the manicole or cocoa-nut trees. The seed is inclosed in a brownish kind of spatha, that arises from the center of the branches, and hanging downwards consists of small roundish nuts, not unlike a bunch of dried grapes, but much longer in proportion to their circumference. If the cabbage is wanted, the whole tree must be cut down, when it is divested first of its branches, and next of that fluted green husky tegument that forms them; after this, the heart or cabbage is taken out, white, and about two or three feet long: it is as thick as a man's arm,

aim, and round like a polished ivory cylinder; it is composed of a kind of tender longitudinal white flakes, like silk ribands, ready to form the succeeding green tegument, but so close that they form a crisp solid body. This, when eaten raw, is in taste something like the kernel of an almond, but is more tender and more delicious; when cut in pieces and boiled, it eats like cauliflower: it may be also pceled in the above-mentioned long thin flakes, and then it makes an excellent sallad; but too much of it, whether eaten raw or dressed, is unwholesome, as it is apt to occasion a diarrhœa. It is in the cavity, after the cabbage is removed from it, that a black beetle deposits its spawn, from which the palm-tree worms are produced, which feed on the remaining tender substance when it begins to rot, till they acquire the size already mentioned; though those in the manicole tree, and other trees of the palm species, grow not so large, are less sweet, and are also differently shaped.

The *maurecce* tree, by the French called *latanie*, is certainly the tallest of all the palm-tree species; or, indeed, of any species in the forest of Guiana. And I can aver, that I have seen some of these trees whose lofty summits appeared to rise no less than a hundred feet from the surface of the earth, while the circumference of their trunks was about ten or twelve feet where thickest; the trunk of this tree is largest at about one-fourth of its height from the root, whence it tapers not only upwards but downwards

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wards also: this singularity has perhaps escaped all other writers. It is of a light-brown or grey-colour, and divided in joints all the way upwards to its branches, when (but at a great height, and near the top) it diverges in long green arched branches, naked till near their extremity, when these again diverge or digitate in long broad leaves of a pale green colour, and disposed in an orbicular manner with great regularity, not unlike sun-beams, or a lady's fan expanded. As the young branches spring up from the center at the summit, the old ones fade at the bottom and hang downwards, shrivelled and dangling in the wind. From the heart of the green leaves the Indians draw out long white fibres or threads, as they do from the silk-grass plant: these, being equally strong, serve as cords when twisted to string their bows, to make nets, or to be used as threads; from the middle of the branches appears the seed, hanging down also in the form of a large rope of onions. I have seen many prints representing palm-trees, but I must take the liberty to say that most of them are impositions on the public, having either been executed from fancy, or from a very bad description; but I can assure my readers, that all those which I represent were taken from nature, and on the spot: I speak of the cocoa-nut tree, the manicole, the mountain-cabbage, and the maureccee trees, whose branches and leaves are all extremely different from each other; and I have not confounded the species, as they are



The Mountain Sabbage or Mauritian Tree.

in too many publications. The two first the reader has already seen; and the two others I now offer to his view, where *A* is the trunk of the mountain-cabbage-tree; *B* one of its branches, separated from the rest, and *C* the seed or husky spatha inclosing it; *D* is the trunk of the maureecee-tree, and *E* one of its branches dropping down. *F* is the beetle that produces the maureecee worms, *G*, which are not so large nor so delicious as those produced by the mountain-cabbage. Having had no opportunity of shewing in what manner the Indians and Africans ascend trees, by figure *H* I have represented a negro climbing a young maureecee-tree, to which they do not cling with their arms and legs, but, taking the trunk between their hands, they place the soles of their feet against it, and thus walk up in a most astonishing manner; by this method they save their skin from the bark, but it must certainly require very great strength, activity, and practice.

Having thus far dwelt on the palm-tree species, I must once more return to domestic occurrences.

I have said that all the officers and most of the privates who had lately been stationed at the Hope, had died, or were sent up dangerously ill, while I had escaped the contagion. But, alas! now it became my turn, having only had a reprieve, and no more: for on the 9th I was seized with the same burning fever that had carried off the rest; and even my black boy Quaco was very ill.

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On the 14th, necessity forced me to give up the command to another officer, and depart from this inhospitable spot, on my way to Paramaribo: I could however reach no farther than Goet Accoord, and there, on the 15th, all expected my death; when an old negro woman found means to make me partake of some butter-milk boiled with some barley and melasses, which was the first food I had tasted since I was taken ill. This certainly did me infinite service; and the day following I was again able to be transported: the black boy also was much better.

The evening of the 15th I reached Fauconberg, where I was met by a packet of six or eight letters from different friends, accompanied with presents of hung-beef, bullocks tongues, Madeira, porter, rum, and two gallons of excellent shrub, besides a fine bacon ham, and a beautiful pointer; both the last from the identical Charles Macdonald, the English sailor, which he had brought me from Virginia, in return for the little civility I had formerly shewn him so unexpectedly at the Hope. This mark of the poor fellow's gratitude and generosity, the true characteristics of a British tar, gave me greater pleasure than all the things I received put together. But still I must except two letters, the one from Mr. Lude at Amsterdam, and the other from Mr. de Graav, his administrator at Paramaribo, acquainting me finally, and to my heartfelt satisfaction, that the amiable Joanna and the little boy were at my disposal, but at no less a price than

two

two thousand florins, amounting, with other expences, to near two hundred pounds sterling, a sum which I was totally unable to raise. I already owed the sum of fifty pounds, that I had borrowed for the black boy Quaco's redemption; but Joanna was to me invaluable, and though appraised at one-twentieth part of the whole estate, which had been sold for forty thousand florins, no price could be too dear for a young woman possessing so much excellence, provided I could pay it.

Solomon well observes, that "as cold water is to a thirsty soul, so are good tidings from a distant country;" and this news, on its first arrival, had indeed the most reviving effect on me: but when reflection taught me how impossible it was for me to obtain such a sum of money, and while I was employed in giving all the presents I had received (except the ham and the dog) to Joanna's relations at Fauconberg, who loaded me with adorations and caresses, I exclaimed, with a bitter sigh, "Oh! that I could have but found a sum sufficient to purchase every one of their freedoms!" I now found myself, though exceedingly weak, however so much better, that on the next day I went down so far as the estate Bergshove, whence the administrator, a Mr. Gourlay, humanely caused me to be transported to Paramaribo in a decent tent-barge with six oars; but relapsing, I arrived just alive on the evening of the 19th, having passed the preceding night on the estate called the Jalosee, apparently dead.

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I cannot leave the river Comewina without presenting the reader with a view of Magdenberg, from the Tem-patee; and a peep at Calais, from the Hope, at the mouth of the Cosaweenica Creek.

Being now in a comfortable lodging at Mr. de la Mare's, and attended by so good a creature as Joanna, I recovered apace; and on the 25th was so well, that I was able to walk out for the first time, when I dined with Mrs. Godefroy, Mr. de Graav not being in town to concert matters relative to the emancipation of Joanna, who had now once more literally saved my life. At this table there was never wanting all the wholesome and refreshing nourishment that I stood in need of, with the best of fruits and wines. Among the articles conducive to the restoration of health, are reckoned in this country all the different kinds of pepper which it affords, and the no less efficacious acid of limes. Among the first are the *cica* pepper, the *lattacaca*, and the *dago-peepee*, as they are called in Surinam; for the negroes name each thing from the resemblance it bears to another: but these are known in Europe by the names of Cayenne, Pimento, and Capsicum. The first is properly called Cayenne from the French settlement of that name in Guiana; but the name *cica* or *chica*, is derived from its round shape and size, resembling the insect called *chiga* or *chigoe*, already described; the next resembles rats excrements, &c. All the above species, besides some others, grow on low green shrubs,



View of Magdenbergh, on Tempate Creek.



View of Calay, on the Creek Casvinica.

shrubs, they all equally excoriate the mouth, have all the same fiery qualities, and when ripe are of a scarlet or rather a blood colour. The Europeans seldom eat any thing without it; but the blacks, and especially the Indians, swallow it I might say by handfuls, not only as a relish, but as a remedy in almost every disease.

The limes grow on beautiful trees like lemons, but the leaf and the fruit are much smaller; they are rather a brighter yellow than the lemons, have a fine thin shell, and are extremely full of the richest acid that I know, which has a particularly fine flavour, and is a great blessing to the sick soldiers and sailors in this colony, who have them for the trouble of gathering; so that it is not uncommon to see the tars employing their leisure time in picking and carrying large hampers full to their vessels. In Surinam there are whole hedges of lime-trees, and all round Paramaribo they grow wild. It is much to be lamented that, among other articles of luxury, this fruit cannot be transported to Europe; but whole casks of this juice are frequently sent over, and they are also pickled and preserved in large jars by the inhabitants.

At the dessert, among many other excellent fruits, I observed one which is here called the *mammee* apple: it grows on a tree about the size of an orange-tree, with a grey-coloured bark; the wood is whitish, and coarse; the leaf very thick, polished, and of a triangular form, without fibres. This fruit is nearly round, and is about five or six

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inches in diameter, covered with a rusty coarse skin: the pulp has the colour and consistency of a carrot, enclosing two large stones with bitter kernels, but the fruit is of a delicious taste, sweet mixed with acid, and a smell superior in fragrance to almost any other fruit in the colony. There were also nuts of two species, usually called pistachios, and by the negroes *pinda*; one kind of them resembles small chesnuts, and these grow in bunches on a tree. The others are produced by a shrub, and grow under ground; both have sweet oily kernels: of the last there are two in one pod; they are agreeable eating raw, but still better when roasted in hot ashes. To illustrate the above descriptions, I present the reader with the plate annexed, where *A* is a sprig of limes in full ripeness; *B*, the Cayenne or *cica* pepper; *C*, the pimento pepper, or *lattacaca*; *D*, the capsicum, called *dago-peepee*; *E*, the mammee apple when it is fully ripe; *F*, the leaf above, of a beautiful green; *G*, the leaf below, of a yellowish green; *H*, the pistachio-nut in the husk; *I*, the ground pistachio in its dried state; *K*, one of the kernels belonging to the latter.

The whole of the above were taken from nature, though upon a small scale; yet I flatter myself they will be found more perfect copies of the originals than some of Mad. Merian's, with all their boasted reputation.—I cannot dismiss this subject without a few other remarks on the incorrectness of this lady's drawings. For instance, her
leaf



Blake Sculp.

Limes, Capsicum. Hummy. Apple &c.

leaf of the lime-tree is evidently too round; and if by her *palisade branch*, in plate XI. she means the manicole-tree, I must declare I never discovered such a leaf among the many thousands I have helped to cut down. Her cotton twig, and especially the pod containing the cotton, are also no true representation of those which are produced in Surinam.

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In another place she declares, that grapes are common in Guiana—which I also must contradict; for it is well known, that no thin-skinned fruit can ever come to perfection in a tropical climate, such as grapes, cherries, currants, strawberries, plums, apricots, and peaches, nor even common apples or pears.

From the above observations, I take the liberty to say, that allowing Mad. Merian due praise for her beautiful and valuable performance upon the whole, she has still fallen into very notable mistakes. To correct them is a duty incumbent on future observers; nor does it by any means imply a general censure on the elegant work in question, nor can it appear extraordinary that it should contain some errors, when we consider that it is above an hundred years ago since she presented her discoveries to the world. In the course of so many years therefore mankind, by long experience and continued investigation, have become more enlightened, and are more accurately informed.

Being now once more at Paramaribo, it may not be improper to divert our attention for a while from the animal and

and vegetable productions to the government of this fine colony; a topic which, I am persuaded, some of my readers have long since expected; but not having had a previous opportunity of gratifying their curiosity, I will no longer delay the necessary information, though to some the detail may appear dry and unentertaining.

I have already mentioned the nature of the charter, and stated, that at present two-thirds of Surinam belong to the town of Amsterdam, and one-third to the West India Company: also, that the judicial power is exercised by several different courts of judicature.—I shall now proceed to describe them in their proper order, as delivered to me by the governor, Mr. Nepveu. The court of policy and criminal justice claims the first rank in the order of precedence—this consists of thirteen members, chosen by the votes of the inhabitants, and each member continues for life. Of this court the governor is president, and the commandant or deputy governor first counsellor. The acting officers are therefore

The governor.

The commandant.

The fiscal.

The town clerk; and

Nine counsellors.

To this court belongs the decision of all criminal matters, the governor exercising the power of reprieve from death, and even pardoning any convict by his own authority.

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The court of civil justice consists also of thirteen members, but these are chosen by the above court only, and are renewed every four years. The governor is also president here, and the officers of this court are

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- The governor.
- The fiscal.
- The town-clerk ; and
- Ten counsellors.

By this court are decided not only the most important law-suits, but also petty offences.

The next is the subaltern college, consisting of eleven members, chosen also by the governor and court of policy ; and, like the other, renewed every four years, the town-clerk excepted, who sits for life. The members are selected from the late counsellors of justice, and are

- The deputy president.
- The town-clerk ; and
- Nine counsellors.

The above court superintends the public buildings, streets, orange-trees, canals, &c. and decides all pecuniary disputes that are under twenty-five guineas ; any sum above which must be referred to the court of justice.

Besides these, there is an orphan and insolvent debtors college, consisting of

- The commissaries.
- The town-clerk.
- The book-keeper.

The

NARRATIVE OF AN

The treasurer ; and

A sworn secretary.

The public revenue offices are :

The office of importation and exportation duties.

The office of excise and small imposts.

The office for head-money, or poll-tax.

The office for public sales and vendues.

The office for re-taking negro deserters, &c.

But these I shall more amply explain when I speak of the general revenue of this colony, and for the present shall only consider its government. I have formerly mentioned that the governor is at the head not only of the civil but military departments ; the other public employments are chiefly

The secretary to his excellency the governor.

The commissaries of the victualling-offices.

Four inspectors of the exportation of sugars.

One inspector of the melasses hogsheads.

One supervisor of all the North American vessels.

Two public auctioneers.

Two serjeants or messengers of the court.

Two sworn land-surveyors.

Three measurers of the squared timber.

One inspector of the black cattle, &c.

One sworn overseer of weights and measures.

Three Low-Dutch clergymen.

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One French clergyman.

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One Lutheran clergyman.

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Three public schoolmasters, &c.

The militia consists of eleven companies, with one captain, one lieutenant, one second lieutenant, one ensign, one secretary, and one cashier each. The captains are generally the sworn appraisers of the estates for sale on the different rivers, where they chance to have their department.

These are the principal functionaries in the government of Surinam; which is not originally upon a bad establishment, were it not depraved by sordid avarice, to the great detriment of this beautiful settlement in general, and to that of its inhabitants in particular. The colony, by proper management, might be made a garden of Eden, not only for the European settlers, but also for their African domestics. It would not indeed be difficult to suggest improvements, nor even to carry them into effect. What has occurred to me upon the subject, I will candidly state on another occasion; and I have no doubt but a little attention even to one single point would be productive of the happiest consequences. Thus, if I cannot on the spot, like the good Samaritan, pour the balm into the wound of any one sufferer, at least I can leave the prescription, which, if properly applied, would, I am persuaded, afford relief to the complaints of thousands.

I have undertaken the unpleasing task of shewing how,

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CHAP. by the desperate means of blood, the colony was frequently saved from total annihilation. How much more glorious would it be for those who have it in their power not only to save the colony of Surinam, but many other valuable West India settlements, by the help of a WELL-PLANNED INSTITUTION OF GENERAL AND IMPARTIAL JUSTICE, and the laudable example of humanity and benevolence!

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Thus much for the political government of Surinam; which I will not leave without transcribing its motto, so very contrary to what they profess, being "*Justitia—pictas—fides.*" The arms are tripartite, which I apprehend to be some of those of the house of Somelsdyke, the West India Company, and the town of Amsterdam, crowned and supported by two lions rampant, and with these are stamped all their card money, &c.—But to proceed with my journal.

On the 30th I met the poor sailor, Charles Macdonald, and having just bought thirty gallons of Grenada rum, I gave him a handsome return for his bacon ham and his dog, besides a fine corkscrew (mother-of-pearl set in silver) as a keepsake, he being to sail the day following for Virginia, on board the Peggy, Captain Lewis, who, at my recommendation, promised to make him his mate. As I am speaking of dogs, I must make two general remarks on these animals in Guiana, *viz.* that in this quarter of the world they lose the faculty, or at least the habit,

of barking; and it is a known fact, that the native dogs never bark at all. In this country, it is observed also, that dogs are never seized with the hydrophobia, at least I never remember to have seen or heard of a mad dog in Surinam: and this is the more singular, as that dreadful distemper is generally attributed in other countries to the intense heat of the *Caniculares*, or dog-days, as that appellation sufficiently indicates. The Indians or natives of Guiana all keep dogs, which they use in hunting; they are of a dirty white colour, meagre, and small, with short hair, a sharp muzzle, and erect ears: all these are very dexterous in finding game: but they possess all the mischievous qualities of the terrier. I ought not to forget that if the American dogs do not bark, their howl is very loud; on this account my Virginian dog was so troublesome that he got his brains knocked out by the neighbours within a fortnight after he was in my possession.

About this period several *American* families arrived at Paramaribo, on account of the war which broke out between the mother country and her colonies. For many of these I felt very much; and must ever declare, that no people could have a better heart or greater friendship for a British individual, than they had for me, which they shewed on many different occasions.

On the 3d of August, Mr. de Graav being arrived in town, having finally settled affairs with Mr. Lolkens, the late administrator of Fauconberg, I now thought proper

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to take the first opportunity of settling matters with him, by proposing him to give me credit till I should have it in my power to pay the money for which Joanna and my Johnny had been sold to me, and which I was determined to save out of my pay, if I should exist on bread, salt, and water: though even then this debt could not be discharged in less time than two or three years. Providence however interfered, and at this moment sent that excellent woman, Mrs. Godefroy, to my assistance: for no sooner was she acquainted with my difficult and anxious situation, than she sent for me to dine with her, when she addressed me in the following terms:

“ I know, good Stedman, the present feelings of your
 “ heart, and the incapacity of an officer, from his income
 “ only, to accomplish such a purpose as the completion
 “ of your wishes. But know, that even in Surinam virtue
 “ will meet with friends. Your manly sensibility for that
 “ deserving young woman and her child must claim the
 “ esteem of all rational persons, in spite of malice and
 “ folly: and so much has this action recommended you
 “ to my attention in particular, that I should think my-
 “ self culpable in not patronizing your laudable inten-
 “ tions. Permit me then to participate in your happi-
 “ ness, and in the future prospect of the virtuous Joanna
 “ and her little boy, by requesting your acceptance
 “ of the sum of *two thousand florins*, or any sum you
 “ stand in need of; with which money go immediately,
 “ Stedman,

“ Stedman, go and redeem innocence, good sense, and
 “ beauty from the jaws of tyranny, oppression, and in- C H A P.
 “ sult.” XIX.

Seeing me thunder-struck, and gazing upon her in a state of stupefaction, without the power of speaking, she continued, with a divine benignity :

“ Let not your delicacy, my friend, take the alarm,
 “ and interfere in this business : soldiers and sailors
 “ ought ever to be the men of fewest compliments ; and
 “ all I expect from you is, that you say not one word
 “ more on the subject.”—As soon as I recovered I replied,
 “ that I was at a loss how to express my admiration of
 “ such benevolence.” I said, “ that Joanna, who had
 “ so frequently preserved my life, had certainly merited
 “ my eternal affection ; but that my gratitude could not
 “ be less to one who had so generously put me in the way
 “ of redeeming that invaluable woman from slavery ;”
 and concluded with observing, “ that I could not now
 “ touch a shilling of *the money*, but should have the ho-
 “ nour to call upon her the next day ;” and immediately
 retired.

I was no sooner returned home, than I acquainted Joanna with all that had happened ; who, bursting into tears, called out, “ *Gado sa bresse da woma !*”—“ God
 “ will bless this woman !” and insisted that she herself
 should be mortgaged to Mrs. Godefroy till every far-
 thing should be paid : she indeed was very anxious to see
 the

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the emancipation of her boy, but till that was done, she absolutely refused to accept of her own freedom. I shall not here endeavour to paint the contest which I sustained between affection and duty, but bluntly say that I yielded to the wish of this so charming creature, and whose sentiments endeared her to me still more. Thus I instantly drew up a paper, declaring my Joanna, according to her desire, from this day to be the property of Mrs. Godefroy, till the last farthing of the money she lent me should be repaid; and, on the following day, with the consent of her relations*, I conducted her to Mrs. Godefroy's house, where, throwing herself at the feet of that incomparable woman, Joanna herself put the paper into her hands; but this lady having raised her up, no sooner had read the contents, than she exclaimed, "Must it be so? Then
 " come here, my Joanna, I have a spirit to accept of you
 " not as my slave but more as my companion: you shall
 " have a house built in my orange-garden, with my own
 " slaves to attend you, till Providence shall call me away,
 " when you shall be perfectly free, as indeed you now are
 " the moment you wish to possess your manumission;
 " and this you claim both by your extraction and your
 " conduct.†" On these terms, and on no other, I accepted

* Without the consent of parents, brothers, and sisters, no respectable slaves are individually sold in Surinam.

† I have already mentioned that

Joanna was by birth a gentleman's daughter from Holland; and her mother's family were most distinguished people on the coast of Africa.

of the money on the 5th, and carrying it in my hat to Mr. de Graav's, I laid it on his table, demanding a receipt in full; and Joanna was transferred from the wretched estate Fauconberg, to the protection of the first woman perhaps in all the Dutch West Indies, if not in the world; and for which she thanked me with a look that could only be expressed by the COUNTEenance OF AN ANGEL.

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Mr. de Graav, on counting the money, addressed me in the following terms:—"Stedman, two hundred florins of
 " this sum belong to me as administrator. Permit me
 " also to have a small share in this happy event, by not
 " accepting this dividend, as I shall find myself amply
 " paid by the pleasure of having been instrumental in
 " bringing about what seems so much to contribute to
 " the enjoyment of two deserving people."

Having thanked my disinterested friend with an affectionate shake by the hand, I immediately returned the two hundred florins to Mrs. Godefroy, and all were happy. I must not omit, as a farther proof of Mrs. Godefroy's humane character, that on hearing of the dejected situation of the sick at Magdenberg, she at this time sent them a present of a whole barge-load of fruit, vegetables, and refreshments of every kind that the colony could afford, for their relief.

On the 7th of August, matters being thus far settled, I wrote a letter to Mr. Lude, at Amsterdam, to give him intelligence, and to thank him for having parted with the

most

CHAPTER. *most valuable* property of his estate; and my ancle being

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now pretty well recovered, I also wrote to Colonel Fourgeoud, that I should have the honour to join him in a few days. This letter I directed to Barbacoeba, for there he still continued, while the intrepid and active militia captain, Stoeleman, was beating up the woods with a few rangers at another quarter, and who this day sent in four captive rebel negroes to Paramaribo*.

On the 10th, finding myself sufficiently recovered, and ready once more to enter the forest, I bade farewell to my sweet family and friends, leaving the first still at Mr. de la Mare's at their request; and cheerfully set off with a tent-boat on my *fifth* campaign, in the hopes of accompanying Fourgeoud; who, having assembled all his remaining forces, and made the necessary arrangements to attack the enemy, was now determined to march in a very few days.

On the 14th I arrived with a boat at Barbacoeba, in the upper part of the river Cottica, where formerly I was when I killed the *aboma* snake. I found here the old gentleman (who civilly welcomed me) ready to start the following day. I never saw the troops in such fine spirits, or so eager for service; which proceeded from differ-

* It is a maxim with the rangers every one they send in alive fifty florins; also for finding a town or village one thousand florins Hollands. rebel negro they kill, for which they receive twenty-five florins; and for

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ent motives, as I had said before, some in the hopes of plunder, some from-revenge on the rebels, and some from a wish to see the war at an end; while I believe in my soul, that others were tired of existence by continued illness and hard service; and heartily wished for a glorious end of all their miseries—as nothing can be more wretched than a soldier's or a sailor's life, perpetually soaking in the wet or scorching in the sun, surrounded by an unbounded forest, and in a tropical climate.

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CHAP. XX.

A Rebel Negro described — Bush-fighting — Sentimental Expressions of the African Blacks — The Town of Gado-Saby taken by Colonel Fourgeoud — Superstition — Wonderful Expedients — Great Generalship in the Enemy.

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ON the 15th of August 1775, the rebels, flushed with their late victory over Captain Meyland and his party, whether with a design to brave Fourgeoud, or to intimidate his troops, being well apprised by their spies that he was at Barbacoeba, had the assurance to set fire to all the huts in two different camps which had been left standing by his patrols, while they continued shouting and hallooing the whole night within our hearing; but this only proved an incentive to action, and enraged our veteran commander so much, that he now declared he would have ample revenge at all hazards. During this night a large tiger also alarmed the camp, but did no damage of any kind.

An hour before day-break next morning, Colonel Fourgeoud, with his troops, were ready to march, and immediately entered the woods. They now amounted exactly to two hundred Europeans fit for service, the rest being ill and unfit for service; but no rangers were as



Barlow sculp

A Rebel Negro armed is on his guard :

yet arrived, though they had been expected. The fact was, they were so much disgusted with Fourgeoud's command, that they did not appear at all, which afforded this gentleman for once an opportunity of stigmatizing them as a band of pusillanimous rascals; and I confess I was myself extremely astonished at this wilful absence of my black favourites, who were at other times so eager to rush upon the enemy, and had declared their satisfaction at the hopes of a decisive engagement with their sable countrymen.

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This whole day our course was due E.; and after proceeding about eight miles (which is a great distance in this country, where the pioneers with bill-hooks must constantly open a path), we erected huts, and encamped. Having frequently mentioned the *rebel negroes* with whom we were now certain to have a rencontre, I present the reader with the figure of one of these people, upon his guard, as alarmed by a rustling amongst the bushes. At a distance are supposed a couple of our rangers, waiting the moment to take him by surprize. This rebel negro is armed with a firelock and a hatchet; his hair, though woolly, may be observed to be plaited close to his head, by way of distinction from the rangers, or any other straggling negroes, who are not yet accepted amongst them; his beard is grown to a point, like that of all the Africans, when they have no opportunity of shaving. The principal dress of this man consists of a

CHAP. ^{XX.} cotton sheet, negligently tied across his shoulders, which protects him from the weather, and serves him also to rest on; while he always sleeps under cover in the most obscure places he can find, when detached from his companions. The rest of his dress is a *camisa*, tied around his loins like a handkerchief; his pouch, which is made of some animal's skin; a few cotton strings for ornament around his ancles and wrists; and a superstitious *obia* or amulet tied about his neck, in which he places all his confidence. The skull and ribs are supposed to be the bones of his enemies, scattered upon the sandy savannah.

The two rangers who make their appearance at a distance may be distinguished by their *red caps*; and here I must observe, that the rebels have many times availed themselves of seizing one of these scarlet distinctions, which by clapping on their own heads in an engagement, has not only saved their lives, but given them an opportunity of shooting their enemies.

Another stratagem of theirs has sometimes been discovered, *viz.* that fire-arms being scarce amongst them, numbers have intermixed in the crowd, with a *crooked stick* shaped something like a musket; and this appearance has more than once had the effect of preventing a proper defence by the plantation slaves, when the rebels came to ransack the estates; while with this show of armed numbers they have often struck such a panic, and so damped the courage of the former, that they have been calmly

calmly permitted, after burning their houses, even to carry away their wives and daughters.

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On the 16th we continued our march due E. upon a ridge or elevated ground. These ridges, if I mistake not, run generally in this country E. and W. as do also most of the marshes and swamps. Having advanced rather a less distance than we did the day before, we were ordered early to sling our hammocks, and to sleep without any covering, to prevent the enemy from hearing the sound of cutting the trees; nor were any fires allowed to be lighted, nor a word to be spoken, while a strict watch was kept round the camp. These, in fact, were all very necessary precautions; but if we were not discovered by the enemy, we were almost devoured by the clouds of *gnats* or musquitoes, which arose from a neighbouring marsh: for my own part I suffered more here than I had even done on board the fatal barges in the upper Cottica, as we could make no smoke to drive them away. In this situation I saw the poor men dig holes with their bayonets in the earth, into which they thrust their heads, stopping the entry and covering their necks with their hammocks, while they lay with their bellies on the ground. To sleep in any other position was absolutely impossible.

By the advice of a negro slave, I however enjoyed my rest.—“Climb,” said he, “massera, with your hammock
“to the top of the highest tree that is in the camp, and
“there go sleep; not a single musquito will disturb you,
“the

CHAPTER. “the swarm will be sufficiently attracted by the smell of
 XX. “the sweating multitude below.”—This I immediately
 tried, and slept exalted near one hundred feet above my
 companions, whom I could not see for the myriads of
 mosquitoes below me, nor even hear them, from the in-
 cessant buzzing of these troublesome insects.

This was the principal distress of the night; while, during the day, we had frequently been attacked by whole armies of small emmets, called here *fire-ants*, from their painful biting. These insects are black, and very diminutive, but live in such amazing multitudes together, that their hillocks have sometimes obstructed our passage by their size, over which, if one chances to pass, the feet and legs are instantly covered with innumerable of these creatures, which seize the skin with such violence in their pincers, that they will sooner suffer the head to be parted from their body, than let go their hold. The burning pain which they occasion cannot, in my opinion, proceed from the sharpness of their pincers only, but must be owing to some venomous fluid which they infuse, or which the wound imbibes from them. I can aver that I have seen them make a whole company hop about, as if they had been scalded with boiling water.

On the 17th we continued our march still due E. till nine o'clock, when we altered our course to the N. and had to scramble through great quantities of those matakya roots, or trumpeters already described, which proved that we
 were

were descending into the low grounds, and indeed the soil soon became very marshy; fortunately, however, though it was now the wet season, we had as yet very little rain.

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This evening we encamped about four o'clock, Colonel Fourgeoud being seized with a cold fit of the ague.

As I was slinging my hammock between two large branches, but not so high as the preceding night, my eye chanced to fall upon what I conceived to be the leaf of a tree, but which appeared to move and crawl up the trunk. I called several officers to see it: when a gentleman of the Society exclaimed, "*C'est la feuille ambulante,*" That is the walking leaf. Upon closer examination it proved to be an insect, whose wings so perfectly represent a leaf, that by many it has been mistaken for a vegetable production. This seemed to be a species of grasshopper, but covered over with four wings of an oval form, and about three inches in length, the two uppermost so folded together as to appear exactly like a brown leaf, with all the fibres, &c.

I now returned to my hammock; where, reflecting on all the wonders of nature, while the silver moon glittering through the verdure added beauty to the scene, I fell into a profound sleep, which I enjoyed till near midnight, when we were all awaked in pitch darkness and a heavy shower of rain, by the hallooing and shouting of the rebel negroes, who discharged several muskets; but as the shot did not reach our camp, we were extremely astonished, the darkness rendering it impossible to form any

just

just idea of their meaning. This disturbance continuing till near day-break, made us expect every moment to be surrounded, and keep a very sharp look-out.

In the morning early we unlashed our hammocks, and marched due N. towards the place whence we conjectured the halloing noise to have proceeded, being all much fatigued for want of rest, especially Colonel Fourgeoud, who could hardly support himself, so much was he weakened by the ague. We had not marched above two miles, I having the van-guard, when a *rebel negro* sprang up at my feet from under a shrub, where he had been asleep; but as we had orders not to fire upon stragglers, he escaped, running with almost the swiftness of a stag amongst the brambles. I no sooner made report to the old hero, than, swearing he was a spy, which I believe was true, he shook off his illness, and quickened his pace with redoubled vigour: but our pursuit was to no purpose, at least this day; for about one o'clock we got into a bog, from which we could hardly extricate ourselves, and were forced to return to our last night's encampment, missing two privates of the Society troops, whom we supposed to have perished in the marsh.

This day we saw great quantities of amotta-trees, with which this part of the forest abounds. In the evening a slave presented me with a *bush-spider* of such magnitude, that putting him into a case-bottle above eight inches high, he actually reached the surface with some of his hideous
claws,

claws, whilst the others were resting upon the bottom. No creature can be more dreadfully ugly than this enormous spider, which the people of Surinam erroneously call the *tarantula*. The body is divided in two, the posterior part oval, and the size of an Orlean-plum; the fore-part square, with a figure somewhat resembling a star upon it. This monster has five pair of thick legs, with four joints in each; is entirely black or dark brown, and covered over, legs and all, with thick and long black hair, like some caterpillars, while each leg is armed with a crooked yellow nail, and from the head project two long teeth with inverted pincers, resembling the claw of a crab, with which it seizes its prey; while its bite, if not fatal by the venomous liquid infused into the wound, always occasions a fever. It has eight eyes like most spiders, and feeds on insects of every species; nay, it is even asserted, that young birds do not escape it, out of which the spider sucks the blood: its web is small but very strong. Upon the whole, it is such a hideous creature, that the very sight of it is sufficient to occasion a tremor of abhorrence, even in persons most accustomed to inspect the deformities of nature. Innumerable indeed are the pests and dangers to which one is hourly exposed in the woods of this tropical climate; and though it is my present business only to make mention of such as I met with in this march, and which must appear new to the reader, yet a recapitulation of the names only of our numerous

plagues may not be improper to refresh the memory of those who have a heart to sympathize with our sufferings. I have already mentioned the *mosquitos*, *mon-pieras*, *pattat* and *scrapat lice*, *chigoes*, *cock-roaches*, *common ants*, *fire-ants*, *horse-flies*, *wild bees*, and *spiders*; besides the *prickly heat*, *ring-worm*, *dry-gripes*, *putrid fevers*, *biles*, *consaca*, *bloody-flux*, *thorns*, *briars*, *alligators*, *snakes*, *tigers*, &c.; but I have not yet spoken of the *bush-worms*, *large ants*, *locusts*, *centipedes*, *scorpions*, *lats*, and *flying lice*, the *crassy-crassy*, *yaws*, *lethargy*, *leprosy*, and *dropsy*, with a thousand other grievances that continually annoyed our unhappy troops;—a particular description of which I must delay till a more suitable opportunity occurs for introducing them into this narrative.

Such were the pests that we had to struggle with in this baneful climate, whilst our poor men were dying in multitudes, without proper assistance, unpitied, and frequently without a friend to close their eyelids, neither coffin nor shell to receive their bones, but thrown promiscuously into one pit, like heaps of loathsome carrion.

On the 19th we again left our encampment, and after keeping a little S. marched E. till ten o'clock, when we were overtaken and joined by a party of one hundred rangers, with their conductor, Mr. *Vinsack*, to my great satisfaction. At this period we mustered three hundred men; and however little Colonel Fourgeoud affected, at

other times, to value these black soldiers, he was now not at all displeas'd with their company, upon our near approach to an enemy with whom the rangers were well acquainted, and knew how to engage much better than the marines: while it will ever be my opinion, that one of these free negroes is preferable to half a dozen white men in the forest of Guiana; it indeed seems their natural element, whilst it is the bane of the Europeans.

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Colonel Fourgeoud now issued orders for our little army to march in three lines or columns, his own regiment in the centre, the Society troops on the right, the rangers or black soldiers on the left, all within hearing of each other, with a few *flankers* or riflemen outside the whole: thus formed we advanced till about noon, when we changed our course from E. to N. E. and continued our march over a *biree-biree* swamp, or quagmire: these are very common and dangerous in this country, being a deep soft miry bog, covered over with a thin crust of verdure, sufficient in most places to bear the weight of a man, and quaking when walked over; but should this crust give way, whoever breaks it is swallowed up in the chasm, where he must inevitably perish if not immediately extricated; thus it has frequently happened that men have been seen to sink, and have never more been heard of.

Quicksands are quite different, as they overwhelm by a gradual suction, whereas the effects of a quagmire are

instantaneous. To avoid accidents we opened our files as much as possible, which occasioned a very long rear; but even with this precaution several men sunk through it, as if the ice had broken under their feet, and some in my presence up to the arm-pits, but were fortunately, though with much difficulty, extricated.

In the afternoon we passed through two old *cassava* fields, which indicated our near approach to the rebel settlement; we afterwards fell in with Captain Meyland's path, which we knew by the marks cut upon the trees, as before explained. The evening being too far advanced to attack the enemy, we once more encamped a few miles from the swamp in which Captain Meyland and his party had been defeated.

Having had a long march, and the men being much fatigued, Colonel Fourceoud allowed, during this night, both huts and fires; which surprised me greatly, being so near the rebels, though he had forbidden these comforts when we were at a very considerable distance from them. I however availed myself of his bounty, and having got some *pigeon-peas* from my serjeant, which he had picked up in the old *cassava* grounds, and laid hold of one of the kettles, I invited him, and a captain of the black corps, called *Hannibal*, to a share; who having thrown their salt beef and rusk-biscuit into the mess with mine, and stirred it round with a bayonet, we made a very excellent supper, though in a sad dreary night and heavy rain.

The

The *pigeon* or *Angola* peas grow on a shrub about eight or ten feet high; five or six of these peas are contained in a pod; they are flat like lentils, and of a reddish-brown colour: the negroes are extremely fond of them, and cultivate them in their gardens without any expence or much trouble.

Hannibal now observing that we should certainly see the enemy to-morrow, asked me if I knew in what manner negro engaged against negro? Having answered in the negative, he gave me the following relation, while smoking his pipe under my hammock.—“*Massera*,” said he, “both parties are divided in small companies of eight or ten men, commanded by a captain, with a horn, such as this (shewing me his) by which they do every thing, and fight or run away. When they fight they separate immediately, lie down on the ground, and fire at the flash of each other’s pans through the trees; while each warrior is supported by two negroes unarmed, the one to take his place if he is killed, and the other to carry away the dead body, to prevent its falling into the hands of their adversaries*.”

From this discourse I perfectly understood his meaning, which I have since seen put in practice; and for the clearer conception of the reader, I have illustrated it with

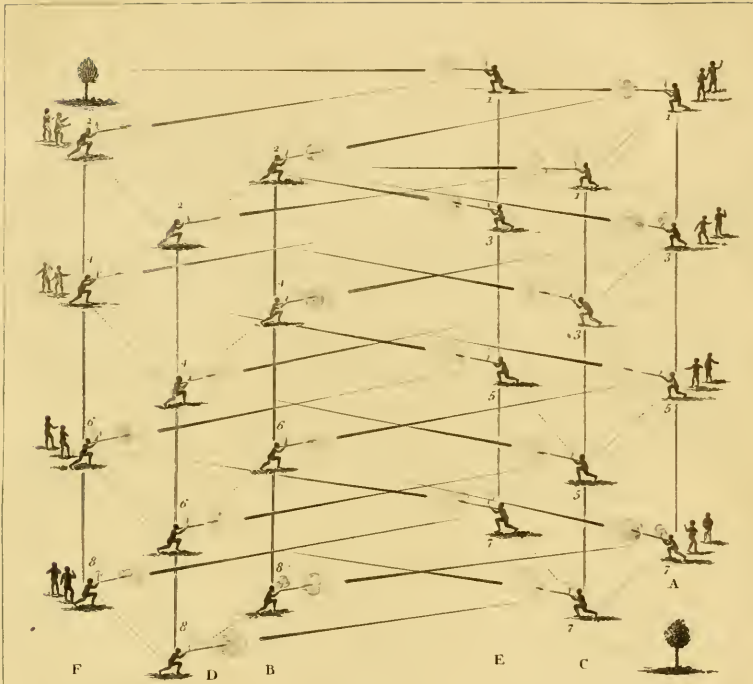
* The negroes have a savage custom of mangling and tearing the dead bodies of their enemies; some even devouring part of them with their teeth, like the Caribbee Indians,

CHAPTER. the following plan, where the whole engagement is exhibited at one view.

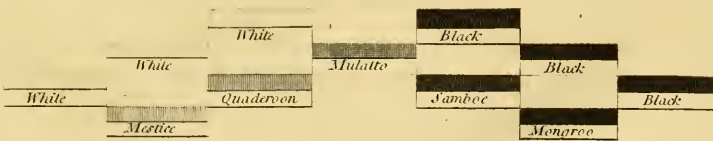
X.

The two columns *E* and *F* are supposed to be first engaged, where N° 1 in the column *E* commences the attack by firing at random in the opposite bushes; and instantly retires, by shifting his place to N° 1 in the column *C*, where he re-loads; while N° 2 in the column *F*, having fired at the flash of his pan, advances in the same manner, shifting his station to re-load at N° 2 in the column *D*; and at the flash of whose pan N° 3 fires in *E*, and receives the fire of N° 4 in *F*, &c. &c. Thus continuing through both lines, till N° 8 has fired in *F*, when the whole have shifted their stations; and the same manœuvre is continued with the columns *C* and *D*, beginning again with the identical numbers 1, 2, 3, &c. at the top; while these lines, having shifted their places, still the firing is repeated by the lines *A* and *B*, and thus *ad infinitum*, until by sounding the horn one of the parties gives way in flight, and the battle is over. I shall only add, that when the forest is thick, instead of lying on their bellies, or kneeling, each negro skulks behind a thick tree, which serves him as a bulwark, and from which he fires at his adversary with more certainty and less danger, usually resting his piece against the trunk, or in the forked branches, like the *Shawanese* and *Delaware* Indians.

Captain Hannibal also informed me, that the famous chief *Bonny* was supposed to be in person amongst the
neigh-



Manner of Bush-fighting by the African Negroes.



Gradation of Shades between Europe & Africa.

neighbouring rebels; and that he was born in the forest amongst them, notwithstanding his being a mulatto, which was accounted for by his mother escaping to the woods from the ill treatment of her master, by whom she was then pregnant.

Having frequently mentioned the different shades between a *black* and a *white*, the same plate represents them to the reader at one view. From the above two colours the *mulatto* is produced; from the mulatto and black, the *sambo*; from the mulatto and white the *quaderoon*, &c. &c.—This sable warrior made me also acquainted with the names of several other rebel commanders, against whom he had frequently fought for the Europeans. Such as *Quammy*, who was the chief of a separate gang, and had no connection with the others; *Coromantyn*, *Cojo*, *Arico*, and *Joli-Cœur*; the two last being celebrated captains, whose revenge was insatiable against the whites, particularly *Joli-Cœur*'s, who had I confess great reason, as has been already stated. The noted rebel negro *Baron*, he believed, was now serving also under the great chief *Bonny*.

He next proceeded to tell me the names of the principal rebel settlements, some of which were already destroyed, some now in view, and some of these were only known to us by name. These appellations were all very expressive indeed; and as they may serve in some measure to elucidate our enquiries concerning the negro nations,

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 XX. narrative, with their meaning in an English translation;
 viz.

- Boucoo* - - - I shall moulder before I shall be taken.
Gado Saby - - God only knows me, and none else.
Cofaay - - - Come try me, if you be men.
Tessee See - - Take a tasting, if you like it.
Mele me - - - Do disturb me, if you dare.
Boosy Cray - - The woods lament for me.
Me Salasy - - I shall be taken.
Ke bree me - - Hide me, O thou surrounding verdure.

The others were :

- Quammi Condre* - From Quammi, the name of the chief.
Pinenburgh - - From the pines or manicole-trees which
 formerly surrounded it.
Cara Condre - From the quantity of maize it afforded.
Reisee Condre - From the quantity of rice it produced.

Such were the names of the negro warriors, and their settlements.

I now shook hands with Captain Hannibal, while my mind being occupied with the hopes of victory unstained by cruelty, and being very much fatigued, I soon fell profoundly asleep.

On the 20th in the morning, no one could awake in a
 more

more beautiful day and better spirits than I did, until they were damped by observing that at so critical a time, and even in the moment before the conflict, instead of that kind treatment which it would have been prudent to have shewn to those from whose exertions we were to expect a happy period to our sufferings, there was even then such discouragement of the subaltern officers and private men as involuntarily drew from me the reflection— That (if possible to avoid it) *princes* and *ministers* should never invest any one *individual* with unlimited authority, especially in a foreign country, without being perfectly well acquainted with the rectitude of their moral principles and disposition; no men being fit to command but those who are possessed of manly feelings, and whose valour is tempered with humanity; since it is a truth that sterling bravery is incompatible with a cruel heart.

At six o'clock we advanced N. E. by N. towards the marsh, my melancholy evaporating with the rising sun.

About eight o'clock we entered this formidable swamp, and soon found ourselves above our middle in water, well prepared nevertheless for the warm reception we expected from the opposite shore, as the former party had so fatally experienced. After wading above half a mile, our grenadiers rapidly mounted the beach with cocked firelocks and bayonets fixed; the main body instantly followed, and also mounting the beach, the whole formed without the smallest opposition. We now beheld a spec-

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tacle sufficient to shock the most intrepid, the ground strewn with skulls, bones, and ribs still covered with human flesh, and besmeared with the blood of those unfortunate men who were killed with Captain Meyland.

—That officer had indeed found means to bury them, but the rebels had dug them up for the sake of their clothes, and to mangle the bodies, which, like ferocious animals, they had torn limb from limb. Amongst these, the fate of *Meyland's nephew*, a promising young man, was peculiarly affecting. He came from the mountains of Switzerland in quest of military preferment, and met his fate in a marsh of Surinam just after his landing. His bravery was equal to that of his uncle, his intrepidity, voluntarily exposing himself to danger, knew no bounds.

—Such is the enthusiasm of military ambition.

“ *And 'tis most true*, while Time's relentless hand

“ With sickly grasp drags others to the tomb ;

“ The *soldier* scorns to wait the dull command,

“ But springs impatient to a nobler doom.

“ Tho' on the plain he lies, outstretch'd and pale,

“ Without one friend his stedfast eyes to close,

“ Yet on his *honour'd corpse* shall many a gale

“ Wait the moist fragrance of the weeping rose.

“ O'er the dread spot the melancholy moon

“ Shall pause awhile—a sadder beam to shed ;

“ And starry night amidst her awful noon

“ Sprinkle light dews upon his hallowed head.

“ There



March thro' a swamp or Marsh, in Terra-firma.

“ There too the solitary bird shall swell
 “ With long-drawn melody her plaintive throat ;
 “ While distant echo from responsive cell
 “ Shall oft with fading force return the note.

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“ Such recompense be *valour*'s due alone.”

* * * * *

This being the second or third heap of human bones we had met with in our march, I frankly acknowledge did not operate upon me as a stimulative to engage with negroes; yet these awful relics spurred on the common soldiers to take revenge for the loss of their massacred companions.

Having so frequently had occasion to speak of marching through a swamp, it may not be improper to illustrate the description by the *annexed drawing*. The first figure represents Colonel Fourgeoud (preceded by a negro slave, as a guide, to give notice by his swimming when the water deepens) followed by myself, some other officers and marines, wading through the marsh above our middle, and carrying our arms, ammunition, and accoutrements above our heads, to prevent their being damaged by the wet.

In the back-ground may be seen the manner in which the slaves carry all burdens whatever on the head, and the mode of the rebel negroes firing upon the troops from the tops of high palm-trees, &c. A march of this nature,

though occasionally necessary in Surinam, must be always very dangerous, being exposed to an attack from under cover of the surrounding bushes, without having the power of returning the fire more than once; for in such a depth of water no soldier can re-load his musket without wetting both the lock and the priming.

We now followed a kind of foot-path made by the enemy, which after a little turning led us in a westerly direction. Serjeant *Fowler*, who preceded the van-guard, at this time came to me pale, declaring, that the sight of the mangled bodies had made him extremely sick; and that he felt himself completely disarmed, being that moment, as it were, rivetted to the ground, without the power of advancing one single step, or knowing how to conceal his tremor: — I d—n'd him for a pitiful scoundrel, and had only time to order him to the rear.

“ No force, no firmness, the *pale coward* shews :

“ He shifts his place, his colour comes and goes ;

“ A dropping sweat creeps cold on every part,

“ Against his bosom beats his quivering heart :

“ *Terror and death* in his wild eye-balls stare ; . . . }

“ With chattering teeth he stands, and stiff'ning hair,

“ And looks a bloodless image of despair.” . . . }

At ten o'clock we met a small party of the rebels, with each a green hamper upon his back; they fired at us, dropped their bundles, and taking to their heels ran back towards their village. These we since learned were

trans-

transporting *rice* to another settlement for their subsistence, when they should be expelled from *Gado-Saby* (the name of this settlement) which they daily expected, since they had been discovered by the gallant Captain Meyland. The green hampers, which they call *warimbos*, were very curiously plaited with the manicole leaves. And when our men cut them open with their sabres, there burst forth the most beautiful clean rice that I ever saw, which was scattered and trampled under foot, as we had no opportunity of carrying it along. A little after this we perceived an empty shed, where a picquet had been stationed to give notice of any danger, but they had precipitately deserted their post. We now vigorously redoubled our pace till about noon; when two more musquet shot were fired at us by another advanced guard of the enemy, as a signal to the chief, *Bonny*, of our approach. Major Medler and myself, with a few of the van-guard, and a small party of the rangers, at this time rushing forward, soon came to a fine field of rice and Indian corn: we here made a halt for the other troops, particularly to give time for our rear to close up, some of whom were at least two miles behind us; and during which period we might have been cut to pieces, the enemy, unknown to us, having surrounded the field in which we were, as we were afterwards informed.

In about half an hour the whole body joined us, when we instantly proceeded by cutting through a small defile

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of the wood, into which we had no sooner entered, than a heavy fire commenced from every side, the rebels retreating, and we advancing, until we arrived in the most beautiful field of ripe rice, in the form of an oblong square, from which the *rebel town* appeared at a distance, in the form of an amphitheatre, sheltered from the sun by the foliage of a few lofty trees, the whole presenting a *coup-d'œil* romantic and enchanting beyond conception. In this field the firing was kept up like one continued peal of thunder, for above forty minutes, during which time our black warriors behaved with wonderful intrepidity and skill. The white soldiers were too eager, and fired over one another at random, yet I could perceive a few of them act with the utmost coolness, and imitate the rangers with great effect: amongst these was *now* the once daunted Fowler, who being roused from his tremor by the firing at the beginning of the onset, had rushed to the front, and fully re-established his character, by fighting like a brave fellow, by my side, until the muzzle of his musket was split by a shot from the enemy, which rendered it useless; a ball passed through my shirt, and grazed the skin of my shoulder; Mr. Decabanes, my lieutenant, had the sling of his fusee shot away: several others were wounded, some mortally, but I did not, to my surprize, observe one instance of *immediate* death—for which seeming miracle, however, I shall presently recount.

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This whole field of rice was surrounded and interspersed by the enemy with the large trunks and roots of heavy trees, in order to make our approach both difficult and dangerous; behind these temporary fortifications the rebels lay lurking, and firing upon us with deliberate aim, whilst their *bulwarks* certainly protected them in some measure from the effects of our fire, we having vast numbers of these fallen trees to scramble over before we could reach the town: but we still advanced, in defiance of every obstacle, and while I admired the masterly manoeuvres of their general, I could not help pitying them for their superstition. One poor fellow, in particular, trusting to his *amulet* or charm, fancied himself invulnerable; he mounted frequently upon one of the trees that lay near us, discharged his piece, descended to re-load, and then with equal confidence and the greatest deliberation returned to the charge in my full view; till at last a shot from one of my marines, named *Valet*, broke the bone of his thigh, and he fell crawling for shelter under the very same tree which had supported him just before; but the soldier instantly advancing, and putting the muzzle of his musket to the rebel's ear, blew out his brains, while several of his countrymen, in spite of their spells and charms, shared the same fate.

Being now about to enter the town, a rebel captain, wearing a tarnished gold-laced hat, and bearing in his hand a torch of flaming straw, seeing their ruin inevitable,

ble, had the resolution to stay and set the town on fire in our presence, which, by the dryness of the houses, instantly produced a general conflagration, when the firing from the woods began gradually to cease. This bold and masterly manœuvre not only prevented that carnage to which the common soldiers in the heat of victory are but too prone, but also afforded the enemy an opportunity of retreating with their wives and children, and carrying off their most useful effects; whilst our pursuit, and seizing the spoil, were at once frustrated both by the ascending flames and the unfathomable marsh, which we soon discovered on all sides to surround us, as in the *Maccabees*:

“ Behold the *battle* is before us, and behind us, and the
 “ *water of Jordan* on this side, and that side, and the *marsh*
 “ and *forest*, so that there is no place for us to turn aside.”

I must indeed confess that within this last hour the continued noise of the firing, shouting, swearing, and hallooing of black and white men mixed together; the groans of the wounded and the dying, all weltering in blood and in dust; the shrill sound of the negro horns from every quarter, and the crackling of the burning village; to which if we add the clouds of smoke that every where surrounded us, the ascending flames, &c. &c. formed on the whole, such an uncommon scene as I cannot describe, and would perhaps not have been unworthy of the pencil of *Hogarth*: this scene I have, however, faintly en-

deavoured to represent in the *frontispiece*—where *I may be seen*, after the heat of the action, fatigued, and dejectedly looking on the body of an unfortunate *rebel negro*, who, with his musket in his hand, lies prostrate at my feet.

In short, having washed off the dust, sweat, and blood, and having refreshed ourselves with a dram and a bit of bread till the flames subsided, we next went to inspect the smoking ruins; and found the above town to have consisted of about one hundred houses or huts, some of which were two stories high. Among the glowing ashes we picked up several trifles that had escaped the flames, such as silver spoons and forks, which we supposed, by the marks BW. to have been pillaged from the *Brunswick* estate in Rio Cottica. We found also some knives, broken china and earthen pots; amongst the latter one filled with rice and palm-tree worms fell to my share: as this wanted no fire to dress the contents, and as my appetite was very keen, I emptied it in a few minutes, and made a very hearty meal. Some were afraid this mess had been left behind with a view to poison us; but this suspicion proved, however, fortunately for me, to be without foundation.

The silver plate I also purchased from the men that picked it up, determined to carry it off as a trophy, and I have used it ever since. Here we likewise found three skulls fixed upon stakes, the mournful relics of some of our own brave people, who had been formerly killed; but

CHAPTER. what surprised us most, were the heads of two young
 XX. negroes, which seemed as if fresh cut off, these we since
 learned had been executed during the night of the 17th,
 when we heard the hallooing and the firing, for speaking
 in *our* favour.

Having buried all these remains promiscuously in one
 pit, we returned to sling our hammocks, under those
 beautiful and lofty trees which I have already mentioned;
 but here I am sorry to add, we found the rangers shock-
 ingly employed, in playing at bowls with those very heads
 they had just chopped off from their enemies; who, deaf
 to all remonstrance,

“ Resistless drove the *batter’d skulls* before,

“ And dash’d and mangled all the brains with gore.”

They related that upon reconnoitring the skirts of the
 surrounding forest, they had found quantities of human
 blood in different places, which had flowed from the dead
 and wounded bodies the rebels had carried away during
 the action.

To reprimand them for this inhuman diversion would
 have been useless, as they assured us it was “ *Condre*
 “ *fassee*,” the custom of their country; and concluded
 the horrid sport by kicking and mangling the heads,
 cutting of the lips, cheeks, ears, and noses; they even
 took out the jaw-bones, which they smoke-dried, together
 with the right hands, to carry home, as trophies of their

victory, to their wives and relations. That this barbarous custom prevails amongst savages is a well-known fact, which originates from a motive of insatiable revenge. And though Colonel Fourgeoud might have prevented their inhumanity by his authority, in my opinion he wisely declined it; observing, that as he could not do it by persuasion, to do it by power might break their native spirit, and produce no other effect than alienating them from the service, so necessary were they to us, though so savagely revengeful, and so bloody.

About three o'clock, whilst we were resting from our fatigue, we were once more surprised by an attack from a party of the enemy; but after exchanging a few shots they were repulsed. This unexpected visit, however, put us more upon our guard during the night, so that no fires were allowed to be lighted, and double sentinels were placed around the camp. Thus situated, being overcome by excessive toil and heat, I after sun-set leaped into my hammock, and soon fell fast asleep; but in less than two hours my faithful black boy Quaco roused me, in the midst of pitch darkness, crying, "*Massera, massera! boosee negro, boosee negro!*"—"Master, master! the enemy, the enemy!" Hearing, at the same moment, a brisk firing, with the balls whistling through the branches, I fully concluded that the rebels were in the very midst of our camp. Surprised, and not perfectly awake, I suddenly started up with my fusee cocked; and (without knowing where I ran)

first threw down Quaco, and next fell down myself, over two or three bodies that lay upon the ground, and which I imagined to be killed. When one of them, “ d—ning me for a son of a b—ch, told me, if I moved I was a dead man ; Colonel Fourgeoud having issued orders for the troops to lie flat on their bellies all the night, and not to fire, as most of their ammunition had been expended the preceding day.” I took his advice, and soon discovered him by his voice to be one of our own grenadiers, named *Thomson*. In this situation we lay prostrate on our arms until sun-rise, during which time a most abusive dialogue indeed was carried on between the *rebels* and the *rangers*, each party cursing and menacing the other at a very terrible rate ; the former “ reproaching the rangers as poltrons and traitors to their countrymen, and challenging them next day to single combat ; swearing they only wished to lave their hands in the blood of such scoundrels, who had been the principal agents in destroying their flourishing settlement.” The rangers d—n’d the rebels for a parcel of pitiful skulking rascals, whom they would fight one to two in the open field, if they dared but to shew their *ugly* faces ; swearing they had only deserted their masters because they were too lazy to work.” After this they insulted each other by a kind of war-whoop, sung victorious songs on both sides, and sounded their horns as signals of defiance ; when the firing commenced once more from the rebel negroes,

negroes, and continued during the night, accompanied by their martial voices, at intermissions resounding through the woods, which echo seemed to answer with redoubled force.

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At length poor Fourgeoud took a part in the conversation, myself and Serjeant Fowler acting as his interpreters, by hallooing, which created more mirth than I had been witness to for some time : he promised them life, liberty, victuals, drink, and all they wanted. They replied, with a loud laugh, that they wanted nothing from him ; characterised him as a half-starved Frenchman, who had run away from his own country ; and assured him that if he would venture to pay *them* a visit, he should return unhurt, and not with an empty belly. They told us, that we were to be pitied more than they ; that we were *white slaves*, hired to be shot at and starved for fourpence a day ; that they scorned to expend much more of their powder upon such scarecrows ; but should the planters or overseers dare to enter the woods, not a soul of them should ever return, any more than the perfidious rangers, some of whom might depend upon being massacred that day, or the next ; and concluded by declaring that *Bonny* should soon be the governor of the colony.

After this they tinkled their bill-hooks, fired a volley, and gave three cheers ; which being answered by the rangers, the clamour ended, and the rebels dispersed with the rising sun.

Our fatigue was great ; yet, notwithstanding the length
of

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of the contest, our loss by the enemy's fire was very considerable, for which I promised to account; and this mystery was now explained, when the surgeons, dressing the wounded, extracted very few leaden bullets, but many pebbles, coat-buttons, and pieces of silver coin, which could do us little mischief, by penetrating scarcely more than skin deep. We also observed, that several of the poor rebel negroes who were shot, had only the shards of Spa-water cans, instead of flints, which could seldom do execution; and it was certainly owing to these circumstances that we came off so well, as I have mentioned before; yet we were nevertheless not without a number of very dangerous scars and contusions.

Inconceivable are the many expedients which these people employ in the woods, where in a state of tranquillity they seemed, as they boasted, to want for nothing, being plump and fat, at least such as we had an opportunity of observing. It should be noticed, that *game* and *fish* they catch in great abundance, by artificial traps and springs, and preserve them by barbecuing; while their fields are even overstocked with rice, cassava, yams, plantains, &c. They make *salt* from the palm-tree ashes, as the Gentoos do in the East Indies, or frequently supply the want of it with red pepper.

We here found concealed near the trunk of an old tree a case-bottle filled with excellent butter, which the rangers told me they made by melting and clarifying the fat of
the

the palm-tree worms: this fully answers all the purposes of European butter, and I found it in fact even more delicious to my taste. The *pistachio* or *pinda* nuts they also convert into butter, by their oily substance, and frequently use them in their broths. The palm-tree wine they have always in plenty; they procure it by making deep incisions of a foot square in the fallen trunk, where the juice being collected, it soon ferments by the heat of the sun; it is not only a cool and agreeable beverage, but sufficiently strong to intoxicate. The manicole or pine tree affords them materials for building; they fabricate pots from clay found near their dwellings; the gourd or *callebasse* tree procures them cups; the silk-grass plant and *maurecee*-tree supplies materials for their hammocks, and even a kind of cap grows naturally upon the palm-trees, as well as brooms; the various kinds of *nebee* supply the want of ropes; fuel they have for cutting; and a wood called *bec-bee* serves for tinder, by rubbing two pieces on each other; it is also elastic, and makes excellent corks; candles they can make, having plenty of fat and oil; and the wild bees afford them wax, as well as excellent honey.

Clothes they scorn to wear, preferring to go naked in a climate where the warmth of the weather renders every kind of covering an useless incumbrance.

They might breed hogs and poultry, and keep dogs for hunting and watching them, but this they decline, from the apprehension of being discovered by their noise, as

even

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even the crowing of a cock may be heard in the forest at a considerable distance.—I shall now once more proceed.

The rebels of this settlement being apparently subdued and dispersed, Colonel Fourgeoud made it his next business to destroy the surrounding harvest; and I received orders to begin the devastation, with eighty marines and twenty rangers. Thus I cut down all the rice that was growing plentifully in the two above-mentioned fields; this being done, I discovered a third field south of the first, which I also demolished, and made my report to Fourgeoud, with which he appeared highly satisfied. In the afternoon Captain *Hamel* was detached, with fifty marines and thirty rangers, to reconnoitre behind the village, and to discover, if possible, how the rebels could pass to and fro through an unfathomable marsh, whilst we were unable to pursue them. This officer at length perceived a kind of floating bridge amongst the reeds, made of maurecec-trees, but so constructed, that only one man abreast could pass it. On this were seated astride a few rebels to defend the communication, who instantly fired upon the party, but were soon repulsed by the rangers, who shot one of them dead, but he was carried away by his companions.

On the morning of the 22d, our commander ordered a detachment to cross the bridge and go on discovery at all hazards. Of this party I led the van. We now took the
pass

pass without opposition; and having all marched, or rather scrambled over this defile of floating trees, we found ourselves in a large oblong field of cassava and yams, in which were about thirty houses, *now* deserted, being the remains of the old settlement called *Cofaay*. In this field we separated into three divisions, the better to reconnoitre, one marching north, one north-west, and the third west. And here, to our astonishment, we discovered that the reason of the rebels shouting, singing, and firing, on the night of the 20th, was not only to cover the retreat of their friends, by cutting off the pass, but by their unremitting noise to prevent us from discovering that they were employed, men, women, and children, in preparing warimboes or hampers filled with the finest rice, yams, and cassava, for subsistence during their escape, of which they had only left the chaff and refuse for our contemplation.

This was certainly such a masterly trait of generalship in a savage people, whom we affected to despise, as would have done honour to any European commander, and has perhaps been seldom equalled by more civilized nations.

CHAP. XXI.

*Spirited Conduct of the Rangers and Rebels—A Skirmish—
Scene of Brotherly Affection—The Troops return to Bar-
bacoeba—Plan of the Field of Action— A Slave killed by
the Orocookoo Snake.*

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COLONEL Fourgeoud, on finding himself thus foiled by a naked negro, was unable any longer to restrain his resentment, and swore aloud he would pursue Bonny to the world's end. His ammunition and provisions were however expended, and if they had not, it would have been in vain now to think of overtaking the enemy.—To the surprise of most persons, our hero however persevered in this impracticable project, and dispatched Captain *Bolts*, with one hundred men and thirty rangers, besides a number of slaves, to transport a quantity of shot, and a week's provisions from Barbacoeba, and at the same time issued orders for the troops to subsist upon half allowance, desiring the men to supply the deficiency by picking rice, peas, and cassava, and prepare them in the best way they could for their subsistence, and this was also my lot, as well as most of the officers; while it was no bad scene to see ten or twenty of us with heavy wooden pestles, like so many apothecaries, beating the rice in a species

cies of mortars, cut all along in the hard trunk of a levelled *purper-heart-tree* by the rebel negroes (being the only contrivance used by them to separate the rice from the husk); this was however for us a most laborious business, the sweat running down our bodies as if we had been bathing, while water was at this time the only beverage in the camp.

Among other vegetables we had the good fortune to find here great quantities of *wild purslane*, which only differs from the common, by growing nearer the ground, the leaves being less, and more of a blackish green; this vegetable grows wild in the woods of Guiana, and may be either eaten as a salad, or stewed, without reserve, being, not only a cooling and agreeable food, but reckoned an excellent antidote against the scurvy.

Here were also great quantities of *gourd* or *calebasse* trees, which are very useful to the natives of the country. This tree grows to the height of a common apple-tree; with large thick pointed leaves; the gourds it produces are of different forms and dimensions, some being oval, some conical, and some round, growing often to the size of ten or twelve inches in diameter; the shell is hard and very smooth, covered over with a shining skin or epidermis, which becomes brown when the gourd is dry and fit for use: the heart or pulp is a pithy substance, which is easily extricated by the help of a crooked knife. The uses are various to which these gourds are applied, they

CHAP. furnish bottles, powder-flasks, cups, basons, and dishes:

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I seldom travelled without one, which served me as a bason, plate, &c. in the forest. The negroes generally adorn them by carving on the outer skin many fantastical figures, and filling up the vacancies with chalk-dust, which sometimes has a very pretty effect.

The rangers having been out to reconnoitre, returned on the afternoon of the 23d, and reported that they had discovered and destroyed another field of rice to the N. E. This pleased Colonel Fourgeoud very well; but when in the dusk of the evening I observed to him, that I saw several armed negroes advancing at a distance, he turned pale, exclaiming “*Nous sommes perdus!*” and ordered the whole camp immediately under arms. In a few seconds these negroes were near enough to be discerned, and we now saw that several of them were carried upon poles, in hammocks. Fourgeoud then said, “We still are ruined, “ though not the enemy: ’tis Captain Bolts beaten back, “ with all his party;” and this proved literally to be the fact, when that unfortunate officer (having delivered the wounded to the surgeons) made his report, that having entered the fatal swamp where Captain Meyland had been defeated, he was attacked by the enemy from the opposite shore, who, without hurting a single European, had made a dreadful havock amongst his *rangers*; that Captain *Valentine*, a brave young fellow, belonging to that corps, whilst sounding his horn to animate his countrymen,

trymen, had it shot away, with his pouch also, and was himself most desperately wounded in *five* different parts of the body. In this situation he was met by his brother, named *Captain Avantage*, who, upon seeing his mortal condition, a scene of such real fraternal affection ensued as is seldom to be observed in a civilized country:—kneeling at his side, and bending over the mangled Valentine, he sucked the blood and gore from his shattered breast and sides; then cherished him with the manly promise to revenge his death upon his foes, and the hopes that when he himself was killed he should meet him again in *a better place*.

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Colonel Fourgeoud now found that the rebels had kept their promise of massacring the rangers; while Captain Bolts reported that some had fired upon his party from the tops of the palm-trees, and then sliding down with surprising agility, disappeared, whilst the rangers were foaming for revenge on their active adversaries, and could hardly be restrained from an immediate pursuit through the verdure.

Our mighty leader now found his absurd scheme of pursuing the enemy completely frustrated, and himself in danger of total destruction; being cut off from every supply, and having neither ammunition nor provisions left in his camp, with very few men, except the sick and wounded, to defend it. Thus he at last began most seriously to consider how to secure a safe retreat; to which

he

he was urged likewise by the general and incessant murmurings of the troops, who were not only almost starved, but indeed dreadfully harassed by daily fatigues and nightly watchings :

“ They wandered in the wilderness in a solitary way,
 “ they found no city to dwell in.
 “ Hungry and thirsty, their soul fainted within them.”

On the 24th, a detachment of one hundred and forty men, commanded by two field officers, were still ordered to destroy the fields, and the old settlement called *Cofaay*; of this party I had the honour again to be one. We soon performed the service we were sent upon, and also picked up, out of the marsh, several utensils, such as tea-kettles, iron pots and pans, &c. that the rebels had formerly pilaged from the estates, and had thrown into the water to conceal them from us, with an intention, no doubt, of returning to fish them up, as soon as we were gone from Gado-Saby.

Upon the return of the detachment in the afternoon, we immediately decamped, and began to retreat for Barbacoeba. Here I must remark in Colonel Fourgeoud an instance of *bad policy*, at least, though many have not hesitated to bestow upon it a harsher epithet. This evening, upon our return, when we entered the ominous swamp, he suddenly caught up one of the empty bread-boxes, and having stuffed a hammock into it, he carried it before
 him

him as a shield, crying aloud to his men, "*Sauve qui peut!*" At this moment a Walloon named *Mattow* stepped up to him, and said, "*Mon Colonel*, but few can, and I hope fewer still will, follow your example. "Drop your shield, and do not intimidate your soldiers: one brave man creates others, then follow thy *Mattow*, and fear for nothing." Upon which he instantly threw open his bosom, and, charging his bayonet, was the first that mounted the opposite beach: this intrepidity inspired the rest, and they passed the marshy swamp without opposition; for which act of heroism this private marine was since made a serjeant. I should think myself deficient if I did not observe, that the Walloons in general behaved with great spirit, and were in every respect excellent soldiers. This evening we encamped upon the same ground where we had passed the night before the engagement, with excessive bad weather and very heavy rain.

Early on the morning of the 25th, we again marched, and proceeded on our return, having now a beaten path before us. It will suffice to say, that we reached our place of general rendezvous, *Barbacoeba*, on the afternoon of the following day, but in a most shocking condition; the whole of the detachment being mostly spent and wore out with fatigue, some nearly starved, others mortally wounded; whilst all the slaves were employed in carrying the sick and lame in their hammocks, on long poles,

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poles, though these poor wretches were scarcely able to support themselves.—Such was the concluding scene of the taking of Gado-Saby. However, if during this expedition we neither captured any of the rebels, nor gained booty, we nevertheless rendered the colony a very essential service, by rooting out this concealed nest of enemies, who being thus discovered and driven away from their capital settlements, never think (as I have already observed) of returning to live near the same spot. I might, indeed, pronounce our victory *almost* decisive; I say almost, for if we except the demolishing a few plantations for immediate subsistence, and from a spirit of revenge, the rebels were, by being driven from this settlement, so disconcerted and panic-struck, that from the present period their depredations were certainly less, as they soon afterwards retired to an inaccessible depth in the forest, where they neither could do any material injury, nor be joined by negro deserters.

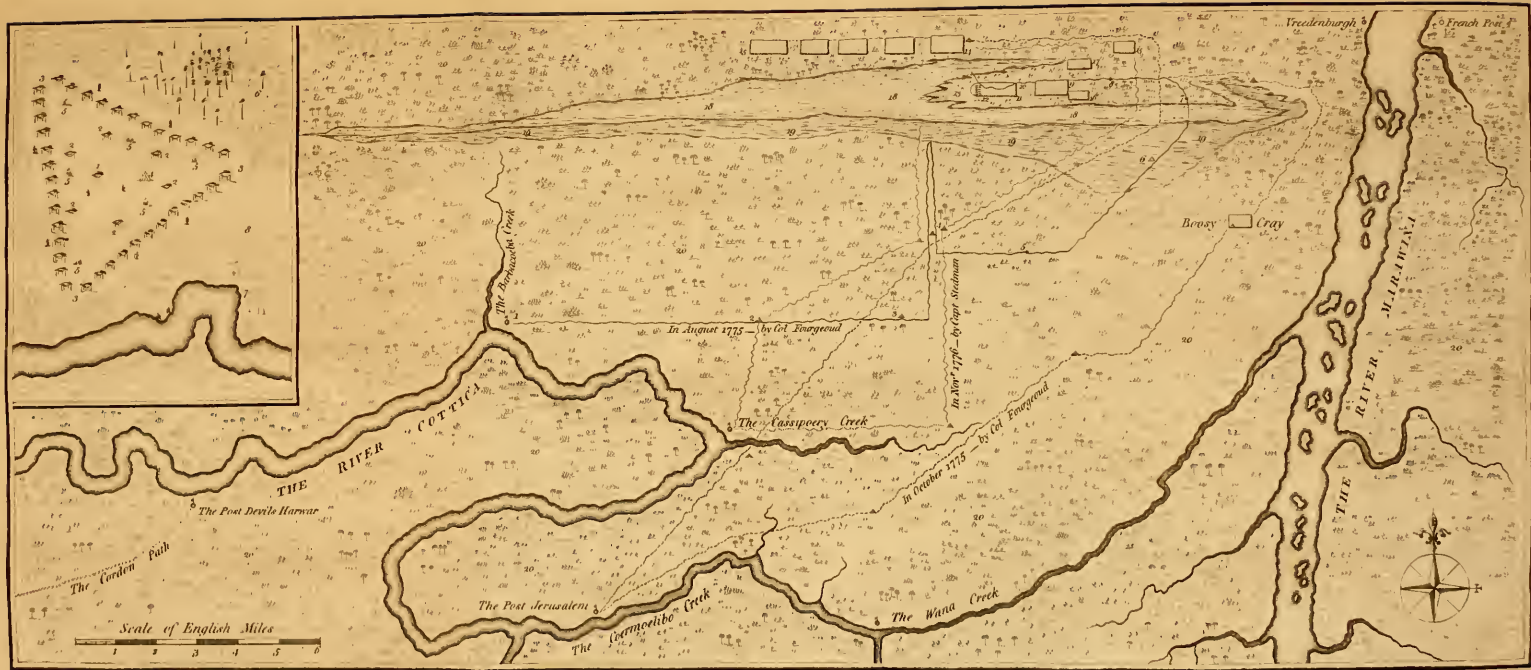
To shew the masterly manœuvres of our sable foes to more advantage, I here present the reader with a plan of this extraordinary settlement, together with our different stages, after leaving our encampment on the borders of the Cottica River, *viz.*

N^o 1, 2, and 3, are supposed to be the general rendezvous at Barbacoeba, and the two succeeding nights encampment.

N^o 4. The spot where we heard the firing and shouting of the rebels on the night of the 17th.

N^o 5.

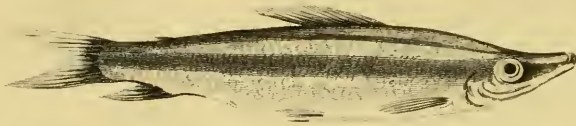




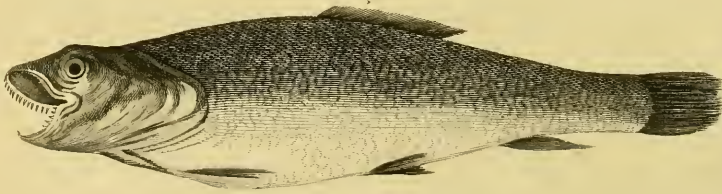
Plan of the Principal Field of ACTION between the Rivers COTTICA and MARAWINI; with a Sketch of the manner of Encamping in the WOODS of SURINAM.

London, Published Decr 1776 by J. Johnson & Rudolph Church Lane

T. Under-Scale



The Fresh-water Fish called Dago-Fishe.



The Rock Cod, or. Sea-mara.

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N° 5. The latitude where the troops were joined by the black corps or rangers.

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N° 6. The night's encampment previous to the engagement.

N° 7. The beach on the opposite side of the marsh, where Captain Meyland with his troops had been defeated.

N° 8. The advanced post of the rebels, whence the first shot was fired at the troops.

N° 9. The field with rice and Indian corn, entered without opposition.

N° 10. The pass or defile in which the firing commenced.

N° 11. The beautiful rice-field in which the action continued above forty minutes.

N° 12. The town of GADO-SABY in flames at a distance.

N° 13. The spot whence the rebels fired on the camp, and held the conversation on the night of the 20th.

N° 14. The ground of the old settlement Cofaay, with the floating bridge that covered the retreat of the rebels.

N° 15. The fields with cassava, yams, and plantains, that were at different times destroyed.

N° 16. The field of rice discovered and demolished by Captain Stedman on the 21st.

N° 17. A field demolished by the rangers on the 23d.

N° 18. The swamp or marsh which surrounded the settlement.

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N° 19.

N° 19. The quagmire, or biree-biree, adjoining it.

N° 20. The forest.

Having formerly described the manner in which we erected our huts, I shall here also add a small plan of the mode of arranging them during our encampment in the woods of Guiana, which camps were generally of a triangular form, as being most secure in case of a surprise, and the easiest to defend our provisions and ammunition; but the situation of the ground would not always permit this, and then we encamped in any form, square, oblong, or circular, &c.—In the annexed plan,

N° 1. Is the hut or shed of Colonel Fourceoud, or the commanding officer, in the center, with a sentinel.

N° 2. The huts of all the other officers, in a small triangle, surrounding that of the commander in chief.

N° 3. The angles of the outer triangle formed by the huts of the privates in three divisions, *viz.* the main body, the van, and the rear guards, with sentinels at proper distances, to cover the front of each.

N° 4. Powder-chests, provisions, and medicines, with a sentinel.

N° 5. The fires in the rear of each division to dress the victuals, and round which the negro slaves are lodged upon the ground.

N° 6. A coppice of manicole-trees to erect the huts or sheds.

N° 7.

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N° 7. A rivulet or creek to provide the troops with fresh water. And, N° 8. The surrounding forest.

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I must now return once more to my narrative, and observe, that Barbacoeba, instead of being in a state of sending provisions to Gado-Saby, as our chief had expected, could scarcely afford daily subsistence to his emaciated troops on their arrival; who having for many days lived on rice, yams, peas, and Indian corn, were now most violently attacked by the flux; for although that kind of nourishment will keep the Indians and negroes strong as horses, the Europeans cannot long subsist without animal food, which was at this time so very scarce, that even the Jew soldiers of the Society troops devoured salt pork as fast as they could catch it.

I nevertheless continued among the few that still were healthy; which was almost a miracle, as I had fared very hard indeed for want of my private stores, which I had left at the neighbouring estate *Mocha*: however, expecting leave now to bring them in person from that plantation, I was in good spirits also. But here I was disappointed, by Colonel Fourgeoud's declaring he could not spare me one moment, while I was able to stand upon my feet. I therefore waited patiently for an opportunity of sending for them; in the mean time sharing with my black boy the scanty allowance of a private soldier, with the casual addition of some mountain-cabbage, or palm-tree worms, and perhaps a few warrappa fish.

As for the miserable slaves, they were so starved, that having killed a *Coata* monkey, they broiled it, with skin, hair, intestines and all, then tore it to pieces with their teeth, and devoured it like so many cannibals, before it was even half dressed. Of this animal they offered me a limb; but, hungry as I was, my stomach could not relish this kind of venison.

A good constitution, sterling health and spirits, now supported me, or I must have sunk under the load of misery and hardships, which were at this time become so intolerable, that the rangers again forsook the camp; and Mr. Vinsack, their conductor, as brave and active a man as ever entered the wood, threw up his commission, as Mr. Mongol had done before, during Colonel Fourgeoud's first campaign at the Wana.

In the beginning of September, the bloody flux raged in the camp to such a degree, that the colonel saw himself obliged to send off all the sick officers and privates, without exception, not to Paramaribo for recovery in the grand hospital that is there, but to linger and die on the banks of the rivers, where they relieved others to be encamped, and undergo a similar wretchedness; the sick of his own regiment being dispatched to Magdenberg in the Tempatee Creek, and those of the Society troops to Vreedenberg in Cottica.

Colonel Fourgeoud's inhumanity to the officers was now actually become such, that he would not even permit those

who were past recovery a marine to attend them, whatever price they offered; some of whom I have seen expanded between two trees, while the very filth, for want of assistance, was dropping through their hammocks. Of this number was Ensign *Strozs*, who, in this dreadful situation, was ordered to be transported in an open boat to Devil's Harwar, where he died. At length Colonel Fourgeoud himself was seized with this dreadful malady, and his beloved *ptisan* proved to be of no more avail; yet he soon recovered, by the plentiful use of claret and spices, which *he* seldom wanted, and which his colleague Seyburg also employed as a preservative of his health, though by swallowing too copious doses he frequently lost the use of his reason. In such a situation, and in such a despicable encampment, our commander in chief had the vanity to expect a deputation from the court at Paramaribo, with congratulations on his victory: in consequence of which he had built an elegant shed, and sent for sheep and hogs to entertain them—but the expected deputies never arrived.

On the 5th, therefore, the hogs and sheep were slaughtered, and, for the *first time* in his life, he ordered one pound *per man*, bones and all, to be distributed among the poor emaciated soldiers: indeed the number able to partake of this bounty was at present very small.

On the following day a reinforcement of one hundred men arrived from Magdenberg, in Comewina; and from
the

C H A P. the Society post Vreedenberg, in Cottica, nearly as many.

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These confirmed the death of Ensign Strows, besides of a great number of privates, who had assisted at the taking of *Gado-Saby*, and who had expired in the boats during their removal from Barbacoeba.

Intelligence arrived at the same time that the defeated rebels had actually crossed the river Cottica below Pattamaca, intent on immediate mischief, and that they were marching to the westward. In consequence of this information, a captain and fifty men were immediately detached, by water, to reconnoitre the banks near the Pinenburg Creek. This party returned upon the 8th, and confirmed the intelligence. Our indefatigable chief now again determined to pursue them; but the slaves who were to carry the ammunition and provisions had been sent home to their masters, nothing but skin and bones, to be exchanged for others, not yet arrived, and to be starved in their turn. I shall therefore relate what happened the two following days, until the arrival of these unfortunate *beasts* of burden; for so they might with propriety be called.

On the 9th were sold upon credit, and to the highest bidder, the effects of the deceased Ensign Strows, when the poor soldiers, regardless of price, and only wishing to obtain some clothes and refreshments to keep (in the vulgar phrase) soul and body together, actually paid at the rate of 700 per cent. and this infamous debt was accordingly

cordingly stated in their accounts. I have seen, for instance, a private marine pay five shillings for a pound of mouldered tobacco, that might be worth sixpence, and double the prime value for a pair of old stockings or shoes. A sick man paid one guinea for a couple of meagre chickens; and for a broken bottle-case to hold his lumber, another paid a similar sum. Thus were these poor dying half-starved wretches deprived of the little property they had earned at the expence of their blood and sweat, while this miserable necessity might have been easily prevented by only supplying them with what was their due. A private marine, of the name of *Sem*, at this time, swore, in the heat of his resentment, that he would certainly shoot Fourgeoud, whenever he had an opportunity; which being overheard, upon condition of repentance, I bribed the evidence not to inform against him, and so literally saved this poor rash fellow from dying on the gallows.

Fortunately, all the world did not possess this chieftain's insensibility, for this day the good Mrs. Godefroy once more sent up a flat-bottomed barge, with a fat ox, oranges, and plantains for the private soldiers, which was accordingly distributed amongst them. The same evening a small supply of provisions also arrived for me, from Joanna, with a few bottles of port wine; and though part was stolen, and part was damaged by the way, it made me very happy, and I gave *nothing* to Fourgeoud.

When we speak of provisions in the woods, we only
mean

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mean sugar, tea, coffee, Boston biscuit, cheese, rum, ham, or a keg of sausages, since little else can be carried through the forest by a single slave, and we were *now* allowed no more. Shirts, shoes, and stockings were also usually accounted among the necessaries, but the last two articles I did not use, being accustomed to walk bare-footed, which I had now practised for more than two years, and with great advantage to my limbs, when I compared them with the diseased and ulcerated shanks of my ghastly-looking companions.

On the 12th, the fresh supply of slaves being arrived, the necessary preparations were made to pursue the rebels the next day, directing our first course towards the spot formerly called Jerusalem, mentioned in 1773, when I commanded the fatal expedition in Upper Cottica; and on the 13th, the baggage and provisions being sent before us by water to Jerusalem, escorted by the sick officers and privates, we at last decamped to follow them, and bidding a final farewell to Barbacoeba, re-entered the woods, marching S. and S. E. the whole day, then passed the night on the opposite bank of the Cassiporee Creek, where we encamped.

Nothing could be more diabolically cruel than the persecution of the new slaves during this march; not only overloaded and starved, but beat like mules or asses by every ill-tempered individual—for instance, I saw Fourgeoud's black favourite, Cousary, knock down a poor negro

negro slave for *not* taking up his load—and the chief himself knock him down for taking it up *too soon*; when the wretch, not knowing what to do, exclaimed, in hopes of pity, “*O massera, Jesus Christus!*” and was actually knocked down a third time by an enthusiast, for daring to utter a name with which he was so little acquainted.

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During the last day’s march, a large drove of *Warre* hogs or wild boars broke through our line; several of them were cut down by our sabres, and stabbed with the bayonets, the men having orders from the commander in chief not to fire at any game whatever. The animals that were killed were cut in pieces, and distributed among the troops, which proved, though small, a very seasonable dainty. It is certainly very remarkable, that if the first wild boar or leader passes through any danger, all the others stupidly follow, in hopes of a similar escape, which on the contrary, as I have said, frequently proves the cause of their destruction.

On the 14th we marched S. W. till about noon, and arrived at Jerusalem, which the van had reached about an hour before us, all thoroughly soaked with mud and heavy rains, and several men unhappily with ruptures in the groin, by falling over the roots of trees, large stones, &c. Here just arrived, we found again, to my astonishment, the identical Mr. *Vinsack*, with one hundred fresh rangers: he had heard it seems of the rebels passing

CHAPTER. Upper Cottica, and had been prevailed upon to resume
 XXI. his command by the Governor; thus he now once more
 offered his service to Colonel Fourceoud, who was very
 happy indeed to accept it.

Here, our camp being mostly overgrown with long coarse grass, one of the slaves was unfortunately bitten in the foot by a small serpent, called in Surinam the * *Oroo-cookoo* snake, from its colour, which resembles an owl. In less than a minute the man's leg began to swell, when he was seized with excruciating pains, and soon fell into convulsions. One of his companions having killed the snake, made the patient drink its gall, mixed with half a glass of spirits, which I gave him. He seemed now (perhaps from imagination) to bear his misfortune better; but the fits soon returned with increasing violence, and he was instantly sent to his master's plantation, where he expired. That the gall of adders, *externally* applied, is efficacious, I have often heard. In the Grand Magazine for April 1758, may be seen a letter, signed J. H. and dated 24th March, which treats systematically of the application of gall. But these investigations I must leave to the learned of the medical profession; and only observe, in general, that the smaller the snake, at least in

* This, I apprehend, is the snake which Dr. Bancroft calls the small Labora, and which he mentions as having killed a negro in less than five minutes when he was at Demerara.

Guiana, the more fatal the poison ; as is justly and beautifully observed by Thomson :

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“ ————— But still more direful he
 “ The small, close-lurking minister of fate,
 “ Whose high concocted venom through the veins
 “ A rapid lightning darts, arresting swift
 “ The vital current.”——

In this grassy wilderness one of the rangers also killed a snake, called the whip-snake, from its resemblance to that instrument ; it was above five feet long, and not very much thicker than a swan's quill ; the belly white and the back a lead colour : concerning its bite, I can say nothing. I was informed by the negroes, but I cannot speak from my own observation, that it has the power of giving a very severe stroke with its tail, like the lash of a whip, which it so much resembles.

I must also notice an amphibious animal which some of the negroes killed this evening, called by them the *Cabiai* ; it is a species of water hog, and about the ordinary size of the land animal which goes under that name ; it is covered with grey bristles, and armed with a number of very strong teeth ; it has no tail ; on each foot it has three toes, webbed like those of a duck. This animal, it is said, goes ashore only during the night, where it feeds on young grass, and other vegetables. I have been told it is good food, but never tasted it myself.

On the 16th, having rested one day at this place, Co-

lonel Fourgeoud detached two strong parties to reconnoitre, *viz.* Lieutenant Colonel de Borgnes, with 100 men, was sent to the Wana Creek in Upper Cormoetibo; and Colonel Seyburg, with an equal number, was ordered to the Creek Pinenburg, in Upper Cottica. The latter returned about midnight with two canoes, which he had found hauled ashore, on the opposite side of the river, a little below the mouth of the Claas Creek. This convinced us that the rebels were gone westward to plunder, and had brought their empty canoes down the Claas Creek, from the rice country, in order to send them back loaded with booty from the estates they intended to pillage. In consequence, therefore, of this information, the proper preparations were immediately made to pursue them with alacrity. Never did the old warrior display more vigour than on this occasion, swearing aloud that he now would be revenged of them all, *coute qui coute*.

“ Though they dig into hell, thence shall mine hand
 “ take them; though they climb up to heaven, thence
 “ will I bring them down.”

But how far his generalship on this occasion proved to be a match for that of *Bonny*, I must beg leave to reserve for the succeeding chapter.

CHAP. XXII.

Alarm in the Pirica River—A Detachment marches to its Relief—Ambuscade—Wonderful Effect from the Biting of a Bat—Scene in a Quagmire—Sketch of the Inquisition, and Return of the Troops to Cormoetibo Creek.

ON the morning of the 19th of September 1775, just before sun-rise, Colonel Seyburg marched with one hundred marines and forty rangers, who did me the honour to fix upon me as one of the party, and was upon the whole so polite, and his behaviour so contrary to what it had lately been, that I knew not at all in what manner to account for it.

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Having crossed the Cormoetibo Creek, we kept course S. W. and by S. till we approached the river Cottica, where we encamped, having met with nothing on our first day's march worth describing, except a species of *ants*, which were no less than one inch in length, and perfectly black. These insects pillage a tree of all its leaves in a short time, which they cut in small pieces the size of a sixpence, and carry under ground. It was indeed entertaining to see a whole army of these creatures crawling perpetually the same way, each with his green leaf in a perpendicular direction. So general is the propensity to the marvellous, that

that some have imagined that this devastation was to feed a blind serpent under ground: but the truth is, that it serves for nourishment to their young brood, who cannot help themselves, and are sometimes lodged to the depth of eight feet in the earth. Madam Merian says, they form themselves in chains from one branch to another, while all the others pass over these temporary bridges; and that once a year these formidable armies travel from house to house, killing all the vermin, &c. that come in their way; neither of which facts ever came within the limits of my observation: but that they can bite confoundedly I have found by experience, though their attack is not nearly so painful as the bite of that diminutive insect the fire-ant already described.

The following day we proceeded along the banks of the river Cottica, till we came near the Claas Creek, (where I formerly swam across with my sabre in my teeth) and early slung our hammocks; from whence I was detached, with a few rangers, to lay in ambuscade in the mouth of the creek till it was dark. Here, however, I discovered nothing, except that the rangers were possessed of the same superstition as the rebels, with regard to their amulets or *obias* making them invulnerable. They told me that the latter mentioned procured them from their priest, and that they themselves bought theirs from *Graman Zwacy*, a celebrated and cunning old negro, whom I shall in a proper place circumstantially describe.—When I asked them,
 “ How

“ How came any of you, or of your invulnerable adversaries, to be shot ?” I was answered, “ Because, like you, Massera, they had no faith in the amulet or *obia*.” This piece of policy in Mr. Qwacy, however, had the effect of making all his free countrymen so undauntedly brave, that I must confess their valour had often surprised me. However, this imposition, as shall be shewn hereafter, besides respect and veneration, procured this dealer in magic both considerable ease and wealth, which for a black man in Surinam was indeed not very common.

In the mouth of this creek I again saw a quantity of nuts floating on the surface of the water, such as I have before mentioned, when I was informed that they were the real *acajow* or *cashew* nuts, which I have partly described : to which I shall now add, that they grow on the edge of a pulpy substance like a very large pear, which is produced on a middle-sized tree, with a grey bark and large thick leaves. This excellent nut will bear to be transported to any part of the globe, and keep good for a considerable time ; it is by some called the *Anacardium Occidentalis*. From the tree exudes a transparent gum, which when dissolved in water has the consistency of glue.

I also tasted here the *eta-tree apple*, of which the negroes seemed extremely fond. This tree is of the palm kind, with large leaves, but is less in size than the maurcece or the mountain cabbage-tree. The fruit or apples are round, and grow in large clusters resembling grape-shot.

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shot. In the middle of each apple is a hard nut, in which is a kernel, and this is covered near half an inch thick with an orange-coloured pulp, that has a most agreeable acid taste. They are seldom used till the apples by ripeness drop from the tree, when the Indians steep them in water, and by maceration convert them into a most healthy and agreeable beverage.

An express on the 21st arriving by water from Colonel Fourgeoud, informing us that the alarm-guns* had been fired in the river Pirica, we instantly crossed to the opposite or west shore of the river Cottica, where the rangers, with a party of marines, were again ordered to lie in ambuscade or under cover, in hopes of cutting off the rebels on their retreat, when they returned to cross the Cottica river with their booty. And this very afternoon a rebel negro was seen with a green hamper, who, startled by the smell of tobacco (for some of the rangers were smoking) stooped short of his own accord. He was instantly fired at by me and one ranger: when the warimbo or hamper dropped to the ground, but he himself escaped. This bundle we found stuffed with a dozen of the finest table linen, a cocked gold-laced hat, and a couple of superb India chintz petticoats, &c. the bulk of which I gave to

* By this is meant minute-guns, which are fired on the estates when in danger. These being regularly answered by the neighbouring plantations, soon alarm the whole river, and bring assistance from every quarter.

my black companion, reserving only the chintzes for another friend at Paramaribo.

The free negroes now rushing forwards with unrestrained valour, I asked Colonel Seyburg liberty to follow them; and calling for volunteers, a great number presented themselves, which, however, the Colonel thought proper to reduce to *four only*, with whom he sent me off; and having scrambled through thorns and briars woven together like a net or a mat, which tore one of my feet in a terrible manner, I overtook them at one mile's distance from the camp: shortly after we discovered thirteen fresh huts, where the rebels, we conjectured, had slept but a few nights before. In consequence of this, I now dispatched a ranger back to Colonel Seyburg, to give him intelligence, and ask permission for the rangers and myself to march forward to Pirica without delay, in hopes to meet the enemy: but the answer was a peremptory order instantly to rejoin him with all hands. We now returned disgusted back to the camp; my sable companions in particular extremely discontented, and making many *shrewd* and *sarcastic* remarks.

Here we found a reinforcement just arrived from Jerusalem, consisting of sixty-men, black and white, with positive orders for us to break up and march early the *next* morning for Pirica river, while this whole night a strong party lay once more in ambush.

Accordingly, at six o'clock, with the rising sun, all was

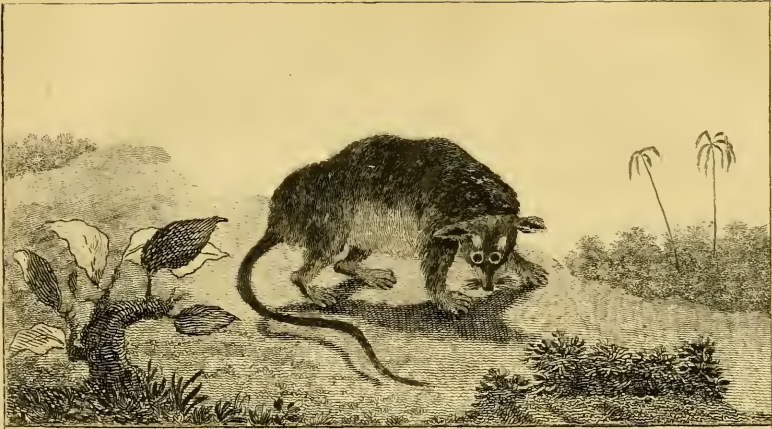
C H A P. in readiness, but by some unaccountable delay it was very
 { XXII. } late before we left the camp; during which time we were
 informed that a canoe was seen crossing the river with one
 single negro in it, who was no doubt the poor fellow at
 whom the ranger and I had fired the preceding day.

I cannot here forbear relating a singular circumstance respecting myself, *viz.* that on waking about four o'clock this morning in my hammock, I was extremely alarmed at finding myself weltering in congealed blood, and without feeling any pain whatever. Having started up, and run for the surgeon, with a firebrand in one hand, and all over besmeared with gore; to which if added my pale face, short hair, and tattered apparel, he might well ask the question,

“ Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damn'd,

“ Bring with thee airs of Heav'n or blasts from Hell!”

The mystery however was, that I had been bitten by the *vampire* or *spectre* of Guiana, which is also called the *flying-dog* of New Spain, and by the Spaniards *perrovolador*; this is no other than a bat of a monstrous size, that sucks the blood from men and cattle when they are fast asleep, even sometimes till they die; and as the manner in which they proceed is truly wonderful, I shall endeavour to give a distinct account of it.—Knowing by instinct that the person they intend to attack is in a sound slumber, they generally alight near the feet, where, while the
 creature



The. Murine Opposum of Terra-Firma.



The Vampire or Spectre of Guiana.

creature continues fanning with his enormous wings, which keeps one cool, he bites a piece out of the tip of the great toe, so very small indeed that the head of a pin could scarcely be received into the wound, which is consequently not painful; yet through this orifice he continues to suck the blood, until he is obliged to disgorge. He then begins again, and thus continues sucking and disgorging till he is scarcely able to fly, and the sufferer has often been known to sleep from time into eternity. Cattle they generally bite in the ear, but always in such places where the blood flows spontaneously, perhaps in an artery—but this is entering rather on the province of the medical faculty. Having applied tobacco-ashes as the best remedy, and washed the gore from myself and from my hammock, I observed several small heaps of congealed blood all round the place where I had lain, upon the ground: upon examining which, the surgeon judged that I had lost at least twelve or fourteen ounces during the night.

As I have since had an opportunity of killing one of these bats, I cut off his head, which I here present to the reader in its natural size, and as a great curiosity, with the whole figure flying above it on a smaller scale. Having measured this creature I found it to be between the tips of the wings thirty-two inches and a half; it is said that some are above three feet, though nothing like in size to the bats of Madagascar. The colour was a dark brown,

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nearly black, but lighter under the belly. Its aspect was truly hideous upon the whole, but particularly the head, which has an erect shining membrane above the nose, terminating in a shrivelled point: the ears are long, rounded, and transparent: the cutting teeth were four above and six below. I saw no tail, but a skin, in the middle of which was a tendon. It had four toes on each wing, with sharp nails, divided like the web foot of a duck*; and on the extremity of each pinion, where the toes are joined, was a nail or claw to assist it in crawling, like those of its hinder feet, by which it hangs suspended when asleep to trees, rocks, roofs, &c.

One of the marines having this morning taken a *murine* or *mouse opposum*, I shall also take the opportunity of describing it, and present it to the reader as I designed it from the life. This animal differs widely in some particulars from the description of the Count *de Buffon*:—For instance, it was much swifter than any of the opposums that he speaks of, and had the whole tail covered over with hair instead of scales, to the best of my remembrance; if, however, my sight deceived me, I am not the only erroneous writer on the subject of this animal. *Linnaeus*, *Seba*, and Mr. *Vormeer*, with the last of whom I am acquainted, consider it as common to both the old and new continent; whereas all its species are most assuredly inhabitants of

* In Vol. IV. plate the 83d, by the Count de Buffon, a bat is represented with only three toes on each wing.

America only. Linnæus is also mistaken when he asserts, that all bats have four cutting teeth in each jaw.—(See *Buffon, Vol. V. page 282.*)

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This murine opossum was not more than the size of a very large mouse. It was perfectly black, except the belly, the feet, and the extremity of the tail, which were all buff-coloured, with a buff spot above each eye, which resembled those of a rat: the ears were long, rounded, and transparent: its toes were twenty in number, one on each foot being placed behind, and serving as a thumb. It had ten or twelve paps, to which the young ones stick fast, it is said, as soon as produced, when they are not larger than small beetles; but it wanted that pouch which is common to all other opossums; in place of this there were two longitudinal folds on the inside of each thigh, equally adapted to preserve its offspring from every injury, which no tortures whatever, not even fire, will make it forsake. I have only to add, that it burrows in the ground, and often climbs trees; but it feeds like a mouse on grain, fruits, and roots. Of the other species, I shall defer the description till chance affords me an opportunity.

Madam Merian mentions one kind of them, which, in time of danger, carries its young ones upon its back: but this animal, I confess, I never heard of in Surinam, and am persuaded of its non-existence.

I have already stated that, from some unaccountable delay,

CHAP. delay, it was very late this morning before we left the
XXII. camp; we, nevertheless, all started at last; I having the
van-guard with the rangers, and the poor marines loaded
each man with *nine days* provisions on his back. In this
condition we had not proceeded long, when one of the
rangers sounding his horn, they spread, and I among
them, all instantly falling flat upon the ground, with our
firelocks cocked, and ready to engage: but this, however,
proving to be a false alarm, by a stag rushing out through
the foliage, we soon rose, and after marching the whole
day through water and mire, at three in the afternoon
encamped on a high ridge, where not a drop of water
was to be found till we had dug a hole for that purpose,
and this was so very thick and muddy, that we were
obliged to strain it through our neckcloths or shirt-sleeves
before we could drink it. Here I was once more accosted
by the Lieutenant Colonel, who invited me to some sup-
per in his hut, and treated me upon the whole with such
very great civility as I could not account for after his for-
mer behaviour.

On the succeeding day we marched again, keeping
course W. and N. W. with very heavy rain, while I had
the rear-guard; and once more entered on a quagmire,
which cost me three hours time to bring up the rear to
the beach, this march being particularly distressing, as the
negro slaves with their burdens broke through the surface
every moment, while the loaded marines had enough to
do

do to mind themselves, and I too weak by my late loss of blood to afford them any assistance whatever. At last, approaching the beach, I perceived the dead bodies of several rebel negroes scattered on the ground, with their heads and right-hands chopped off. These bodies being fresh, induced me to conclude, that they must have been very lately killed in some engagement with the troops and rangers stationed on the Pirica river.—And here I must again remark, that had I been allowed to pursue, on the 21st, with the rangers, when I was ordered to march back, the enemy would have been between two fires; in which case few could have escaped, and all the plundered spoil must have been retaken. The reader will probably recollect a similar instance which occurred two years before, when I was stationed at Devil's Harwar. Had I at that time been provided with men and ammunition to march, I might have rendered the colony a material service. These two capital blunders I am sorry to relate, but a regard to truth and impartiality obliges me to do it. Let not these remarks, however, fix a stigma of cruelty on me in the eyes of the world, since no man could more strongly feel at the sight of such manly youths stretched dead among the surrounding foliage; and finer bodies than two of them were in particular I never beheld in all my life.

“ So two young mountain lions, nurs'd with blood,

“ In deep recesses of the gloomy wood,

“ Rush

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" Rush fearless to the plains, and uncontroul'd
 " Depopulate the stalls, and waste the fold ;
 " Till pierc'd at distance from their native den,
 " O'erpower'd they fall beneath the force of men ;
 " Prostrate on earth their beauteous bodies lay,
 " Like mountain firs, as tall and straight as they."

While my mind was engaged by these and similar remarks, many of my loaded slaves still remained entangled and struggling in the quagmire, while the commanding officer, with all the other troops, having got on a dry ridge, were quite out of sight and out of hearing, by which separation the rear-guard not only ran the hazard of losing all the provisions and the baggage, but of being cut to pieces, such was their critical situation.

Having not a single European that had sufficient strength remaining to overtake the party which had proceeded, I resigned the command to my lieutenant, a Mr. *de Losrios*, and ventured forward alone through the forest, till, greatly fatigued, I overtook them ; when reporting the situation of the rear-guard to Colonel Seyburg, I requested " he would slacken his pace till they were able to " extricate themselves and come up from the bog, without which I could not be accountable for the consequences." To this the reply was, " That he would form his camp when he met with good water ;" and I instantly returned to the rear, where having struggled until it was quite dark in a most distressed and dangerous situation,

situation, the last man was dragged out of the mud at seven o'clock at night, when we slowly proceeded on till we entered the camp.

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My solicitude for the people, powder, and provisions, instead of procuring me commendation from the person under whose command I then happened to be, and who had lately been so very polite, brought me now into such difficulties, and produced a misunderstanding of such a serious nature, and so very distressing to my feelings, that it had nearly terminated my existence. The reader may judge of my mortification, when I inform him, that, instead of receiving the approbation of my commander, as I certainly deserved, I was immediately on my arrival in camp put under an arrest, to be tried by a court-martial for disobedience of orders. Colonel Seyburg and I had never been on amicable terms; and though during the former part of this march he had treated me with apparent civility, yet from this step it was evident that he was my mortal enemy. I must not omit, that though a prisoner (strange to tell!) I was ordered to carry my own arms and accoutrements, till further orders.

On the 24th, we took our departure very early, and directed our course S. and S. by W. when we passed close by Pinenburg, a forsaken rebel village formerly mentioned—I still a prisoner, in the most dejected spirits.

On the following day our course was S.W. through a matakya or trumpeter morass, which was very deep, and

which we entered when we were all in a violent sweat by advancing too fast while upon the hard ground : but the health of our men was not made an object during this expedition, though so much wanted to succeed.

Having got again upon a ridge, an accident had now nearly befallen me incomparably greater than all my former misfortunes put together ; this was no less than, having fallen into a deep reverie, while I followed the rear-guard, I imperceptibly wandered away from the troops, till I was entirely lost and by myself in an unbounded wilderness. Quaco no sooner had missed me, than, poor fellow, at every hazard he rushed through the wood to recover his master, and by a miracle saw me as I was sitting under a tree, in the most dejected state of mind that it is possible to conceive, immersed in grief and abandoned to despair. I had this morning thought myself perfectly unhappy, but now would have given the world once more to have been in the same situation. Good God ! entirely cut off from society, in a forest, surrounded by relentless savages ! while a deluge of rain poured from the heavens, and tigers, famine, with every woe and every danger, stared me in the face. Farewell, for ever, Joanna !—Such was the picture of my mind, when, on discovering the boy, I started up from the ground, and a new life instantly diffused itself through my whole frame. Having now straggled backwards and forwards together for some time, I called to the lad that I saw a pool through which

the troops seemed to have passed, the water being fresh clouded with mud ; but to my utter disappointment, he observed, that this puddle was only occasioned by a Tapira*, and shewed me the print of the animal's foot in the surrounding mire. At this time the boy shed tears, crying, "*Massera, we deade, we deade!*" In the midst, however, of this distress, recollecting that, by the map, the river Pirica was due west from us, I determined to lose no more time, but to set forwards without delay. Thus having fresh primed my fusee, I ordered Quaco to follow me ; but again to no purpose, my compass being with the troops, and not a glimpse of sunshine, owing to the heavy rain ; till the black boy put me in mind that on the south side the bark of the trees was usually most smooth. This in fact was a fortunate hint, and we proceeded through thick and thin, till, overcome by fatigue and hunger, we both sat down, and looked at each other, exactly like two victims doomed to execution. During this last mournful silence, we heard a sound like coughing and the rustling of arms, which, thank Heaven ! soon proved to be our own troops, luckily for us resting near an old encampment, where the pursuing party from the river Pirica had lately lodged. At this moment, notwithstanding my present situation, I enjoyed an extraordinary degree of mental happiness ; which proves how much all

* By some called the Hippopotamus of South America, which I will describe in a proper place.

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good and evil are only of a relative nature. Having now been heartily welcomed by the other officers, I partook of some cold beef and bread, and a gourd full of grog, as did also my poor boy. After this regale the party rose, and pursuing our march, we once more entered a quagmire, or rather a mud-pool, the surface being too thin to carry us; through which having waded till it was pitch dark, we were obliged to encamp in the very middle of it, the troops by slinging their hammocks in the trees, one above another, and the slaves on temporary rafts made above the surface of the water, on which were also placed the powder, the victuals, &c.

On the 26th, the good Colonel having now drank his coffee in his hammock, while he kept the troops standing round it in water above their middle, a whole hour before day-light, we again scrambled forward, keeping our course, first W. and afterwards N. W. when the road was so excessively bad, that many slaves let fall their burdens, breaking, wetting, and spoiling every thing that was in them. At last, having passed through a second deserted camp, we halted on the old *cordon*, or path of communication on which I formerly discovered the track of the rebels, when I commanded in Cottica river; and here, having erected slight sheds, we passed the night—I still a prisoner.

At this time a small quadruped running through the camp with incredible swiftness, it was cut down by one
of



The Agouti, or Indian Coney.



The Peca, or Spotted Coney.

of the rangers with his sabre. This proved to be the *Paca* or *Spotted Cavey*, called in Surinam the *Aquatic Hare*. This animal is the size of a sucking pig, and extremely fat. The under jaw is short, the nostrils large, the eyes black, and the ears small and naked. It has five toes on each foot, a tail like the first joint of a man's thumb, and whiskers like a cat; the colour is an earthen brown, with longitudinal rows of buff-coloured spots; the belly is a dirty white, the hair all over coarse and short. The *Paca* is an amphibious animal. On land it digs up the earth like a hog in quest of food, and when in danger flies to the water for its safety; notwithstanding this animal is so very plump and heavy, it runs swifter than most other animals of its size in South America, contrary to the account given of it in the supplement to the Count de Buffon's description*, where it is said "not to be nimble, to run but seldom, and then with a bad grace;" which may all be the case in a domestic state (for the *Paca* is capable of being tamed) but he is not sluggish in a state of nature. This I know to be true, having seen him run like a hare. We had this animal dressed for supper, and found him even more delicious than the wood-rat, or even the warra-bocerra: indeed, nothing can be better eating than the *Paca* or spotted *Cavey*.

The long-nosed *Cavey*, better known by the name of the *Agouti Pacarara*, or *Indian Coney*, is also very common in

* See Buffon's Natural History, Vol. V. page 39.

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Surinam: this is the size of a large rabbit, its colour is an orange brown, the belly yellow; the legs black and slender, with four toes on the fore-feet, and three on the hindermost; the ears small, the eyes a bright black, the upper lip divided; it has whiskers, and its tail is like that of the Paca. This animal breeds very fast, and suckles its young, which are three or four in number, in concealed holes of old trees, &c. where it also retires for shelter if pursued; but it does not seek its food in the earth, like the former. The Agouti is easily tamed, and feeds on fruits, roots, nuts, &c. But its flesh, though very good, is not so delicious as that of the Paca.

In Surinam I have been told there is still another species of the Agouti, called the *Indian Rat-Coney*, on account of its having a long tail. This I never saw, unless it is the same animal (which I apprehend it to be) that I have described under the name of the bush-rat.

On the 27th we again broke up, and finally arrived in the forenoon, and in a forlorn condition, at the estate *Soribo*, on the river *Pirica*, to defend the plantations against Bonny and his rebel negroes.

The river *Pirica* by its many windings is thought to extend about threescore miles. It is very deep but narrow, and has its banks, like all the others, lined with fine coffee and sugar plantations; its general course is from S.E. to N.W. We were scarcely arrived at this post, than I was accosted by several deputies from Colonel Seyburg, who

who earnestly intreated that I would only acknowledge myself to have been in fault, assuring me that I should then be set at liberty, and all would be forgotten. As I was conscious, however, of my own innocence, I could not in common justice criminate myself in an instance, where even my alleged crime amounted to no more than an anxious solicitude for the poor men and the provisions who were entrusted to my care. I was, therefore, placed under the guard of a sentinel, for what my commander was pleased to term unpliant stubbornness, *and disarmed*. In the meantime the marines caused me fresh uneasiness, and of the most poignant kind, by loudly threatening to mutiny in my behalf; nor could any thing have prevented them, but my decisive declaration, that as no cause could justify military disobedience and rebellion, I should be under the necessity myself (however injurious to my feelings) of taking an active part against them, and seeing the ringleaders brought to condign punishment. I felt that at this time I could war with all the world, and nearly with myself—my heart was breaking apace—my life became a burden:

“ Dependants, friends, relations, Love himself,

“ *Savag'd by woe*, forget the tender tie,

“ The sweet engagements of the feeling heart.”

The day after our arrival in this station, we received the particulars of the Pirica news, which were, that on the

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the 20th the estates *Schoonhove* and *Altona* had been pil-
laged by the rebels whom we had routed at Gado-Saby,
but that at the plantation *Poelwyk* they had been beaten
back by the slaves: that the rangers stationed at an estate
called *Hagenbos* had pursued them on the 21st, over-
taken them on the 23d, killed several, and brought back
most of the booty: that on the same day another party
of the rebels had made an attempt to seize the powder
magazine at Hagenbos (which was no bad plan) but that
(while the rangers were in pursuit of their associates) they
had been repulsed by the manly behaviour of a few armed
slaves, one of whom, belonging to the estate *Timotibo*,
took an armed rebel himself, and next discovered their
camp at the back of his master's plantations; for which
he was handsomely rewarded. From all which intelli-
gence, there was now no doubt remaining that if Seyburg's
detached party on the 16th had marched forwards instead
of backwards, by his orders, the above mischief might
have been prevented, and the enterprize of the rebels
entirely frustrated. It was also evident from this narra-
tive, that the man whom we fired at on the 21st was
certainly one of the plunderers on the 20th, and that the
bodies found dead on the 23d had been shot the very
same day.

On the 29th, among other fruits, some dates were sent
to me by a Society officer. This tree is also of the Pal-
meto species, but not extremely high; its leaves diverge
from

from its summit, very thick, hanging down in the form of an umbrella. The dates appear in large clusters, being an oblong thin fruit like a man's thumb, of a yellow colour, and the pulp, which is fat, firm, and sweet, adheres to a hard greyish-coloured stone, with longitudinal furrows.—I ought not to omit mentioning, that this day sixty rangers going to reconnoitre, discovered the old rebel camp at the back of Timotibo, which seemed to have contained about sixty armed men.

On the morning of the 30th of September, having nothing more to do in the neighbourhood of the Pirica River, we left it, and on the 1st of October came to Devil's Harwar much fatigued, nothing remarkable having happened on our march. I had written on the preceding day to Colonel Fourgeond, informing him, that I was weary of existence in my present state, and requesting that a court-martial might be *immediately* called; and this letter I had sent by a slave to the commander in chief. On our arrival at this station, I indeed found every hard means employed to bring me to terms; and such was the severe usage I experienced, that one of the rangers, called *Captain Quaci*, exclaimed, "If in this manner these Europeans treat one another, is it to be wondered at that they should take a pleasure in torturing us poor Africans?"

At Devil's Harwar, however, my stormy voyage drew to a conclusion. Colonel Seyburg was evidently convinced

vinced that he was wrong, and knowing what must follow, now only wished for a handsome opportunity of extricating himself from the effects of his unmanly passion. On the 2d of October, therefore, he asked me with a smile, “ If I had a heart to forget and forgive ?” To which I sternly answered, “ No !”—He repeated the question.—I then said, “ I venerated truth, and would never confess “ myself in an error, unless my heart coincided in the “ acknowledgment—that this was a concession I would “ make to no man living, and least of all to him.”—He here grasped my hand, begged me to be pacified, and declared, “ That he would make peace on any terms ;”—but I again drew back with contempt, and decidedly avowed, “ That I could not agree to any compromise, unless he owned *his fault* in the presence of all the officers, “ with his own hands tearing from his journal every sentence that could reflect upon my character.” The journals were immediately produced, my arms were returned me, and my triumph was attended with every circumstance that could add to my *full satisfaction*. I then frankly and sincerely gave my hand to Colonel Seyburg, who gave a feast in honour of our reconciliation ; and after dinner, to my utter surprise, produced the *letter* which I had written to Colonel Fourgeoud, which he acknowledged he had intercepted to prevent the affair proceeding to extremities : at the same time he acquainted me, that Fourgeoud was encamped at the Wana Creek,

instead

instead of Lieutenant Colonel de Borgnes, who had fallen sick, and was gone to Paramaribo. A perfect reconciliation having taken place, and every thing being now adjusted, while the troops having had some rest, we set out once more on the 4th for the head quarters at Jerusalem; but I was obliged to leave poor Quaco, who was very ill, at Devil's Harwar, under care of the surgeon; and that evening we encamped opposite the mouth of the Cormoc-tibo Creek.

On the following morning early, having crossed the River Cottica, the troops marched back to Jerusalem; where I now had leisure to reflect on the various evils which befall poor mortals, as well those who are innocent of the difficulties they are brought into, as those (which are the greater part) who have brought themselves into distress and even despair by their own indiscretions. These reflections arose from finding here, among others, a newly-arrived acquaintance, a Mr. P—t—r, who having squandered away in Europe above *thirty thousand* pounds, and lost a beautiful wife by elopement, was now reduced to the income of an ensign in the Society troops. This gentleman having formerly possessed considerable property in this very colony, his present situation could not but be assuredly the more galling on that account.—Alas! unhappy young fellow: well might you exclaim—

“ Privé de tout mes biens,

“ Dans un climat funeste,



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- “ Je t'adore & te perds,
“ Le poignard seul me reste.
“ Mais, Oh ! je suis P—t—r,
“ Reservé pour souffrir ;
“ Je sçaurois vivre encore,
“ Et faire plus que mourir.”

These are the words which he spouted with a sigh, throwing the last silver he had left among the slaves ; and indeed nothing could be more applicable to himself than the lines he quoted, or more lamentable than this poor devil's forlorn condition ; which, however, created in me, during my present humour, no other effect—than a loud and immoderate fit of laughter.

CHAP. XXIII.

Second March to Gado-Saby—Account of a living Skeleton—Beautiful Landscapes—The Commander in Chief falls sick, and leaves the Camp—Some Rebels taken—Discourse on the Existence of Mermaids—Heavy Rains—Disease—Famine—Misery.

ON the 9th of October, 1775, Colonel Fourgeoud CHAP.
XXIII. broke up the encampment at the Wana Creek to join us at Jerusalem, having sent down the half of his party sick in barges; and their number being greatly augmented by the invalids from this place, they were all together transported to receive the *coup-de-grace* in the hospital at Devil's Harwar. The rangers also took their leave, and marched with Mr. Viusack their conductor, to guard the Pirica river.

Fourgeoud, during his last cruise, had discovered a hundred empty houses, and seen some straggling rebels, but he had taken none. He had also found a scalp fixed to the branch of a tree, which we justly conjectured to be the remains of the unfortunate *Schmidt*, who was lost*.

* This was the more surprising, as we were at peace with all the *Indians*, and scalping was never practised by the *wegros*.

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On the 13th my black boy, Quaco, being perfectly recovered, arrived, to my great satisfaction, as his fidelity to me was so steady and unshaken. At the same time we received an account that Captain Stoelman, with some rangers, had discovered a fresh settlement of the rebels by a great smoke appearing at a distance in the forest, but had not yet attacked them; that Captain Fredericy, with a party of black volunteers, was scouring the sea-side below Paramaribo; that the two men we had lost on the 18th of August had miraculously escaped, and found their way to the post at the river Marawina; and that no less than twelve fine negro slaves had just deserted from the *Gold Mine* estate to join the rebels.

This news so much exasperated Colonel Fourgeoud, that the indefatigable man again determined to persevere in pursuing his enemies. We accordingly entered the woods very early on the morning of the 15th, although he and his little army were at this time greatly reduced. He buried but the evening before one of his countrymen, a volunteer, called *Matthew*, and brother to the ensign: but death was now become so familiar to us, that upon losing a friend or relation, the first question generally was, "Has he left any brandy, rum, or tobacco?"—"Pauvre Laurant!" said I, to his shrivelled valet-de-chambre, "the brave Fourgeoud is like fire; he is to the colony an excellent servant indeed; but I think to both you and myself but a roughish master." The poor fellow, shrugging

ging up his shoulders, replied with a grin and a heavy sigh, "*Oui, par ma foi!*" and then treated me with a pinch of his snuff. I must not omit that, a little before our departure, seven more of our negro slaves did desert us, who went home to their masters perfectly broken-hearted, emaciated, and nearly starved; however, we proceeded, and marched directly N. E. during which nothing happened, except my box with all my bottles being dashed to pieces; and in the evening we encamped, though *then* unknown to us, near the Cassipore Creek, where the dry season having commenced, we dug a pit for water. Orders were also issued to the troops no more to build huts, sheds, &c. as the rains were now less violent.

On the 16th we continued our route, marching N. E. as before, and towards the evening arrived at the houses which Colonel Fourgeoud had lately discovered, which proved since to be only a temporary settlement, erected by the rebels as a shelter or asylum in their expected retreat, before they were dislodged from Gado-Saby; and to this little settlement they had given the name of *Boossy Cry*, that is, "the woods lament." Here we encamped, and took much notice of Bonny's house in particular, which was built like a watering machine, being elevated from the ground, with two doors, so that he might the better observe all around him, and prevent his being taken by surprise: it also had more air, and, of course, was better calculated for his health, he having in some late action

received

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received a very dangerous wound in the groin, as we afterwards learned from a rebel negro prisoner. Near to Bonny's house were the private baths, where his women washed themselves morning and evening, there being no river near this settlement.

In this encampment one of our slaves presented me with a *land-turtle*, which indeed we had met with several times before; but as I have never described this animal, I will now endeavour to give some account of it.—The land-turtle of Surinam is not more than eighteen or twenty inches in length, and of an oval form; the shell is more convex than that of the sea-turtle, and marked with thirteen elevated hexangular shields, dark brown and yellow, so hard that it will bear almost any weight without breaking; the under shell is a little concave, and of a light yellow: the head of this animal resembles that of other turtles; the tail is naked and short, but instead of fins or swimmers it has four feet covered with scales, and armed with sharp claws to assist it in crawling over the ground. When this poor creature sees any danger, it instantly shrinks within its shell. In this situation the Indians put it on the fire, where they broil it until it is drest, which is known by the under shell separating from the upper, which serves for a dish to hold the contents. A less barbarous way, and the way which I always followed, is only to provoke the animal by the heat of the embers to run away; when stretching out its head and neck, they are easily

easily chopped off, and the food extracted without additional torture. I have known Mr. de Graaf keep three or four of these land-turtles for above four months for transportation, during which time they lived without any apparent nourishment whatever, yet still remained vigorous, and even prone to copulation.

Another kind of land-turtle, called here the *arlacacca*, I have often seen; this is less in circumference, very flat, of a disagreeable greenish colour, and nothing like so good as the former.

On the 17th we continued our march N. and N. E. in hopes of more discoveries, but without success. We this day passed some ant-hillocks above six feet high, and, without exaggeration, above one hundred feet in circumference. We also saw great quantities of valuable timber, and, among the rest, the *black-cabbage* tree, the wood of which is of a deep brown, and is in high estimation among carpenters and joiners. The *sand-hooker* tree was likewise shewn me, which receives its name from the fruit, which being divested of its seed, is used as a sand-box by writers. It is of the shape of a large onion, with small holes in the surface; the seed is both laxative and emetic, but the juice of the pulp is a fatal poison. More than this I cannot say, having had neither the time nor the power of examining it with the accuracy of a professed botanist.

On the 18th we continued the same course for a few

hours longer, when we found a beaten path, which, though circuitous, seemed to be a communication between Gado-Saby and Boossy-Cry. We followed this path, which led us due W. for a few hours, when a poor rebel negro was found by me covered with branches of the manicole-tree, and indeed barely alive, being in appearance nothing but skin and bone, with one of his eyes almost beaten out of the socket. I put my bottle to his mouth, he swallowed a few drops of rum and water, and said with a faint voice which we could scarcely hear, " Dank ye, me Massera !" but could articulate nothing more. Fourgeoud ordered this man to be carried with us in a hammock ; and we soon afterwards encamped near a biree-biree swamp or quagmire. I ought not to forget that this day we saw some very fine *locust-trees*, being eighty or a hundred feet high, and prodigiously thick ; the trunk is grey and very straight, with no branches till near the top, on which the leaves are disposed two to each stem : this is justly called the king of the forest, for a finer tree cannot be found. The timber is of a beautiful cinnamon-colour, and possesses every desirable quality of gravity, polish, grain, and durability.— But what particularly attracted our notice was its seed, like beans, three or four in number, enclosed in a broad light-brown pod, that lay scattered in quantities at the root of the tree, upon the ground, and tasted like some kinds of gingerbread. From the root of this tree a gum exudes,

exudes, which, properly prepared, affords a varnish hitherto unequalled for transparency and effect.

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Innumerable indeed are the various fine trees that this country produces, and which may be had for the cutting; yet, when we consider the distance they usually grow from navigable rivers, the great labour in felling and working them, the vast number of slaves required to drag them through the forest, where no horses can be employed, besides the danger and loss of time, we may easily account for the enormous price generally paid for the best timber in Guiana.

This march undoubtedly afforded us the most enchanting prospects that can be imagined, in a luxuriant and ever-green forest, while the dry season contributed greatly to beautify the scene; and simple nature by far outshone the most strenuous endeavours of art. Here we met with immense savannas of the most lovely verdure, interspersed with meandering brooks of water, cool and clear as rock crystal; their borders adorned with flowers of every lively hue and fragrance. In some places we observed small clumps of elegant shrubs, or perhaps a single tree, whose beauty would almost induce one to think they had been designedly left growing to enrich the scene. The whole surrounded by a vast wood of lofty palm-trees, waving their sea-green foliage above the variegated copse of never-fading verdure, blossom, and fruit, as if to invite the panting wanderer under its cooling shade, till in the later

hours he might enjoy the bracing pleasures of the limpid flood, and contemplate nature's beauties undisturbed.— When universal silence reigned every where around, how often have I thought on my *dear friend*, and wished with her to glide through life in these Elysian fields!—But I must wave the pleasing recollection.

On the 19th we again marched, and fell in with our old path, which we followed, leading directly to the fields of Gado-Saby, where quantities of rice once more appeared in full bloom, which we cut down and burned to ashes. Here, perceiving the poor rebel negro hopeless of recovery, not absolutely to bury him alive, he was overspread with moss, leaves, and green boughs; after which we slung our hammocks, being almost choaked with smoke.

In these fields I saw a lizard above two feet long, which the negro slaves killed and ate: they called it *sapagala*, it was of a brownish green colour, but did not resemble the iguana. Among the ruins of the consumed town we discovered some *scolopendras*, or centipedes, no less than eight or ten inches in length; this odious reptile is of a yellowish-brown colour, walks very fast backwards or forwards, and bites so severely, that the venom it infuses, though not deemed fatal, generally produces a fever. Some writers assign this reptile twenty pair of legs, others forty; I never reckoned them, and can only observe, that they appeared to me exactly to resemble the centipedes

in Europe. Some of our gentlemen formed large collections of these curiosities, which were very valuable, whilst I contented myself with the drawings and descriptions only of those I thought most uncommon.

On the 20th, we marched to visit *Cofaay*, when I perceiving the unhappy negro captive still alive, after removing the branches, he was, at my earnest intercession, once more carried along with us; but the slaves, being discontented with such a load, took every opportunity, in my absence, of torturing him, by knocking him against roots and stones, and dragging him through mud and water as they went along. Different patrols were now ordered out to reconnoitre the grounds, while the remainder of the troops encamped in the *west* part of *Cofaay*; and these patrols discovered no less than four beautiful fields in one chain, situated due west from *Cofaay*, well stocked with cassava, yams, plantains, pistachio nuts, with maize and pigeon peas: also were seen several human carcases, the relics of our late engagements in August. We found here a species of *medlars* of a crimson colour, and of a taste very much like that of strawberries. This fruit grows on a large green shrub, and is cultivated in many gardens at *Paramaribo*. We also met with a kind of wild plum-tree called *monpe*: the fruit is yellow, oblong, and small; the stone is large, the pulp thin, and though of a sharp acid has an agreeable flavour.

On

On the morning of the 21st, all these and every useful vegetable were cut down, and again destroyed by fire; after which, returning to our last night's camp, we found it also in flames, and were obliged to sling our hammocks in the *east* skirts of the woods. Here, recollecting that the poor disabled rebel was left alone, I ran back *west* to the burning camp to afford him assistance; but after seeking him in vain through clouds of smoke and darkness, I was forced to consult my own safety, by hastily returning to my companions; some blaming me much for my temerity, others damning the *skeleton*, whether dead or alive.

The devastation being now completed, we marched back to Jerusalem, where on the 24th we arrived perfectly exhausted, and Fourgeoud at last so ill with a phrenzy fever, that he was confined to his hammock, with small hopes of surviving the night. But he however still continued to command, and the next morning ordered a marine to be bastinadoed, for asking shoes, although he was bare-footed, and his feet torn to pieces; while another was flogged for coughing, who had a severe cold; a captain was dismissed from actual service, and confined in Fort Zealandia, for having dared to marry without his consent.—Sickness and death now raged through the camp, and every thing was in the utmost confusion.

To complete the whole, on the 1st of November, twenty-five

five more negro slaves ran away ; and on the 3d we received intelligence that no less than fifty armed rebels had been seen swimming across the River Cottica, about a musket-shot above Barbacoeba.

In consequence of this information, Colonel Seyburg was detached with the few men that remained able to carry arms, who through distress and famine were now almost ready to attack their own officers ; and who being unsupplied with their favourite luxury, tobacco*, sat smoking grey paper, and chewing leaves and leather as a substitute for the want of it. Few men, however, were worse off than I was at this time ; since, having neither provisions nor clothes, I was almost naked as well as starved, with a running ulcer in my left foot, ever since the ambuscade and march to Pirica ; nor had I a friend in the camp who could give me the smallest assistance. To complete my misery, the little blood I had remaining was in *two* successive nights again nearly sucked away by the vampire-bat, or spectre : thus I fainted away in my hammock, and was almost sorry to recover, particularly upon being informed by a letter that Joanna and her boy were dying with a putrid fever at Paramaribo.

At last, on the 12th, Serjeant Fowler arrived from *Mocha*, with *one* of my boxes ; when this poor fellow, notwith-

* All sailors, soldiers, and negroes are particularly miserable without tobacco: it keeps up their spirits, they say, and some *almost* prefer it to bread.

as the chief command; the barge that rowed off the old hero having but just disappeared, when this gentleman was attacked also by the phrenzy fever; the above complaint was indeed at this time very common amongst all ranks and degrees who were broiling under a burning sun at Jerusalem; it being the dry season, when we ought to have been in the woods—but for those expeditions, as I have stated before, the rainy seasons were most unhappily preferred. Several officers would have before now thrown up their military commissions, could they with decency have taken such a measure, during an expedition on actual service; nor, in my opinion, ought such to be granted, cases of the very greatest necessity excepted. I could myself have wished to go for some time to Paramaribo, but as this favour was not offered me, while all the others, and even the slaves, were relieved, I scorned to petition for it while I was able to stand.

On the 19th, however, my foot became so bad, that the surgeon reported me unfit for duty; yet I still remained in the camp, where I could be to none of any service.

A supply of fresh troops, slaves, and provisions being arrived on the 20th, Major Medlar, with 150 men, was detached to make new discoveries.

Among other plagues, the whole camp at this time swarmed with *locusts*, which appeared every where in most formidable troops, devouring every thing that lay in their way. Indeed the curse of Heaven seemed to visit us here

CHAPTER
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The only desirable article we found at Jerusalem was fish, of which we seldom wanted plenty, particularly *new-mara* and *warrappa*, also the *patakee*, and the *old wifsee*, both very excellent; the former of which is about two feet long, shaped like a whiting, the other is the size of a large perch. A kind of needle-fish, called *naaynaayfisee*, was found here in great abundance, these were very thin, and about one foot in length; also a kind of *dung-fish*, about the size of a small herring, but these two last were only used by the negroes.

On the 3d of December, Major Medlar's party returned, after fourteen days absence, with a captive rebel woman and her boy about eight years old, taken in a small field of bitter cassava. The poor woman was pregnant, and under great alarms, but was tenderly treated by Medlar, who was always a humane and well-disposed gentleman. He had, however, unluckily lost two of his best men, one *Schoelar*, a corporal, the other called *Philip Van den Bos*, a private marine, who having inadvertently eaten a few roots of the above *bitter cassava*, were poisoned, and died during

during the same night with the most excruciating pain and convulsions: the antidote is said to be Cayenne pepper and spirits, neither of which were at that time to be procured.

The black woman confirmed the account that Bonny had been wounded; she also told us the poor starved negro we had found was called *Isaac*, and had been left for dead. That one captain *Arico* had formed a new settlement near the sea, called *Fissy-Hollo*; while Bonny, she assured us, maintained the strictest discipline amongst his troops: he was, she said, absolutely despotic, and had executed two of his men but three days before we took Gado-Saby, *viz.* during the night of the 17th August, when we heard the firing and shouting, only upon suspicion of having hinted some few words in favour of the Europeans, and were the heads which we found stuck on the stakes. She further assured us, that none of his people were trusted with arms, until they had first served him some years as slaves, and given him unquestionable proofs of fidelity and resolution. But these, she observed, were but few in number, when compared to his numerous vassals, who were bound to do without murmuring whatever he thought proper to command them; yet that he *still* was more beloved than he was feared, on account of his inflexible justice and manly courage.

On the 4th December, this poor woman and her boy were sent to Paramaribo, with Ensign *de Cabanus*, who

C H A P. had taken them: he had at the same time nearly seized a
 XXIII. young girl about fifteen, who by her great agility, and
 being stark naked, slipped out of his hands :

—————“ Fugit ocior aurà

“ Illa levi : neque ad hæc revocantis verba resistit :

“ Nympha, precor, Peneia, mane : non insequor hostis.

“ Nympha, mane.”————— OVID.

It being proved at the court that the above woman had been forcibly carried off by the rebels, though many years before, the poor creature was pardoned, and joyfully returned with her child to her master's plantation. It is remarkable, that when the boy saw the first cow or horse he almost fell into convulsions with terror ; nor could he bear to be touched by any white person, whom he never had seen before, and whom he constantly called *Yorica*, which in his language signifies the devil.

About this time a dead sea-cow, or *manatee*, by the French called *Lamantin*, floating past Jerusalem, the negro slaves fell upon it, like so many crows upon a carrion, swimming round it, some with a rusty knife, some with a bill-hook, and each carrying off a slice for his dinner ; at last they dragged the stinking animal on shore, of which I instantly took a drawing. This manatee was exactly sixteen feet long, almost shapeless, being an enormous lump of fat, tapering backwards to a fleshy, broad, horizontal tail. It had a thick round head, a flattish snout, large nostrils,

nostrils, with strong bristles both on its nose and chin, small eyes, and auditory holes instead of ears. Instead of feet, it had two excrecences or fleshy fins, like those of the sea-turtle, projecting near its head; with these it swims, and moves awkwardly to eat the grass on the banks of the rivers, being an amphibious animal. The colour was a greenish black; the skin was hard and uneven, covered with large knobs, circular wrinkles, and with a very few stiff hairs thinly scattered. It had grinders, but no fore-teeth, and a very short tongue. The sea-cow or manatee is, like the whale, a viviparous animal, the female suckling its young by the help of its swimmers. They are very numerous in the river Amazons; their flesh, it is said, resembles veal, and is very good food. This was, however, too far advanced in a state of putridity, for me to taste it. It had the marks of being twice shot, which must have been by the rebels on the 27th, when we heard the report of two muskets at a distance.

As I am once more on the subject of natural history, I shall describe another amphibious animal, called the *tapira*, which bears some distant resemblance to the hippopotamus of the old continent, but it is a great deal less. This creature is about the size of a small ass, but much more clumsy. The head is not unlike that of a horse, but the upper lip much longer, projecting something like the proboscis of an elephant, and is also moveable, but too short to be of use, as is the trunk of that animal; the ears
are

are short, the tusks strong, and sometimes visible, the mane is bristly and erect, the limbs are low and strong, with a kind of hoof divided into four claws, and the tail is thick and short like that of the elephant. The skin of this creature is excessively thick, of a brown colour, and when young it is marked with white spots, like those of the stag or paca, proceeding in longitudinal rows. It feeds on grass, and other herbs that grow in watery places, and is so shy, that when alarmed by the smallest noise it plunges under water, also like the paca, for security, where it remains for a considerable time. The flesh of the tapira is delicate, being accounted superior to the best ox-beef.— See both the above animals in the annexed plate.

A Mr. *Selzfelder*, of the Society service, at this time assured me, that he saw quite a different river-horse in the river Marawina; and Major *Abercromby*, of the same service, declared, that a *mermaid* was lately seen in the river Surinam. Lord *Monbodo* also positively affirms the existence of sea-women and sea-men, while he asserts that they were seen so late as 1720. But, however respectable his lordship's judgment and authority may be on other subjects, I can no more agree with him, as to men and women having fins and scales, than to their having *tails*.

The plain fact, in my humble opinion, is this, that in many rivers between the Tropics, both on the coast of Africa and South America, a fish sometimes appears half above the water, that bears a distant resemblance of the
human



The Tapir, or Hippopotamus of South America.



The Manati, or Sea Cow of Guiana.

human species, but is smaller, nearly such as in 1794 was exhibited in London. The colour is of a blackish green; the head is round, with a deformed kind of a face; a strong fin runs from near the eyes to the middle of the back, which something resembles flowing hair: and the two supposed arms and hands, are two fleshy fins, or rather digitated swimmers; the female has breasts assuredly like a woman's, being a viviparous animal; while the tail is exactly that of a fish, in most of which properties it agrees with the seal, but this last has no fin along the back, and is considerably larger, while it never appears erect above the water, like the former. The above information I had from several old negroes and Indians, who all agreed perfectly in the description; some added, that they sang, which I apprehend to be no other than a grunting noise which they emit like most other tropical fish and amphibious animals.

They concluded by assuring me, that though they were scarce, nothing was more dreaded by their wives and children, than the *Watra Mama*, which signifies the mother of the waters; and by which name, strange to tell, they distinguish their *Sibyls*.—So much for the *monsters* of the deep; and now I shall once more return to those infesting Terra Firma.

I have just mentioned, that, on account of a very bad foot, I had been returned unfit for duty by the surgeon, on the 19th of November; yet this day, December 5th,
another

another surgeon, with two captains, and the adjutant, were sent to inspect both *me* and Captain *Perret*, who was also sick. The surgeon gave his declaration *upon oath*, that we were incapable of walking without danger, much more of undergoing fatigue; but *Seyburg*, who was still in his phrenzy fever, declared we should instantly enter the woods, though he should see us carried in two *wheelbarrows*. Poor Captain *Perret* complied to turn out, though he looked like a ghost, and could scarcely stand; but I solemnly swore that I would blow out the first man's brains who dared *disrespectfully* to touch me: in consequence of which I was close guarded by a sentinel; while the whole camp, upon my soul, now seemed to be composed of none but madmen.

On the 11th we received intelligence that a number of armed rebels had been just seen opposite to Devil's Harwar, and afterwards informed they were upon their retreat from the Comewina river, where on the 5th they had burnt to ashes the dwelling-house of the estate *Killectyn Nova*, with Mr. *Slighter* the overseer *in it*, ransacked the whole plantation, killed and carried off thirty-three women, and chopped off the limb of a male mulatto child, to be revenged of its father; and that the *Pirica* rangers were in pursuit of them. Captain *Fredericy* also arrived this day, who had exchanged from the Society troops into Colonel *Fourgeoud's* regiment of marines, and confirmed to us the above unhappy news.

About

About this time, after having starved four months, my remaining stores arrived at last from Mocha, but three-fourths rotted and destroyed by the *blata* or cockroaches: the remaining part I distributed among the sick people. But what proved truly acceptable, was the cheering account that *Joanna* and *Johnny* were past danger, and recovering at Paramaribo. This intelligence indeed so elevated my spirits, that the next morning I reported myself fit for duty, though God knows that I was not; and to this I was the more induced by the want of fresh air, of which I was perfectly debarred in my confinement, and stood so much in need. The same evening a boat full of Caribbee Indians rowed up Cormoetibo, for the river Marawina, by the communication of the Wana Creek.

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In eight days more, which was the 20th of December, being actually recovered of the wound in my foot, and Seyburg of his phrenetic fever, another officer and I played him the following trick, for his bad usage. Having invited this gentleman, with his adjutant, and a few more, to see us act a farce by candle-light, we affected to quarrel, and beating out the candle, the door being well secured, laid on in the dark with such success upon a certain somebody's shoulders, that, calling out Murder! he leaped out at the window. Nothing ever gave me greater entertainment than to perceive his agility; but Colonel Seyburg declared he would never more to *our play* be a spectator.

At this time orders arrived from Colonel Fourceoud, who was also better, to break up our camp at Jerusalem, and march once more to the Wana Creek. In consequence the sick were again sent down in barges to the Hospital at Devil's Harwar, which was nearly full, while several were labouring under a disease something like the *tympany*, called here the *kook*, being a prodigious hardness and swelling in the belly, occasioned, it is said, by drinking muddy water without spirits, which was indeed our daily and general beverage.

On the 22d, at six o'clock in the morning, we all decamped, and scrambled up along the banks of the Cormoetibo Creek, through a perfect bog, while one poor negro, who had his head fractured, was left behind, and another knocked over-board one of the barges, who was drowned.

We this day again saw great numbers of pingoes or warrec-hogs, which as usual breaking through our line, were cut down by sabres and stabbed, while some ran off with the bayonets sticking in their hams.

This march was peculiarly disagreeable, upon account of the heavy rains, which now began to fall down in torrents, overflowing the banks of all the rivers; and so cold were the damps in the morning, contrasted with the late warm days, that we frequently lay shivering in our hammocks as in frost, especially when sleeping in wet clothes. This inconvenience, however, I obviated to-day by marching
ing

ing half naked, like the rangers, and putting my shirt in one of the reversed kettles, during the rain—thus my skin soon drying, after a shower, I again put on my linen, and found myself much more comfortable than any of my trembling ghastly looking companions.

On the evening of the 23d, we encamped near a rivulet called the *Caymans* or Alligator Creek; where a tree called *Monbiara* afforded some excellent fruit, but this was entirely stripped by the slaves before I could either taste or even see it in perfection.

The rains continuing to pour down in a deluge, I again marched stripped on the 24th, and we slung our hammocks in the evening, near a brook called *Yorica*, or the Devil's Creek, where we made huts or sheds to cover us, and stowed the provisions upon rafters.

On the following day we once more laboured through deep mud and water, in very heavy rains, and encamped at another small brook, called the *Java Creek*, three miles below the Wana.

On the 26th I was selected, with a small party, to reconnoitre the old camps at Wana Creek. In the evening we returned, half swimming through mud and water, and having literally seen nothing except some birds and curious trees, which I cannot pass unnoticed. The birds were called the *Cromback*, the *Camawarry*, and the *Crocco*. The first is a kind of large snipe, the size of a woodcock, with a crooked bill. The second is also a water-fowl, but

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three times as large as the first: on account of their swiftness, and disappearing in a moment, I can give but a very imperfect description of them. The *Croco* is something less than our ravens, and I believe of the same species, being one of the most voracious birds of the carnivorous tribe; in Guiana it is of a dark blue colour, has a remarkably strong bill and limbs, and croaks excessively loud and disagreeably, especially by night. The trees were what the negroes called the *Matakee*, and the *Markoory*. The first is remarkable for its roots, which spread above the ground in such a manner, that they will conceal a score of men from each other; nay so large are they sometimes, that a horseman may ride through between the interstices, and one single piece is sufficient to make a table large enough to hold twelve people.

For a better idea of this wonderful tree, I refer the reader to the annexed plate; where I have placed it upon the opposite shore of the encampment at Jerusalem. In the same plate he is also presented with a *fair-weather* view of the camp at Java Creek.

The other tree, called the *Markoory*, is truly formidable on account of its poisonous qualities, which are of such a subtle nature that the very smoke of this wood, when on fire, is fatal to those animals that receive it into their lungs; this is always seen to grow by itself, as it infallibly kills every thing around it, nay even the slaves refuse to cut it down on the plantations, so much are they afraid of touch-



View of the Camp at the Tava Creek.



View of the Encampment at Jerusalem.

ing, or of even coming near to it. The Markoory is low, ugly, and uneven, with very few branches, and a pale verdure. I have been told that some of the Indians render their arrows fatal by dipping the barbs of them in its sap.

On the 27th, another patrol was sent out, but to no better purpose than the first. I have mentioned that my foot was recovered, and so it was, but I had now extracted out of my right arm two dreadful insects, which left behind them very deep ulcers. These are called in Surinam the *bush-worms*, and are the shape and size of the aurelia of the common butterfly, with a pointed tail and black head. They stuck extremely fast in the flesh, and were extracted with a lancet. They breed naturally in stagnated waters, in marching constantly through which they had attached themselves to my flesh.

My heart now began to sink with accumulated disasters; my mind was agitated and depressed with a constant train of tortures, to which I could see no end, and I became weary of life. In this dreadful situation I fell upon my naked knees, and invoked the malediction of Heaven to fall on me, if I did not separate myself from my present commanders and this service, the first honourable opportunity that should offer itself;—how religiously I have persevered in observing this vow, shall be seen in the sequel of these pages, before I take my final farewell of my readers.

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The place of our present encampment was now intolerable beyond every description, being constantly overflowed, so that the ammunition and provisions were stowed for preservation on wooden rafts; nor could we step out of our hammocks without being up to the knees in mud and water, where it was most shallow, while the gnats and other insects devoured us alive. The consequence of all which was, that *another* barge full of dying wretches was sent down the Cormoetibo Creek, bound for the hospital at Devil's Harwar; among whom the poor old negro with his fractured skull, who had only yesterday rejoined us in his shocking condition. This floating *charnel-house* weighed anchor on the last day of the year 1775—with which I shall beg leave to conclude this gloomy chapter.

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Two Volunteer Companies raised, of free Mulattoes and Negroes—Description of the Arrowouka Indian Nation—Colonel Fourgeoud's Regiment receives orders to sail for Europe—Countermanded—Re-enter the Woods—Trade of the Colony—Description of a Cacao Estate—Sample of Sable Heroism.

TO what good star I was obliged, in the midst of all our confusion and distress, I know not, but certain it is, that Colonel Seyburg having sent for me on the first day of the new year, not only solicited my future friendship, but declared he was sorry for all the ill-treatment he had ever occasioned me, for which he principally blamed Mr. Gibhart, his adjutant and spy; then taking me by the hand as a proof of his real regard, permitted me from that moment to go to Paramaribo, or wherever I pleased, to refresh and refit until further orders; which had such an effect on me, that having instantly converted every drop of my rum into grog, we sat down, together with two other officers, and drowned all former animosity in oblivion, till we could hardly see each other. In this condition I took my leave that very evening of my *new* friend

and

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CHAPTER. and the camp at Java Creek, and rowed down in the best
 XXIV. spirits for Paramaribo.

Next morning, having slept during most of the passage, I breakfasted at Devil's Harwar, where I found that the unfortunate Gibhart had just set sail for the *other* world. In the evening we arrived at the estate Beekvlied, as my negroes had made extraordinary dispatch, *funning wattru** all the time to encourage each other.

On the 3d I arrived at the fortress Amsterdam, where I was entertained with an excellent fish dinner, and where I must again intreat the reader's patience, while I attempt to describe the different species, *viz.* the *passessy*, *prare-prare*, *provost*, and *curema*. The *passessy* is above two feet long, and weighs sometimes twenty pounds; the head is broad and flat; it has two long barbs, and no scales, and is very delicate eating. The *prare-prare* is about the same size, and equally good. The *provost* is large, often five feet, and of a yellowish colour; the flesh of this is less agreeable, but the oil it produces comes to good account. As for the *curema*, this is a species of mullet, sometimes above two feet in length, with large silvery eyes, and the under jaw longer than the upper. Near this place are also found a kind of *sea-snails*, of which Madam Merian makes mention; and the fore part of which exactly resembles those of a shrimp.

* That is, one of the rowers beating the water with his oar at every stroke, in such a manner that it sounds different from the rest, to which the others sing a chorus.

In the evening at six o'clock I arrived once more at Paramaribo, and found Joanna with her little boy perfectly well, after having both been blind for above three weeks; with whom being now invited to lodge, at the house of my friend Mr. De Graaf, I was completely happy.

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The following day I dined with Colonel Fourgoud, who now also was as sound as ever, and who gave me a very indifferent meal of salt provisions*, but an *uncommonly* hearty welcome. He acquainted me that two new companies of free mulattoes, and two of free negroes, all volunteers, had just been raised; that the Seramica and Owea negroes encouraged and favoured the rebels, and were deceitful rascals; that a few rebels had been killed in the Cassiwinea Creek; and that he was in hopes of rooting out *Fissy Hollo*; that *Bonny*, with his people, were almost starving in the forest, notwithstanding their late depredations, which could not last much longer; and that he was fully determined, if he should lose his last man, to make *this* rebel surrender, or harass him till he and his gang, through hunger and distress, should be obliged to quit the colony. I learnt further from him, that a Frenchman had just escaped hanging for betraying the state of the fortifications, &c. to the Governor of Cayenne; that he had pardoned Captain Tulling for his clandestine marriage; and that Lieutenant Colonel de Borgnes was just

* This he absolutely held as the best regimen for health, notwithstanding he had brought three cooks from Europe.

CHAP. entered into matrimony with a rich widow, a Mrs. Crawford.
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The Colonel, in a word, was now quite the reverse of what he had been before, and upon the whole so very agreeable in his manners, that I would never wish to spend my time in better company ; but how I should become at once the favourite of both these rival commanders, was a secret I could never yet discover, unless it might proceed from a desire of gaining me from each other, as they still continued mutual enemies : be that as it may, I resolved to preserve the most inflexible neutrality, as I also did between them and the Governor, where I was invited next day, and dined not on salt-beef, but found as usual a truly magnificent entertainment.

Thus I continued daily visiting my friends, *viz.* Mrs. Godefroy, the Demellys, the Gordons, the Mac Neyls, &c. I also spent a very agreeable day with the black Mrs. Sampson, or Zubly, who was now a widow.

I was present too at a mulatto ball, composed however not of slaves, but of free independant settlers. Here the music, the lights, the country dances, the supper, and, above all, the dresses were so superb, and their behaviour so decent and genteel, that the whole might serve as a model for decorum and etiquette to some of the fairer and more polished inhabitants.

On the 20th, observing a number of Indians and black people of both sexes swimming at the back of Fort Ze-
 7 landia,

landia, young Donald Mac Neyl and myself completed the group, by stripping and getting in among them; and I must confess I never beheld more surprising feats of activity in the water, than were performed by the negroes, who fought a *sham battle*, by plunging or rather tumbling like porpoises, when they struck each other with their legs, as they never used their hands; while the Indians, who were of the *Arrowouka* nation, swam and dived like amphibious animals.

Being sufficiently refreshed, we sat down upon the beach, near the twenty-one gun battery, where I had an opportunity of examining the features and figure of one of their young females, as she approached us, like Venus rising out of the sea. These people being very different from all the other Indian nations that I have already described, I shall embrace the opportunity of fulfilling my promise, and giving a particular account of them.—In the first place, the skin of the young woman who was now emerging clean from the river, and divested of arnotta-paint, appeared much fairer than the copper-colour of the other Indians; neither were her limbs deformed by those strait-laced bracelets or cotton bands so much in use with the rest; nor did her hair hang down, but was neatly plaited close round the crown of her head, and fastened in the center with a broad silver plate*. Her only dress

* This, at other times, they supply by a shell, a fish-bone, or the tooth of a tiger, &c.

consisted, both during the time she bathed and after, of a small square apron made of beads, as I have mentioned before: in every other respect she was perfectly naked: nor could a finer figure be imagined—erect, vigorous, active, young, and healthy, which convinced me that when the body is exposed, as it certainly was ordained by nature, the face is but little noticed.

“ ————— Such as Arcadian song

“ Transmits from ancient uncorrupted Time;

“ When tyrant Custom had not shackled Man,

“ But free to follow *Nature* was the mode.”

In her features was displayed that beautiful simplicity, that native unsuspecting innocence, which cannot be put on where there is the slightest consciousness of guilt. Nor is the olive-colour incompatible with beauty, it is certainly the standard complexion of the human race, while the black and white are supposed to be only gradations, produced probably by the extremes of heat and cold. As this Indian girl was perfectly handsome, so she seemed to be perfectly happy.—“ Happiness,” as the Abbe Reynal wisely observes, “ is more frequently found in a pure state “ of nature, than in that of the most refined civilization.” To be sure an European woman would blush to her fingers ends at the very idea of appearing publicly stark naked; but education and prejudice are every thing, since it is an axiom, that where there is no feeling of self-reproach, there can assuredly be no shame.

I remember



Benedetti Sculp.

Indian Female of the Arrowauku Nation.

I remember to have seen an Indian youth, whose name was *Weckee*, at Bergen-op-Zoom, where he was brought over from the colony Berbicè with General *Desalve*, who clothed and partly civilized him: amongst other things, he learned cookery, and to be something of a tailor, at his own request, that he might be enabled to provide both for his back and his belly. After some time however, expressing a desire to return to the colony, he no sooner touched American ground, than stripping himself of his lumber, he launched naked into his native woods, where he ended his days as he had begun them, amongst his beloved countrymen and companions; like the Hottentot mentioned by Rousseau, in his celebrated *Discours sur l'Inégalité & Conditions*, &c.—But to return to the girl:—She had with her a live parrot, which she had stunned with a blunt arrow from her bow, and for which I gave her a double-bladed knife*. So wonderfully expert are the Arrowouka Indians at this exercise, that they frequently bring down a macaw in full flight, or even a pigeon.

I cannot conclude these remarks without adding a few words concerning the unspotted moral character of these

* The general traffick carried on between all the Indian nations and the Europeans consists in balsam-capivi, arrococerra, oil of carrabba, arnotta, and bees-wax, besides pieces of Brazil and ebony; the roots hiarec

and varnillas, canoes, hammocks, slaves, monkeys, parrots, and parquets; for which they receive fire-arms, knives, hatchets, fish-hooks, combs, coral and glass beads, blue cotton, looking-glasses, &c.

people,

people, who not only live in peace with most of the other Indian nations, but are peculiarly attached to the Europeans, while these in return profess for them the strongest esteem.

As a proof of their gratitude, I will only relate one instance:—Some years ago an Indian woman being at Paramaribo, and far advanced in a state of pregnancy, a Mr. *Van der Mey* humanely ordered his servants to conduct her and her husband into his house, where, giving them a private apartment, and every other conveniency, he wished them good night. Before the next morning the woman was delivered; but when the servants went in to renew their offers of friendship, neither man, wife, nor child were to be found, as they had before day-break quietly marched into the forest*. Various were at this time the conjectures concerning the boasted *integrity* of the *Arrowouka* Indians, until, no less than eighteen months after, the same Indian returned to Mr. Van der Mey, with a charming captive boy of the *Accawau* nation, that he had taken in battle†; and whom presenting to his benefactor, he only said, “*That’s yours,*” and without waiting for any answer disappeared.—For this slave the above gen-

* I have mentioned before that the Indians are exempt from pain in labour.

† This is however extremely uncommon, as a more peaceable people does not exist in the universe.

tleman was offered £. 200, which he refused, and treated him as well as if he had been free.

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The education these people receive in their infancy being according to the dictates only of simple nature, their minds or their bodies are very seldom deformed, while a too nice attention to either is possibly as detrimental as a total neglect. The ingenious Dr. Baneroff is of the same opinion, which he supports (I think needlessly) by a quotation from Quintilian.

Though the Arrowouka Indians live in perfect friendship and harmony with us, and indeed with most of their neighbours, they yet sometimes go to war when provoked, as I have just observed; in these combats they use bows and arrows, and the club called *abowtow**; but they do not eat their prisoners like the Caribbee Indians, who even devoured the negroes whom they killed at the insurrection in Berbicè. Notwithstanding these people live at a greater distance from the sea than the *Warrows*, &c, yet they have canoes, sometimes fourscore feet in length, in which they paddle down the rivers. The Arrowouka Indians particularly are great herbalists, and for all external accidents have recourse to simples, with which the woods of all Terra Firma abound.—
But to proceed:

On the 25th I was seized with a fever, and blooded in

* The New Zealanders call their clubs *pato-patoo*; which affinity is remarkable, on account of their very great distance.

the foot, in which the orifice being *struck* too deep, for struck it was as they bled the horses, I again became lame; during which time Colonel Seyburg arrived from the Java Creek to recover, he being at last also taken very ill.

In the mean time Colonel Fourgeoud, while he was just ready to renew his operations, having already sent a small detachment to the Jew Savannah for intelligence, received letters from the Hague, with express orders to abandon the expedition immediately, and with his few remaining troops to sail for Holland without delay.

In consequence of these commands on the 27th, the transport ships were put in commission, and all the officers and privates received their clearance, which made them very happy; and indeed all Paramaribo were alive with joy, except some of the inhabitants and myself.

On the 14th of February, ill as I was with a bad foot, a sore arm, the prickly heat, and all my teeth loose with the scurvy, I found means to scramble out on crutches, with a thousand florins in my pocket, which having divided between Fourgeoud and Mrs. Godefroy for the redemption of the black boy *Quaco*, and my *mulatto*, I returned home without a shilling in my purse; yet for this small sum of 500 florins, so inadequate to 1800 which I owed that lady, she was induced generously to renew her persuasions of carrying Joanna and the boy with me to Holland. This, however, Joanna as nobly as firmly refused,

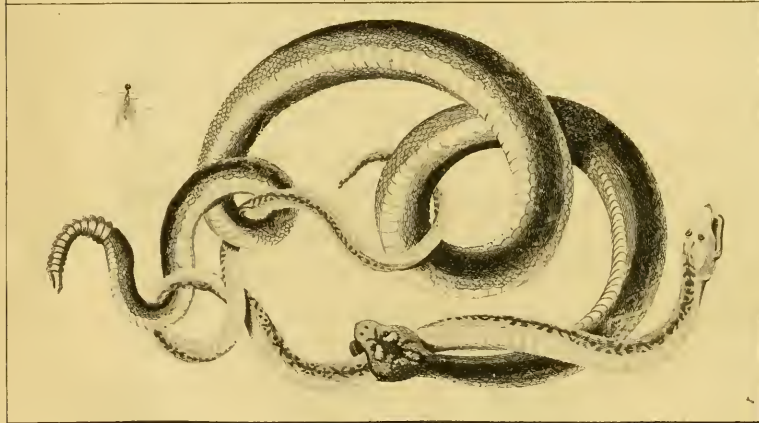
refused, declaring, “ that, independant of all other considerations, she could never think of sacrificing one benefactor to the interest of another; and that her own happiness or even mine, which was dearer to her than life, should never have any weight, till the debt of her liberty was paid by me, or by her own industry, to the utmost fraction, and which she did not despair to see one day completed.” She added, “ our separation should only be for a time, and that the greatest proof I could ever shew her of my real esteem, was now to undergo this little trial of fortune like a man, without so much as heaving a sigh in her presence;” which last she spoke with a smile, next embraced her infant, then turned suddenly round, and wept most bitterly. —At this moment I was called to Mr. *de la Mare*’s, who was just dead, where my melancholy having surpassed all description, I at last determined to weather one or two painful years in her absence; and in the afternoon went to dissipate my mind at a Mr. *Roux*’s cabinet of Indian curiosities; where, as my eye chanced to fall on a rattle-snake, I will before I leave the colony describe this dangerous reptile.

The *rattle-snake* of Surinam is sometimes eight or nine feet long, and very thick about the middle, tapering towards the neck and tail. The head is dreadfully deformed, being flat and broad, with two large nostrils

C H A P. near the snout, and a large scale or knob like the alligator
 XXIV. above his eyes, which are jet-black and sparkling; at the
 extremity of the tail are several thin horny shells joined
 together, which are very dry, and which, when irritated,
 the animal shakes, sounding much like a *rattle*, from
 which it derives its name. These shells augment, *it is*
said, in the proportion of one every year, by which it is
 supposed its age may be ascertained. This whole snake
 is covered over with scales, which on the ridge of the
 back it erects. The colour is a dirty orange mixed with
 dark-brown and black spots, which last are also on its
 head, appearing like velvet, and marked in a very conspi-
 cuous manner; the belly is ash-coloured, with transverse
 scales like most other serpents. When this animal is in-
 tent on mischief, it lies coiled like a rope, with the tail a
 little in motion, which having rattled, it launches forth
 upon its prey, making no farther reach than its own
 length; this done, it coils a second time, and again pro-
 jects itself. The bite of the rattle-snake is accounted
 fatal, at least is thought very dangerous over all America;
 but with regard to the fascinating qualities of its eyes, such
 as the story of its causing mice, squirrels, and birds to run
 into its mouth, I reject them as fables; the supposed
 charm consisting in nothing more than this, that the poor
 animals, finding themselves surprised by the impending
 danger, are seized with such a trepidation and fear, that



The Green Butterfly of South America.



The Rattle Snake & Dipsas of Guiana.

even the use of their limbs forsakes them, and they are rivetted to the place till they die, or in the act of leaping they are seized by their enemy*.

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In this cabinet I also saw the *blue dipsas* of Surinam, which had almost the colour of ultramarine on the back; its sides were lighter, and the belly nearly white. I did not learn that the bite of this reptile was fatal, but that it occasions immoderate thirst in the patient, from which it took its name; the word *dipsa* signifying thirst in the Greek language. Another snake I also observed here, about three feet long, being annulated with different colours, and called *amphisbæna*, from the supposition of its having two heads; but the truth is, that from its cylindrical form the head and tail so much resemble each other, that the error is almost pardonable: besides which, the eyes are nearly imperceptible. This is the snake which, being supposed blind, and vulgarly said to be fed by the large ants already described, is in this country honoured with the name of King of the Emmets †.

Amongst Mr. Roux's numerous collection of fine butterflies, one of a middle size I thought peculiarly beautiful; all its wings, both above and below, being elegantly streaked with transverse bars of velvet, black, and a variegated bright green. The amazing height to which they

* See a letter to the editors of the New Universal Magazine for October 1787.

† How Madam Merian should call this reptile an *oviparous viper*, surpasses my comprehension.

ascend, and the great velocity with which these insects fly, make them so rare, being, for these reasons, but very seldom caught. The caterpillar is a sea-green, and all covered over with hard feelers, not unlike feathers.—For a better idea of the above snakes, and this fly, see the plate annexed, where the last was improved from Madama Merian's collection.

I have just said that we were ordered to leave the colony, and that all were overjoyed with the news, myself excepted. But on the 15th, by letters from Holland to our chief, our *return* was again countermanded for six months. My companions were therefore suddenly cast down with disappointment, while I was as suddenly revived, and now determined to save all my pay until Joanna's redemption should be fully accomplished: but what grieved me very much was the other news from Europe, *viz.* that the *Scots Brigade* had been invited to England by his Britannic Majesty, while I was lamenting that I could not possibly be one of the number*. I at the same time had the offer of an American company under General Washington, but this I refused without any hesitation, as may be supposed.

In short, on the 18th of February, the poor dispirited men were again sent up to Magdenberg, a large party still remaining at the Java Creck; whilst the temper of the officers was now so ruffled, that a Mr. *Fisher* of our

* The King's demand was negated by the States of Holland.

corps fought no less than *two* duels in two succeeding days, dangerously wounding both his antagonists, who were both officers of the Society regiment.

As I was not yet recovered, I staid some time longer at Paramaribo, where at the house of a Mr. Reynsdorp, I saw a Portuguese *Jew* teaching his children the *Christian* religion, while the pious mother of the charity-house kept flogging the poor slaves daily, because they were, as she said, unbelievers. To one black woman in particular, she wantonly gave four hundred lashes, who bore them without a complaint.

But to change the disagreeable subject;—while I have the leisure and the opportunity, I feel the inclination to state to the public a short account of the trade and intrinsic value of this blood-spilling colony; which still might be richer, did they not follow the example of the woman in the fable with her golden eggs.

In the first place, in Surinam are computed to be about six or eight hundred plantations, producing sugar, coffee, cacao, and cotton, besides some indigo, and valuable timbers, &c.—The exportation of which four first articles only, and their value, may be seen at one view in the following table for four successive years.

TABLE

TABLE OF EXPORTATION.

The Years.	Barrels of SUGAR.	lbs. of COFFEE.	lbs. of CACAO.	lbs. of COTTON.
1771	19,494	11,135,132	416,821	203,945
1772	19,260	12,267,134	354,935	90,035
1773	15,741	15,427,298	332,229	135,047
1774	15,111	11,016,518	506,610	105,126
Total -	69,606	49,846,082	1,610,595	534,153

69,606 barrels of sugar, at 60 florins <i>per</i> barrel, make	-	-	<i>f.</i> 4,176,360	—	—
49,846,082 lbs. of coffee, at 8½ <i>d.</i> <i>per</i> lb. make	-	-		21,184,584	17
1,610,595 lbs. of cacao, at 6½ <i>d.</i> <i>per</i> lb. make	-	-		523,443	7 8
534,153 lbs. of cotton, at 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per</i> lb. make	-	-		212,661	4
Sum total	-	-	<i>f.</i> 26,097,049	8	8
Which makes in one year exactly			<i>f.</i> 6,524,262	7	2
But this average produce was shipped off for the town of Amsterdam only.					
Carried forward	-	-	<i>f.</i> 6,524,262	7	2

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Brought forward - - -	-	-	f. 6,524,262	7	2	C H A P. XXIV.
If I now add what goes to Rotterdam and to Zealand, besides the home consumption, and the return of the rum and molasses, the indigo at 4 <i>f.</i> per lb. and the timber from 5 <i>d.</i> to five florins per cubic foot, it will amount to as much more			6,524,262	7	2	{ }
Thus altogether - - -	-	-	f. 13,048,524	14	4	

Which, supposing it was but 11,000,000*f.* makes a yearly income of *one million* neat in sterling money.

How the above sum is divided between the republic of Holland and this colony, shall be my business to state in the second place.

The town of Amsterdam affords about fifty ships, at an average of 400 tons burthen each, which receive, for importation freight of various commodities, the sum of - - - - - *f.* 6,000

For exportation freight of the
 above productions, which } 52,000
 grow in the colony* - - }

Thus each vessel gets for freight *f.* 38,000
 Which, multiplied by the N° of vessels 50

Makes exactly - - -	-	-	f. 1,900,000	—	—
For Rotterdam and Zealand I calculate together about 30 vessels more of different burthens: thus - - -	-	-	1,200,000	—	—
Carried forward - - -	-	-	f. 3,100,000	—	—

* Sugar pays about 3*l.* per barrel, and coffee about as much per thousand; other commodities in proportion.—*N. B.* This I insert unauthenticated, thus errors excepted.

And

<p>C H A P. XXIV.</p>	<p>Brought forward - -</p> <p>And for the brick that serves for ballast, passengers, &c. - -</p> <p>Each Guinea ship importing } yearly from 250 to 300 ne- } groes, lowest value at } <i>f.</i> 120,000</p> <p>Thus supposing the number of vessels* - - - 6</p> <p>Amounts to - - - -</p>	<p><i>f.</i> 3,100,000 — —</p> <p>80,000 — —</p> <p><i>f.</i> 120,000</p> <p>6</p> <p>720,000 — —</p>
<p>To all these I shall add the merchandise imported from Holland, such as wine, spirits, beer, salt-beef, pork, and flour, silk, cotton, and linen-manufactures; clothes, hats, shoes; gold, silver, and steel ornaments; arms and ammunition; even masons and carpenters tools, &c. &c. at an average of about 50 <i>per cent</i> profit. Besides correspondents charges, insurance, duty, store-house expences, porters fees, wharfage and package, which last articles cost the inhabitants ten <i>per cent</i>. more.</p>		
	<p>Thus altogether - -</p>	<p>1,100,000 — —</p>
	<p>Which makes already the sum of -</p>	<p><i>f.</i> 5,000,000 — —</p>
	<p>Still let me mention the interest of 6 <i>per cent</i>. for the national debt of five millions sterling, due by the colony, and what they are defrauded of by usurers in Holland, where prodigious other charges are brought in; and where those who have made their fortunes go to spend it; and the amount will be found to produce at least</p>	<p>1,000,000 — —</p>
	<p>The whole of which items added together, produce no less a sum yearly than</p>	<p><i>f.</i> 6,000,000 — —</p>

* There are some years but four, and some ten, &c.

Which

EXPEDITION TO SURINAM.

Brought forward - - -	-	-	-	f. 6,000,000	— —
Which is clear profit to the republic, <i>viz.</i> principally for Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Zealand. Thus the inhabitants of Surinam get, for their share of the above treasure, only - - -	-	-	-	5,000,000	— —
Which make together, as I said, one mil- lion sterling, or - - -	-	-	-	f. 11,000,000	— —

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In the third place, I shall now show in what manner the internal expence of the Society of Surinam is defrayed by taxes; which amount to no trifle, as shall be seen.

Having already mentioned, when speaking of the government, that the public revenue officers were five in number, I will now point out how they collect the cash respectively each, for the support of the above expences.

The first of these is that of Importation and Exportation Duties.

To this is paid, *viz.*

By all Dutch vessels, 3 <i>f.</i> <i>per ton</i> - - -	}	}	}	}	
By Americans, &c. 6 <i>f.</i> <i>per ton</i> - - -	}	}	}	}	
By Americans, &c. for all imports and exports, 3 <i>per cent.</i> - - -	}	}	}	}	60,000
Sugar pays 1 <i>f.</i> <i>per thou-</i> <i>sand or barrel</i> - - -	}	}	}	}	
Coffee 15 <i>d.</i> <i>per 100 lb.</i> <i>weight</i> - - -	}	}	}	}	in 1771
Cacao 1 <i>f.</i> 15 <i>d.</i> <i>per 100</i> <i>lb. D°</i> - - -	}	}	}	}	paid 260,000
Cotton - - -	}	}	}	}	— —
				f. 410,000	— —

Thus receives yearly about the sum of -
 VOL. II. E c

f. 410,000 — —
 The

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Brought forward - - -		<i>f.</i> 410,000 — —
The second is the office of excise and small duties.		
To this is paid, <i>viz.</i>		
For a barrel of beer - - -	<i>f.</i> 3 — —	
A D° of claret - - -	12 — —	
A pipe of madeira - - -	23 10 —	
All wines, <i>per</i> quart bottle - — —	1	
The tax on publicans, is -	600 — —	
D° on small retailers - - -	500 — —	
And which amounts to a yearly produce of at least - - -		100,000 — —
Then follows thirdly the office for taxation on heads; which receives for all inhabitants, black and white, without exception, <i>viz.</i>		
For men and women <i>f.</i> 2 10	} this produces yearly -	150,000 — —
For boys and girls under 12 - - - <i>f.</i> 1 5		
Next comes the office for sales and slaves, which gets, <i>viz.</i>		
For selling dead stock, including estates, &c. 5 <i>per cent.</i> - -	} thus,	130,000 — —
For selling newly-arrived or imported negro slaves, 2½ <i>per cent.</i>		
And finally, the office for re-taking negro deserters, which was then erected, the other taxes not being sufficient; which produces yearly, <i>viz.</i> - - -		
By an additional tax on heads, black and white, at 1 <i>f.</i> is	} 80,000	
By 4 <i>per cent.</i> of every profit got during the year upon oath, is		
		400,000
Which makes exactly - - -		480,000 — —
Carried forward - - -		<i>f.</i> 1,270,000 — —
		Still

EXPEDITION TO SURINAM.

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Brought forward - - -	f. 1,270,000 — —	C H A P. XXIV.
Still let me not forget what is yearly paid for what is called the support of the common or grass fields, viz.		
For a house, according to its size.		
For a coach - - - 20 — —		
For a whiskey - - - 10 — —		
For a saddle-horse - - - 10 — —		
Which add to the above impositions again	12,000 — —	
And these, if summed together, make a yearly revenue of no less than - - -	f. 1,282,000 — —	

Having now clearly demonstrated, partly by the assistance of Dr. Firmyn's *Tableau de la Colonie de Surinam*, and partly by my own experience, that the intrinsic value of this settlement is worth yearly above *one million* of sterling money, which, by proper management, might be still increased; also that the greater part of it goes to the republic, while the people are thus burthened on their estates by almost insupportable taxation, which induces many to be rogues, who would perhaps otherwise be honest; I shall by way of appendix, give some short account of the trade carried on in this colony by the *North Americans*: — These people arrive with small brigs, sloops, and schooners from Virginia, Rhode Island, New York, Boston, Jamaica, Grenada, Antigua, Barbadoes, &c. from which places they export flour, beef, pork, herrings, salt, mackarel, and leaf-tobacco for the negroes;

also fir-boards, English rum, and other spirits ; loaf-sugar*, spermaceti-candles, onions, &c. Besides each vessel is bound to bring in one horse †, which they often supply by a head only ; affirming, that they put on board a horse, but that he died on the passage. For the above commodities the American traders export all the melasses of this colony to distil into rum at home, and frequently ship-loads of other productions and merchandize, though this is done in a clandestine manner, by which both the seller and buyer are considerable gainers, being ready cash for the one, and a cheap bargain for the other. From the Leeward Islands these vessels also import private mulatto and quaderoon slaves, which being generally young and handsome, whatever may be their moral character, sell for considerable prices.

Having thus shewn, according to the best information I was able to acquire, in what the commerce and intrinsic wealth of this fine colony consist ; I will now take my leave of the subject, and continue my narrative.

On the 21st of February, Mr. *Reynsdorp*, the son-in-law of Mrs. Godefroy, took me in his sail barge for change of air to *Nuten-Schadelyk*, one of his own coffee estates ; where I saw a white man who had lately lost both his eyes in one night by the bats or vampires, as they are called ; and the following day, sailing up Comewina river, we

* I have said they can make no rum here ; neither do they refine sugar.

† Mr. Hartzink mentions four horses, but this is a mistake.

proceeded

proceeded to the delightful *Cacao* plantation *Alkmaar*, the property of the above lady; where the negro slaves are treated like children by the mistress, to whom they all look up as to their common parent.—Here were no groans to be heard, no fetters to be met with, nor any marks of severity to be seen—but all was harmony and content. The superb house and other offices of this charming estate, where pleasure and hospitality ever reign, I have already represented in plate N° X. ; while the fields and gardens, nay even the negro houses, bore all the marks of perfect peace and plenty.

The *cacao-trees* are supplied from nurseries for the purpose, like orchards in England, and planted very regularly at ten or twelve feet distance from each other, where they grow to the height of our English cherry-trees. But these plantations must be well sheltered, both from the hard winds and scorching sun, when young; the roots not entering deep into the ground to succour them, nor can they at that time bear extraordinary heat; on which account the groves are filled up with cassava-shrubs or plantain-trees for their shelter, and which at the same time answer the purpose of killing the weeds, which grow so luxuriantly in all the tropical climates;—by these attentions the trees will bear fruit before they are three years old, when they afford two crops annually, but they are in the highest perfection at the age of twelve or fourteen. The leaf of the cacao-tree is above
eight

eight inches long, and nearly three broad, thick-pointed, ribbed like the laurel-thyme, and of a bright green-colour. The fruit is about the same size, and when young resembles a cucumber; but when ripe it becomes yellow like a large lemon, with ribs like the melon, and tubercles which enclose the seed or nuts, near thirty in number: they lie longitudinally in the fruit, and when fit for use are of the size of olives, and purple-coloured. The trees are supposed to bear at each crop from thirty to three hundred pods, each containing about thirty nuts, weighing one pound, from which a calculation may be made how much will be the produce of each harvest. After a few days the nuts are extracted from the pods, and dried in the shade; during which time they undergo a very strong perspiration, when they are put into barrels and fit for transportation, to be converted into that well-known and agreeable beverage called Chocolate.

It is said the cacao-trees are natives of Guiana, and grow wild in large quantities near the river Amazon: be that as it may, Governor *Chatillon's* son planted the first tree in Surinam in 1684, and the first crop was exported to Holland in 1733. A great advantage in cultivating cacao-trees is, that fewer slaves are required than in any other branch of the planting business. How considerable are the profits will appear by the accounts of the year 1774, when 506,610 lbs. were exported to Amsterdam alone, which produced 202,614*f.* Dutch money,



Spring of the Cocoa, or Chocolate Tree.

being equal to £. 18,419 sterling. The prices have been fluctuating from 4*d.* to 9*d.* per lb. the average being about 6½ *d.* The best estates, of which *Alkmaar* is one, produce yearly above 80,000 lbs. weight.

In the plate annexed, *A* is the leaf above, *B* below*; *C*, the wood; *D*, the flower; *E*, the young pulp; *F*, the same in perfection; and *G*, the seeds or nuts to make the chocolate.

On the 27th we returned to town, where the day before a Society soldier was shot for mutiny; and the day following a ship was burnt in the roads. At this time the celebrated free negro *Qwasi*, who was the prophet, priest, and king of the rangers, &c. went to Holland on a visit to the Prince of Orange, with letters of recommendation from *Fourgeoud*, whose praises he was to resound, as well as to complain of the Governor for not treating him with due respect. This being the period for the sessions, another negro's leg was cut off for sculking from a task to which he was unequal; while two more were condemned to be hanged for running away altogether. The heroic behaviour of one of these men before the court deserves particularly to be noticed:—He begged only to be heard for a few moments; which being granted, he proceeded thus:

“ I was born in Africa, where, defending my prince

* Drs. Bancroft and Brooke say, the leaf is light above and dark below, which in my original drawing is quite the reverse.

“ during

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“ during an engagement, I was made a captive, and sold
 “ for a slave on the coast of Guinea by *my own* country-
 “ men.—One of your countrymen, who is now to be one
 “ of my judges, became my purchaser, in whose service
 “ I was treated so cruelly by his *overseer*, that I deserted,
 “ and joined the rebels in the woods.—Here again I was
 “ condemned to be a slave to *Bonny*, their chief, who
 “ treated me with even more severity than I had experi-
 “ enced from the Europeans, till I was once more forced
 “ to clope, determined to shun mankind for ever, and in-
 “ offensively to end my days by myself in the forest. Two
 “ years had I persevered in this manner quite alone, un-
 “ dergoing the greatest hardships and anxiety of mind,
 “ preserving life only for the possibility of once more see-
 “ ing my dear family, who were perhaps starving on my
 “ account, in my own country ; I say two miserable years
 “ had just elapsed, when I was discovered by the rangers,
 “ taken, and brought before this tribunal, who are now
 “ acquainted with the history of my wretched life, and
 “ from whom the only favour I have to ask is, that I
 “ may be executed *next Saturday*, or as soon as it may
 “ possibly be convenient.”

This speech was uttered with the utmost moderation,
 by one of the finest-looking negroes that was perhaps
 ever seen; to which his former master, who, as he ob-
 served, was now one of the judges, made the following
 laconic reply—“ Rascal! that is not what we want to
 “ know ;

“ know; but the *torture* this moment shall make you
 “ confess crimes as black as yourself, as well as those of
 “ your hateful accomplices.” To which the negro, who
 now swelled in every vein with indignation and ineffable
 contempt: “ Massera, the tigers have trembled for these
 “ hands,” holding them up; “ and dare you think to
 “ threaten me with your wretched instrument? No, I
 “ despise the utmost tortures you can now invent, as
 “ much as I do the pitiful wretch who is going to inflict
 “ them.” Saying which, he threw himself down on the
 rack, where, amidst the most excruciating torments, he
 remained with a smile, without uttering a syllable; nor
 did he ever speak again, until he ended his unhappy days
 at the gallows.

What good man can “ reflect the tear-stain'd eye,
 “ When blood attests even slaves for freedom die?
 “ On cruel gibbets, high disclos'd they rest,
 “ And scarce one groan escapes one bloated breast.
 “ Here sable *Cæsars* * feel the Christian rod,
 “ There Afric *Platos*, tortur'd hope a God,
 “ While jetty *Brutus* for his country sighs,
 “ And sooty *Cato* with his freedom dies !”

Having dined with Colonel Fourgeoud on the 8th of
 March, when we celebrated the Prince of Orange's birth-

* The above names, with such as to negro slaves, in exchange for
Nero, Pluto, Charon, Cerberus, Pro- *Quacoo, Quacy, Quamy, Quumino,*
serpine, Medusa, &c. are usually given *Quasiba, Adjuba, &c.*

day, while Mr. Reynsdorp gave a treat to all the soldiers, he acquainted me that the rangers were now alone encamped at the Wana Creek; that the pestilential spot *Devil's Harwar* was at last entirely forsaken; and that the two lately raised companies of sable volunteers had taken a few prisoners, and killed others on the *Wanica path*, behind Paramaribo. I was at this time a good deal better, but still, not being quite recovered, he who had formerly treated me so severely, now even insisted on my staying some longer time at Paramaribo: nay, gave me an offer to return to Europe, which I absolutely refused; in short, about the middle of the month, I was as well as ever I was in my life. At this time Colonel Fourgeoud and myself were daily visitors of the ladies, in whose company no man could behave better, while I could often not avoid disgust; indeed so languid were many in their looks, and so unrestrained were some in their conversation, that a Mrs. N— even asked me, *sans ceremonie*, to supply the place of her husband; while she might as well have asked me to drink, for a relish, a tumbler of salts.

On the 17th, however, my eyes were better feasted, when, going to dine with Colonel Texier of the Society troops, I first took a walk in the orange grove and the Governor's gardens; here, peeping through the foliage, I soon discovered two most elegant female figures after bathing, the one a fine young *Samboo*, the other a *blooming Quaderoon*, which last was so very fair complexioned,

that she might have passed for a native of Greece, while the roses that glowed in her cheek were equal to those that blossomed in the shrubbery*. They were walking hand in hand, and conversing with smiles near a flowery bank that adorned the side of a crystal brook, in which they plunged the instant they heard me rustling amongst the verdure, like two *mermaids* :

“ Then to the flood they rush'd ; the parted flood
 “ Its lovely guests with closing waves receiv'd,
 “ And every beauty soft'ning, every grace
 “ Flushing anew, a mellow lustre shed.”

Leaving them to enjoy their innocent amusement of bathing, I spent the remaining hour before dinner amongst the shady fruit-trees, blooming bowers, and serpentine gravel walks : where indeed I saw greater variety of European plants than I imagined were produced in a tropical climate, such as mint, fennel, sage, rosemary, gold-en-rod and jessamine, the sensitive plant, pomegranates, roses, figs, and even some grapes.—Of the pomegranate flowers, a specimen may be seen in plate, N° XXIX. The figs are both within and without of a beautiful crimson colour ; but the roses are rather pale. Here were some beautiful pine-apples and melons, which, though they are

* It is to be remarked, that though Europeans look pale under the torrid zone, the native inhabitants have often a freshness peculiarly engaging, particularly mulattoes and quadroons.

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so generally known, I will nevertheless give some account of. The imperial fruit called *Anana* or pine-apple grows in the centre of an elegant sea-green plant, on a stalk of the same hue, about eight inches in length, its leaves diverging near the surface of the earth, which are smooth, long, strong, pointed, and dentulated with hard prickles. The shape of this fruit is nearly oval, the size of a sugar-loaf, all over chequered, and of a most beautiful orange or golden colour, being crowned with a sea-green tuft, of the same leaves as the mother plant, and which when put in the ground produces another pine-apple in the space of about eighteen months. The delicious taste and flavour of this fruit has in the space of half a century become so well known, that I have introduced it merely to notice its *plenty* in the country I write of; for so spontaneously indeed do the former grow in this climate, and of such different kinds, without any cultivation, that on many estates they serve as a common food for hogs.

The *musk* and *water melons* grow also plentifully in this country; the first is of a globular form, large, like the crown of a small hat, ribbed, buff colour, orange and green. The pulp is yellow, firm, sweet, and succulent; still it is eaten with sugar, but more frequently with black pepper and salt—the smell of this fruit is excellent.

The water-melon is of an oval or cylindrical shape, its colour is a bright polished green, and partly a very pale buff: the pulp of this fruit is a pink colour, and of a
mellow





A. Smith sculp.

The Musk Melon, Water Melon & Pine Apple.

mellow watery substance; its taste is sweet, exceedingly cooling, and of a most agreeable flavour.

Both the above melons are of the cucumber kind, growing on rough stalks, with large leaves, that creep along the ground. It is remarkable that the water-melon, which may be freely eaten in all distempers without the least pernicious consequence, thrives best in very dry and sandy places.—In the annexed plate may be seen the *Anana* or pine-apple, with the musk and water-melon, besides the seed from which this last is produced.

I sent about this period, to a Mr. Reygersman in Holland, a most elegant collection of Surinam *butterflies*, which are here caught in great abundance and variety, and by which alone some people make no small profit; but the very idea of pinning them alive to a sheet of paper, was sufficient to prevent me from becoming a fly-catcher:

“Lo! the poor beetle that we tread upon——

“Feels a like pang, as when a giant falls.”

Now Captains Van Geurick and Fredericy, with Serjeant Fowler, were sent on an embassy to the *Owca* and *Sarameca* free negroes, if possible to procure their assistance against the rebels, which they always continued to *promise* (while Colonel Fourgeoud gave them presents) but never yet *performed*. A few of the other officers still stayed with us *gallanting* at Paramaribo, amongst whom

CHAPTER. whom were Major Medlar and Captain Hamell*, who
 XXIV. had both been with General Desalve's regiment, in the colony *Berbice*, and previous to that the first was in the Prussian service. It was no small change of appearance for us, who had so little a time before appeared like wild men, now to strut through Paramaribo, dressed like so many *Frenchm arquees*.

Being a particular favourite of Governor Nepveu, I one day was induced to ask him for a piece of *uncultivated* forest ground; when he readily granted me 400 acres: but when I inconsiderately asked it of him, I had not calculated how large a capital it required to clear away woods, purchase negroes, and provide other necessaries for such an undertaking; and when a little reflection convinced me how difficult it would be to find a partner of abilities to assist me, I declined accepting this mark of the Governor's regard.

Having on the 26th once more saved a poor black girl from receiving some hundred lashes, by replacing a dozen of china, which she had broken by accident; while another was stabbed by a Frenchman, who immediately cut his own throat from remorse, and his companion, an overseer, hanged himself; and having visited the poor

* The latter gentleman, in the year 1783, sailed from the Texel to the Molucca islands; where, as commander in chief, he killed the king of Pongue, with his three sons, and 600 men; and dethroned also the king of *Salangoo*, whose land he captured for the Dutch East-India Company, besides taking 127 pieces of cannon, &c.

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negro whose leg had lately been cut off *by law*, I packed my boxes to set out next morning on my sixth campaign; and once more take the command of the River Comewina: at which moment arrived at my lodgings six loaded negro slaves with presents from my hospitable friends, of every kind that Guiana could produce, and the colony of Surinam could afford me.

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CHAP. XXV.

Singular Method of detecting a Theft—Encounter between the Rangers and Rebels—Amazonian Action of a black Girl—Wonderful Sagacity in wild Bees—The Regiment receives a second Order to return to Europe.

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ON the 27th of March, 1776, adieu once more Paramaribo, my Joanna, and my boy!

This morning, a little before I sat out, I saw a Mr. *d'Halbergh* terribly bitten by a large iguana or lizard, at the very moment he was pressing me and my companions to stay a few days, to be present at the celebration of what he called his *Silver-feast*, being the twenty-fifth anniversary of his marriage; but after condoling with him upon account of the accident, we embarked in a tent-berge, and arrived that evening at the *Sporckgift* estate in Matapica. Here we were entertained two days by Captain Mac Neal, with the greatest hospitality. I was however nearly suffocated by the steam of some green coffee, which was spread on the floor of the lodge where I had slung my hammock.

Late on the evening of the 29th, we arrived at the *Gold-mine* plantation, where we found a negro boy and girl, suspended by each others side from a high beam, by
a rope

a rope fastened to their *thumbs*, which were tied behind their backs; this almost dislocated their shoulders, and must have occasioned the most agonizing tortures. Thus I cut the miserable victims down, without leave or ceremony, and swore that instant to demolish the tyrannical overseer who had inflicted this new mode of punishment, unless he promised immediately to forgive them; which he miraculously did in my presence.

On the 30th, a little before we landed at the Hope, I discovered that all my sugar, with the greatest part of my rum, was gone; and detected the thief by the following laughable stratagem (though not my own invention)—I told the negroes, six in number, that a parrot's feather was to grow within six minutes upon the tip of his nose who was most guilty; at the same time pronouncing a few incoherent words, and making two or three circles with my sabre, I shut myself within the tilt: here, peeping through the key-hole, and observing the rowers with great attention, without their perceiving me, I soon saw one of them, at every stroke of the oar, put up his hand, and feel the tip of his nose; upon which I instantly ran up to him, and cried, "I see the parrot's feather! Thou art the thief, thou rascal!" To which the poor superstitious fellow instantly answered, "*Yaw, me massera!*" then, kneeling to the *sorcerer* for mercy, and the others also entreating me to spare him, I pardoned the credulous thief and his accomplices, who by their candid confession obtained a

C H A P. piece of salt beef for their dinner, and a gourd full of good
 XXV. } grog in the bargain.

Immediately on my arrival I took the command of the whole river, and now was once more the Prince of Come-wina. I also built an elevated *palace* in imitation of *Prince Bonny's* at Boosy-Cry, on twelve strong stakes; which aërial habitation I found very necessary, the whole post being almost under water by the inundations, and by neglect become a perfect mire-pool, while of my former cottage not a vestige was to be seen. Here I found the marines in perfect misery, being almost naked, and having sold their very shoes for a mouthful of fresh provisions. These grievances, however, by my labour and intercession with Colonel Fourgeoud, whose favourite I now became more and more, were speedily redressed, and the Hope, in a little time appeared like a paradise, when compared with its former state.

Shooting was now as formerly my favourite diversion; and on the 4th I brought home a kind of *plover*, a couple of *red-breasts*, and near a dozen *grass-sparrows*.

The plover of Guiana is the size of a pigeon, its colour a dark-brown and white, with transverse bars. The wet savannahs are full of them, and they are delicate eating. The red-breast is a kind of large bull-finch, with the upper part of its body a deep chesnut; and all the rest a blood colour: this is reckoned as good as an ortolan, and abounds on all the plantations. The grass-

sparrow, which I think is by some called the *anaca*, is a beautiful little creature, like a paroquet; these birds are perfectly green, with a white bill and red eyes. They do much damage amongst the rice and Indian corn, flying in prodigious flocks upon the plantations.

At the Hope the *trochulus*, or humming birds, were so thick among the tamarind-trees, that they resembled a swarm of bees; a Lieutenant *Swildens* daily fetching down several of them, by blowing small peas or Indian corn through a hollow reed.

Of all the tropical birds, this little creature is particularly worth attention, not only on account of its beauty, but for its diminutive size, being smaller than the first joint of a man's finger; and when deprived of its feathers not larger than a blue-bottle fly. However, there are several species, and some twice as large. These birds vary much in their colour: in the shade they appear generally of a deep shining green; which, by the reflection of the sun, produces a splendid purple brown and azure. The head is crested with a small tuft of feathers, green, black, and gold; the tail and wings are a glossy black; the bill is not much thicker than a pin, it is long, black, and crooked at the end; the tongue is forked, and resembles a red silk thread; with this they sip the nectar or honey from the flowers, during which time they are stationary, exactly like bees, and this juice seems to be the only nourishment of these little creatures. They often make their

CHAP. nest on the leaf of a wild pine-apple, or dwarf aloe, which
 XXV. is constructed mostly of cotton, and not larger than the
 husk of a walnut; their eggs are about the size of peas,
 and only two in number. Madam Merian says, that the
 humming-bird sits on *four* eggs; which, for my part, I
 never saw or heard of during my residence in Guiana.

In the annexed plate I have endeavoured to represent them and their little habitation in natural size; though I found it impossible to make the drawing more perfect, their motion upon the wing being so very quick, that the feathers are hardly perceptible; and this motion occasions that humming noise, from which this delicate little creature derives its name.

Here were also immense flocks of monkies: I have seen above two hundred of them in a field of sugar-canes, where they make great devastation. These wary animals place sentinels all round the field to give the alarm; and I myself have been a witness with what sagacity and fidelity they perform this duty, when the whole company hop into the forest, each with his plunder in his paw.

Swimming was another of my favourite amusements, which contributed to make me more healthy, and stronger than most of my companions; as it is beautifully expressed by the author of the *Seasons*:—

“ This is the purest exercise of health,

“ The kind refresher of the summer heats:

“ —Hence



The Humming-Bird, with its nest &c.

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- “ ————— Hence the limbs
 “ Knit into force, and the same Roman arm
 “ That rose victorious o’er the conquer’d earth,
 “ First learn’d when tender to subdue the wave.”

On the 14th I shot an alligator; but returning from this excursion in a boat, a packet of letters from Colonel Fourgeoud being reached me, unfortunately fell overboard into the water, and sank immediately; some officers, however, the next day coming to the Hope, informed me of the principal contents, *viz.* that Colonel Fourgeoud, being determined once more to scour the woods, had ordered me to send up all my spare men and provisions, as also the Society troops who were now at Oranjebo, the former to Magdenberg, and the latter to the river Pirica; which I performed, retaining only twelve crippled soldiers at the Hope, and as many at Clarenbeke, without either surgeon or medicines; nevertheless, with this small number, I made daily patrols by land and water—they also informed me of the death of Ensign *Van Halm*, and that another ship with sick was ordered shortly to set sail for Holland.

Colonel Fourgeoud, though he himself remained still at Paramaribo, yet continued attentively to command. Thus, on the 23d, he ordered a detachment of one hundred men to reconnoitre from Magdenberg to the Wana Creek and Marawina river; but they returned without any new discoveries.

As I was now likely to be continued at the Hope for
 some

some time, I sent for my sheep and poultry, from the estate where I had left them, presenting Mr. *Gourly* with a ram and a ewe, as being of a breed superior to any in the colony; and I found with joy that my flocks had considerably increased in numbers.

On the 26th one of my men brought me a snake, which he had just killed; it was about four feet long, and not thicker than the barrel of a musket; when perceiving a knob near its middle, larger than my fist, I had the curiosity to cut it open, and an enormous frog made its appearance, perfectly alive and entire, a small spot on the back of its head and neck excepted, which was blue and slimy, as if beginning to putrefy. For the sake of experiment, I fastened him with a string to his foot, upon a grass-plot near the river for three days; when finding the poor animal hearty and well, I gave him his liberty, with a caution to keep a better look-out for the future.

On the 28th I paid a visit to *Thomas Palmer*, Esq. late King's counsellor at Massachusetts's Bay, upon his estate called *Fairfield*. Here both the master and his slaves were perfectly happy and contented, chiefly owing to Mr. Palmer's just and equitable administration to all around him; and such were the consequences of his wise government, that few plantations in the West Indies could boast of greater prosperity, either in point of produce or population; while the courtesy and hospitality of the gentleman-like proprietor to strangers, completed his happy character, which shone conspicuously throughout the colony.

Upon

Upon my return to the Hope I received a letter from the Commander in chief, informing me that Mr. Vinsack with his rangers had killed several rebels and taken eleven prisoners ; but that another party of the rangers had been surprised by the enemy, and several of them shot dead while asleep in their hammocks.

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During these skirmishes, an instance of presence of mind was exhibited by a rebel negro, I think but seldom equalled:—A ranger having levelled his piece was just going to fire at him, when the man called out, holding up his hand, “ What, Sir, do you mean to kill one of your own party ?” Which the ranger believing him to be, replied, “ God forbid !” and dropping the muzzle of his piece, instantly received a ball through the body from his adversary, which killed him ; and who, having thus saved himself, disappeared like a flash of lightning. One of the captive negroes related, that the evening before they were taken, a rebel, who had formerly deserted from Fauconberg, was cut to pieces with sabres, by Bonny’s command, as two others had been before we took Gado-Saby.

On the 6th of May it blew a violent hurricane, accompanied with thunder and lightning, so that many trees were torn up by the roots, and most of the houses on the Hope blown down or unroofed ; my aerial palace, however, by good fortune, withstood this gale ; and upon the 8th, Joanna, with her boy, arriving at this place, I promised

C H A P. promised myself a scene of happiness equal to that I
 XXV. experienced in 1774; especially as my family, my sheep,
 and my poultry, were now doubled; besides, I had at
 this time a beautiful garden, and if I could not with propriety be called a planter, I might at least claim, with some degree of justice, the name of a little farmer.

On the 9th we all dined with Mr. *de Graaff*, at his beautiful plantation *Knoppemombo*, in Cassawina Creek, where this worthy man had foretold, before the birth of my boy, that both he and his mother should one day be happy and free. Here I saw the following roots and plants, which I have not yet observed.—The *tayers*, which are the hearts of a farinaceous green shrub, not above two or three feet high, with remarkable large leaves, in the form of a heart, the trunk something resembling that of a banana-tree. This plant being cut down, and with a knife divested of its outer tegument, has the appearance and consistency of a yam or potatoe, but is better eating, having a much finer grain. The *tayers* are of different kinds; the smallest is preferred, and made use of in the same manner as the above roots. I have here also found a kind of real potatoe, and in large quantities, but they are only used by the negroes, being inferior to the hog-potatoes in Great Britain.

The *tobacco plant* grows here with large downy leaves, full of fibres; it flowers almost continually, and will last for twelve or fourteen years, but is so inferior to the
 Virginia

Virginia tobacco, that it is only used by the slaves. This plant derived its name from the island *Tobago*, where it was first discovered, in 1560. C H A P.
X X V.

They have here also a kind of wild *tea*, which is accounted very wholesome, but in my opinion is no better than English ground-ivy. I found plenty of *tomatè*, which being produced in many British gardens, I will not attempt to describe; but only observe that the Jews are particularly fond of it, and stew it with butchers meat instead of onions.

The *physic-nut* tree is likewise to be met with here; this is a knotty shrub, that grows about ten or twelve feet in height, and very slender; the nut that it produces has a kernel like an almond, and tastes as well, provided it be deprived of a thin white skin that adheres to it, otherwise a violent vomiting and purging is the immediate consequence of swallowing it. They also shewed me several kinds of peas and beans, and other fruits growing in pods; such as the *cassia*, a shining hard yellow seed inclosed in a woody shell near sixteen inches long, and very small, with a black soft pulp as sweet as honey; this is considered as a very safe laxative: the *cassia* grows on a tree very common in Guiana, and which is called *soete boonties* and *cotiaan*. Another kind of pod, named *seve-yaars boontie*, is so called, because it is said to be in blossom seven years before it produces. The shrub called *snakee weerce-weeree* also grows here; they told me it was a so-

vereign remedy for fevers, and I take it to be the same as the *serpentaria Virginiana*, or Virginian snake-root. Lastly, I saw a vegetable or flower here called *seven-boom*, which is too frequently used by the young negro girls to promote abortion, as are also the green pine-apples, which are said to have the same effect.

Thus having spent not only an agreeable but an instructive day at Knoppemombo, we took leave of our very good friend in the evening, and rowed contentedly back to the Hope, our boat being nearly loaded with presents of every kind, amongst which were some fine cocoa-nuts, that one of his slaves, after walking, I may say more properly than climbing*, up the tree, had brought down in my presence, and after a fierce engagement with a black serpent upon the very top of it, which by the help of his knife he vanquished, and to our admiration dropped it down dead at our feet.

The slaves of the Hope and Fauconberg also testified their respect for Joanna and her boy, by bringing in presents of fowls, fruit, eggs, venison, and fish; and Mr. Palmer handsomely presented us with a large quantity of Indian corn to feed our poultry. Thus every thing seemed to contribute to our felicity, which was however considerably allayed by the disagreeable news we received on the 18th, informing me of the death of my dear friend,

* See Vol. II. p. 69, plate L.

Mr. Walter Kennedy, shortly after his arrival in Holland*: it was now also confirmed that the Dutch had refused the Scots Brigade to his Britannic Majesty; which greatly surprised me, as I considered it as a claim not only from affinity, but also by treaty.

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To amuse my mind from these unpleasing subjects, I now paid a short visit to my French acquaintance, Monsieur *Cachelieu*, at his plantation Egmond. Here, amongst other company, I met with an Italian, a planter, called D'O—s, who had but one arm; with which, however, he took up a knife at table, and without the smallest provocation, as I sat next him, made a back thrust at me, to the astonishment of all who were present. Having fortunately parried the blow by beating up his elbow, which occasioned the point of his knife to pass over my shoulder, I started up, and was going to put him instantly to death; but this being prevented, I offered to fight him with one hand tied behind me, and with any instrument he chose, fist, bludgeon, sword, pistol, or even knife; this the cowardly assassin having refused, was kicked out of company, and sent home to his plantation called *Hazard*.

So violent was this unhappy man's disposition, that some little time before, he ordered a poor negro woman, who

* This gentleman a little before his departure shewed me a letter from the unhappy youth *Campbell*, which, after thanking him for every civility, and acquainting him with his disso-

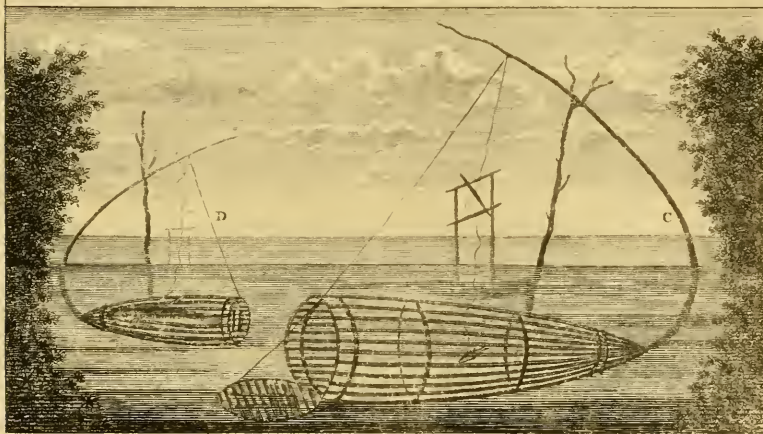
lution (which he had felt approach) was signed, "Your's to eternity, " R. C.;" and to his father he had wrote the same.

CHAPTER. was advanced eight months in her pregnancy, to be
 XXV. flogged until her intestines appeared, and that only for
 breaking a tumbler. One of his male slaves trying to
 evade his severity, was shot dead on the spot; and there
 was not a slave belonging to his estate but was cut by the
 lash of his whip from the neck to the heel.

Colonel Fourgeoud now sending a proper supply of
 men, with a surgeon and medicines, the Hope wore a
 more pleasing aspect, and health and content began to be
 visible in every countenance. Amongst other things, I
 encouraged the men to catch fish, which were here in
 abundance, and the negroes taught them how to make
 the proper snares, such as the *spring-hook*, and *mansoa* or
 spring-basket. I have given a representation of both these
 in the plate annexed, where the spring-hook is expressed
 by the letter *A*, being a long elastic pole, like a strong
 fishing-rod, stuck in the ground under water, at the other
 end of which is fixed a double line, the shortest having
 fastened to it a small stick, ten inches long, and the other
 the same, but a little lower; while at the extremity of *this*
 line is hooked a small fish by the fins, in such a manner
 as to swim to and fro, and be a bait for the larger species.
 Two long sticks being next placed in the ground so as
 to appear above water, a third stick much shorter, forms
 them like a gallows; above this gallows is bent and fixed the
 elastic pole, by means of the double line and its beams;
 but in so very slight a manner, that upon the least touch
 the



Manner of catching Fish by the Spring-Hook.



Manner of catching Fish by the Spring-Basket.

the whole apparatus gives way, and the large pole erects itself, when the fish that occasioned the spring, by taking the bait, is suspended to the hook in the air, as exhibited by the figure *B*.

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The *mansoa* or spring-basket is much upon the same construction, and may be seen by referring to letter *C*, where it is represented open and under water, with the bait swimming in it. This basket is made of warimbo reeds, in the form of a sugar-loaf (the above apparatus being fixed to the middle) in the small end of which the elastic pole is fastened, while at the other end is an open trap-door, the whole being supported in an erect position by a forked stick. No sooner has a large fish entered and taken the bait, than this pole, as in the former, erects itself with a spring, and the snap or trap-door shuts on the invader, and he is taken, as may be seen by letter *D*. This differs from the former, no hook of any kind being necessary. An idea of the ingenuity of the negroes may be formed from these constructions, as this mode of catching their fish requires no attendance, for the snaps being set at night, the fish is found in the morning, which is generally the newmara or barracota already described.

Among the variety of fish caught here was the *siliba*, a small oval fish, marked not unlike a pine-apple; the *sokay*, which is a large fish, and very good eating; the *torro-torro*, and another called *tarpoen*; the first three feet in length; the other, which is white, about two feet six inches.

On

C H A P.

XV.

On the 26th, I saw a most surprising display of activity, strength, and courage, by a young female negro, called *Clardina*, at the Hope; where a wild stag having strayed from the flock, at the moment it came bounding over the footpath she seized it in full speed by the hinder leg, but not being able to stop it, she suffered herself to be dragged to a considerable distance, nor until she was terribly wounded would she let go her hold.

The Hope was now truly a charming habitation, being perfectly dry even in spring-tides, and washed by pleasing canals that let in the fresh-water every tide; while the hedges surrounding the fields and gardens were neatly cut, and produced fruit and vegetables of many species for our use. The houses and bridges were also all repaired, while the strictest adherence to cleanliness was recommended and enforced among the men: by these means not one sick person out of fifty was now to be found, where sloth, stench, and disease, had so lately spread their destructive influence, and to which the land and sea-scurvy had given the most fatal assistance. Of the above scorbutic complaints, the former covers the body over with blotches, and the latter chiefly affects the teeth and gums.

I now enjoyed the greatest flow of health and spirits, while most of my old ship-mates were either dead or returned to Europe; not a single officer at this time being in rank above me, except only such as had been formerly inured to the West India climate.

But to return to my garden—this at present exhibited carrots, cabbages, onions, cucumbers, lettuces, radishes, pepper, cresses, &c. all thriving as well as in Europe; besides sorrel of two kinds, the common and the red, this last grows upon a shrub, and is excellent for making jam or marmalade. The jessamine also was found here of different species, that growing on a small tree being most admired: it is of a pale but beautiful red colour, and a most agreeable smell; the leaves are thick, shining, and filled with a milky juice. A species of sensitive shrub they call *shame-shame*, grew also here, as did the sleeping plant, so called from its leaves, which are set in pairs, clapping close together from sun-set to sun-rise, and appearing as if the two were but one; but as soon as the sun is up, they again open, and resume their double form. The above-mentioned shrubs were all dispersed through my hedges, besides pomegranates and Indian roses, which blow every day; while a few elegant red-lilies, which also grow wild in the savannas, adorned the banks of my canals, the leaves of which flower have a very bright and beautiful green polish.

Thus situated, we were visited amongst others by a Madame *de Z—e*, in company with her brother, and a Mr. *Schadts*, who were lately arrived from Holland; this lady was supposed the finest woman that even Europe produced, as well as the most accomplished. She spoke several languages, and was a perfect mistress of music and painting;

C H A P. painting ; she danced elegantly, and rode vastly well on
 { XXV. horseback ; she even excelled in shooting and fencing, &c.
 In order to make her perfect mistress of all the fashion-
 able exercises, I offered her my assistance in teaching her
 to swim, which, however, with a smile, she thought proper
 to refuse.

My soldiers, and even negroes, seemed now completely happy, amongst whom the most perfect harmony subsisted ; while I frequently indulged them with a merry evening, and a grey-beard of rum.

One night, in the midst of this festivity, I secretly ordered the sentinel to fire his piece, and cause a false alarm, as if the enemy were on the estate ; when I had the satisfaction to see them seize their arms, and rush out with the utmost order and intrepidity. This experiment I was the rather inclined to put in practice, as it was reported that the rebels intended soon to pay a visit to the river Comewina. But we soon experienced that no scene of perfect felicity can be lasting, for the dry season now suddenly setting in, disease and mortality once more began to rage among us, ten or twelve men dying daily at the Java Creek and Magdenburg, while those under my command at the Hope diminished hourly.

On the 3d, the surgeon made me the following report, “ That my Ensign, Mr. *Decabanes*, had his anchor a-peak, “ and would certainly set sail for the other world with the “ ebb-tide ;” which was really the case, for he died that
 very

very evening. This grieved me the more, as he had obtained his commission through my interest, and bore an excellent character. C H A P.
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On the 4th of June, the spring-flood broke down my dams while we were drinking the King's health, and laid the whole post under water, which created vast confusion; and in this distress the overseer *Blenderman* refused to lend me any assistance, which occasioned so violent a quarrel, that he was glad to take to his heels, and make his escape from the plantation. I shall never have done mentioning the insolence of these savage brutes, who mostly are the refuse of the earth, brought up in Germany, or elsewhere, under the cane of a corporal. "Well," said one of these miscreants ironically to an old *free* negro, "don't you believe that the monkies are a race of "damn'd Christians, who have been thus transformed for "shewing so much lenity to such as you?"—"No, sir," replied the black man, "we do not think that the monkies are damned Christians; but I, and all of us, believe "that many who call themselves Christians are a pack of "damn'd monkies."—Which pointed repartee afforded me infinite satisfaction.

Of the administrators I shall say nothing, nor of the appraisers of estates; having, I believe, already mentioned that the first got ten *per cent.* of all the produce, and many of the latter enrich the purchasers and themselves by sell-

C H A P. ing under the value such property as is entrusted to their
 XXV. care.

On the 7th, Mr. *Moryn*, administrator of the Hope, being in a piece of newly-cultivated ground on the opposite shore, I rowed over to obtain satisfaction of the impertinent Blenderman, who was along with him; but this fellow's cowardice being equal to his insolence and barbarity, he made every concession, and promised likewise to repair my dams, rather than run the risque of broken bones—thus a reconciliation was established.

Walking through these new fields, where a neat house was already built, I saw some beautiful birds, amongst which was the *wood-pecker*. I ought indeed to have described this bird before, and another, the name unknown to me, having had an opportunity of doing it when I was at Magdenburg, but I then took only drawings of them. The wood-pecker is about the size of a thrush, and of an elegant cinnamon-colour, speckled with dark brown and yellow; near the rump it is entirely yellow; the head is crested with a fine crown of small feathers, of the same colour as the body; the tail is long and black; the bill is straight, and of a sea-green colour, as are the legs and iris of the eyes, under which on each side are two spots of beautiful crimson.

The anonymous bird, which, however, the negroes called *woodo-louso-fowlo*, from its feeding on wood-lice, is larger



The Yellow Woodpecker & Wood-louse fowl.

larger than the former, and uncommonly brilliant in its plumage; the head and upper part of its body being of a rich grass green; the breast and belly crimson, divided by an ash-coloured bar. The tail is long, and of a dark blue, as are the prime feathers in the wings, which are also divided from the green by another ash-coloured bar; the bill is yellow and hooked, being surrounded by a number of small black feathers, as are the eyes, the iris of which is of a blood colour. (Both these birds may be seen in the annexed plate.)—As I have already observed, however rich and beautiful the plumage may be which decorates the groves of Surinam, the melodious song there is but seldom heard. They had also here the tame *galinas*, or Guinea-hens, called *tokay*, which being so well known in England, require no particular description.

Among the plants which I saw here was the *American aloe*, above half a foot in thickness, and twenty feet high; it is an ever-green, pithy within and without, covered with sharp-pointed follicles, growing less as they approach the summit. This tree has numerous thick leaves diverging at its base, like the pine-apple plant, which are very long, broad pointed, and dentulated with strong prickles. On the top grows a cluster of yellow flowers, whose pedicles contain the seed of future aloes, and which never fail to come to perfection in the space of two months.

In the skirts of the surrounding woods I saw also the *vanillas*, or *banilla*, which is a shrub that climbs up along

C H A P. the trunks of other trees, adhering to the bark like nebees
 { XXV. } or ivy, by the help of its tendrils: the leaves are prodigiously thick, and dark green, the fruit consisting of a triangular pod six or eight inches long, and filled with small polished seeds. These pods, being dried a fortnight in the sun, become brown, and have a fat rich aromatic taste, and most agreeable flavour; on which account they are used to scent the chocolate. There are different kinds of *vanilla*, but that is most esteemed which has its pods the most long and most slender. The negroes shewed me here also a small sweetish seed, which they called *bongora*.

As I returned to the Hope, I met Cojo, Joanna's uncle, who had shot one of the *howling baboons*, which he brought to the Hope to shew it me. These animals are the size of a small bull-dog, and the colour a reddish brown, with long hair; they have also a beard, and are upon the whole extremely ugly; but what chiefly distinguishes them from other monkeys is their abominable howl, which they perform in chorus whole groups together, and so loud, that it may be heard above a mile; these discordant concerts the negroes told me, they generally repeat, both night and day, at the time of high water, which it is supposed the baboons know by instinct.—When speaking of instinct in animals, I cannot omit relating the following singular fact; after which I shall return to the historical part of my narrative.

On

On the 16th I was visited by a neighbouring gentleman, whom I conducted **up** my ladder; but he had no sooner entered my aerial dwelling, than he leaped down from the top to the ground, roaring like a madman with agony and pain, after which he instantly plunged his head into the river; but looking up, I soon discovered the cause of his distress to be an enormous nest of wild bees or *wassee-wassee*, in the thatch, directly above my head, as I stood within my door; when I immediately took to my heels as he had done, and ordered them to be demolished by my slaves without delay. A tar mop was now brought, and the devastation just going to commence, when an old negro stepped up, and offered to receive any punishment I should decree if ever one of these bees should sting *me in person*. "Massera," said he, "they would have stung you long ere now had you been a stranger to them; but they being your tenants, that is, gradually allowed to build upon your premises, they assuredly know both you and your's, and will never hurt either you or them." I instantly assented to the proposition, and tying the old black man to a tree, ordered my boy Quaco to ascend the ladder quite naked, which he did, and was *not* stung; I then ventured to follow, and I declare upon my honour, that even after shaking the nest, which made its inhabitants buz about my ears, not a single bee attempted to sting me. I next released the old negro, and rewarded him with a gallon of rum and five shillings

C H A P. shillings for the discovery. This swarm of bees I since
 { XXV. } kept unhurt, as my body-guards, and they have made
 many overseers take a desperate leap for my amusement,
 as I generally sent them up my ladder upon some frivo-
 lous message, when I wished to punish them for injustice
 and cruelty, which was not seldom.

The above negro assured me, that on his master's estate
 was an ancient tree, in which had been lodged ever since
 he could remember, a society of *birds*, and another of
bees, who lived in the greatest harmony together; but
 should any strange birds come to disturb or feed upon the
 bees, they were instantly repulsed by their feathered allies,
 and if strange bees dared to venture near the birds nests,
 the native swarm attacked the invaders, and stung them to
 death: that his master and family had so much respect for
 the above association, that the tree was considered as sa-
 cred, and was not to be touched by an axe until it should
 yield to all-destroying time.

On the 22d, a patrol arrived from Rictwyk, in Pirica,
 who informed me, that a party of our troops were just
 returned to Java Creek from a cruize to *Vredenburg*, at
 the Marawina; and that, in conjunction with the rangers,
 they had during this campaign destroyed many fields of
 provisions belonging to the rebels: also, that for their
 faithful services, our sable allies had been complimented
 by the Society with new arms, and, for the first time,
 clothed in green uniform jackets. I further learned that

the *ambassadors* to the *Owca* and *Scrameca* negroes were returned after a fruitless journey, as neither of these associations would lend the smallest assistance. In consequence of this refusal, Colonel Fougeoud, being wearied himself, and having exhausted his troops in destroying most of the rebel settlements, at length determined to relinquish the whole expedition; which resolution he previously communicated to his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange at the Hague.

On the 23d I received positive orders to prepare and be ready on the 15th of July, to break up, with all the troops under my command, leave the river Comewina, and row down to Paramaribo, where the transport ships were put in commission to convey us back to Holland. This order I instantly read before the front to all my men, who received it with unbounded joy and three cheers—but I alone sighed bitterly.—Oh my Joanna! Oh my boy! who were at this time both dangerously ill, the one with a fever, the other with convulsions, so that neither were expected to survive. Add to this, that I ran a nail quite through my foot—thus was completely miserable.

During this scene of sickness and distress, the *striv* or *night-owl* of Guiana regularly paid us his nocturnal visits, even in the apartment where we lay, pouring out his melancholy hootings, until he was killed by one of my black attendants. This bird is here called *Ooroococoo*, from its note, to which this word has some affinity. It is about
the

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the size of a pigeon; the bill is yellow, and hooked like that of a sparrow-hawk; the eyes are also yellow; the tongue is cloven; the ears very visible; the legs strong, short, and armed with sharp claws; the general colour of this bird is a pale brown, except the breast and belly, which are white, intermixed with some spots of amber. The superstitious negroes generally believe that where the night-owl makes his appearance mortality must ensue: which prejudice is the more excusable, as this creature only frequents the apartments of the sick; but the real cause which attracts the animal, I apprehend to be the *lights* that upon these occasions are generally kept burning all night, or possibly the morbid and putrid air, which excites its appetite for prey.

An old Indian woman of Joanna's acquaintance being now sent for to the Hope, I myself was soon cured by her skill and attention; but my little family continued so very unwell, that I thought it right to send them to Paramaribo before it was too late. And on the 10th of July I sent all my sheep and poultry to Fauconberg, one couple of fat ewes excepted, which I killed, and with which, by the addition of fish and venison, I entertained for two days following twenty-four of the most respectable inhabitants in the river, while the white bread, fruit, and Spanish wines to help out the feast, I received as a present from my very worthy friend, Mr. James Gourland, at Berg-hoven.

On

On the 13th I ordered down the troops from *Clarenbeek*, where an hospital had been a *second* time erected, and they this evening anchored off the Hope.

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On the 14th, an officer of the Honourable Society troops arrived to relieve me in the command of the river; and his men from that moment began to perform the duty.

I now removed my flag from the Hope to the barges; and in the evening took my last farewell of Joanna's relations on the Fauconberg estate; who, crowding round me, expressed their sorrow aloud for my departure, and with tears invoked the protection of Heaven for my safe and prosperous voyage.

On the 15th we finally left the Hope, having marched my troops on board the barges at ten o'clock, A. M.; and at noon I fired my pistol as a signal to weigh anchor, when we immediately proceeded down the river Comewina for the roads of Paramaribo, to be embarked on board the transport ships for Europe.

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The Troops on Board—Again ordered to disembark—Great Dejection—Mutiny—Insolent Conduct of an Owca Negro Captain—Near two hundred Sick sent to Holland—General Description of the African Negroes.

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ON the evening of the 15th of July we anchored off the estate Berkshoven, where I spent the night ashore with my friend Gourley; and in the morning we continued to row down the river, when I took my last farewell of Mr. Palmer. I passed the evening of the 17th with Captain Mac Neyl; and, on the 18th, the whole fleet, consisting of my own barges, together with three from Magdenberg, and those from the river Cottica, arrived safe at anchor in the roads of Paramaribo, where three transports lay ready to receive us, on board of which vessels I immediately embarked all the troops that had come down under my command.

This service being accomplished, I went ashore, and made my report to Colonel Fourgeoud; after which I went to visit Joanna and her boy, whom, to my great joy, I found very much recovered.

The following day I was again sent on board, to make the necessary arrangements for the voyage; and on the
20th

20th I dined with Colonel Fourgeoud, where, to my surprise, I found two species of fish, which I have never mentioned; the one is called the *haddock*, being much like ours, but rather larger and whiter coloured: the other the *separee*, which a little resembles the skate. At the dessert was a fruit called in Surinam *zurzacka*, which I believe by the English is called the *sour-sap*. It grows upon a tree of a moderate size, with a grey bark, and leaves like those of the orange-tree, but set in pairs; the fruit is of a pyramidical form, heavier than the largest pear, and all covered over with inoffensive prickles: the skin is very thin, the pulp a soft pithy substance as white as milk, and of a sweet taste, mixed with a most agreeable acid, in which are seeds like the large kernels of an apple. Another species of *small zurzacka* grows in this country, something resembling hops, but is of no use whatever. We had also the fruit called *sabatille*, which grows on a large tree, the leaves like those of the laurel. This fruit is the size of a peach, very round, and of a brown colour, covered over with a soft down: when cut in two, the pulp is not unlike marmalade, in which are found the seeds; it is such a luscious sweet, that to many palates it is even disagreeable.

On the 21st we once more received our clearance, but in card money, by which we all lost very considerably; however, I instantly went to Mrs. Godefroy, and again gave her all the money that was in my pocket, being no

CHAP. more than £.40. This excellent woman now renewed
 XXVI. her entreaties that I should carry my boy and his mother
 with me to Holland, but to no purpose; Joanna was
 perfectly immoveable, even to a degree of heroism, and
 no persuasion could make the least impression upon her,
 until her redemption should be made complete by the
 payment of the very last farthing. In this situation we
 affected to bear our fate with perfect resignation, though
 what each of us felt in particular may much more easily
 be imagined than described.

The regiment's colours were now carried on board on
 the 23d in great state, which put a final close to the ex-
 pedition, but without receiving any *honours* from Fort
 Zealandia, not a single gun being fired, nor even the flag
 hoisted on the occasion, to the great mortification of Co-
 lonel Fourgeoud, though in effect it was chiefly owing to
 his own neglect, as he had never given the Governor
official notice of his intended departure. The baggage
 was also sent on board the ships; and a gentleman of the
 name of *Van Heyst* entertained the marines at his private
 expence with three hundred bottles of wine, fruit, &c.

I have often remarked the hospitality and generosity of
 these people, which I now also once more experienced,
 receiving various presents of fruits and preserves from
 my numerous friends, to refresh me at sea while on the
 voyage; amongst the preserves were the female *pappayas*,
 the male bearing no fruit. This grows on a grey trunk,

near

near twenty feet high, straight, and pithy within, the top being covered with a crown, and only fourteen or sixteen diverging leaves, extremely large and digitated. The fruit grows close to the trunk; the flower or blossom has a most delicious fragrance. When ripe, it is the size and shape of a water-melon, and turns from green to yellow, but its pulp is more firm and solid: the inner pulp is soft and slimy, filled with innumerable seeds. This fruit at full maturity is cut in pieces and boiled, when it eats like English turnips; but they use it principally for confectionary and sweetmeats, when young, and with its blossoms being both extremely delicate and wholesome. I had also sent me some fine preserved *ginger*; this is the root of a kind of reedy stalk, that never exceeds two feet in height, with long, narrow pointed leaves. These roots are tuberous, flattish, small, and clustered in many different shapes, not unlike pig-potatoes, and of nearly the same colour in the inside, but fibrous, acid, hot, and aromatic; the smell is highly fragrant: it is well known to be not only an agreeable preserve, but in many cases an excellent medicine.—But to proceed.

On the 24th of July, the sails being bent to the yards, we *at last* proceeded in corps to take leave of his Excellency the Governor of the colony, who, while he still received us with the greatest politeness, yet gave our hero to understand that were his colours *now* to be sent on board, they should most certainly be saluted with those

honours

CHAPTER. *honours* which indisputably were their due. After which he sent the whole corps of Society officers to the headquarters in state, to wish us a prosperous voyage to Holland; and in this contest of etiquette his Excellency most assuredly led the van; for hinting which, however, to some of Fourgeoud's favourites, I had nearly engaged myself once more in a serious quarrel. Our men, who had been on board since the 18th, being now joined by their officers, the poor remains of this fine regiment were thus finally embarked, and in the highest flow of spirits, expecting to set sail the *following day* for Europe; while (*one* alone excepted) every countenance wore the appearance of happiness and joy; and nothing indeed could equal the exultation of the few surviving troops, when the next morning the orders were issued for the ships to weigh anchor and put to sea.

But it was by fate ordained that their eager hopes and expectations once more should be blasted: for on the very moment of departure, a ship entered the river with dispatches, inclosing an order for the regiment immediately to *re-enter the woods*, and remain in the colony until relieved by fresh troops to be sent out from Holland for that purpose. The SINCERE THANKS of his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange were now read to the men from the quarter-deck of each vessel, “ for the manly and spirited conduct they had displayed “ during so long a trial, and so many great and unpre-
 10 “ ceded

“cedented hardships;” but as they concluded with orders for the troops to *disembark*, and remain in this dreadful service, I never saw dejection, disappointment, and despair so strongly marked: while at this moment I, who but just before had been completely miserable, was now in turn the only one who was not depressed with sorrow.

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In the midst of this gloomy scene, the men were ordered to give three cheers, which the marines on board one of the vessels absolutely refused to comply with: Colonel Seyburg, and unluckily myself, were in consequence ordered to compel them; which he undertook, with a cane in one hand, and a loaded pistol cocked in the other. Knowing his temper to be fiery and irascible, what did I not feel at this moment? I suddenly leapt into the boat that lay along-side, where, after haranguing those few that leaned over the gunwale, I promised the *ship's crew* twenty gallons of Holland's gin if *they* would only begin the melancholy chorus. Then mounting again the quarter-deck, I acquainted the Colonel that all were *now* ready and willing to obey his commands; we then re-entered the boat, and in shoving off had the satisfaction to receive three hearty cheers from the sailors, in which joined a few marines, but with such languid looks and heavy hearts as cannot be described..

At this time however the Prince of Orange's goodness of heart appeared in a conspicuous light, as he ordered all private accounts due by the troops to surgeons and
physicians

physicians to be paid by the treasury ; which, however trifling it may appear, was no trifle to many of the officers, &c. and evinced an attention in his Serene Highness which is not always to be found in princes, while all knew his sorrow for the hard lot of his soldiers, but which could not yet be dispensed with, consistent with the general good.

If our disembarkation distressed the troops, it afforded joy to most of the colonists ; as indeed a petition signed by the principal inhabitants, had been presented to Colonel Fourgeoud but two days before, “ praying that our “ regiment might stay some time longer, and give the “ finishing stroke to the rebels, as we had so gloriously “ begun, and persevered in routing and harassing them ;” which indeed was certainly true, for our regiment in conjunction with the Society and rangers, had demolished most settlements the rebels possessed in the colony, and had driven them to so considerable a distance, that their depredations, and the desertion of slaves, were incomparably less than upon our arrival ; and this was assuredly much better than the Dutch making a shameful peace with them, as had been done with the rebels of the *Owca* and *Sarameca* settlements before, yet which would probably again have been the consequence had we not landed in Guiana.

As an instance of the insolence of *savages*, when perfectly independent, I must relate a conversation which
 passed

passed between one of this description and myself at Paramaribo, where the troops were allowed some time to refresh themselves before they again retook the field:— Dining one day at Captain Mac Neyl's, who was now come to town from his estate, a captain of the *Owca* negroes, our *supposed* allies, came in to demand money from his lady; and being very importunate, I desired her in English to “give him a dram, and he would be gone;” which the fellow understanding, called me without the door, and lifting up his silver-headed cane, asked me, “If that house was my own? and, if not, what business I had to interfere? I am,” said he, in a thundering voice, “Captain *Fortune Dago-So*; and, if I had you in my country at *Owca*, I would make the very earth drink up your blood.” To which I replied, drawing my sword, “That my name was Stedman; and that if he dared to utter one insolent expression more, my weapon should find the shortest way through his body.” Upon which he snapped his fingers, and marched off, leaving me much displeased, and blaming Fourgeoud for shewing so much indulgence to such a set of banditti. In the evening, as I returned from dinner, I met the same black fellow again, who, stepping short up to me, said, “Massera, you are a man, a very brave fellow; won't you now give some money to the *Owca* Captain?” This I sternly refused; he then kissed my hand, and shewed his teeth (he said) in token of reconciliation, promising to send me a present of

CHAPTER. pistachio-nuts, which, however, never did arrive, nor indeed should I have tasted.

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Though we continued in Surinam some time longer, our future services could add but very little to its prosperity, as our numbers were now so very few, and out of this number, small as it was, *nine* officers, and above *one hundred and sixty* privates, all sick and incurable, embarked again for Holland on the 1st of August. I was ill with an ague at this time, and had the offer of making one of the party, but declined it, being determined to see the end of the expedition if I could; I however availed myself of the opportunity to send some presents to my friends in Europe: amongst these were a couple of beautiful parrots, two curious monkies, an elegant collection of fine butterflies, three chests of sweetmeats, and some pickles, all shipped on board the ship *Paramaribo*, and under the care of Serjeant Fowler, who was, poor fellow, one of the invalids bound for Amsterdam.

Major *Medlar* being quite emaciated with fatigue and hardships, now also sailed for Holland; thus, during his absence acting as major, I began to entertain an expectation that I should one day carry home the regiment myself, so very rapidly were our officers daily diminishing; and yet amongst those few who remained two had the courage at this time to venture upon matrimony, and married two Creole ladies, both widows.

Every thing now being peaceable and quiet, I recovered

my strength so far as on the 10th to walk to Mrs. Godefroy, when I acquainted her that I wished much to emancipate at least *Johnny Stedman*; and requested her to become bail before the court, for the usual sum of £. 300, as he should never be any charge to the colony of Surinam. But this she pre-emptorily declined, though there was no risque, it being only a matter of form; at which I could not help feeling some astonishment, till I was acquainted that she had actually refused the same favour to her own son.

The mention of slavery reminds me of a debt which I seem to have incurred to my reader. I have from time to time given some account of the mode in which slaves are brought to this market, and of the manner in which they are treated—But I feel that I have not been sufficiently full upon this subject; and I am the more disposed to bring forward all the information that I have gained concerning the negroes, because I flatter myself that I shall be able to bring some truths to light, that have hitherto been unobserved or imperfectly related, at least to the generality of Europeans.

In the first place, as to the complexion of a negro; this, as I have observed before, is I am persuaded entirely owing to the burning climate in which he lives, and an atmosphere still more heated by the sandy deserts, over which the trade winds pass before they reach the habitable parts. The Indians of America, on the contrary,

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who indeed live under the same degree of latitude, have this wind refreshed by the Atlantic Ocean, and are copper-coloured; and the inhabitants of Abyssinia, who receive it cooled by the Arabian and the Indian Seas, are entirely olive. Thus north of the great River Senegal the complexion changes from black to brown amongst the Moors, as it does toward the south amongst the Caffrarians and the Hottentots; and I am of opinion, that the woolly texture of their hair is an effect proceeding from the same cause. The epidermis or cuticle of the negroes I have seen dissected more than once; it is clear and transparent, but between this and the real skin lies a thin follicle, which is perfectly black, which being removed by severe flagellation, or by scalding, exposes a complexion not inferior to that of an European.

On the estate *Vossenbergh*, in Surinam, were born two *white negroes*, whose parents were both perfectly black; the one was a female, sent to Paris in 1734; the other a boy, born in March 1738. And in 1794, a similar woman, *Emelia Lewsam*, was exhibited in England, whose children (though she is married to an European) are all mulattoes. The skin of these people is not of the European white, but more resembles chalk; their hair the same; their eyes are often red *, and they see very little in the sun-shine,

* This is well known to be the case with many other animals, as rabbits, mice, &c. that are perfectly white, to have their eyes *blood-coloured*.

neither

neither are they fit for any kind of labour; while their mental faculties, I have been told, usually correspond with the debility of their bodies.

With respect to the *shape* of the African negroes, it is from head to foot certainly different from the European mould, though not, in my opinion, in any degree inferior, prejudice being laid aside. Their strong features, flat noses, thick lips, and high cheek bones, may appear deformities to us, and yet amongst themselves may be esteemed the reverse; their bright black eyes, and fine white teeth, we are forced to admire; and one decided advantage in a black complexion is, that all those languid pale sickly-looking countenances, so common in Europe, are never exhibited among them, nor are the wrinkles and ravages of age equally conspicuous; though I must confess that when a negro is very ill, his black changes to a very disagreeable sallow olive.

For exertion and activity, their shape is assuredly preferable to ours, being generally strong and muscular near the trunk, and slender towards the extremities; they have mostly a remarkable fine chest, but are small about the hips; their buttocks are more prominent, and their necks are thicker than ours; the thighs are strong, as also the arms above the elbow, but the wrists and lower part of the legs are very slender; and a good deal indeed of the Herculean make of the late *Broughton* the pugilist may be traced in the form of a vigorous negro. As to the crookedness

crookedness of their limbs, it is to be accounted for by the manner in which they are carried whilst infants upon the mother's back, their tender legs being tied close round each side of her waist, which occasions that unnatural bent, with which they are not born: nor are their children ever taught to walk, but left to creep amongst the sand and grass, until they gradually acquire strength and inclination to erect themselves, which they do very soon; by this custom, however, the position of their feet is much neglected, yet by exercise, and daily bathing, they acquire that strength and agility, for which they are so remarkable.

Another custom which, in their opinion, conduces much to their health and vigour is, that, during the *two* years in which the mothers suckle their children, they frequently make them swallow large quantities of water, after which they shake them twice a day, with much violence; they are then taken by a leg or an arm, and tossed into the river, to be well scoured outwardly: nor are the females exempt from this mode of rearing youth, which renders them not inferior to the men, in size alone excepted, while some in running, swimming, climbing, and dancing, as well as wrestling, are even their superiors: thus, that it depends on education to form a race of *Amazonian* females, is a proposition of which I have very little doubt.

Nor are these hardy daughters of the Torrid Zone
less

less remarkable for propagation. I knew a female servant at Mr. de Graaf's, called *Lesperanza*, who actually bore *nine* children in the course of three years, the first year four, the next two, and the third three. They bring their offspring into the world without pain, and like the Indian women resuming their domestic employments even the same day. During the first week their infants are as fair as any Europeans, except that in the males there is a little appearance of black in a *certain part*, and the whole body becomes gradually of that colour. Their females arrive early at the age of puberty; but, as in the fruits of this climate, this early maturity is succeeded by a sudden decay. Many of the negroes, however, live to a very considerable age: I have seen one or two that were above one hundred; and the London Chronicle for October 5, 1780, makes mention of a negro woman, called *Louisa Truxo*, at *Tucomea*, in South America, still living, at the surprising age of one hundred and seventy-five years. In what tables of longevity is there such an European to be found? though most probably this venerable person spent her youth in hard labour, like other slaves; which, though a negro can bear much better in a tropical climate than a native of Europe, yet cannot be natural, either on the coast of Guinea or Guiana, where, without toil, the necessaries of life are produced, and vegetation flourishes spontaneously for ever.

In the constitution of the negroes I have still observed
this

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this singularity, that while they bear the fatigue of labour in the hottest days, they can also bear the cold and damp better than an European, at least better than I could; sleeping all night on the wet grass, perfectly naked, without any injury to their health, while I have been glad, especially early in the morning, to have a fire lit under my hammock, and while the marines for want of it lay in a shiver. They also bear hunger and thirst, and pain or sickness, with the greatest patience and resolution.

I have formerly mentioned the names of more than a dozen of negro tribes: all these know each other by the different marks and incisions made on their bodies — for instance, the *Coromantyn* negroes, who are most esteemed, cut three or four long gashes on each of their cheeks, as represented in the face of the armed free negro or ranger, in plate VII.

The *Loango* negroes, who are reckoned the worst, distinguish themselves by puncturing or marking the skin of their sides, arms, and thighs with square elevated figures, something like dice. (See plate LXVIII.) These also cut their fore-teeth to a sharp point, which gives them a frightful appearance, resembling in some degree those of a shark: and all their males are circumcised, after the manner of the Jews.

Among the strange productions of nature, a species of
people

people known by the name of *Accorees* deserves to be particularly noticed.—The *Accorees*, or Two-fingers, live amongst the Scramaca negroes, in the very upper parts of the river of that name. This heterogeneous tribe are so deformed in their hands and feet, that while some have three or four fingers and toes on each hand and foot, others have only two, which resemble the claws of a lobster, or rather limbs that have been cured after mutilation by fire, or some other accident. This deformity in one person would cause but small admiration; but that a whole community should be afflicted with this singularity, is certainly a most wonderful phænomenon. Having seen but *two* myself, and that at too great a distance to take a drawing of them, I cannot pretend to vouch for the truth of what I have only heard; but an engraving of one of these figures was positively sent to the Society of Arts and Sciences at *Haerlem*; while I beg leave to introduce, as a further voucher, the following extract from an old book of surgery and anatomy, procured me by the ingenious and learned *Owen Cambridge*, Esquire, of *Twickenham*.

“ After Michaelmas term, in the year 1629, a body was
 “ brought from the place of execution to the College of
 “ Physicians, to be cut up for an anatomy; and by
 “ chance the officer of the college brought the body of a
 “ cruel wretch, who had murdered the son of one Master
 “ Scot, a surgeon of good note in this city. This wretch

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“ was of a very truculent countenance and aspect ; his
 “ hair was black and curled, not very long, but thick and
 “ bushy ; his forehead little above an inch high ; his
 “ brows great and prominent ; his eyes set deep in their
 “ sockets ; his nose crooked, with a round knob or button
 “ at the end, which also somewhat turned upwards ; on
 “ his upper lip he had some quantity of black hair, on
 “ his chin very few, straggling, black, and stiff ; and his
 “ nether lip was as big as three lips. Such was his face :
 “ but the greatest deformity was his feet, and that almost
 “ to admiration ; for they were both cloven, but not
 “ alike. One foot was equally divided between four and
 “ five inches deep into two toes, jointed like other men’s
 “ toes, but as large each of them as half the foot could
 “ make them, with nails proportionable. The left foot
 “ was divided likewise in the middle, but the division
 “ was not above three inches deep, or scarce so much ;
 “ the one half which was towards the body, made one
 “ large toe, with a nail proportionable, like the inward
 “ half of the right foot ; but the outward half was com-
 “ pounded of two toes, yet growing close and fast to-
 “ gether. This monstrous shape of a man I have thought
 “ good to give this relation of, from certain knowledge,
 “ for there were a thousand witnesses of it present.”

With the languages of the African negroes I am but
 little acquainted ; as a specimen, however, I will insert a

few sentences of that called the *Coromantyn*, upon the credit of my boy Quaco, who belonged to that nation, together with a translation in English; and only observe, that they break off their words very short, in a kind of guttural manner, which I cannot easily describe:—For instance—“*Co fa ansyo, na baramen bra*, Go to the river, “and bring me some water.”—“*Mee yeree, nacomeda mee*, “My wife, I want some food.”—So much for the Coromantyn language, as spoken by the negroes on the coast of Guinea.

But as to that spoken by the black people in Surinam, I consider myself a perfect master, it being a compound of Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and English. The latter they like best, and consequently use the most. It has been already observed, that the English were the first Europeans who possessed this colony, hence probably the predilection for that language which they have still retained. In this mixed dialect, for which I have seen a printed grammar, the words end mostly with a vowel, like the Indian and Italian, and it is so sweet, so sonorous and soft, that the genteel Europeans in Surinam speak little else; it is also wonderfully expressive and sentimental, such as, “Good eating, *sweety-muffo*.”—“Gun-powder, “*man sanny*.”—“I will love you, with all my heart, so “long as I live, *Mee saloby you, langa alla mee hatty, so* “*langa me leby*.”—“A pleasing tale, *ananassy tory*.”—

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“ I am very angry, *me hatty brun.*”—“ Live long, so long until your hair become white as cotton, *Lebee langa, tay, tay, ta-y you weeree weeree tan wity likee catoo.*”—“ Small, *peekeen.*”—“ Very small, *peekeeneenee.*”—“ Fare-wel! Good-bye! I am dying, and going to my God, *Adioso, cerroboay, mee de go dede, me de go na mee Gado.*”—In this sample, many corrupt English words are perceptible, which however begin to grow out of use near the capital, but are still retained in the distant plantations; for instance, at the estate *Goet-Accoord*, in Cottica, I have heard an old negro woman say, “ *We lobee fo leebee toged-dere,*” by which she meant, we love to live together; and at Paramaribo to express the same sentence, “ *Wee looko for tanna macandera.*”

Their *vocal music* is like that of the birds, melodious, but without time, and in other respects not unlike that of a *clerk* performing to the congregation, one person constantly pronouncing a sentence extempore, which he next hums or whistles, and then all the others repeat the same in chorus; another sentence is then spoken, and the chorus is a second time renewed, &c.

This kind of singing is much practised by the barge rowers or boat negroes on the water, especially during the night in a clear moonshine; it is to them peculiarly animating, and may, together with the sound of their oars, be heard at a considerable distance.

EXPEDITION TO SURINAM.

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As a specimen, I have tried to set the following words to music, supposing a ranger going to battle, and thus taking leave of his girl :

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Oan bus adiosi - o da so adiosso me de - go me loby fo fighty me man o
 One buss good-by o 'tis so good-by girl I must go I love for to fight like a man o

Amimba me dego na boosy o da so adiosso me do go.
 Amimba I go to the woods o 'tis so good-by girl, I must go.

Such is their vocal melody ; and of their instrumental music, and dancing, which is perfectly to time, I shall speak hereafter, having already given a short account of that which is practised by the Loango negroes. That these people are neither divested of a good ear, nor poetical genius, has been frequently proved, when they have had the advantages of a good education. Amongst others, *Phillis Wheatley*, who was a slave at *Boston* in New England, learned the Latin language, and wrote thirty-eight elegant pieces of poetry on different subjects, which were published in 1773. As a specimen, I cannot refrain here inserting the following extract from that entitled "*Thoughts on Imagination.*"

“ Now here, now there, the roving fancy flies,
 “ Till some lov'd object strikes her wand'ring eyes,
 “ Whose silken fetters all the senses bind,
 “ And soft captivity invades the mind.

“ *Imagi-*

NARRATIVE OF AN

- “ Imagination ! who can sing thy force ?
 “ Or where describe the swiftness of thy course ?
 “ Soaring through air to find the bright abode,
 “ Th’ imperial palace of the thundering God.
- “ We on thy pinions can surpass the wind,
 “ And leave the rolling universe behind.
 “ From star to star the mental optics rove,
 “ Measure the skies, and range the realms above ;
 “ There in one view we grasp the mighty whole,
 “ Or with new worlds amaze th’ unbounded soul.”

What can be more beautiful and sublime ? ———

Ignatius Sancho, a negro, many years servant to the Duke of Montagu, whose sentimental letters, so generally known, would not disgrace the pen of an European, may also be mentioned on this occasion ; and with regard to their powers of memory and calculation, I shall only notice *Thomas Fuller*, a negro, the property of a Mrs. *Cox* in *Maryland*, North America ; and quote one singular anecdote, as it is related by *Dr. Rush* of *Philadelphia*, in a letter to a gentleman at Manchester.

- “ Being travelling,” says the Doctor, “ with some other
 “ gentlemen of this city, through Maryland, and having
 “ heard of the astonishing powers of memory in arith-
 “ metical calculation possessed by Thomas Fuller, a negro,
 “ we sent for him ; when one of the gentlemen in com-
 “ pany

“pany asked him, how many seconds a man of seventy years, some odd months, weeks and days, had lived? He told the exact number in a minute and a half. When the gentleman who had asked the question took his pen, and having calculated the same by figures, told the negro he must be mistaken, as the number he had mentioned was certainly too great. ‘Top, Massera,’ said the negro, ‘you have omitted the leap-years;’ when having calculated the seconds contained in the number of leap-years, and added them, the number was found exactly the same as that calculated by the negro. This same man multiplied nine figures by nine, by memory, before another company.” Another lately repeated the *Alcoran* from recollection only.—What amazing mental faculties in African negroes, who could neither read nor write! Yet that such things are, is well authenticated.

To what I have already advanced, I may add, that all negroes firmly believe the being of a *God*, upon whose goodness they rely, and whose power they adore, while they have no fear of death, and never taste food without offering a libation. In the rivers *Gambia* and *Senegal* they are mostly Mahometans; but generally the worship and religious ceremonies of the Africans vary, as do the numberless superstitious practices of all savages, and indeed of too many Europeans. Perceiving that it was their custom

C H A P. custom to bring their offerings to the wild cotton-tree*,
 XXVI. I enquired of an old negro, why they paid such particular
 reverence and veneration to this growing piece of timber.
 " This proceeds (said he) massera, from the following
 " cause: having no churches nor places built for public
 " worship (as you have) on the Coast of Guinea, and
 " this tree being the largest and most beautiful growing
 " there, our people, assembling under its branches when
 " they are going to be instructed, are defended by it from
 " the heavy rains and scorching sun. Under this tree our
 " gadoman, or priest, delivers his lectures; and for this
 " reason our common people have so much veneration
 " for it, that they will not cut it down upon any ac-
 " count whatever."

No people can be more superstitious than the general-
 ity of negroes; and their *Locomen*, or pretended pro-
 phets, find their interest in encouraging this superstition,
 by selling them *obias* or amulets, as I have already men-
 tioned, and as some hypocrites sell absolution in Europe,
 for a comfortable living. These people have also amongst
 them a kind of *Sibyls*, who deal in oracles; these sage

* This tree grows to a considerable height and thickness, very straight, and covered with a strong grey prickly bark. The boughs spread very much, with small digitated leaves. The cotton, which it produces triennially, is neither white nor plentiful, which makes it little sought after. It bears some resemblance to the British oak, the largest of which it surpasses both in elegance and magnitude.

matrons dancing and whirling round in the middle of an assembly, with amazing rapidity, until they foam at the mouth, and drop down as convulsed. Whatever the prophetess orders to be done during this paroxysm, is most sacredly performed by the surrounding multitude; which renders these meetings extremely dangerous, as she frequently enjoins them to murder their masters, or desert to the woods; upon which account this scene of excessive fanaticism is forbidden by law in the colony of Surinam, upon pain of the most rigorous punishment: yet it is often practised in private places, and is very common amongst the Owca and Seramica negroes, where captains Fredericy and Van Geurick told me they had seen it performed. It is here called the *winty-play*, or the dance of the mermaid, and has existed from time immemorial; as even the classic authors make frequent mention of this extraordinary practice. *Virgil*, in his sixth book, makes Eneas visit the Sibyl of Cuma; and *Ovid* also mentions the same subject, lib. 14. where Eneas wishes to visit the ghost of his father.

But what is still more strange, these unaccountable women by their voice know how to charm the *ammodytes*,* or *papaw* serpent, down from the tree. This is

* This creature is from three to five feet long, and perfectly harmless; it has not the least apprehension of being hurt *even* by man; while the unparalleled brilliancy of its colours may be another inducement for the adoration of the negroes.

an absolute fact; nor is this snake ever killed or hurt by the negroes, who, on the contrary, esteem it as their friend and guardian, and are happy to see it enter their huts. When these sibyls have charmed or conjured down the ammodytes serpent from the tree, it is common to see this reptile twine and writhe about their arms, neck and breast, as if the creature took delight in hearing her voice, while the woman strokes and caresses it with her hand. The sacred writers speak of the charming of adders and serpents in many places, which I mention only to prove the antiquity of the practice*; for nothing is more notorious, than that the Eastern Indians will rid the houses of the most venomous snakes by charming them with the sound of a flute, which calls them out of their holes. And it is not many years since an Italian woman brought over three tame snakes, which crawled about her neck and arms: they were four or five feet long, but not venomous.

Another instance of superstition amongst the negroes I must relate; there is a direct prohibition in every family, handed down from father to son, against the eating of some one kind of animal food, which they call *treff*; this may be either fowl, fish, or quadruped, but

* See the 58th Psalm, ver. 4, and 5: "They are like the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ear; which will not hearken to the voice of charms, charming never so wisely."—Jerem. chap. viii. ver. 17,—and the Book of Ecclesiastes, chap. x. ver. 11, &c.

whatever it is, no negro will touch it; though I have seen some good Catholics eat roast-beef in Lent, and a religious Jew devouring a slice from a fat fitch of bacon.

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However ridiculous some of the above rites may appear, yet amongst the African blacks they are certainly necessary, to keep the rabble in subjection; and their *gadomen* or priests know this as well as the infallible Pontiff of the Roman church. These illiterate mortals differ, however, in this respect from the modern Europeans, that whatever they believe, they do it firmly, and are never staggered by the doubts of scepticism, nor troubled with the qualms of conscience; but whether they are, upon this account, better or worse, I will not pretend to determine.—I however think that they are a happy people, and possess so much friendship for one another, that they need not be told to “love their neighbour as themselves;” since the poorest negro, having only an egg, scorns to eat it alone; but were a dozen present, and every one a stranger, he would cut or break it into just as many shares; or were there one single dram of rum, he would divide it among the same number: this is not done, however, until a few drops are first sprinkled on the ground, as an oblation to the gods.—Approach then here, thou canting hypocrite, and take an example from thy illiterate sable brother!—From what I sometimes throw out, however, let it not be understood that I am an enemy to religious worship—God forbid! But I ever will

CHAP. profess myself the greatest friend to those whose actions
 XXVI. best correspond with their doctrine; which, I am sorry
 to say, is too seldom the case amongst those nations who
 pretend most to civilization.

If savage nations be commonly generous and faithful, they are not, however, without their dark shades; and among these, the most conspicuous is a proneness to anger and revenge. I never knew a negro indeed forgive those who had wilfully offended him. The strength of this passion can only be equalled by their gratitude; for, amongst them, it may be truly said, that

“ A generous friendship no cold medium knows,

“ But with one love, with one resentment glows.”

Their abominable cruelties also, like those of all barbarous nations, are truly shocking. In the colony of Berbice, during the late revolt, they made no scruple of cutting up their mistresses with child; even in their master's presence, with many other savage devices too dreadful to relate*.—In the art of poisoning, not even the *Accawaw* Indians

* It is a well-known fact, that a negro, having been ill-treated by the family in which he lived as a servant, one day took the following desperate revenge:—The master and mistress being from home, he having locked all the doors, at their return presented himself with their three fine children on the platform on the top

of the house. When asked why he did not give admittance, he only answered by throwing an infant baby to the ground: they threatened—he tossed down the brotler: they intreated, but to no purpose, the third sharing the same fate, who all lay dead at their parents' feet—then calling out to them that he was now fully revenged,

Indians are more expert; they can carry it under their nails, and by only dipping their thumb into a tumbler of water, which they offer as a beverage to the object of their revenge, they infuse a slow but certain death*. Whole estates, as well as private families, have become the victims of their fury, and experienced their fatal vengeance, even putting to death scores of their own friends and relations, with the double view of depriving their proprietors of their most valuable possessions. These monsters are distinguished by the name of *Wissy-men*, perhaps from *wise*, or knowing, and by their fatal genius carry destruction to a most dreadful length before they are detected.

All barbarous and uneducated people have indistinct notions of property; nor can we wonder that slaves, who in their own persons suffer the most flagrant violation of every right, should be disposed to retaliate. The slaves on the plantations are therefore too commonly thieves, plundering whatever they can lay their hands upon with impunity; nor can any bounds be set to their intemperance, especially in drinking. I have seen a negro

revenged, leaped down himself, and dashed out his own brains amongst the amazed spectators. — Another stabbed the inoffensive husband to be revenged on the guilty wife; declaring, that to kill herself was only temporary, but to lose all that was dear to her must be eternal bitterness,

while to himself it was the sweetest satisfaction.

* After the most scrupulous enquiry, and even ocular demonstration, I can assert the above as literally true.

girl

girl empty a china-bowl at one draught, containing two bottles of claret, which I had given her by way of experiment, till she could no more stand.

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I should not forget to mention that the *Gango* negroes are supposed to be *anthropophagi* or cannibals, like the Caribbee Indians, instigated by habitual and implacable revenge. Amongst the rebels of this tribe, after the taking of Boucou, some pots were found on the fire with human flesh; which one of the officers had the curiosity to taste, and declared it was not inferior to some kinds of beef or pork.

I have been since assured by a Mr. *Vangills*, an American, that having travelled for a great number of miles inland in Africa, he at length came to a place where human legs, arms, and thighs hung upon wooden shambles, and were exposed to sale, like butchers meat in Leadenhall market. And Captain *John Kcene*, formerly of the *Dolphin* cutter, but late of the *Naimbana* schooner, in the Sierra Leona company's service, positively assured me, that when he, a few years since, was on the coast of Africa, in the brig *Fame*, from Bristol, Mr. Samuel Biggs owner, trading for wood, iron, and gold-dust, a Captain *Dunnigen*, with his whole crew, belonging to the *Nassau* schooner, which was her tender, were cut in pieces, salted, and eaten by the negroes of *Great Drevin*, about thirty miles North of the River *St. Andrew's*; who having torn the copper off her bottom, burned the vessel.

But from these deformities of character I will now relieve the attention of the reader, and proceed in justice to dispel the gloomy cloud, by introducing the sunshine of their virtues.

Their genius has been already treated of, so has their gratitude; which last they carry to such a length, that they will even die for those who have shewn them any particular favour. Nothing can exceed the fidelity and attachment they have for those masters who use them well, which proves that their affection is as strong as their hatred. Negroes are generally good-natured, particularly the *Coromantyn*, and those of *Nago*. They are also susceptible of the tender passion, and jealousy in their breasts has produced the most dreadful effects. The delicacy of these people deserves likewise to be noticed: I do not remember, amongst the many thousands I have seen during several years residence among them, ever to have observed even an offer to kiss a woman in public. Maternal tenderness for their children is also natural to the females, for in general, during the two years which they usually suckle them, they never cohabit with their husbands; this they consider as unnatural, and prejudicial to the infants: and the case of *Lesperanza* (who bore so many children in a short time) is no exception, as her children died almost as soon as they came into the world. The cleanliness of the negro nation is peculiarly remarkable, as they bathe above three times a day. The

Congo

CHAP. *Congo* tribe in particular are so fond of the water, that
 they may, not improperly, be called amphibious animals.

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The negroes are likewise spirited and brave, patient in adversity, meeting death and torture with the most undaunted fortitude. Their conduct, in the most trying situations, approaching even to heroism; no negro sighs, groans, or complains, though expiring in the midst of surrounding flames. Nor do I remember, upon any occasion whatever, to have seen an African shed a tear, though they beg for mercy with the greatest earnestness when ordered to be flogged for offences which they are conscious deserve to be punished; but if they think their punishment unmerited, immediate suicide is too often the fatal consequence, especially amongst the *Coromantyn* negroes, who frequently, during the act of flagellation, throw back their heads in the neck, and swallow their tongue, which chokes them upon the spot, when they drop dead in the presence of their masters. But when negroes are sensible of having deserved correction, no people can be more humble, or bear their unhappy fate with greater resignation. The swallowing of the tongue, which they only practise during the moments of severe discipline, has of late been prevented in Surinam by the humane method of holding a firebrand to the victim's mouth, which answers the double purpose of burning his face, and diverting his attention from the execution of his fatal determination. Some have a practice of eating common earth, by which
 the

the stomach is prevented from performing its ordinary functions, and thus dispatch themselves without any immediate pain, but linger perhaps for a twelvemonth in the most debilitated and shocking condition. Against these ground-caters the severest punishments are decreed by the laws, but without much effect, as they are seldom detected in this act of desperation.

After these general remarks upon the mental and bodily faculties of the African negroes, we shall next proceed to view them in a state of bondage, under all the oppression they are exposed to from the rod of barbarous tyranny; then, rescuing them from this horrid scene, we will next consider them as protected by impartial justice, and fostered by the mild hand of tenderness and humanity.

The reader may remember that I have already introduced the slaves as landing from on board the Guinea ships, and generally shocking instances of debility and misery:—

“ Their visage is blacker than a coal, they are not known
 “ in the streets, their skin cleaveth to their bones, it is
 “ withered, it is become like a stick.”

I have also observed, that under the care of some old negroes, appointed for that purpose, they soon become fat and sleek, and learn the language of the colony: they then are sent to work in the fields, to which they cheer-

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fully submit; though I have seen some instances of newly-imported negroes refusing to work, nor could promises, threats, rewards, nor even blows, prevail: but these had been *princes* or people of the first rank in their native country, who by the casualties of war had the misfortune to become slaves, and whose heroic sentiments still preferred instant death to the baseness and miseries of servitude. Upon these occasions I have seen the other slaves fall upon their knees, and intreat the master to permit them to do the work required, in addition to their own tasks; which being sometimes granted, they continued to shew the same respect for the captive prince that he had been accustomed to receive in his own country. I remember once to have had a remarkable good-looking new negro to attend me, whose ancles and wrists being much galled by chains, I enquired the cause. “My father,” said he, “was a king, and treacherously murdered by the sons of a neighbouring prince. To revenge his death, I daily went a hunting with some men, in hopes of retaliating upon his assassins; but I had the misfortune to be surprized, taken, and bound; hence these ignoble scars. I was afterwards sold to your European countrymen on the coast of Guiana—a punishment which was deemed greater than instant death.”

The history of Quaco, my black boy, was still more extraordinary:—“My parents,” said he, “lived by hunt-
ing

“ing and fishing: I was stolen from them very young, CHAP.
 “whilst playing on the sands with two little brothers; XXVI.
 “I was put into a sack, and carried for several miles. I
 “afterwards became the slave of a king on the coast of
 “Guinea, with several hundreds more. When our master
 “died, the principal part of his slaves were beheaded
 “and buried along with him; I, with some other chil-
 “dren of my age, were bestowed as presents to the dif-
 “ferent captains of his army; and the master of a Dutch
 “ship afterwards had me, in exchange for a musket and
 “some gun-powder.”—Each loves his country best, if
 mild its laws, or rigid;

“The *naked negro*, panting at the line,
 “Boasts of his golden sands and palmy wine;
 “Basks in the glare, or stems the tepid wave,
 “And thanks his gods for all the good they gave:—
 “Such is the patriot’s boast, where’er he roam,
 “His first best country ever is at home.”

No sooner do these wretched strangers begin to flag at their labour, than whips, cow-skins, bamboos, ropes, fetters, and chains are introduced, until they are ready to sink under accumulated oppression. With some masters their tasks can never be performed, as they must toil on, day and night, even Sundays not excepted. I recollect a strong young negro, called *Marquis*, who had a wife he loved, with two fine children; he laboured hard, and generally finished his task of digging a trench of five hundred

dred feet by four o'clock in the afternoon, that he might have some time to cultivate his little garden, and go to fish or fowl to support his beloved family : hard did Marquis strive to earn this additional pittance, when his *human* master, apprized of his industry, for his encouragement informed him, that if he could delve five hundred feet by four o'clock, he could certainly finish six hundred before sun-set ; and this task the unfortunate young man was condemned from that day ever since to perform.

In Surinam the slaves are kept nearly naked, and their daily food consists of little more than a few yams and plantains ; perhaps twice a year they may receive a scanty allowance of salt fish, with a few leaves of tobacco, which they call *sweety-muffo*, and this is all : but what is peculiarly provoking to them is, that if a negro and his wife have ever so great an attachment for each other, the woman, if handsome, must yield to the loathsome embrace of an adulterous and licentious manager, or see her husband cut to pieces for endeavouring to prevent it. This, in frequent instances, has driven them to distraction, and been the cause of many murders.

It is in consequence of these complicated evils, that so many also destroy themselves by suicide, run away to the woods to join their countrymen in rebellion, or if they stay, grow sad and spiritless, and languish under diseases, the effects of bad usage ; such as the *lota*, which is a white scorbutic spot that externally covers the body. The *crassy-*

crassy,

crassy, or itch, which with us comes from poorness of diet, is of course very common with them. The *yaws*, a most disagreeable disorder, by many compared to the venereal disease, which renders the patient a shocking spectacle, all covered over with yellow ulcers. To this last-mentioned loathsome malady most negroes are subject, yet but only once in their lives, in which, and being very infectious, it resembles the small-pox: indeed if a fly which has been feeding upon the diseased (and they are generally covered with them) lights upon the slightest scratch on a healthy person, it communicates this dreadful disorder, which always confines him for several months. The most general cure for the *yaws* in Surinam, is salivation and spare diet, with continual exercise to promote perspiration; and during this process, the poor wretches absolutely look like decayed carcases.

Still more dreadful is the *boassy*, or *leprosy*, which is deemed incurable: the face and limbs in this complaint swell, and the whole body is covered with scales and ulcers; the breath stinks, the hair falls off, the fingers and toes become putrid, and drop away joint after joint. The worst of which is, that though the disease is hopeless, the unhappy sufferer may linger sometimes for many years. The lepers are naturally lascivious, and the disease being infectious, they are of necessity separated from all society, and condemned to a perpetual exile in some remote corner of the plantations.

The

The *clabba-jaws*, or *tubboes*, is also a very troublesome and tedious disorder; it occasions painful sores about the feet, mostly in the soles, between the skin and the flesh. The usual remedy in this case is, to burn out the morbid part with a red-hot iron, or cut it out with a lancet; and then the warm juice of roasted limes is introduced into the wound, though with great pain yet with great success.

The African negroes are also subject to many species of *worms*, both extraneous and internal, owing to the wading much in stagnated waters, and to the crudity of their diet. Of the former species is the *Guinea* or *tape-worm*, which breeds between the skin and the flesh, and is sometimes two yards in length, of a shining silvery colour, and not thicker than the second string of a bass-viol. It occasions dangerous and painful swellings wherever it inserts itself, which is mostly about the legs. The method of cure, is to seize the head of the worm when it appears above the skin, and extract it by winding it gently round a stick or card; this operation cannot be performed with too much caution, for if it breaks, the loss of the limb, or even of life itself, is frequently the fatal consequence. Some are infested with seven or eight of these worms at a time.

Besides these dreadful calamities, peculiar to themselves, the negroes are subject to every complaint common to the Europeans; who, in their turn, are not exempt in
 Guiana

Guiana from the afflicting and dangerous distempers I have just described.

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It is therefore not to be wondered at if many of the plantations are crowded with miserable objects left under the care of the *dressy negro* or black surgeon only, whose whole skill consists in administering a dose of salts, or spreading a plaster. As to the numbers who are excoriated from their neck to their heel, by constant whipping, they may cure themselves, or do their work without a skin, if they think proper.

Thus from accumulated miseries, some naturally succeeding from the climate and their poor diet, but more from the inordinate cruelty of *managers*, it must follow that numerous slaves become unfit for work, many from weakness and depression of spirits, and others from extreme labour becoming old before their time. But for all these evils, this plantation despot finds an infallible remedy, which is no other than to put them to death at once: the loss does not affect him but his master, and he is proud of shewing only such negroes as are able to do their task, assuring their owner that they mostly died by the venereal disease; and the word of the human carcase-butcher is quite sufficient, as no negro is allowed to give evidence in any case whatever.

“ Dictio testimonii non est servo homini.”

Yet should some fair European by accident prove the
murder,

murder, the delinquent escapes, as I have observed, by paying a fine of £. 50 and the value of the slave, if the owner requires it; and for this price of blood he may slaughter the poor wretches whenever a temporary passion or a habit of cruelty, which is too commonly generated in this situation, prompts his rage.

They have moreover many stratagems to evade the penalty, should even the magistrates be present. I have known it happen when one of these scourges of the human race became tired of a negro, that he has taken him out with him a shooting; and ordering him to discover the game, the first bird that started he has shot the poor man dead upon the spot. This was called an accident, and no farther enquiry was made concerning it. Others have been dispatched by the following method:—A stake being fastened in the middle of an open plain, the slave is chained to it, and exposed to the burning sun, where one jill of water and a single plantain is brought him daily, until he pines to death. But this is not called starving, as his master declares that he neither wanted victuals nor drink until he expired—thus he is *honourably* acquitted.

Another plan of murdering with impunity has often been put in practice. The slave is fastened naked to a tree in the forest, with his arms and legs extended, under pretence of stretching his limbs; but here he is left, and regularly fed, until he is actually stung to death by the musquitoes and other insects—a most infernal punishment,

ment, and such as may be with truth ascribed to the instigation of the devil! Drowning them, by kicking them overboard with a weight chained to their legs, is called accidental death. It has been known that by the orders of a *woman*, negro slaves have been privately burnt to death, miserably chained in a surrounding pile of flaming faggots. As to the breaking out of their teeth, merely for tasting the sugar-cane cultivated by themselves, slitting up their noses, and cutting off their ears, from private pique, these are accounted mere sport, and not worthy to be mentioned.

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By such inhuman usage this unhappy race of men are sometimes driven to such a height of desperation, that to finish their days, and be relieved from worse than Egyptian bondage, some even have leaped into the caldrons of boiling sugar, thus at once depriving the tyrant of his crop and of his servant.

From these sketches can it be a matter of surprize, that armies of rebels are assembled in the forest, and at every opportunity thirsting for revenge?

I shall now conclude this dreadful scene by one general remark, shewing how far population is affected by this most infamous treatment.

In Surinam there are, upon an average, about 75,000 negro slaves, as I have stated; from which if we subtract children, and superannuated men and women, there will not be found above 50,000 really fit for labour. There are

CHAP. from six to twelve Guinea ships, that import from 250 to
 XXVI. 300 slaves each from Africa annually: we may therefore
 compute the yearly importation at an average of 2,500,
 necessary to supply and keep complete the above 50,000;
 so that the annual deaths exceed the births by the num-
 ber of 2,500, though each man negro has a wife or two if
 he chuses, which is, upon the mass, just 5 *per cent.* and
 consequently proves that the whole race of healthy slaves,
 consisting of 50,000, are totally extinct once every twenty
 years.

Truth and justice however oblige me to declare, that the inhuman barbarities I have been just describing are not universal. Compassionate Heaven has ordained some exceptions, as I shall impartially shew, by reversing the picture: not like some writers who have treated this subject, and carefully concealed the most pleasing touches of goodness and humanity, whilst only the darkest shades have been exposed to the public eye, but by candidly exhibiting both sides with equal justice and precision; and it is indeed with pleasure I can affirm, that the negro slaves on *some* estates are treated, in my opinion, as *men* ought to be treated; and this mode of conduct might still be more general, by amending the laws, which ought not corruptly to invest human nature with what it is certain to abuse—an authority completely despotic. No master surely ought to be entrusted with the dangerous power of taking away the life of his slaves with impunity;



Blake Sculp.

Family of Negroes from Louisa

and it ought to be considered an equal crime in the eye of the law to kill a negro or a white man, as it is equally murder in the sight of God.

I shall now introduce to the reader's acquaintance a negro family in that state of tranquil happiness, which they always enjoy under a humane and indulgent master. The figures in the plate are supposed to be of the *Loango nation*, by the marks on the man's body, while on his breast may be seen *J. G. S.* in a cypher, by which his owner may ascertain his property. He carries a basket with small fish, and a net upon his head, with a large fish in his hand, caught by himself in the river. His wife, who is pregnant, is employed in carrying different kinds of fruit, spinning a thread of cotton upon her distaff, and comfortably smoking her pipe of tobacco. Besides all this, she has a boy upon her back, and another playing by her side. Thus, under a mild master and an honest overseer, a negro's labour is no more than a healthy exercise, which ends at the setting-sun, and the remaining time is his own, which he employs in hunting, fishing, cultivating his garden, or making baskets and fish-nets for sale; with this money he buys a hog or two, sometimes fowls or ducks, all which he fattens upon the spontaneous growth of the soil, without expence, and very little trouble, and, in the end, they afford him considerable profit. Thus pleasantly situated, he is exempt from every anxiety, and pays no taxes, but looks up to his master as the only pro-

CHAP. tector of him and his family. He adores him, not from
 XXVI. fear, but from a conviction that he is indebted to his
 goodness for all the comforts he enjoys. He breathes in
 a luxurious warm climate, like his own, which renders
 clothes unnecessary, and he finds himself more healthy, as
 well as more at his ease, by going naked. His house he
 may build after his own fancy. The forest affords him
 every necessary material for the cutting. His bed is a
 hammock, or a mat called *papaya*. His pots he manu-
 factures himself, and his dishes are gourds, which grow in
 his garden. He never lives with a wife he does not love,
 exchanging for another the moment either he or she be-
 comes tired, though this separation happens less fre-
 quently here than divorces do in Europe. Besides the
 regular allowance given him by his master weekly, his
 female friend has the art of making many savoury
 dishes; such as *braf*, or a hodge-podge of plantains
 and yams boiled with salt meat, barbecued fish, and
 Cayenne pepper. *Tom-tom* is a very good pudding,
 composed of the flour of Indian corn, boiled with flesh,
 fowl, fish, Cayenne pepper, and the young pods of the
ocra or althea plant. *Pepper-pot* is a dish of boiled fish
 and capsicum, eaten with roasted plantains. *Gangotay*
 is made of dried, and *afafoo* of green plantains. *Acanse*
 and *doquenoo* are composed of the flour of maize, and the
 latter is eaten with molasses. His common drink is the
 limpid stream, sometimes corrected by a little rum. If
 he

he is accidentally wounded or indisposed, he is cured for nothing; but it is very seldom he troubles the faculty, being tolerably skilled in herbs and simples, besides scari-
fying and puckering the skin, which serves instead of bleeding. The inconvenience of vermin he remedies without a comb, by plastering up his hair with clay, which being dried on the head, and then washed with soap and water, makes him clean beyond conception; his teeth are constantly kept as white as ivory; for this purpose he uses nothing but a sprig of orange-tree, bitten at one end, until the fibres resemble a small brush; and no negro, male or female, is to be seen without this little instrument, which has besides the virtue of sweetening the breath.

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So much for his body; and with regard to his *soul*, it is seldom troubled with any qualms of conscience, or fear of death, as I have stated, being firm and unshaken in what he was taught to believe, which is indeed little, but plain; and when he is no more, his companions or relations carry him to some grove of orange-trees, where he is not interred without expence, being generally put in a coffin of the very best wood and workmanship, while the cries and lamentations of his surviving friends, who sing a dirge, pierce the sky. The grave being filled up, and a green turf neatly spread over it, a couple of large gourds are put by the side, the one with water, the other with boiled fowls, pork, cassava, &c. as a libation, not from

CHAPTER. from a superstitious notion, as some believe, that he will eat or drink it, but as a testimony of that regard which they have for his memory and ashes; while some even add the little furniture that he left behind, breaking it in pieces over the grave. This done, every one takes his last farewell, speaking to him as if alive, and testifying their sorrow at his departure; adding, that they hope to see him, not in *Guinea*, as some have written, but in that better place, where he now enjoys the pleasant company of his parents, friends, and ancestors; when another dismal yell ends the ceremony, and all return home. Next a fat hog being killed, with fowls, ducks, &c. a general feast is given by his friends to all the other negroes, which concludes not till the following day. The nearest connections and relations of the deceased, both male and female, now cut their hair* and shave their heads, round which having tied a dark blue handkerchief, they wear this mourning for a whole year; after which, once more visiting the grave, they offer a last libation, and taking their final farewell, another hog and fowls being killed, the funeral rites are quite ended by a second feast, which finishes with a joyful dance, and songs in memory and praise of their dear departed friend or relation.

No people can more esteem or have a greater friendship for one another than the negro slaves; they appear

* We are told Job did the same.

to have unbounded enjoyment in each other's company, and are not destitute of social amusements, such as the *soesa*, which consists in footing opposite to each other, and clapping with their hands upon their sides to keep in time. So very eager are they at this animating play, in which sometimes six or eight couple are engaged at once, that the violent exercise having been known to kill some of the negroes, it is forbidden by the magistrates at Paramaribo. *Awaree* is an innocent amusement, consisting in pitching with a large kind of marbles, in defect of which they use the awaree nuts or large pebbles.

The men also cudgel and wrestle; yet at this I think them inferior to either those of Cornwall or Devon. Most negroes are strong and active*. But swimming is their favourite diversion, which they practise every day at least twice or thrice, promiscuously, in groups of boys and girls, like the Indians, when both sexes exhibit astonishing feats of courage, strength, and activity. I have not only seen a negro girl beat a hardy youth in swimming across the river Comewina (while I was one of the party) but on landing challenge him to run a two mile race, and beat him again, naked as they were; while all ideas of shame on the one side, and of insult on the other, are totally unknown.—I shall now say something of their instrumental music and dancing. I have already men-

* Witness *James Jackson*, the equestrian rider, London, &c.

tioned

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tioned the singing and the dancing of the *Loango* tribe in particular; and will now describe that practised by the other negro nations in general.

Their instruments of music, which are not a little ingenious, are all made by themselves, and consist of those represented in the annexed plate; where

N° 1, which is called *qua-qua*, is a hard sounding-board, elevated on one side like a boot-jack, on which they beat time as on a drum, with two pieces of iron, or two bones.

N° 2, is the *kiemba-toctoc*, or hollow reed, which is blown through the nostrils, like the nasal flute of Otaheite: it has but two holes, one at each end, the one serving to sound it, the other to be touched by the finger.

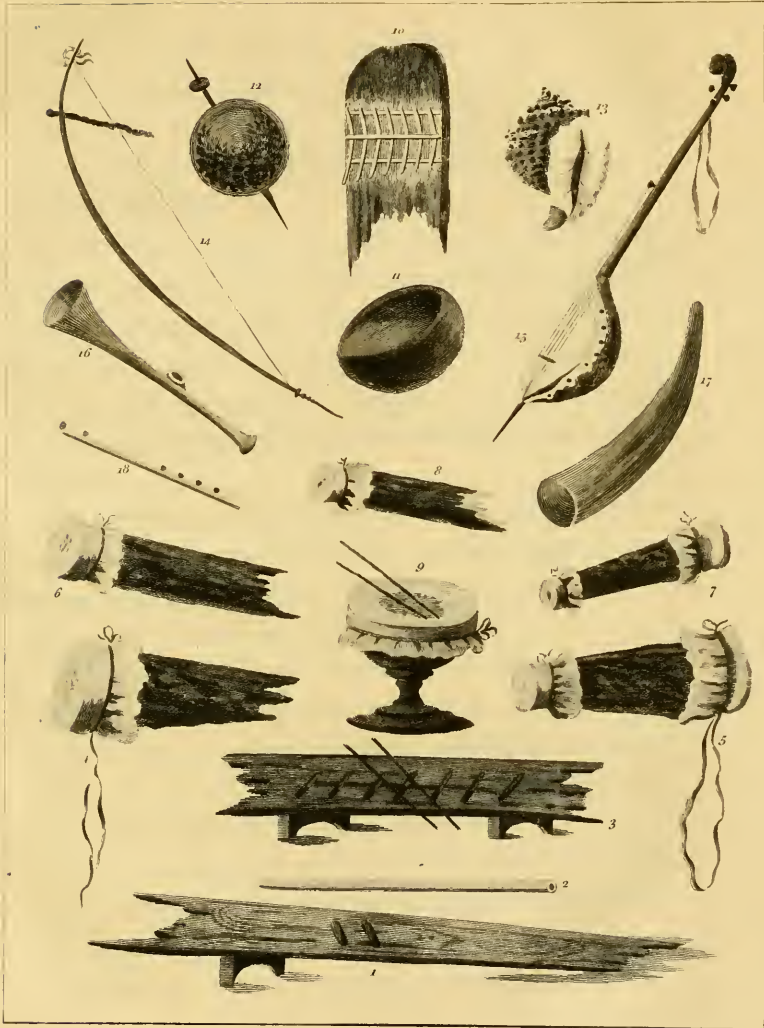
N° 3, is the *Ansokko-baina*, which is a hard board, supported on both sides like a low seat, on which are placed small blocks of different sizes, which being struck with two small sticks like a dulcimer, give different sounds, that are not at all disagreeable.

N° 4, is the *great Creole drum*, being a hollow tree, open at one end, and covered at the other with a sheep-skin, on which they sit astride, and so beat time with the palms of their hands; answering the effect of the bass-viol to the *qua-qua* board.

N° 5, is the *great Loango drum*, being covered at both ends, and serves the same purpose as a bass drum.

N° 6, is the *Papa drum*, beaten as the others.

N° 7,



Musical Instruments of the African Negroes.

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N° 7, is the *small Loango drum*, beaten together with the great one.

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N° 8, the *small Creole drum*, for the same use.

N° 9, is called *coeroema*; this is a wooden cup, ingeniously made, covered also with a sheep-skin, and beaten with two small rods or drum-sticks, after the manner of the *qua-qua* board.

N° 10, is the *Loango-bania*. This I thought exceedingly curious, being a dry board, on which are laced, and kept down by a transverse bar, different sized elastic splinters of the palm-tree, like pieces of whalebone, in such a manner that both ends are elevated by two other bars that are fixed under them; and the above apparatus being placed on

N° 11, which is a large empty *callebash* to promote the sound; the extremities of the splinters are snapt by the fingers, something in the manner of a piano-forte, when the music has a soft and very pleasing effect.

N° 12, is called by the negroes *saka-saka*, being a hollow gourd, with a stick and handle fixed through it, and filled with small pebbles and pease, not unlike the magic shell of the Indians. This they hold above their heads, and while they dance rattle it to measure.

N° 13, is a *conch*, or sea shell, which by blowing they sound, for pleasure, or to cause an alarm, &c. but is not used as an accompaniment to dancing.

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N° 14, is called *benta*, being a branch bent like a bow by means of a slip of dry reed or warimbo; which cord, when held to the teeth, is beaten with a short stick, and by being shifted backwards and forwards sounds not unlike a jew's-harp.

N° 15, is the *Creole-bania*, this is like a mandoline or guitar, being made of a half gourd covered with a sheep-skin, to which is fixed a very long neck or handle. This instrument has but four strings, three long and one short, which is thick, and serves for a bass; it is played by the fingers, and has a very agreeable sound, but more so when accompanied by a song.

N° 16, is the *trumpet of war*, to command advancing, retreating, &c. and is called by the negroes the *too-too*.

N° 17, is a *horn* used to supply the place of the other, or on the plantations to call the slaves to work.

N° 18, is the *Loango too-too*, or flute, which they blow as the Europeans do, after the common way. It has but four holes for the fingers, and yet they make it produce a variety of sounds.—Such are the musical instruments of our African brethren, to which they dance with more spirit than we do to the best band in Europe.

To what I have stated, I will only add, that they always use full or half measure, but never triple time, in their dancing music, which is not unlike that of a baker's bunt, when he separates the flour from the bran, sounding

tuckety-

tuckety-tuck and *tuckety-tuck* ad perpetuum. To this noise they dance with uncommon pleasure, and most times foot it away with great art and dexterity.

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“ *Saltantes Satyros imitabitur Alphisibœus.*”

Every Saturday evening, the slaves who are well treated close the week with an entertainment of this kind, and generally once a quarter are indulged with a grand ball, to which the neighbouring slaves are invited; the master often contributing to their happiness by his presence, or at least by sending them a present of a few jugs of new rum.

At these grand balls the slaves are remarkably neat, the women appearing in their best chintz petticoats, and many of the men in fine Holland trowsers. So indefatigable are they at this diversion, that I have known the drums continue beating without intermission from six o'clock on Saturday night till the sun made its appearance on the Monday morning; thus had passed six-and-thirty hours in dancing, cheering, hallooing, and clapping of hands. The negroes dance always in couples, the men figuring and footing, while the women turn round like a top, their petticoats expanding like an umbrella; and this they call *wacy-cotto*. During this, the by-standing youths fill about the liquor, while the girls encourage the performance, and wipe the sweat from the brows and sides of the unwearied musicians.

It is indeed upon the whole astonishing to see with

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what good-nature and even good manners these dancing societies are kept up, of which I repeat it they are so fond, that I have known a newly-imported negro, for want of a partner, figure and foot it for nearly the space of two hours, to his shadow against the wall.

If to what I have stated relative to negro slaves, when under a candid and humane master, we further add, their never being separated from each other; parents seeing their children around them, sometimes till the third and fourth generation, besides the confidence that they are all provided for to the end of their lives;—then if we draw the comparison between this class of people, and the numberless wretched objects that disgrace the streets of *Europe*, we can assuredly not call those Africans who fall under the above description—*unhappy*.

And now, to sum up all I have to say on the subject of slaves in the fewest words, for the sake of the reader, and also for my own, lest I should seem to contradict myself, by having so frequently animadverted on the shocking cruelties of some masters, and occasionally done justice to the humane and liberal dispositions of others, I beg leave to say one word more on the projected *abolition*.—Could we persuade all our commercial neighbours to join in *that* measure, the case would be different; but since I have seen cruelties exercised so commonly in Surinam, which I never heard of in the British islands, and from my certain observation have declared the soil
of

of that country to be so much more rich and productive than our West Indies, shall we not drive our planters from their worn-out lands, to settle on the more fertile spot, under a government which will allow a free importation of negroes, while our object (if we knew how to compass it) is to reduce an unlimited infliction of punishment, which indeed our planters have by their own laws most humanely restrained*?

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Such is indeed the love and confidence of some planters for their slaves, that they often entrust their infants to a negro wet-nurse, in preference to an European, where both may be had; and such the attachment of some slaves to their masters, that I have known many refuse to accept of their emancipation, and even some, who had their liberty, voluntarily return to dependence. No one is *perfectly* free in this world, all mankind is depending upon one another—while I will beg leave to conclude this laborious chapter, by this general remark, that all sublunary happiness exists only in imagination, and may ever be obtained, where health of body and peace of mind are not crushed by *despotic* oppression.

* By a law passed in the council of Jamaica, the punishment of a negro is usually limited to twelve lashes, but never exceeding thirty-nine. In Surinam I have known two

hundred inflicted on a female; and was once the unfortunate occasion of seeing it immediately repeated. (See Plate XXXV. Vol. I.)

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The Rape of the Sabines—Shocking Execution, and African Fortitude—Description of an Indigo Plantation—The Spanso Bocko, a Punishment—The Troops again re-enter the Woods—The Expedition draws to a Conclusion.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the successive defeats and repeated distresses of the rebels, news was brought to Paramaribo, on the 12th of August, that they had fallen upon the estate *Bergendal*, or the *Blue Bergh*, which is also called *Mount Parnassus*, situated in the higher parts of the River Surinam, and carried away all the black women, although a military post was stationed near the above place, but without committing any kind of cruelty, as too generally had been their custom. Upon this intelligence a party of the rangers was instantly detached thither to assist in pursuing them; and about this same time the long-projected *cordon*, or path of circumvallation round the colony, was also began to be cut, by seven hundred negro slaves; which path was henceforth to be manned with military piquets at proper distances to defend the estates against any farther invasions from without, and to prevent desertion to the enemy from within.

Mount Parnassus, which was the scene of the late *rape*
of



View of the Settlement called the Jew's Savannah.



View of the Blue Beryll called Mount Parnassus.

of the Sabines, is situated on the west side of the River Surinam, distant from Paramaribo, if we include the windings of the river, above one hundred miles; and as the situation is pleasant, I present the reader with a view of it, in the plate annexed, as also of the village, called the *Jews Savannah*, which is distant from town, in a straight line, something more than forty, but by water above sixty English miles. Here the Jews have a beautiful synagogue, and keep their solemn fasts and festivals; here they also have their capital schools and seminaries, for at this village reside some very respectable Jewish families. These people possess particular rights and privileges in this colony, with which they were endowed by King Charles the Second, when the settlement of Surinam was English; and such are these privileges I never knew Jews to possess in any other part of the world whatever.

From Paramaribo, or rather from the fortress New Amsterdam, the River Surinam, like those of Cottica and Comewina, is beautifully bordered with sugar and coffee plantations, as are also several creeks or small rivers that communicate with it; such as the *Pawlus*, the *Para*, the *Cropina*, and the *Pararac* creeks; but above Mount Par-nassus not a single estate, that may be so called, is to be found; neither is the river any longer navigable, even for small craft, on account of the prodigious rocks, and cascades or water-falls, with which it is obstructed as it winds through excessively high mountains and an impenetrable

penetrable forest. While therefore they form an enchantingly romantic scene to the eye, these natural bulwarks prevent the possessors of the colony from making such discoveries as might perhaps reward their labour with very considerable riches.

If, as I have just mentioned, cruelties were become less common in the rivers by the rebels, barbarities still continued in a shocking degree in the metropolis; where my ears were deafened with the clang of the whip, and the shrieks of the negroes. Among the most eminent of these tyrants was a Miss Sp—n, who lived next door to Mr. de Graav, and who I saw with horror from my window give orders that a young black woman should be flogged principally across the breasts, at which she seemed to enjoy peculiar satisfaction. To dissipate the impression this scene had left on my mind, I got into a whiskey, and rode out; when the first thing I saw was a negro girl fall naked from a garret window on a heap of broken bottles: this was indeed an accident, but she was so mangled, though not dead, that she exhibited a spectacle nearly as wretched as the other.—Cursing my unlucky fate, I turned the horses, and drove to the beach, as the only place to avoid every scene of cruelty and misery; but here I had the mortification to see two Philadelphia sailors (while they were fighting on the forecastle of their vessel) both fall over the ship's bow into the stream, where they sunk, and were no more seen. On board another

American brig, I discovered a little tar defending himself from the cross-trees with a hatchet, against a serjeant and four armed men, for a considerable time; till they threatening to shoot him out of the rigging, he at last surrendered, and being brought ashore, was dragged to Fort Zelandia, in company with two others, by a file of musketeers, where, for having been drunk on duty, they received a *fire-cant* each, at the captain's request; that is, they were bastinadoed or beaten on the shoulders by two corporals with bamboo canes, till their backs were black, and swelled like a cushion. However arbitrary this mode of correction, the captain endeavoured to explain the necessity of it; the private American sailors being of a turbulent spirit indeed when drunk, although when sober they may be fairly classed among the best seamen in the world.

Early the next morning, while musing on all the different dangers and chastisements to which the lower class of people are exposed, I heard a crowd pass under my window. Curiosity made me start up, dress in a hurry, and follow them: when I discovered three negroes in chains, surrounded by a guard, going to be executed in the savannah. Their undaunted look, however averse I may be to the sight of cruelties, so attracted my attention, as to determine me to see the result, which was thus:—The sentence being read in Low Dutch (which they did not understand) one was condemned to be flogged below

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the gallows, and his accomplice to have his head struck off with an axe, for having shot a slave who had come to steal plantains on the estate of his mistress. The truth however was, that this had been done by that lady's absolute command; but the murder being discovered, she, in the hopes of saving her character, besides the expence of paying the penalties, gave up her valuable slave, and permitted the unhappy man to be thus sacrificed. He laid his head upon the block with great indifference, stretching out his neck; when, with one blow of the axe, it was severed from his body.

The third negro, whose name was *Neptune*, was no slave, but his own master, and a carpenter by trade; he was young and handsome, but having killed the overseer of the estate *Altona*, in the Para Creek, in consequence of some dispute, he *justly* forfeited his life. The particulars, however, are worth relating: This man having stolen a sheep, to entertain a favourite young woman, the overseer, who burnt with jealousy, had determined to see him hanged; to prevent which, the negro shot him dead among the sugar canes; for these offences of course he was sentenced to be *broken alive upon the rack*, without the benefit of the *coup de grace* or mercy-stroke. Informed of the dreadful sentence, he composedly laid himself down on his back on a strong cross, on which, with arms and legs expanded, he was fastened by ropes: the executioner, also a black man, having now with a hatchet chopped off his

left

left hand, next took up a heavy iron bar, with which, by repeated blows, he broke his bones to shivers, till the marrow, blood, and splinters flew about the field; but the prisoner never uttered a groan nor a sigh. The ropes being next unlashed, I imagined him dead, and felt happy; till the magistrates stirring to depart, he writhed himself from the cross, when he fell on the grass, and damned them all, as a set of barbarous rascals; at the same time removing his right hand by the help of his teeth, he rested his head on part of the timber, and asked the by-standers for a pipe of tobacco, which was infamously answered by kicking and spitting on him; till I, with some American seamen, thought proper to prevent it. He then begged that his head might be chopped off; but to no purpose. At last, seeing no end to his misery, he declared, “that though he had deserved death, he had not expected to die so many deaths: however, (said he) you christians have missed your aim at last, and I now care not, were I to remain thus one month longer.” After which he sung two extempore songs (with a clear voice) the subjects of which were, to bid adieu to his living friends, and to acquaint his deceased relations that in a very little time he should be with them, to enjoy their company for ever in a better place. This done, he calmly entered into conversation with some gentlemen concerning his trial; relating every particular with uncommon tranquillity—“But,” said he abruptly, “by the sun it

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“ must be eight o’clock ; and by any longer discourse I
 “ should be sorry to be the cause of your losing your
 “ breakfast.” Then, casting his eyes on a Jew, whose
 name was *De Vries*, “ A-propos, sir,” said he, “ won’t you
 “ please to pay me the ten shillings you owe me ?”—“ For
 “ what to do ?”—“ To buy meat and drink, to be sure—
 “ don’t you perceive I am to be kept alive ?” Which
 speech, on seeing the Jew stare like a fool, this mangled
 wretch accompanied with a loud and hearty laugh. Next,
 observing the soldier that stood sentinel over him biting
 occasionally on a piece of dry bread, he asked him “ how
 “ it came to pass, that he, a *white man*, should have no
 “ meat to eat along with it ?”—“ Because I am not so
 “ rich,” answered the soldier.—“ Then I will make you a
 “ present, sir,” said the negro ; “ first, pick my hand that
 “ was chopped off clean to the bones, next begin to de-
 “ vour my body, till you are glutted ; when you will have
 “ both bread and meat, as best becomes you ;” which
 piece of humour was followed by a second laugh ; and
 thus he continued, until I left him, which was about three
 hours after the dreadful execution.

Wonderful it is indeed, that human nature should be
 able to endure so much torture, which assuredly could
 only be supported by a mixture of rage, contempt, pride,
 and the glory of braving his tormentors, from whom he
 was so soon to escape*.

Though

* At Demerary, so late as October, 1789, thirty-two wretches were
 executed



The Execution of Breaking on the Rack.

Though I never recal to my remembrance, without the most painful sensation, this horrid scene, which must revolt the feelings of all who have one spark of humanity, I cannot forbear exhibiting to the public the dreadful spectacle in the annexed drawing. If the reader, however, should be offended with this shocking exhibition, and my dwelling so long on this unpleasant subject, let it be some relief to his reflection, to consider this punishment not inflicted as a wanton and unprovoked act of cruelty, but as the extreme severity of the Surinam laws, on a desperate wretch, suffering as an example to others for complicated crimes; while at the same time it cannot but give me, and I hope many others, some consolation to reflect that the above barbarous mode of punishment was hitherto never put in practice in the British colonies.

I must now relate an incident, which, as it had a momentary effect on my imagination, might have had a lasting one on some who had not investigated the real cause of it, and which it gave me no small satisfaction to discover. About three in the afternoon, walking towards the place of execution, with my thoughts full of the affecting scene, and the image of the sufferer fresh in my mind, the first object I saw was his head at some distance, placed on a stake, *nodding* to me backwards and forwards, as if he

executed in three days, sixteen of whom suffered in the manner just described, with no less fortitude, and without uttering one single complaint.

had

had really been alive. I instantly stopped short, and seeing no person in the savannah, nor a breath of wind sufficient to move a leaf or a feather, I acknowledge that I was rivetted to the ground, where I stood without having the resolution of advancing one step for some time ; till reflecting that I must be weak indeed not to approach this dead skull, and find out the wonderful phænomenon, if possible, I boldly walked up, and instantly discovered the natural cause, by the return of a *vulture* to the gallows, who perched upon it, as if he meant to dispute with me for this feast of carrion ; which bird, having already picked out one of the eyes, had fled at my first approach, and striking the skull with his talons, as he took his sudden flight, occasioned the motion already described. I shall now only add, that this poor wretch, after living near six hours, had been knocked on the head by the commiserating sentinel, the marks of whose musket were perfectly visible by a large open fracture in the skull.

Vultures are compared by some to the eagle, though those of Surinam possess very opposite qualities. They are indeed birds of prey, but instead of feeding on what they kill, like the other noble animal, their chief pursuit is carrion ; wherefore they generally resort to burial-grounds and places of execution, which they discover by their very acute smell, so much so, that by the negroes they are called *tingee-fowlo*, or the stinking bird. The Guiana vultures are the size of a common turkey ; they

are of a dark-grey colour, with black wings and tail; the bill is straight with a crooked point, and very strong; the tongue is cloven, the neck without feathers, and the legs very short. Besides carrion, these birds will often destroy and eat serpents, and indeed every thing that comes in their way, until they are so much gorged that they can hardly fly.

The bird called the *king of the vultures* is not very common in Surinam, though sometimes the Indians bring one or two to Paramaribo for sale, on account of its great beauty. This is larger than any turkey-cock, with a naked head and neck, the skin of which is partly brown, yellow, and scarlet: round its neck it has a dusky, long, feathered collar, in which it can at pleasure withdraw, and so far hide its neck, that nothing but part of the head is perceptible. This bird likewise feeds on carrion, serpents, rats, toads, and even excrements.

Among the other birds of prey in the forest of Surinam, is found the *crested eagle*. This is a very fierce bird, and also very strong; the back is black, but yellowish at the base; the breast and belly white, with black spots, as are its thighs, and even the feathers of its legs; the rest of the body is entirely brown, and the claws perfectly yellow. The head of this bird is flat, ornamented with four feathers, two long and two short, which it can erect or depress at pleasure.

About this time the *Hind*, an English frigate, with
her

C H A P. her tender, were on the coast, looking out for American prizes.
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The 24th, being the Prince of Orange's birth-day, the whole corps of Officers were entertained with salt beef, salt pork, barley puddings, and hard pease, by Colonel Fourgeoud. And this day (poor Joanna being inflexible in her resolutions) I ratified the agreement with the good Mrs. Godefroy, in presence of her mother and other relations, whereby the above lady bound herself "never to part with her, except to myself alone, as long as she lived; and that upon her death, not only her full liberty, but a spot of ground for cultivation, besides a neat house built upon it, should be her portion for ever, to dispose of as she pleased." After this she returned my remaining bond of 900 florins, and gave Joanna a purse with gold containing near twenty ducats, besides a couple of pieces of East India chintz, advising me at the same time "to give in a request to the court for little Johnny's immediate manumission: which," she observed, "was a necessary form, whether I should be able to obtain the bail usually required or not; and without which formality, even if I had the bail ready to appear, nothing would be done in the course of business."

Having both of us thanked this most excellent woman, I went to sup with the Governor, where being transported with joy, I gave him my request in full form, which he coolly put in his pocket with one hand, while he gave
 me

me a hearty squeeze with the other; and shaking his head, told me frankly, “that he would lay it before the court; but at the same time was perfectly convinced “my boy must die a slave, unless I could find the necessary bail, which he was at the same time well persuaded “very few people would wish to appear for.” Thus, after spending so much time and labour, besides the expence of above a hundred guineas already paid, I had still the inexpressible mortification to see this dear little fellow, of whom I was both the father and the master, exposed to perhaps eternal servitude; as for Joanna, she was now perfectly safe, to my heartfelt satisfaction.

One consolation, however, in the midst of this disappointment, most opportunely presented itself. The famous negro, *Graman-Qwacy*, formerly mentioned, who was just returned from Holland, brought the news, that partly by *his* interest a new law was there enacted, by which all slaves were to be free six months after their landing at the Texel; which, indeed, on application of their masters, might be extended to twelve, but not a single day longer on any account whatsoever.—Thus being persuaded that I should *one day* joyfully carry both him and his mother over the Atlantic, my heart was greatly relieved.

Of this Graman-Qwacy I will beg leave to give a short account, before I take farewell of the reader. Suffice it for the present to say, that the Prince of Orange, besides

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 suit of blue and scarlet, trimmed over with broad gold
 lace; on his hat he wore a white feather, and looked
 upon the whole not unlike one of the Dutch generals;
 which goodness made this king of the negroes, however,
 very proud, and even frequently very saucy.

On the 25th, the Governor of the colony gave a very
 sumptuous feast to several of his friends at his *indigo-*
plantation, which was situated but a few miles at the back
 of his palace, where I had the honour to be invited as
 one of the party, and had the pleasure of inspecting the
 process of making *indigo*, a detail of which will probably
 be acceptable.

In the first place, therefore, I shall present the curious
 with a drawing of the *indigo plant*, which is a knotty
 shrub produced from seed, which grows to about two feet
 from the ground, and comes to perfection in the space of
 two months. This plant requires a very rich soil, which
 besides ought to be kept perfectly clean from weeds. In
 the plate, *A* is the colour of the sprig; *B*, the leaves
 above; *C*, the same below; *D*, the seed inclosed in small
 brown pods; *E*, the size of the leaf as it grows; *F*, a
 piece of indigo ready made for use. The above sprig
 was designed from nature on the spot, but on a small
 scale: it has something the appearance of the tamarind
 branch, principally in the size of the leaf, which also



Spring of the Indigo Plant.

grows in pairs, and is darker above than below; but at the extremity of each shoot in *this* shrub, one leaf grows single, which is not the case in the other. The young shoot in the tamarind-trees also appears at the extremity of the branches; but in this they spring forth, as may be seen, from the base.

The mode in which this plant is converted into indigo is as follows:—When all the verdure is cut off, the whole crop is tied in bunches, and put into a very large tub with water, covered over with very heavy logs of wood by way of pressers: thus kept, it begins to ferment; in less than eighteen hours the water seems to boil, and becomes of a violet or garter blue colour, extracting all the grain or colouring matter from the plant: in this situation the liquor is drawn off into another tub, which is something less, when the remaining trash is carefully picked up and thrown away; and the very noxious smell of this refuse it is that occasions the peculiar unhealthiness which is always incident to this business. Being now in the second tub, the mash is agitated by paddles adapted for the purpose, till by a skilful maceration all the grain separates from the water, the first sinking like mud to the bottom, while the latter appears clear and transparent on the surface: this water, being carefully removed till near the coloured mass, the remaining liquor is drawn off into a third tub, to let what indigo *it* may contain also settle in the bottom; after which, the last drops of water here

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being also removed, the sediment or *indigo* is put into proper vessels to dry, where being divested of its last remaining moisture, and formed into small, round, and oblong square pieces, it is become a beautiful dark blue, and fit for exportation. The best indigo ought to be light, hard, and sparkling. In Surinam but little of it is cultivated, for what reason I know not, since one pound is sold for about four florins, which is about seven shillings in sterling money.

It is said this article was first introduced by one *Destrades*, who called himself a French officer, and must have brought it from the island of St. Domingo very lately, since I myself was well acquainted with this poor fellow, who since shot himself through the head with a pistol at Demerary. As the circumstances of his death were somewhat remarkable, I cannot resist the temptation of relating them. Having involved himself in debt, he turned to ready money his remaining effects, and fled from Surinam: next setting up in the Spanish contraband trade, his all was taken. Deprived of every thing, he now applied for protection to a friend at Demerary, who humanely gave him shelter: at this time an abscess gathering in his shoulder, every assistance was offered, but in vain, Mr. *Destrades* refusing to let it be even examined; his shoulder therefore grew worse, and even dangerous, but he persisted in not permitting it to be uncovered; till one day, having dressed himself in his
best

best apparel, the family was alarmed by the report of fire-arms, when they found him weltering in his blood, with a pistol by his side; and then, to their surprize, having stripped him, the mark of *V.* for *voleur*, or thief, was discovered on the very shoulder he had attempted to conceal.—Thus ended the life of this poor wretch, who had for years at Paramaribo supported the character of a polite and well-bred gentleman, where he had indeed been universally respected.

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Dinner being over at the Governor's indigo-plantation, I now departed in his excellency's coach to the water-side, where a tent-barge and eight oars lay in waiting to row me down to the estate *Catwyk*, in the River *Comewina*, whither I was invited by Mr. *Goetsee*, a Dutch naval officer, who was the proprietor of this beautiful country-seat. In this charming situation, no amusements were wanting. There were carriages, saddle-horses, sail-boats, billiard-tables, &c. all ready for immediate use. But what embittered the pleasure was, the inhuman disposition of Mr. *Goetsee's lady*, who flogged her negro slaves for every little trifle. For instance, one of the foot-boys, called *Jacky*, not having rinsed the glasses according to her mind, she ordered him to be whipped the next morning; but the unfortunate youth soon put himself beyond the reach of her resentment: for, having taken farewell of the other negroes on the estate, he went up stairs, laid himself down upon his *master's* own bed,

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bed, where, placing the muzzle of a loaded fowling-piece in his mouth, by the help of his toe he drew the trigger, and put an end to his existence. A couple of stout negroes were now sent up to see what was the matter; who, finding the bed all over bespattered with blood and brains, got orders to throw the body out of the window to the dogs, while the master and mistress were so very much alarmed, that they never got the better of it*; nor would any person consent to lie in the same apartment, till I chose it in preference to any other, being assuredly the most pleasant room, and the very best bed, in the house. What added much to the alarm of the family, was the circumstance of a favourite child lying fast asleep in the same apartment where this shocking catastrophe happened. They were, however, relieved from their alarms on this score, by being informed that it had not received the smallest injury.

I had not been fourteen days on this plantation, when a female mulatto slave, called *Yettee*, for having jocosely said “her mistress had some debt as well as herself,” was stripped stark naked, and in a very indecent as well as inhuman manner flogged by two stout negroes before the dwelling-house door (while both her feet were locked to a heavy iron bolt) until hardly any skin was left on her thighs or sides. Five days after this I had the good for-

* The above unhappy people were poisoned by their slaves about six years after this happened.

tune, however, to get her relieved from the iron-bolt, which was locked across her shins: but a Mrs. *Van Eys*, alledging she had affronted her also by her *saucy* looks, prevailed on Mrs. Goetzee to renew the punishment the same week; when she was actually so cruelly beaten, that I expected she could not have survived it.

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Disgusted with this barbarity, I left the estate Catwyk, determined never more to return to it: but I still accompanying Mr. Goetzee to visit some of his other plantations from curiosity, in Cottica and Pirica Rivers, at one of these, called the *Alia*, a new-born female infant was presented me by way of compliment, to give it a name, which I called *Charlotte*. But the next morning, during breakfast, seven negroes were here again tied up and flogged, some with a *cow-skin*, which is very terrible. Hence I made my retreat to the estate *Sgraven-Hague*, and there, meeting a mulatto youth in chains, whose name was *Douglas*, I with horror recollected his unhappy father, who had been obliged to leave him a slave, and was now dead. Heartily tired of my excursion, I was now glad to make haste back to Paramaribo; where, as soon as I arrived, the first news I heard was that Colonel Fourgeoud's French valet-de-chambre, poor *Monsieur Laurant*, had actually been buried before he was quite dead;—and that, for having been found drunk in an alehouse, no less than thirteen of our men had most severely run the gauntlet, and as many been terribly bastinadoed, the greatest number
of

of which no more saw Europe;—also, that a Quaderoon youth and a Dutch sailor were found murdered on the beach.—I was now proceeding to take a walk on the plain or esplanade, but here I was called in by Mr. St—k—r, who conducted me three stories high: “ From this window
 “ (said he) a few days since, leaped one of my black boys,
 “ to escape a gentle flogging; however, having only fainted
 “ in consequence of his fall, we soon brought him to life
 “ again by a hearty scouring on the ribs, so he did not
 “ escape; after which, for having risked himself, that is
 “ to say his master’s property, and frightened my wife,
 “ she ordered him to be sent to Fort Zelandia, where he
 “ received the interest, that is a most confounded *spanso-*
 “ *bocko.*”

The punishment called *spanso-bocko* is extremely severe indeed, and is executed in the following manner:—The prisoner’s hands being lashed together, he is laid down on the ground on one side, with his knees thrust between his arms, and these confined by a strong stake, which separates them from his wrists, and is driven perpendicularly into the ground, insomuch that he can no more stir than if he was dead. In this locked position, trussed like a fowl, he is beaten on one side of his breech by a strong negro, with a handful of knotty tamarind branches, till the very flesh is cut away; he is then turned over on the other side, where the same dreadful flagellation is inflicted, till not a bit of skin is left, and
 the

the place of execution is dyed with blood: after which the raw lacerated wound is immediately washed with lemon-juice and gun-powder to prevent mortification, and then he is sent home to recover as well as he can.

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The above cruel and indecent punishment is sometimes repeated at every street in the town of Paramaribo, to men and women indiscriminately, which is a severity absolutely beyond conception; however, it is never *thus* inflicted without a condemnation from the court. But a single *spanso-bocko*, without regard to age or sex, as I have just mentioned, may be ordered by any proprietor, either at home, or by sending the victim to the fortress, with a note to the public executioner, to whom some trifle in money is paid as a fee of office.

I next was addressed by a Monsicur *Rochetaux*, whose Coromantyn cook, having spoiled his *ragout*, had just cut his own throat to prevent a whipping; and Mr. Charles *Reynsdorp's* lately did the same.

After these facts, can it be a matter of surprize, that the negro slaves rise up in rebellion against masters who treat them with so very much severity?

As I do not recollect that I have described in what manner these insurgents generally attack the estates, I cannot introduce it on a more proper occasion.

Having lain during the night lurking in the bushes that surround the estate, they always appear a little before day-break, when unexpectedly falling on and mas-

sacring the Europeans, they plunder the dwelling-house, which they next set on fire, and then carry off the negro women, whom they load with the spoil, and treat with the utmost insolence should they make opposition*.

And now farewell, I hope, ye wretched objects, who have not made the least conspicuous figure in these bloody pages! for which I should be more ready to apologize to the reader, had I not been induced to make cruelty ashamed of itself, and humanity gain ground: that at last, in some measure, my motive may be crowned with success, I most sincerely wish, abhorring every act of barbarity from the very bottom of my soul.

“ Why, *Christians*, rage thine insolence and scorn,
 “ Why burst thy vengeance on the wretch forlorn?
 “ The cheerless captive, to slow death consign’d,
 “ *Weigh’d down with chains*, in prison glooms confin’d;
 “ Of hope bereft, *who*, by thy minions curs’d,
 “ With hunger famish’d, and consum’d with thirst,
 “ Without one friend, when Death’s last horror stung,
 “ Roll’d the wild eye, and gnaw’d the anguish’d tongue.”

I have already stated that on the 24th of August I gave in a hopeless request to the Governor for my boy’s emancipation; and on the 8th of October I saw with equal

* For minute particulars I cannot do better than refer the curious to Mr. *Belknap’s History of New Hampshire*; where he describes the insurrection of the American Indians, which are almost perfectly similar to those of the African negroes.

joy and surprize the following advertisement posted up, "That if any one could give in a lawful objection why "*John Stedman*, a Quaderoon infant, the son of Captain "Stedman, should not be presented with the blessing "of freedom, such person or persons to appear before "January 1st, 1777."—I no sooner read it, than I ran with the good news to my good friend, Mr. Palmer, who assured me, "that the above was no more than a form, "put in practice on the supposition of my producing the "bail required, which undoubtedly they expected, from "my having so boldly given in my request to the Governor "of the colony." Without being able to utter one syllable in reply, I retired to the company of Joanna, who, with a smile, bid me "never to despair, that Johnny certainly one "day would be free;" nor did she ever fail in giving me some consolation, however desperate were my expectations.

About this time we were informed, that in the Utrecht paper an impertinent *libel* had appeared against the good Fourgeoud, ridiculing him for his embassy to the *Owca* and *Serameca* negroes: which gentleman, though he had no assistance from these *allies* to expect, and his troops now melted down almost to nothing, nevertheless scorned to keep those that could stand upon their feet inactive. Thus, having provided the few remaining privates with new clothes (the *first* they had received since 1772) besides new sabres, bill-hooks, &c. he sent them all once more

up, accompanied only by the subalterns, to be encamped at the mouth of the Cassipore Creek, in the upper parts of the Cottica river; the staff officers and captains being ordered soon to follow: and on the 7th we were treated by our commander for the *first* time, with a sirloin of good roast-beef, which, however, was sent him from Amsterdam, prepared as I have already described. At the dessert was a kind of fruit called in Surinam *pomme de canelle*, or cinnamon-apple: it grows on a shrub in most gardens at Paramaribo, and has something the appearance of a young artichoke, being covered with a kind of green scales. The skin of this fruit is half an inch thick, and the pulp like clotted cream mixed with brown sugar: it is very sweet, but not much esteemed by many palates, being rather too luscious; the seeds, which are black, hard, and large, are contained in the pulp or creamy substance.

Having now prepared myself once more for actual service, and again received a profusion of wine, spirits, and refreshments of every kind, to carry with me to the woods, from different friends at Paramaribo; I left my dear mulatto and her boy to the care of that excellent woman Mrs. Godefroy, in order the following day to set out on my *seventh* campaign, and help, if possible, to compleat that business we had so long and so ardently undertaken, for the safety and welfare of this valuable colony, and its *lawful* inhabitants of every denomination;

while

while happily my health and my spirits were at this time
once more just as vigorous and as strong, with all my
limbs as perfectly sound, as the very first day that I
landed, with Colonel Fourgeoud and his regiment of
marines, in *Terra Firma*.

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The Rebels fly for Protection to Cayenne—Third March to Gado-Saby—A second Reinforcement of Troops arrive from Holland—Shipwreck of the Transport Paramaribo—March to Rio Comewina—Dismal Picture of Distress and of Mortality—The Peace of the Colony restored.

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ON the 10th of November, in company with several other gentlemen, I now once more set out in a tent barge for the encampment at the *Cassepore* Creek; and this day the whole colony was full of smoke, the woods having taken fire near the sea side by some unknown accident. On our passage we met Colonel *Texier*, who came from the post *Vredenburgh*, at the *Marawina*, with a detachment; and assured us, that since the blow we gave to the rebels at *Gado-Saby*, they were mostly fled to the other side of that great river, where they found refuge amongst the French who were settled in *Cayenne*; he had, however, taken a woman, and lieutenant *Keen* took two men, and killed two more, while the two new black volunteer companies supported the honour of their colours, which they had received with so much ceremony from the Governor, by occasionally bringing in captives from the sea shore behind *Paramaribo*, in which they were assisted

by the Indians, who had voluntarily fought and defeated the enemy there, more than once. Thus every thing promised fair to crown our endeavours with success, and finally to re-establish safety and tranquillity in the colony.

On our passage we stopped at the estate *Saardam*, the proprietor of which (by a late marriage) was our Lieutenant Colonel *Des Borgnes*. I found here an American sailor who came to load molasses, and having an inclination to try the skill of the new planter (and his overseer) in rum, I desired the tar to colour a couple of gallons of *kill-devil* made at the very same plantation, and bring them ashore as rum brought from *Antigua*. He did so, and they gave him in exchange for it a six gallon keg of the very same spirits; declaring it was much better than their own, and then drank the contents in punch, to my very great entertainment. The sailor said he should colour the six gallons also, and did not doubt of loading his boat to the water's edge before he reached Paramaribo.—Such, in all countries, is the force of prejudice.

Having been very well entertained at Saardam, we set forward, and arrived safe in the encampment at the Casseepore Creek, in Cottica River, on the 13th; where, in stepping ashore, being without shoes and stockings, I narrowly escaped being bitten by a *land-scorpion*. This insect is of the size of a small cray-fish, and has an oval body; its colour is like that of soot, and it is jointed in moveable rings: it has eight legs, divided by joints, and

two jointed claws projecting from the head, appearing like part of the body, with such small eyes that they are hardly perceptible: the tail is formed by seven globular divisions like beads, which terminate in a double sting; this it bends over its back, to protect its young ones from the attacks of other insects: for to the creature's back the young resort, after being hatched from eggs like pin-heads, in a small web spun by the female. The sting of the land-scorpion is not accounted fatal, but occasions a violent pain, and throws the patient into a fever: it is said they change their skins, as crabs do their shells. The scorpions generally frequent old trees and old furniture, and are often found amongst dry rubbish and faded grass.

Almost the first accidents that I saw here was a poor fellow, a marine, going to bathe in the river, who was instantly snapt away by a large *alligator*. I no sooner beheld him sink and disappear, than having stripped, I actually dived after the poor man, by the help of a long oar, which a negro held perpendicular under water for the purpose, constantly taking care to keep all my limbs in motion. However I found him not, and tugging the oar as a signal to pull it up, the fellow, by miscomprehension, pushed both it and myself down with such violence, that we did not rise again to the surface till near the middle of the stream, which carried down the oar, while I regained the shore by swimming and very great exertion.

On

On the 20th, being now once more ordered to march on discovery to *Gado-Saby*, I set out at six o'clock in the morning, with two subaltern officers, three serjeants, seven corporals, and fifty privates, besides a surgeon, and the noted free negro Gousary (whom we lost for three or four hours) and encamped near the banks of the same creek, not having been able to advance above six miles due west from its mouth.

On the 21st we marched north for about seven or eight miles, without meeting with one drop of *water* to alleviate our burning thirst, it being at this time in the very heart of the dry season, which this year was more scorching than I ever remembered it before.

Having now changed my course to the north-east, and passed the quagmire, about noon the following day we marched *dry* through the late fatal marsh, and an hour after we kept due west; when, falling in with a large field of yams, we demolished it; then proceeding forward, I encamped in the old settlement Cofaay, almost choked for want of water, not having met with any thing like it from the moment we sat out. Here, however, the negro slaves found means to procure us some, which, though stagnant and stinking like a kennel, we drank, straining it through our shirt-sleeves.

During this march, I nevertheless took notice of the following trees, not yet described, *viz.* the *canavatepy*, and the *berkluck*, which are extremely fit for domestic use.

CHAP. XXVIII. The first is beautifully striped, black and brown, and has much the appearance of that usually called brazil, while it diffuses a smell in working not inferior to that of a carnation. The second is a pale red or pink colour, and is equally good for almost every purpose. I was this day also presented with a singular kind of fruit, called here the *marmalade box*, being about the size of a large apple, rather oval, and all covered over with down. This fruit in the beginning is green, and when ripe it turns to a brown colour: the husk is hard, and by a certain motion opens in halves like a walnut, when the pulp appears like that of a medlar, being a sweet brown substance, and adhering to large kernels, which the inhabitants suck off with avidity; and from this it derives the above name. As I took no particular notice of the tree, I am sorry not to have it in my power to give any account of it whatsoever.

The 23d I marched east from Cofaay, with a view of obtaining some fresh accounts of the rebels; and proceeded by a path of communication through cultivated fields, but fell in with nothing, some delightful views, and a large herd of *warree* hogs, excepted, which from the gnashing of their teeth and their stamping the ground before we saw them, we had actually mistaken for a straggling party of the enemy, and had consequently fresh primed, and prepared to engage them.

About noon we returned to *Gado-Saby*, where, sitting

down

down to rest from our fatigue, a tall *old rebel negro* appeared suddenly in the very midst of us, with a long white beard, a white cotton sheet tied about his shoulders, and a broken cutlass in his hand. Seeing this venerable apparition, I instantly started up, and forbidding my people to fire at him, I civilly desired him to approach me, pledging myself that no person under my command should dare to hurt him; but that he should have every thing for his relief that I could afford.—He answered, “No, no, *massera!*” with the utmost deliberation, and shaking his head in an instant disappeared; while two of my men (contrary to my orders) fired after him, at the distance of perhaps six paces only, yet both missed their object, to my great satisfaction, he being a poor forsaken creature that had been left behind the rest, glean- ing a precarious subsistence from his own deserted fields which we had formerly destroyed. What renders the negroes so difficult to hit with a ball is this, that they never run straight forward, but *zig-zag*, like the forked lightning in the elements.

I now, to fulfil my orders, once more ransacked *Cofaay*, with its adjoining plains, though with a sore heart, on account of the poor lonely old rebel. Here, having cut down several cotton and plantain-trees, okero or althea, pigeon pease, maize, pine-apples, and some rice, most of which had spontaneously sprung up again since our last devastation, I could not help leaving, before a *little*

CHAPTER. *shed*, where was some fresh ashes and banana shells, a
 XXVIII. few rusk biscuits, and a good piece of salt beef, as also a
 bottle of new rum, for the unfortunate solitary old man, this being his retreat; after which we once more encamped in the fields of Cofaay.

Having so frequently mentioned *rice*, it may be expected that I should say something concerning its growth and cultivation. It rises to the height of four feet, with furrowed stalks, and in appearance is not unlike wheat, but the stalks are knotted by intervals, and stronger; the leaves are like those of reeds: the seeds are produced somewhat like barley, and grow on each side of the spikes or ears alternately. The *oryza* or rice is cultivated in a warm and marshy soil; the grains are oval, and if good ought to be white, hard, and transparent. As for the use of this commodity for food, it is so well known, that I shall only say, that without this grain our poor marines must long ago have all been starved, particularly in August 1775; when, for all allowance, they got *per day one* rusk biscuit, and *three* spikes of maize or Indian corn, for *five men*; rice alone supplying, as I have intimated, the rest of the allowance.

Having now fully completed my commission, I, with my detachment, marched back for the Casseepore Creek, directing my course through the ruined fields of Gado-Saby, which were at present choked up to a perfect wilderness. Hence we kept first to the south-west, and
 then

then due south, after which we slung our hammocks near a former encampment. It is to be observed, that at this time all the marshes were nearly dry, on account of the hottest season I ever remember; while the foetid smell occasioned by the quantities of dead warrapa fish, that had been deserted by the water, was an intolerable nuisance. From amongst these putrid fishes, our negro slaves nevertheless selected the most tolerable, which, fried in the evening, served them for a delicate morsel.

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The morning following we again marched south-west by west, when we slung our hammocks not above four miles from the Cassepore Creek; and on the 26th (keeping south-south-west) we arrived in the *grand camp*, much fatigued and emaciated, myself with a swelled face or erysipelas; when I gave in my journal to Lieutenant-Colonel de Borgnes, who commanded*: and I believe, upon my honour, that had we been ordered to remain twenty years on this expedition, with a possibility of saving our lives, the different diseases, plagues, and torments, would still have accumulated and varied without end.

A detachment of fifty men was next sent out to reconnoitre at Jerusalem, &c.; and on the 6th of December the long-expected *relief*, consisting of three hundred and fifty men, arrived in the river Surinam from Holland, after a voyage of nine weeks and three days, of which they spent a fortnight at Plymouth.

* See the above route, and all the where they are by different lines others to *Gado-Saby*, in Plate LVI. distinctly marked.

By

By these the unfortunate account was brought, that Captain *Jochem Meyer* (who had on board a considerable sum of money for our troops) was taken by the Moors, and carried with his crew to *Morocco*, where they were condemned to be slaves to the emperor*; and that the ship *Paramaribo*, Captain *Spruyt* (being one of the vessels that carried over the sick in the beginning of August) was wrecked and entirely lost in the channel, on the rocks of *Ushant*; but that by the exertions of some French fishing-boats, the crew and troops had all been saved, and carried into Brest, whence they had taken a fresh passage for the Texel; after which the Prince of Orange (who was ever distinguished for benevolence, and doing good and humane actions) ordered the officers and private men, above one hundred in number, to receive the following sums, by way of defraying their loss, *viz.* each marine received about four, the subalterns thirty, the captains forty, and Major *Medlar*, who commanded, fifty pounds sterling. However, by this shipwreck, I lost all my three chests of sweetmeats and pickles, besides parrots, butterflies, monkies, &c. intended as presents to my friends in Europe, which indiscriminately went to the bottom, to my no small mortification.

Having now for about a month been lodged in a paltry hut, beaten by the wind and showers of rain (which began to set in unexpectedly); and being informed, that not-

* The above captain and his crew were since set at liberty, having been ransomed by the Dutch.

withstanding

withstanding the arrival of the relief, we were still to stay sometime longer in the woods, which broke many hearts; I, on the 12th of December, earnestly set about building for myself a comfortable house, and which was finished, without either nail or hammer, in less than six days, though it had two rooms, a piazza with rails, and a small kitchen, besides a garden, in which I sowed, in pepper-creases, the names of Joanna and John; while my next-door neighbour, who was my friend Captain *Bolts*, made shift to keep a goat, and thus we lived not altogether uncomfortably. Others kept hens and ducks, but not a cock was to be seen in the camp; for these, having first had all their tongues cut out to prevent their crowing (though to no purpose) had been since condemned to lose their heads. In short, our gentlemen built a row of very curious houses indeed, all projecting from the beach; while, on the opposite side, above a hundred green huts being constructed to receive the new-come troops, the whole together formed no contemptible street, though it must be confessed its inhabitants were little better than scarecrows.

What was most remarkable in my own habitation, however, was its entry, which was not by the door, nor yet by the window, but only by the roof, where I crept in and out, allowing absolutely no other admittance; and by this contrivance alone I was effectually guarded from those frequent visitors who smelt my pancakes, and used

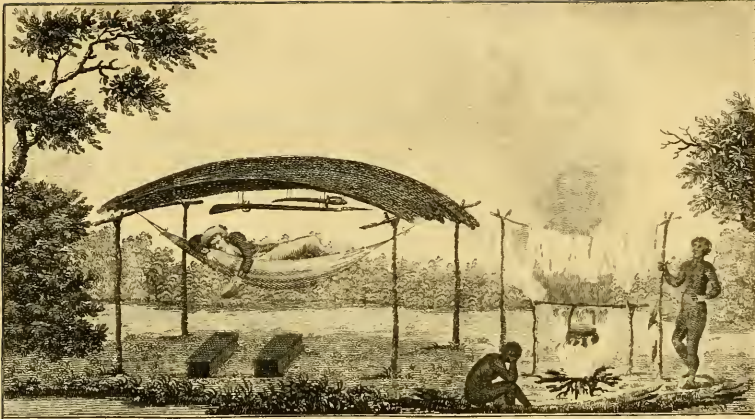
to

C H A P. to make too free with my eggs and bacon, besides inter-
 XXVIII. rupting me while I was drawing, writing, or reading.

Upon the whole, I must acknowledge, that this encampment was agreeable enough (more so as being on elevated ground), had it not been for the pestilential damps and mephitic vapours that exhale constantly from the earth, and had already sent numbers to the other world.

During this short space of tranquillity I constructed in miniature my cottage in which I lived at the Hope, on an oblong board of about eighteen inches by twelve, which being entirely made of the manicole-tree and branches, like the original, was esteemed a master-piece; and this I sent as a present to my friend Mr. de Graaff at Paramaribo, who since placed it in a cabinet of natural curiosities at Amsterdam. As I am upon this subject, I am tempted to present the reader with a view of two of my habitations, the one that at the Hope, where I spent such happy days; and the other temporary, such as in the woods we constructed to be sheltered from the weather:—the first may be considered as the emblem of domestic felicity; the second of rustic hardship and fatigue.

The troops of the *Society* of Surinam, who had been encamped at the Wana Creek (the rainy season prematurely setting in) now wisely broke up, and on the 26th passing by us, rowed down the river Cottica on their way to the plantations in the Pirica Creek; but as for us, we were as usual condemned to linger in the Cassipore camp,
 while



Manner of Sleeping &c. in the Forest.



Rural Retreat — The Cottage —

while Fourgeoud still kept snug at Paramaribo. With the above officers we received intelligence that a few more rebels had been taken at the Marawina; while we ourselves daily continued to send out patrols to the right and left, but met with nothing to capture.

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At last, on the 29th, six barges came to an anchor before our encampment, with part of the fresh troops that were arrived from Holland for our relief; which I could not help viewing with compassion, and not without a cause, many of them being already attacked with the scurvy, and other loathsome diseases. We however sent for bricks, and built an oven to bake fresh bread, &c. and did all that was in our power to comfort them: having received also a supply of wine for my own use, I gave a hearty welcome to all the officers, to cheer their spirits; but this ill-fated liquor had an effect far different from what I intended on one of our captains, *P——t*, by name, who, from some misunderstanding, challenged me to fight him instantly. Having retired to some distance from the camp, and drawing our sabres, he burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter, and throwing away his weapon, desired me “to cut away; but that for his part he had such a real regard for me, that he felt it was impossible for him to make any resistance:” after which, catching me in both his arms, he gave me so hearty an embrace, that he had nearly stifled me, and I could not without the greatest difficulty get disentangled. Being recovered

from my surprize, I could not help smiling in my turn; and after a friendly reprimand re-conducted my valiant opponent to the company, where we closed the year with the greatest mirth and conviviality.

A confounded tumble through my hammock having ushered in the morning of 1777, we went to the commanding officer of the camp, to pay him the compliments of the season; where I was shown the *philander*, or *Mexican oppossum*, here called *awaree*, which had been just taken alive, and with all its young.

I have already mentioned the murine oppossum; thus shall now only describe such peculiarities as I was able to remark, and which were indeed but few in number, the animal being in the bottom of an empty hogshead when I saw it, its biting preventing me to take it in my hand.— In the first place, it was much larger than the former, this being the size of an over-grown Norway rat: the colour was a yellowish grey all over, and the belly and limbs a dirty white; the muzzle was more blunt than that of the murine oppossum, with long whiskers; its eyes not black but transparent, with a black ring round the iris; the tail extremely long, thick, and hairy, particularly near the root, and its smell was very offensive. This oppossum had a pouch under his belly, formed by the folding of the skin, which is hairy within as well as without; from this pouch I saw the young ones (five or six in number) several times run out, when the mother

was

was not disturbed, and as often run into it upon the smallest noise, or shaking the hogshead.—As I pitied the poor creature, after its having been so long tormented, I suddenly kicked up the hogshead, when the opossum with all its young escaped, and ran swiftly up a very high tree before Colonel Seyburg's cottage, and there it hung by the tail to one of the branches; but as it is a dreadful destroyer of poultry, and the Colonel apprehended that it would kill every one of his fowls, he ordered it, to my sorrow, to be shot down with all its young ones.—The Virginian opossum I never saw; and my only further remark on this shall be, that its activity very much surprised me, as many writers have denied it this quality. For further particulars, I refer the reader to the murine or mouse opossum above-mentioned, as in most circumstances these two animals perfectly agree.

Among the destroyers of poultry, there is another animal in this country, known by the name of *quacy-quacy*: some call it the racoon, but which properly is the *coati-mondi*, or Brasilian weasel; though many people, with some degree of propriety, compare it to a fox, as it is often able to carry away a goose or a turkey, and is also extremely cunning. This creature is sometimes near two feet long, the body shaped like that of a dog, and commonly black, or rather dark brown, though many are of a bright bay colour: the tail is long, hairy, and annulated with black, and a deep buff; the breast and belly are a

dirty white; the head is a light brown, with long jaws, and a black snout that projects upwards for near two inches, and is moveable like that of the tapira; the eyes are small, the ears are short and rounded, while on each side a curved stripe connects them and the muzzle; the legs of the coati are short, especially the foremost; the feet are very long, with five toes on each, and long claws, while the animal, like the bear, always walks on the heel, and stands on those behind. No quadrupeds (the monkeys not excepted) are better climbers on the trees, where these creatures commit dreadful ravages amongst birds-nests, every small animal which they can conquer becoming their prey. In the poultry-yards in particular they commit great devastations, on which account every contrivance that can be invented is put in practice to destroy them.

As I am upon the subject of animals, before I leave the woods I must describe another creature, which inhabits them, and which (though more than twice the size of the last) lives chiefly on ants; this is the *great ant-eater*, or *ant-bear*, called also the *tamanoir*, and by the Spaniards the *osa palmera*. The body of this animal is covered over with very long shaggy hair; on the back and belly it is black, and on the neck and sides a grey or yellowish white; the head is extremely long and slender, of a light bay colour, with very small eyes; the ears are short and round, and the mouth (which has no teeth) just
large



The Tamandua, & Coati - C. Mondit?

large enough to admit its tongue; the tail is of an enormous size, with very long black hair, something like that of a horse: with this extraordinary tail, when asleep (which is generally in the daytime, or during a hard shower of rain) the animal covers itself like a squirrel; at other times he trails it along, and sweeps the ground. The limbs are slender, but covered with long hair; the hindmost legs being shortest and black, with five claws; those before are of a dirty white, with but four claws, the two middle claws being of an extraordinary length.

The great ant-eater is a very bad walker, resting always on the heel of his awkward long feet, like the coati and bear; but he is a better climber, and so good a fighter, that no dog will hunt him, since whatever animal he catches between his fore claws (nay even the jaguar or tiger) he will not release while he has life. His food, as I have said, consists of ants, which he takes in the following manner:—when he comes to an ant-hillock, he unfolds his slender tongue, which is about twenty inches long, most exactly resembling a worm; this being covered over with a clammy matter or saliva, the ants get upon it in great numbers, and by drawing it into his mouth, he swallows thousands all alive, and renews the operation, till no more are to be found, when he marches in quest of another mountain, and in the same manner destroys the unwary inhabitants. He also climbs in quest of woodlice and wild honey; but should he meet with little success in his devastations, he is able to fast a considerable time

time without the smallest inconvenience. It is said that the great ant-bear is tuncable, and that then he will pick crumbs of bread, and small pieces of flesh; also that when killed, he affords good food to the Indians and negroes, the last of which I have seen devour his flesh with pleasure. Some ant-bears measure, from the snout to the tip of the tail, no less than eight feet.—See the two last-described animals in the plate annexed.

A small species of ant-bear, called the *tamandua*, is also found in Surinam, though not very common. This differs from the former in having twenty toes, the head being thicker in proportion, and the tail smaller, which is variegated with bands of black and yellowish white.—A lesser species still is called the *fourmillier*, which, however, never came within my observation.—But to proceed.

On the 3d, six more barges with troops came up from Paramaribo, which completed the number of three hundred and fifty men arrived from Holland. Amongst these, being informed there was a Captain *Charles Small*, come from the Scots Brigade, this gentleman having exchanged with poor Ensign Macdonald (who was sent over sick) I instantly sculled down the river alone in a canoe to meet him, and offer him my assistance. I had no sooner got on board his barge, than I found him suspended in a hammock with a burning fever. He, not knowing me on account of my dress, which was no better than that of the most ragged sailor, asked me what I wanted; but when he saw in me his poor friend *Stedman*, changed from

from a stout sprightly young fellow, to a miserable debilitated tatterdemalion, he grasped me by the hand, without uttering a word, and burst into tears: which agitation, while it increased his illness, shewed the goodness of his heart to me, more than any thing he could have uttered on the subject.—“ D—n your blubbering, Charles!” said I; “ turn out of this stinking cockle-shell: I’ll presently “ cure thee;” and getting him hoisted into my canoe, I brought him on shore to my own habitation, but with the greatest difficulty, being obliged to thrust him through a crevice made on purpose, as the hole in the roof was not calculated even for any healthy person’s admittance, myself excepted. Having here slung his hammock near to my own, and boiled some water, I treated him with warm grog and a toasted biscuit, and he became much better from that very moment. He now acquainted me that one of his men was drowned on the passage; and that Colonel Fourgeoud having entertained the officers with a ball after their landing, at which one of his cooks, and a couple of meagre marines, had been the fiddlers, he concluded his illness to be the consequence of too much dancing. A little after this, Colonel Fourgeoud himself appearing in person in the camp amongst us, he soon, however, entertained us with musick of a different kind; which was no less than the discouraging news, that by the newly arrived corps of officers several of us had lost our rank (both in the regiment and in the army)

after

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after parching above four years in a burning sun, toiling ourselves almost to death, and subsisting upon stinking meat and black rusk. To add to this grievance, while the above gentlemen usurped our preferment, we were, instead of being relieved, ordered to continue in the woods, in order to teach them their duty.

During the above displeasing probation, the major's duty again fell to my share; which was at this time extremely disagreeable, being obliged daily to chastise the men, many of whom pilfered the magazine to alleviate hunger, having been without the article of bread for *seven* days, the oven being dropped to pieces. Amongst others, one poor fellow was nearly flogged to death for having *borrowed* one of the colonel's Bologna sausages; for, let it be remembered, that our commander in chief, whatever might be the distress and hardships of the rest, never forgot to support *his own* dignity, by at least half a dozen of stout negroes loaded with bacon hams, Bologna sausages, bullocks' tongues, tea, coffee, sugar, Madeira wine, Holland's gin, &c.—

Courage may prompt, but, ebbing out his strength,
Mere unsupported man must yield at length:
Shrunk with dry famine, and with toils declin'd,
The drooping body will desert the mind;
But built anew with health-conferring fare,
With limbs and soul untam'd, *he* tires a war.

At

At length, on the 8th, a barge arrived, not only with a supply of salt beef and rusk, but a bullock and two hogs, as a present from Mr. *Felman*, who, accompanied by his lady, &c. came actually on a visit to Fourgeoud, in this very strange encampment. The above animals being immediately killed, they were distributed among four hundred people; so that it may well be conceived the shares, though sweet, were not very large, after which the company walked about to view our different habitations. Being arrived at my dwelling, Fourgeoud led them round and round, but seeing no door to get in, he called out, "Nobody at home?" When I instantly thrust my head through the thatch, with a pancake in my hand, and offered to haul in the ladies; but this they civilly declined. I never saw Fourgeoud laugh so much in my life. As soon, however, as he was able to recover his gravity, he exclaimed, "*Sacre Dieu! Il faut être Stedman, —il faut être original comme lui;*" and re-conducted the company to his own apartment, where he gave me an invitation to follow them. Indeed, when Captain Small and I went out, we generally spent our time in a beautiful savannah, where we had erected a green shed, to be free in conversation, and called it *Ranelagh*; here we caroused and cracked a bottle in private, till we could crack no longer, having lived so well that in a little time more than a week my cheese and bacon hams quite disappeared, and not a drop of wine or rum was left in the flasks.—

After this he, as well as I, were obliged to live on short allowance; while Small had the satisfaction, however, to see his shipmates do the same: who, not being acquainted with the œconomy necessary in a forest, had made all their flour into plum-pudding, and were already obliged to break their teeth on a piece of rye rusk.

In short, so early as the 12th, one hundred and fifty of these newly-arrived people were already ordered to march; when, by the way of seasoning them, besides heavy accoutrements and a hammock, they had orders each man to carry a stuffed knapsack on his back. Of this party, my friend Small happened to be one, who being as corpulent as *Sir John Falstaff*, and I having accoutred him in the above manner, the poor fellow could hardly walk at all; till declaring to Fourgeoud that I must roll him along like a hogshead, he got leave to be disengaged from a part of his unwieldy encumbrances.

Every thing being ready, this loaded detachment now faced to the right, and set out, with Colonel Fourgeoud at their head, for the river Marawina: and while I must here acknowledge that this Chief was now become to myself as civil as I could expect or desire, yet justice compels me to add, that to all others he remained just as inflexible a tyrant as ever I had known him; which character he unhappily seemed to think compatible with his rank.

During their absence, I crossed the water, and cut down a cabbage-tree on the other side of the river Cottica, not
only

only for the cabbage, but for the sake of the *groe-groe* worms, with which I knew it would swarm in about a fortnight.

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Straying here through the woods with my black boy Quaco, I met with the following trees, still left for description, *viz.* the *cedar*, the *brown-heart*, and the *bullet-tree*. The first, though it bears that name, is different from the cedars of Lebanon, which grow in a pyramidical form. The Surinam cedar, however, grows also to a great height, but is principally esteemed because the wood is never eaten by the worms or other insects, on account of its great bitterness; it has also a most agreeable smell, and is therefore used in preference to most others for making chests, cupboards, lockers, and all sorts of joinery; besides which, it is employed in making the tent-barges and other boats. The colour of the timber is a pale orange: it is both hard and light, and from the trunk exudes a gum (not unlike the gum Arabic) which is transparent, and diffuses a most agreeable flavour.

The *brown-heart* is in hardness of the same consistency as the *purple-heart*, and the *green-heart* already mentioned, and is shaped into heavy timber for the same purposes, such as constructing sugar-mills, &c.: the colour of this wood is a beautiful brown.—The other is the *bullet-tree*; this tree grows sometimes to sixty feet, but is not so thick in proportion as many others: the bark is grey and smooth, the timber brown, variegated or powdered

C H A P. XXVIII. dered with white specks. No wood in the forest is equal to this in weight, being heavier than sea-water, and so very durable, that when exposed to the open air neither rain or sun have any effect on it; for this reason, besides its other various uses, it is split into *shingles* to roof the houses, instead of slates or tiles, which, as I formerly mentioned, would be too heavy and too hot. These shingles are sold for £. 4 sterling a thousand at Paramaribo, and continue sometimes twenty-four years before they are renewed.

I ought to mention also a kind of mahogany, which is found in the woods of Guiana, called the *ducolla-bolla*, and which is of a superior quality to any which is imported here, being of a deeper red colour, and of a finer, more equal, and compact grain; also of greater hardness and weight, and thus capable of receiving a more elegant polish.

About this period the whole camp was infested with a kind of *wood-lice*, so called in Surinam, but with more propriety they might be termed white ants, resembling them almost in every particular, except that the ants dwell in the ground, and these build their nests on the trunks of trees: these nests, being black, round, and irregular, are not unlike the woolly head of a negro, but sometimes as large as the half of a hogshhead, and composed of a rust-coloured incrustated earth, which is extremely hard, and impenetrable to the weather. In this
mass,

mass, which internally consists of innumerable cross roads, each the size of a goose-quill, they live together in myriads, whence they sally forth, and commit their depredations, unequalled by any other insect in Guiana, piercing through the hardest wood, leather, linen, or whatever comes in their way. They also frequently get into the houses by an incrustated covered road made against the wall, resembling the half of a sliding pencil, which is with its windings sometimes several hundred feet long: if this is not destroyed upon its first appearance (which must be done by arsenick or the oil of turpentine) as they crumble every thing to dust, whole dwellings will be entirely demolished, and come down to the ground in rubbish. These insects (notwithstanding their fetid abominable smell) are reckoned a very good food for poultry, who are said to thrive on them even better than on Indian corn. I ought not to forget their extreme industry in repairing their habitation when injured, and their wonderful power of propagation, which (let ever such numbers be destroyed) brings them in a very short time to their former unaccountable multiplicity.

To another pest we were also frequently subjected in this camp, and this was no less than clouds of *flying lice*, which covered our clothes sometimes so thick, that they absolutely gave them the appearance of grey cloth. This was owing to the shedding of their wings, which, being four in number, they generally left behind them after they

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they alighted, and being thus without the means of flying off again, they remained on our jackets; except however thus covering us all over, they caused us no other inconvenience. It is the opinion of some naturalists, that these flying lice are no other than the above-mentioned wood-lice, which when they become old get wings, leave their nests, and fly about, like some other ants, both in Europe and in America.

About this time the discipline was peculiarly strict in the camp, so that whoever made the very least noise was most severely punished, nay, threatened to be shot; and even the sentinels were ordered to challenge rounds and patrols by no other sound than *whistling*, which was answered in the same manner.

On the 18th, one of these being condemned to be flogged for speaking loud, I however found means (Fourgeoud not being yet returned) to get him pardoned, after he was already stripped. The following day, nevertheless, evinced that I could punish when things were carried too far; for seeing a large piece of boiled pork (about two pounds weight) flying past me with great velocity, and finding it was thrown by one marine to another, while they had got a quarrel, I instantly ordered them to pick it up, and (having cut it in two) I stood over them myself till they swallowed every morsel of it in my presence, sand and all, without either bread or drink: which they since declared was such a punishment as surpassed my
conception,

conception, and they should remember it to the end of their lives.

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On the 23d, I received from town a well-timed supply of wine and fresh provisions; and the same day Colonel Fourgeoud, with his detachment, arrived from the Marawina. During this trip, our active commander had again discovered and destroyed fifty-nine houses, besides three fields of provisions. This certainly gave the finishing blow to the rebel negroes, since, having no further supply on this side the water, they entirely abandoned it, and went to settle in the French colony *Cayenne*. In this hard though necessary service the men had suffered prodigiously, especially those newly arrived; numbers of whom were carried in hammocks on poles, while near thirty were left sick at the Marawina, and my friend Small was at least one stone lighter.

At this time, in the camp hospital, above one hundred were also dangerously ill. Nothing was heard but sighs and the shrieking of the *strix* or Guiana owl, which for ever kept them company during the dismal nights. Cramps, so common in Surinam, also infested those that were able to do duty; and there reigned a general melancholy all around.

——— “ The circling sky,
“ The wide enlivening air, is full of fate;
“ And, struck by turns, in solitary pangs
“ They fall, untended and unmourn'd.”

Here

Here one man was to be seen covered over with bloody boils from head to foot; there another led along by two of his comrades in a deep lethargy, who, in spite of pinching and pricking, dosed into eternity; a third, swelled by the dropsy, and imploring the surgeon in vain to tap off the water (who generally answered that it was too late) was left to expire by suffocation. In the hospital some were observed clasping their hands, and praying aloud to God to be relieved; while others lay at their side in a frenzy fever, tearing their hair, blaspheming Providence, and cursing the day that they were born.—In short, all was dreadful beyond description, by the pen of a *Milton* excepted.

————— “ Sad noisome dark,
 “ A lazarus-house it seem'd, wherein were laid
 “ Numbers of all, diseas'd: all maladies
 “ Of ghastly spasm or racking torture; qualms
 “ Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
 “ Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs;
 “ Demoniac frenzy, moping melancholy,
 “ And moon-struck madness; pining atrophy,
 “ Dropsies, and asthmas, and joint-racking rheums:
 “ Dire was the tossing, deep the groans; Despair
 “ Tended the sick, busiest from couch to couch.
 “ And over them triumphant Death his dart
 “ Shook, but delay'd to strike, though oft invoc'd
 “ With vows, as their chief good and final hope.”

From

From day to day mortality now gained ground, while by some accident, to complete the distress, part of the camp got on fire; but this was fortunately extinguished without any material ill consequences, by the activity and exertions of the poor negroes.

On the 26th *my* misery, however, drew towards an end, when, to my astonishment, and without my asking it, Colonel Fourgeoud gave me a leave of absence, if I chose it, to accompany him, and stay henceforth at Paramaribo; which, without hesitation, I most joyfully accepted. Thus, having made my friend Captain Small a present of my *house*, my *Ranelagh*, and all my *fresh provisions*, besides entertained him and some other officers on a dish of mountain-cabbage, and my *groe-groe* worms, which were just come to perfection, besides a hearty glass of wine, I took my last adieu from them all; and at midnight, with Colonel Fourgeoud, rowed down the River Cottica in an elegant barge with ten oars, in company with two more of his officers.—And now farewell once more, ye shady woods, thou pleasing gloomy forest, pregnant with so many wonders, and so many plagues, and which, in the opinion of so many sufferers, even surpassed the *ten plagues of Egypt!**

* Should it be remarked that during this expedition some unchristian-like expressions have escaped, let it be at the same time recollected, that while surgeons and even cooks,

though both of little use, had been provided, nothing like a *parson* was ever seen amongst us, from the day we sailed from the Texel.

————— “ I have sent among you the pestilence after the
 “ manner of Egypt: your young men have I slain with the
 “ sword—I have made the stink of your camps to come up
 “ unto your nostrils: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith
 “ the Lord.”

The boat being shoved off, Colonel Fourgeoud now declared to us, that having ransacked the forest in every direction, and driven the rebels over the Marawina in *Cayenne*, he was determined no more to return to the woods, but in a few weeks to draw the long and painful expedition to a conclusion.

Now, reader, it remains with you to acknowledge that I have not led you *about the bush*, but *through it*, with indefatigable perseverance: the more so, when it is to be considered that in the middle of the above hurry and distress, under which so many have sunk, I have often been deprived of *pen*, *ink*, and *paper* to make proper annotations; which last defect I have even more than once supplied by writing with a pencil on my cartridges, or on a bleached *bone*: had this not been unavoidably the case, more accuracy and many more remarks might with justice have been expected, which one need never be at a loss to make in a country so replete with different objects for speculation.

Having rowed all night, and breakfasted at the new cordon (which was begun to be cut not far from our former post Devil's Harwar) on a dram and a biscuit,

we came about noon to the estate *Lapaix*, where we dined with the planter, Monsieur *Rivieres*; after which Fourgeoud, with his adjutant, proceeded on their voyage to town, while I with another officer went to the sea-side at the back of the plantation to shoot snipes and curlews.

On our march thither and back again, passing two posts of the Society, the flag was hoisted, refreshments offered us, and every other civility shewn us that was in the power of the commanding officers. In shooting, however, we had very little sport, except that of killing some *snipes*, which flew in such clouds that they almost darkened the sky; so that by only firing from time to time above our heads at random, we brought down scores at every shot, but they were of such a diminutive species, that they were scarcely worth the picking up. We might have here killed birds of greater size, such as *spoon-bills*, *cranes*, *red curlews*, and *wild ducks* of many kinds, had we not unluckily been cut off from the banks on which they were scattered, by the sea overflowing the quicksands betwixt us and them. They afforded us, nevertheless, a most delightful view, the beech appearing at a distance like a sheet of scarlet and purple, embroidered with every other colour.

The *shoveler* or spoon-bill (which has some affinity to the cranes) is about the size of a goose: the legs are not very long, and it is web-footed but for a little way between the toes: the feathers are a beautiful rose-colour,

though they are white when young; but the bill is truly remarkable in this bird, being flat, much broader before than at any other part, and circular, in some degree resembling a spoon, from which it takes its name. They are said to feed on frogs, rats, and lizards, yet fish is evidently their principal nourishment, from their frequenting the sea-side, and having a fishy taste when they are killed.

The *crane* or *jabiru* of Surinam, I can best compare to a stork, of which it has much the appearance, but is larger. The body of this bird is milk white, but the prime feathers of the wings and tail are black: the limbs and toes are excessively long; but I observed one peculiarity which distinguishes it from all other birds, *viz.* that it frequently sits upon the heel: the neck and bill are of an uncommon length, the latter being strong, and a little hooked at the point. The head of the crane or jabiru is perfectly black, on account of which, among the Dutch, it obtained the appellation of a *negro-cop*. It frequents the coast, like the others above mentioned, and lives entirely on fish: this bird is easily tamed. I have seen a couple of them in the poultry-yard belonging to Colonel Fourgeoud.—(See both these species of sea-fowls in the *plate annexed*, where the last is represented sitting in the posture I have described.)

To delineate the different species of wild ducks that are in Surinam with any degree of accuracy, is a task
which



The Spoon Bill or Shoveler.



The Jabiru, or Crane of Guiana.

which I acknowledge to be far beyond my reach. Suffice it therefore to say, that in general they are not very large, but adorned with the most splendid tints and most beautiful plumage that can be imagined, particularly those they call the *cawereerkee*, the *sookooroorkee*, and the *anna-kee*, which last are the smallest. No water-fowl of any kind, without exception, can be more delicate eating than all those I have just mentioned; while some of them are tameable, and frequently seen amongst the poultry on the plantations.

Having the following day the opportunity of a boat, I prosecuted my voyage down the Cottica River till I came to Paramaribo, where in fine spirits and perfect health (however strange) I arrived that very same evening, and where I was most heartily welcomed by my many friends with the warmest congratulations on my still existing, after having escaped so many dangers, and been so long deprived of every comfort—torn by thorns, stung by insects—starved, tormented, emaciated, and wounded—often without clothes, health, rest, money, refreshments, medicines, or friends;—and after having lost so many of my brave companions, who lay buried in the dust.—Thus ended my seventh and *last* campaign in the forest of Guiana.

C H A P. XXIX.

Some Account of a remarkable Negro.—The Troops prepare for Europe.—Description of a Coffee Plantation.—Plan of Reform for the Increase of Population, and universal Happiness.—One more Instance of horrid Barbarity; and Example of Humanity.—The Regiment embarks.

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XXIX.

BEING now once more arrived in town, and wishing to be no longer troublesome to any body, I hired a very neat small house by the water-side, in which we lived nearly as happy as we had done at the Hope.

The first person that visited me here was the American Captain *Lewis*, of the *Peggy*, who, to my great concern, told me, that poor *Macdonald*, the grateful sailor, had died on the homeward passage, after being twelve days at sea; and desired him in his last words to return me, with his good wishes, the mother-of-pearl cork-screw I had formerly given him. He farther acquainted me also, to my sorrow, that three English vessels had been captured by the *American Revenue* privateer sloop, which lay at this time, with her prizes, in the road before Paramaribo; one of which, belonging to Ireland, was valued at above £.50,000 sterling.

Having

Having been waited on by a number of planters and others with congratulations on our success against the rebels ; amongst the rest appeared the celebrated *Gramman Quacy*, who came to shew me his fine coat, gold medal, &c. which he had received as a present from the Prince of Orange, in Holland. This man, being one of the most extraordinary characters of all the negroes in Surinam, or perhaps in the world, I cannot proceed without giving some account of him ; the more so, as he has made his appearance once or twice already in the course of this history.—This African (for he was born on the coast of Guinea) by his insinuating temper and industry, not only obtained his freedom from a state of slavery, but by his wonderful ingenuity and artful conduct found the means of procuring a very competent subsistence.

Having got the name of a *lockoman*, or sorcerer, among the lower slaves, no crime of any consequence was committed, especially at the plantations, but *Gramman Quacy*, which signifies Great-man Quacy, was instantly sent for to discover the perpetrators, which he so very seldom missed, owing, in fact, to their faith in his sorceries, added to his penetrating look* and authority among them, that he has often prevented farther mischief to their masters ; and, for these services, occasionally received very capital rewards. The corps of rangers, and all

* See in Chapter XXV. the manner in which I myself discovered a thief.

fighting free negroes, are under his influence; to whom he sells his *obias* or *amulets*, in order to make them invulnerable, and, of course, to engage without fear: by which deceit he has most certainly done much good to the colony, and at the same time filled his pockets with no inconsiderable profit to himself; while his person by the blacks is adored and respected like a God. The trash of which his amulets are made costs him in reality nothing; being neither more nor less than a collection of small pebbles, sea-shells, cut hair, fish-bones, feathers, &c. the whole sewed up together in small packets, which are tied with a string of cotton round the neck, or some other part of the bodies of his credulous votaries.

But besides these, and many other artful contrivances, he had the good fortune, in 1730, to find out the valuable root known by the name of *Quacia bitter*, of which he was actually the first discoverer, and from which it took its name: and, notwithstanding this medicine is now less in repute in England than formerly, it is highly esteemed in many other parts of the world for its efficacy in strengthening the stomach and restoring the appetite. It has, besides this valuable property, that of being a powerful *febrifuge*, and may be successfully used when the bark is nauseated, as is frequently the case.

In 1761, it was made known to *Linnaeus* by Mr. *d'Ahlberg*, formerly mentioned; and the Swedish naturalist has since written a treatise upon it. By this drug
alone



The celebrated Granman Quincy.

alone Quacy might have amassed riches, were he not entirely abandoned to indolence and dissipation; the consequence of which is, a complication of loathsome disorders, of which the leprosy is one: and that disorder is, as I have already stated, absolutely incurable. Nevertheless his age, though he could not exactly ascertain it, must have been very great, since he used frequently to repeat that he acted as drummer, and beat the alarm, on his master's estate, when the French commodore, *Jacques Cassard*, put the colony under contribution, in the year 1712.

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Having taken a portrait of this extraordinary man, with his grey head of hair, and dressed in his blue and scarlet with gold lace, I, in the annexed plate, beg leave to introduce it to the reader.

This very same week we had indeed a fresh proof of the good effects of Gramman Quacy's animating obias or amulets, a captain of the rangers, named *Hannibal*, bringing in the barbacued hands of two rebel negroes, which he had himself encountered and shot; and one of these hands proved to be that of the noted rebel *Cupido*, formerly taken in 1774, and brought to Colonel Fourgeoud in the forest, but from whom he had since that time, though loaded with chains, found means to run away.

In returning the visits of my friends, I paid one to Mr. *Andrew Reynsdorp*, who shewed me the loop and button

of his hat, which being diamond, had cost him two hundred guineas—such is the luxury of Surinam. But even this is exceeded by the magnificence of M. *d'Ahlbergh*, who, when I waited on him, besides a gold snuff-box set with brilliants, value six hundred pounds sterling, made me remark two silver bits (small pieces of money) set in gold, and surrounded with diamonds, with this inscription:

“ Soli Deo Gloria. Fortuna beaticum, &c.”

Having signified my surprize at this peculiar attention and respect to two sixpences, he declared to me that they were all the money he had in the world when he first came to Surinam from his own country, *Sweden*.—“ Did you work?” said I.—“ No.”—“ Did you beg?”—“ No.”—“ You did not steal, sir?”—“ No: but, *entre nous*, I whined and acted the enthusiast, which sometimes is very necessary, and I found preferable to the other *three*.”—To which I answered, “ Sir, your candid confession brings back to my remembrance your usage of your negro slave, *Baron*, after having promised him his manumission in Amsterdam, and fully proves what you have just asserted.”—One instance more of the extravagance and folly of the inhabitants of this colony, and I have done: Two of them disputing about a most elegant and expensive carriage that was imported from Holland, a law-suit ensued immediately, to determine
who

who was to possess it, during which time the coach was left uncovered in the street till it fell to pieces, and was totally destroyed.

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On the 10th of February, most of our officers being now arrived at Paramaribo from the camp, Colonel Fourgeoud entertained the whole with a feast, as he was pleased to call it, at the head-quarters; an old stable lantern, with broken panes of glass, hanging over our heads, which I expected every moment to drop into the soup. And here he acquainted us, with evident marks of satisfaction, that he had at last put a final end to the expedition; having, notwithstanding there was so little bloodshed, perfectly accomplished his aim in rooting out the rebels, by destroying TWENTY-ONE TOWNS OF VILLAGES, and demolishing TWO HUNDRED FIELDS with vegetables of every kind, on which they depended for subsistence: also that the intelligence was now confirmed, that the negroes were to a man fled over the River Marawina, where they and their friends were settled, and protected by the French colony of Cayenne, who not only gave them shelter, but supplied them with every thing they wanted. On which good news we all heartily congratulated him, and drank further prosperity to the colony of Surinam with three cheers; the future safety of which now depended on the new cordon or path of circumvallation, defended by the troops of the Society, and the corps of black soldiers or rangers.

In Dr. *Flymyn's* works, Colonel Fourgeoud and his

CHAP. troops are twice mentioned as the saviours of the colony ;
 XXIX. and by the Abbé *Reynal* they are noticed as a very brave
 and valiant corps: compliments to which they are with
 truth entitled. And what cannot but redound to his
 honour, is, that at the time he imposed such hardships
 on his own troops, he never deliberately put a rebel negro
 captive to death, nor even, if he could avoid it, delivered
 them into the hands of justice; well knowing that while
 it was his duty to expel them, nothing but the most bar-
 barous usage and tyranny had driven these poor people
 to this last extremity. Indeed I myself, whom during
 the first three years he persecuted with unremitting
 severity, must do him the justice to say, that he was
 indefatigable in doing his duty; and that, though con-
 fused, I believe him at bottom to have been an undaunted
 and very BRAVE OFFICER.

He further acquainted us, that the vessels, with a fresh
 supply of provisions from Holland, had been cast on the
 lee-shore in the Texel Roads, one of them having her
 upper cabin stove away, with the second mate and three
 of her men washed overboard; he added, however, that
 part of the stores had been saved, and loaded on board
 two bilanders, which were this very day arrived in the
 River Surinam. And now, so much in particular was I
 become his favourite, that he even made me his confi-
 dant; and declared, that he proposed keeping the last
 arrived troops, however fast they were dying away (and
 who had lately lost a man by straying in the woods) en-
 camped

camped for many months after our departure. He then began to tell me what officers he meant, if possible, to ruin on their return, and which, by his recommendation, he intended to promote: but here I took the liberty to stop him short, by declaring, upon my honour, that those very gentlemen should be apprised by myself of their impending danger, if he persisted in carrying this cruel plan in execution. This at least had the effect to end the disagreeable conversation: when, in my turn, I added, “ Sir, permit me farther to put you in remembrance of these very troops you have just mentioned, in regard to their truly distressed situation at the *Casseepore Creek*; while their surgeon is gaining gold watches and diamond rings by curing fashionable diseases among the gentry at Paramaribo.” To which he replied, “ *Vous êtes un brave garçon* ;” and promised to take my hints into consideration.

I was now invited once more by Captain Mackneal to spend a few days on his coffee estate, Sporksgift; but though I was prevented on this occasion from accepting the invitation, I will take this opportunity to describe that useful berry, which, not being a native of Guiana, it is said was first planted in Surinam by the Count *de Neale*, though others ascribe it to one *Hansbach*, a silversmith, in 1720*.

* In 1534, the coffee-berry first came to Constantinople from Arabia. About the middle of the 16th century it was introduced in London; and in 1728, by Sir *Nicholas Laws*, it was planted in the island of Jamaica.

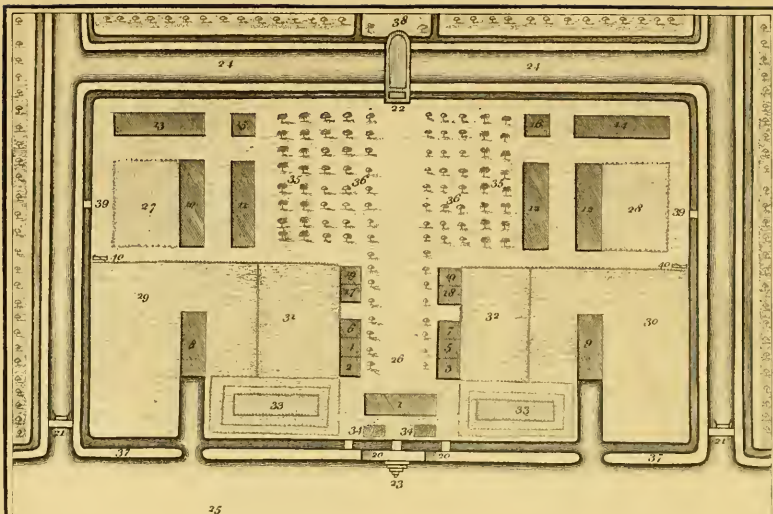
The coffee-berry is the produce of an elegant tree, which is seldom allowed to grow higher than a man can reach, in order to facilitate the gathering of it. The bark of this tree is light brown, and the leaves like laurel, having a beautiful polish; with these it is thickly covered, the branches diverging from near the surface of the earth to the summit. The berries, which are oval, are first green, and gradually change their colour, till they are ripe, when they acquire a bright crimson hue, like that of a cherry. In each of these berries are two kernels resembling beans, lying flat upon each other. Of these a good tree is said to produce three or four pounds weight at each crop; for this tree, like most other vegetable productions in this luxuriant climate, bears two crops every year.

To give the curious a better idea of this useful plant, I present him with a sprig of it, copied from nature in the *annexed plate*;—in which the figure *A* refers to the wood, where it was cut off; *B* is the upper side of the leaf; *C* the lower side of the same; *D* is the berry just beginning to change; *E* the same in full perfection, being of a beautiful crimson; and *F* the kernels or beans as they appear when they are divested of their husk, and ready for exportation.

The buildings on a coffee estate are, first, the dwelling house, which is usually situated for pleasure near the banks of a river; and for convenience adjoining to it are erected the out-houses for the overseer and book-keeper, with store-houses and small offices: the other



Spring of the Coffee Tree.



References to the Plan.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. The Dwelling House | 21. The Floodgates |
| 2. The Overseers Dwelling | 22. The Great Draw-bridge |
| 3. The Book-keepers Office | 23. The Landing Place |
| 4. The Küchen | 24. The Great Canals |
| 5. The Storhouse | 25. The River or Creek |
| 6. The Poultry-house | 26. The Gravel walks |
| 7. The Hogs-sty | 27. The Drying Floor for Coffee |
| 8. The Boat-house or small Dock | 28. The Negro Gardens |
| 9. The Carpenters & Coopers Lodge | 29. The Pasture for the Horses |
| 10. The Drying Lodge for the Coffee | 30. The Pasture for the Sheep & Bullocks |
| 11. The Bruising Lodge for do | 31. The Poultry-yard |
| 12. The Negro-houses | 32. The Hogs-yard |
| 13. The Horse Stables | 33. The Küchen Gardens |
| 14. The Fold for Sheep & Bullocks | 34. The Flower do |
| 15. The Great Guard house | 35. The Plantain Trees |
| 16. The Hospitall | 36. The Groves of Orange Trees |
| 17. The Pigeon-house | 37. The Dams & Gutters for Draining |
| 18. The Corn-house or Granary | 38. The Path to enter the Fields |
| 19. The Necessary houses | 39. The Bridges over the Gutters |
| 20. The Sentry Boxes for Watchmen | 40. The Gates, Barriers, &c. |

Plan of a regular Coffee Plantation.

T. Gouder Sculpit

London, Published Dec: 27 1725, by J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard.

necessary buildings are a carpenter's lodge, a dock and boat-house, and two capital coffee-lodges, the one to bruise and separate the pulp from the berries, the other to dry them; the rest consist of negro-houses, a stable, hospital, and warehouses, which altogether appear like a small village. The coffee-lodge alone sometimes costs five thousand pounds sterling, and sometimes more. But to give a more complete idea of the whole apparatus, I must refer to the *plate*, where all the buildings, fields, paths, gardens, floodgates, and canals are marked, and explained by the necessary references. The plan, as exhibited in this plate, is intended to unite at once elegance, convenience, and safety. It is elegant, as being perfectly regular; convenient, as having every thing at hand and under the planter's own inspection; and safe, being surrounded by a broad canal, which by floodgates lets in the water fresh from the river, besides a draw-bridge, which during the night cuts off all communication from without.

I shall now proceed to the planting-ground, which is divided into large square pieces, in each of which are generally two thousand beautiful coffee-trees, growing at eight or ten feet distance from each other. These trees, which begin to bear at about the age of three years, are in their prime at six, and continue to produce fruit till they are thirty; the manner of supplying them being from good nurseries, which no coffee estate is ever without, having already mentioned that they afford two crops every year, which is about Midsummer and Christmas.

At

At the times of harvest, it is not unpleasing to see the negroes picking the crimson berries among the polished green, where all ages and sexes are employed to fulfil their task with ardour, when the youth who having first filled their baskets, wantonly run naked, and play amongst the luxuriant foliage.

I will now conduct them before the overseer's presence, where, all the baskets being inspected, the flogging commences, which is mostly inflicted with impartial severity on all who have not fulfilled their tasks, whether from idleness or incapacity. This ceremony concluded, the berries are carried home into the bruising-lodge, and the slaves return home to their houses. The berries being bruised in a mill for that purpose, in the above lodge, to separate the kernels from the husks or pulpy substance, they are next steeped in water one night to cleanse them, and then spread on the drying-floor, which is exposed to the open air, and is constructed of flat stones; after which they are spread on garrets made for the purpose, to let them evaporate and dry internally, during which time they must be turned over every day with wooden shovels: this done, they are once more dried in large coolers or drawers, that run easily on rollers in and out of the windows, to prevent them from being overtaken by showers of rain: then they are put into wooden mortars, and beaten by candle-light with heavy wooden pestles, like the rice at Gado-Saby, to divest them of a thin coat or pellicle that unites the two kernels in the pulp. At this exercise

exercise the negroes wonderfully keep time, and always sing a chorus. Being next separated from the chaff through a bunt-mill, once more thoroughly dried on the coolers, and the whole beans picked from the bruised, which last are consumed in the colony: they are finally put into casks or barrels, of about three or four hundred weight each, for exportation.

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I shall only farther observe, that in Surinam some coffee plantations produce above 150,000 pounds weight *per annum*; and that, as I have already mentioned, in the year before our arrival no less was exported to Amsterdam alone than 12,267,134 pounds of this valuable article, the prices of which have fluctuated, from threepence halfpenny to eighteen pence; but which, calculated at the average price of eightpence halfpenny, produces a yearly income of not less than 400,000 pounds sterling; (which is no despicable revenue) besides what goes to Rotterdam and Zealand.

This is sufficient to prove that the cultivation of coffee is highly worthy the attention of the planters: and as for the virtues of this excellent berry, without entering into particulars, I will only refer the reader to that highly-approved pamphlet, entitled, “A Treatise concerning the Properties and Effects of Coffee; by *Benjamin Mosely*, M. D. Author of Observations on the Dysentery of the West Indies;” from which I cannot resist the temptation of extracting the following passage:—“*Bacon* says, coffee comforts the head and heart, and helps digestion. Doctor *Willis* says, being daily drunk, it wonderfully clears and enlivens each part of the soul, and disperses

C H A P. " all the clouds of every function. The celebrated Doctor
 XXIX. " *Harvey* used it often. *Voltaire* lived almost entirely on
 " it; and the learned and sedentary of every country have
 " recourse to it to refresh the brain, oppressed by study
 " and contemplation."

With the above description I must conclude the observations which I have been able to make on such of the vegetable productions of this colony as have offered themselves to my examination. But so abundant is the variety, and so extraordinary the properties, of the trees, plants, roots, &c. of this country, that by far the greater number are as yet perfectly unknown to the oldest inhabitants of this settlement, and to all the world besides.

A few years ago a Count *Gentelly*, an ingenious nobleman, travelled through the desarts of Guiana with some Indians, and had acquired considerable knowledge in this his favourite study. But alas! his labours, which promised fair to be of material benefit to the Botanic Society, and to mankind in general, were interrupted by a fever, which, owing to his excessive fatigue, he caught at the River Correntine, and cut him off in the midst of his useful and entertaining researches.

Having now concluded my account of the different productions of the colony, particularly cotton, sugar, cacao, indigo, and coffee, to which it is indebted for its riches; and having once more repeated that the different trees, shrubs, plants, roots, gums, and perfumes, are equally as innumerable as they are excellent; I cannot

have

have a fairer opportunity of fulfilling my promise of submitting to the reader a few considerations, by an attention to which I cannot help thinking that not only Surinam, but the West India colonies in general, might accumulate wealth to themselves, and promote the permanent happiness of the slaves that are under their subjection, without having recourse to the *Coast of Guinea* to supply the almost hourly consumption of that unfortunate people. But before I proceed, it will be necessary to state the manner in which the negro slaves *are* distributed and treated, by the customs of this settlement only, without adverting to the distribution or government of them in other colonies; from which, however, those may equally derive some profit;—and then I shall endeavour to point out how, in my opinion, they *ought* to be distributed and treated, according to the laws, not only of humanity but of common sense.

I have before observed that in Surinam there are supposed to be on an average about 75,000 negro slaves of all denominations, which (allowing them, for the sake of a round number, to amount to 80,000) are here distributed in the following extraordinary manner, *viz.* The plantations, being about 800 in number, though some have but 24 negroes and others 400, we will suppose them to possess 100 slaves each, which complement is exactly the above number of 80,000 people. These are employed in this settlement as follows; the first column of figures alluding to *one* estate, the second ditto to *eight hundred*.

NARRATIVE OF AN

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EMPLOYMENTS.	On One Estate.	On 800 Estates.
Four boys or male servants to attend about the house - - - - -	4	3,200
Maids or female servants to wash, sew, iron, &c.	4	3,200
A cook for the planter, overfeer, &c. - -	1	800
A fowler, or huntsman, to provide game for the table - - - - -	1	800
A fishing negro to provide fish for ditto - -	1	800
A gardener to provide the table and the flower garden - - - - -	1	800
To attend the bullocks and horses on the estate	1	800
To attend the sheep on the estate - - -	1	800
To attend the hogs on the estate - - -	1	800
To attend the poultry that is on the estate - -	1	800
Carpenter negroes, to build houses, boats, &c.	6	4,800
Cooper negroes, to make and repair hogsheads -	2	1,600
A mason to build and repair the brick foundations	1	800
At Paramaribo, some to trades, others for shew -	15	12,000
A negro surgeon, to attend the sick negroes - -	1	800
Sick and incurable, that are in the hospitals - -	10	8,000
A nurse for the negro children that cannot be with their parents - - - - -	1	800
Children under age, that can do no work of any kind - - - - -	16	12,800
Superannuated negroes, worn out by slavery -	7	5,600
To work in the fields no more than 25 miserable wretches - - - - -	25	20,000
Total, or complete number of slaves in the colony	100	80,000

By this it appears, that no more than 20,000, or only one-fourth of the whole number, are condemned to do all the labour of the fields, on whom it may be said chiefly falls the dreadful lot of untimely mortality that I have formerly mentioned. Now it is evident, that if the 50,000 able-bodied slaves that are in the colony of Surinam were put to equal drudgery, the mortality, which is now at the rate of five *per cent.* would then increase to at least the number of twelve out of every hundred, and would completely extirpate the whole mass in little more than eight years time.

Having thus at an average demonstrated how they are distributed, I must briefly observe, that while full 30,000 live better than the common people of England, and near 30,000 are kept in idleness, and do no work in the fields; the remaining 20,000 may be classed (that is in general) among the most miserable wretches on earth; and are worked, starved, insulted, and flogged to death, without being so much as allowed to complain for redress, without being heard in their own defence, without receiving common justice on any occasion, and thus may be considered as dead-alive, since cut off from all the common privileges of human society.

I will now proceed, by candidly asking the world, If the above is not an improper and senseless misapplication, not only of wealth, but of human life and labour; which, only by a proper distribution and management, might accumulate the one and relieve the other?

Now

Now would this inconsiderate colony but give up their habits of pride and luxury, nay, in a moderate degree, 20,000 negroes at least might be added to those now labouring in the fields, which (providing the whole were treated with less severity) must at the same time keep the above superfluous number of idlers employed; and by assisting the others in their necessary occupations, could not but tend greatly to prevent that shocking mortality, to which they are at present exposed by unbounded ill-usage and barbarity.

But every reform must begin at that which is the source of *manners* as well as of *justice*; and those therefore who are entrusted with the executive government should have no temptation to overlook the breaches of a *law*, while it ought to be a sacred and invariable rule never to allow either the governor or the magistrates of such a colony to be the proprietors of more slaves than merely a limited number, to attend on their persons, according to their ranks: since more than once, even to *my* observation, it has occurred that those who made, and those who were appointed to enforce the laws, have been the first that *broke them*, for the paltry benefit of causing their negroes to work on a Sunday, or to follow the bent of their unbounded passions; from which shameful example from the magistrate, the contagion must necessarily spread among the individuals.

Let the *governor* and principal *magistrates*, therefore, be sent out from Europe; let them be gentlemen of

fortune and education; and above all, men of liberal minds, men that are firm and proof against the allure- ment of a bribe, or the glittering of gold, and whose passions are restrained by sentiment and manly feelings. Let these men be handsomely rewarded by that nation whom they so materially serve, and the colony which they so conspicuously protect; but let their salaries be ascertained, without depending on the blood and sweat of the miserable Africans. Then let such men enact impartial regulations, by which the negro slaves are to perform no more than their fair task and labour a rea- sonable number of hours in the twenty-four: let these be followed by protecting laws, and let them be no longer racked, tormented, wantonly murdered, or infamously rob- bed of all that is dear to the human affections, their wives and daughters. Let regulations be adopted by which they may be properly fed, and attended to when sick or indisposed; and, above all, let equal justice be admini- stered; suffer them, when outraged or plundered, to obtain a hearing; permit them to complain, and enable them to prove by *evidence* the grievances by which they are op- pressed. Even give them what we so much value our- selves, AN INDEPENDANT JUDGE, and AN IMPARTIAL JURY, nay, partly composed of their own sable compa- nions. Thus, would you have them work and act like *men*, first suffer them to be *such*.

When regulations conform to these shall be adopted and enforced,

enforced, then I venture to say, that nations will feel the benefit of their colonies—then planters will become rich, and their overseers become honest; then slavery will be little more than a name; and subjects will, with pleasure, fulfil their limited task: then, and not till then, will population sufficiently increase for the necessary work, and the execrable *Guinea* trade be *totally* abolished, which is now too frequently carried on with barbarity and unbounded usurpation. Then the master will with pleasure look on his sable subjects as on his children, and the principal source of his happiness, while the negroes will bless the day their ancestors did first set foot on *American* ground.

Having thus, according to my opinion, pointed out the way, and the only way (if well considered) to redress the grievances of this and many other colonies, I would also recommend to *planters* and *overseers* in general, to peruse with attention a small work, entitled, “Letters to a young Planter; or Observations on the Management of a Sugar Plantation: to which is added, the Planter’s Calendar. Written on the Island of Grenada, by an old Planter,” and published in London in 1785, 8vo. price One Shilling and Sixpence, and sold by *Strachan*.

Let them next take an example by that incomparable woman Mrs. *Godefroy*, by Mr. *Thomas Palmer*, and a few others, who consider their slaves as their fellow-creatures, without paying the smallest regard either to their paganism or complexion; and who increase both their wealth and

and their happiness by their humanity.—I will now once more proceed with my narrative.

On the 16th, being invited to dine with his excellency the Governor, I laid before him my collection of drawings, and remarks on the colony of Surinam, which I had the satisfaction to see him honour with the highest approbation. I then returned him my thanks, not only for the material assistance he had afforded me in completing this work, but for the unlimited marks of regard and distinction with which he had treated me from first to last, during the whole time I resided in Guiana.

Availing myself of his friendship, I ventured, two days after, to give him the following very uncommon *request*, praying him to lay it before the court; which, with a smile on his countenance, and a hearty shake by the hand, he actually promised me to perform; *viz.*

“ I, the under-subscribed, do pledge my *word of honour*,
 “ (being all I possess in the world besides my pay) as *bail*,
 “ that if my late ardent request to the court for the emanci-
 “ pation of my dear boy JOHNNY STEDMAN be granted, the
 “ said boy shall never to the end of his life become a charge
 “ to the colony of Surinam.

(Signed) “ JOHN G. STEDMAN.”

“ *Paramaribo,*
 “ *Feb 18th, 1777.*”

Having now done the utmost that lay in *my* power, I for several days waited the result with anxiety, but with-

out meeting with the smallest hopes of success: thus, with a broken heart, I was obliged at last to give him (sweet fellow) over for lost, or take him with me to Europe, which must have been plunging a dagger in the bosom of his mother.

While I remained in this situation, the transport ships were put in commission on the 26th for our departure, and I myself ordered as one of the commissaries to see them wooded and watered; the officers were also cleared their arrears, and thirteen men discharged at their own desire, to push their fortune at Paramaribo. I ought here not to omit, that the industrious Colonel Fourceoud once more paid us all in paper, by which, as usual, we lost ten *per cent.*; which, by letting the Jews have the gold and silver, he prudently lodged in his own pocket; and while the many hundreds of florins allowed us by government to defray excise duties, taxes, &c. were never brought to account, or, rather, we were forbidden to enquire after them at all. These were trifles indeed, when divided among so many gentlemen; but, in *one* solid mass, they were no contemptible picking.

On the 1st of March a serjeant arrived from the camp at the Casseepore Creek, in Rio Cottica, where the last-arrived troops were hourly dying away; and brought the almost incredible account, that the man I mentioned to have been *lost in the woods* on the 10th of February, was actually returned, after having been missing *six-and-twenty*
days,

days, nine of which he subsisted on a few pounds of rusk biscuit, and seventeen on nothing at all but water. He added, that he had entirely lost his voice, and was reduced to a perfect skelton: however, by the care taken of him by the officers, there were still hopes of his life. Should any person hesitate to believe this extraordinary fact, let them read *Monsieur Godin's* well-authenticated letter to his friend *Monsieur de la Condamine*, wherein he gives an account of the dreadful sufferings of his lady during her route from *Rio Hamba* to *Laguna*, through the woods of South America, in October 1769; where a delicate woman, after being deserted by the Indian guides, and after both her brothers had fallen martyrs to their hardships and misery, subsisted *ten days* alone in a wild forest without food, without knowing where she was, and surrounded with tigers, serpents, and dangers of every description: I say, let them only read the narrative of this lady's sufferings, and their credulity will no longer be staggered at what I myself have related. I have, indeed, even omitted facts, which, on account of their singularity, must in the eyes of some have appeared to border on the marvellous. But in the forests of South America such extraordinary realities are to be found, that there is assuredly no need to have recourse to fiction or the least exaggeration.

Who, for instance, would believe, that almost a whole detachment of eighty marines, one day marching through

a thick wood, imagined to a man that they were stepping one after another over a large fallen tree, that obstructed their way; till at length it began to move, and proved to be no other than a full grown serpent of the *aboma* kind, measuring, according to Colonel Fourceoud's computation, between *thirty* and *forty* feet in length? yet this is an indubitable truth. The above animal was neither killed nor hurt; the Colonel ordering the remaining party to form in a half circle and march around it, in order that they themselves at the same time might escape every danger from the monster's matchless strength.

In this place I shall mention another extraordinary circumstance, which is, that one morning Colonel Fourceoud resting in his hammock, with one hand carelessly leaning over the side, a large *rattle-snake* that lay coiled up among the long grass which was under it, was actually severed in two by the sentinel, during the very moment of action that it made a spring to bite him: of which the soldier, whose name was *John Kiefhaber*, had been apprised first by the sound of its rattle, and next by seeing the snake's head erected, while it was brandishing its forked tongue.

As I am treating of these reptiles, I cannot resist the temptation of inserting a fact, which I learned from Mr. *Francis Rowe* of Philadelphia, a respectable old man; who informed me, that riding out one morning to visit a friend, his horse refused to go forward, being terrified at
a large

a large rattle-snake that lay across the road. Mr. Rowe having heard of its power of fascination, in which he was a believer, alighted to lead the animal round it; but during that time the snake, having coiled himself up, sounded its rattle, and stared him so full in the face, and with such fire in its eyes, that the cold sweat broke out upon him; thus, whilst he durst neither retreat or advance, he imagined himself gradually rivetted to the spot. “However,” continued he, “my reason remained; and my resolution getting the better of my alarm, I suddenly approached him, and with one stroke of my cudgel knocked out his brains.”

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On the 3d of March my friend de Graaf sailed for Holland, but first for St. Eustatia, where his brother was governor; and to my great satisfaction took with him Joanna's youngest brother, *Henry*, for whom he has since obtained his freedom. I sailed with them down the river as far as Bram's Point, and wished them a successful voyage. As I here went ashore in a fishing-boat, I was tempted to leap into the sea, and enjoy the cooling and healthy pleasure of swimming in the Atlantic ocean. The fishermen having caught a quantity of large fish, I discovered one among them not yet mentioned in my narrative, this was the *yellow-back*, between two and three feet long, thus called from its colour, which almost resembles that of a lemon, but the belly is white: the head is very large, with two long barbs; but
the

the body is small, and without scales, like the cod ; it is, however, not near so good, being coarse and insipid eating. Two other small fishes I also saw in the boat, the one called here the *weepee*, resembling a whip-lash ; the other *warucoo*, which is a delicate eating, but has nothing in its form or habits deserving a particular description.

The 8th of March, being the Prince of Orange's birthday, it was celebrated at the head quarters ; where, after dinner, in the court ledge, hearing Captain *Bolts* in an undeserved manner censured by the colonel's adjutant, for recommending one of the young volunteers of an excellent character, but who had no friends to support him*, I broke through the ring that surrounded them in a passion, and not being able to restrain myself, publicly reproved the aggressor, even in Fourgeoud's presence, when a furious altercation and very high words immediately ensued ; the consequence of which was, that next morning at sun-rise we walked to the savannah without seconds, where, near the gallows, we drew our small swords, and after making a few passes at each other, Captain Van Geurick's point met my shell, which having nearly pierced, his blade snapped in two pieces, and the fortune of war put him entirely in my power. Disdaining, how-

* A Mr. *Sheffer*, already named, to last, on the pay of a private soldier, who had served with honour from first during this painful expedition.

ever, to take a mean advantage, I instantly dropped my small sword, and desired him to step home and replace his own, in order to renew the battle: but this proposal he was pleased to call so generous, that taking me by the hand, he requested a renewal of friendship; thus acknowledging we had been too hasty on both sides, we went to visit poor Bolts, who knew nothing of our morning's walk, and was (though not without difficulty) persuaded also to enter into the amicable treaty: by which a second encounter was happily prevented, and a general reconciliation took place.

On the 10th, having spent most of the day with the Governor, I in the evening went on board the ships with Captain Bolts, to inspect the preparations for the voyage; where we found that the mice and rats had made such havock among our provision, with which we were *now* very well stocked, that I was under the necessity of procuring half a dozen *cats* to destroy them, which useful animals are in Surinam neither so plenty, nor so good, as in Europe, being lazy and indolent, on account of the climate. I observed, they were also smaller and ranker, with remarkably long muzzles and sharp ears.

The following day I was shocked and surprised beyond the power of expression, at seeing a *Miss Jettee de la Mare*, daughter to the lately deceased gentleman of that name, a lovely mulatto girl, aged fourteen, who had been christened in 1775, and educated as a young lady, drag-
ged

ged to court in chains, with her mother and a few more of her relations, the whole surrounded by a military guard. I had almost attempted a rescue, when, having enquired the cause, she called out to me herself, weeping most bitterly; and informed me, that “she was going to be tried by Mr. *Schouten*, her mother’s master, for refusing to perform the work of a common slave, which she was utterly unable to perform, and could never have expected, from the footing upon which she had been educated till that unhappy moment.”

By the laws of the country, however, she was not only obliged to submit, but at *his* desire was condemned, for disobedience, together with her poor mother, and all her relations, who had presumed to support her claim to liberty, to be privately whipped; and had it not been for the humanity of Mr. *Wickers*, who was at that time the fiscal or town clerk, and since was governor, this infamous sentence would most certainly have been put in execution. The unfortunate Miss Jette de la Mare was, from this period, nevertheless forced to submit to the tyranny of her unmanly master, while pitied by all her acquaintance, and lamented by every stranger that was a witness to the inhuman transaction.

Such were the fatal consequences of not having been timely emancipated; and such were they indeed, that they made me tremble for my little boy. Happily my uneasiness was not of long duration; for, however impro-
bable

bable and unexpected, I was surprized on the very same day with a polite message from the Governor and the Court, acquainting me that, "having taken my former " services into consideration, together with my humanity " and gallantry, in offering my *honour* as bail to see my " child, before I left him, made a free citizen of the world; " they had unanimously decreed, without farther cere- " mony or expence, to compliment me with a letter, " which was at the same time officially presented to me, " containing HIS EMANCIPATION FROM THAT DAY, FOR " EVER AFTER."

No man could be more suddenly transported from woe to happiness than I was at this moment; while his poor mother shed tears for joy and gratitude; the more so, as we had lost all hopes, and the favour came perfectly unexpected, and while near forty beautiful boys and girls were left to perpetual slavery by their parents of my acquaintance, and many of them without being so much as once enquired after at all.

What is most extraordinary indeed is, that while the well-thinking few highly applauded my sensibility, many not only blamed, but publicly derided me for my paternal affection, which was called a weakness, a whim. So extravagant was my joy on this day, however, at having acted the reverse part of *Inkle* to *Yarico*, that I became like one frantic with pleasure. I not only made my will in his favour (though, God knows, I had little to dispose of) but I appointed my friends Mr. *Robert Gordon* and Mr. *James*

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Gourlay to be my executors and his guardians during my absence, in whose hands I left all my papers sealed, till I should demand them again, or they should be informed of my death: I then ordered all my sheep, poultry, &c. which had prodigiously increased, to be transported, and put under their care; and making a new suit of cloaths for the occasion, which cost me twenty guineas, I waited on a Mr. *Snyderhans*, one of the clergymen at *Pāramaribo*, to appoint a day when my boy, my *Johnny Stedman*, should be made a Christian*.

On the 18th Colonel *Fourgeoud's* remaining troops at last came down from the encampments at *Cassepore Creek*, and every preparation was made for our departure. At the same time, the ecstasy of the few surviving marines at their quitting this country was so great, having now also received part of their clearance, that such intemperance, riot, and disorder ensued, as produced the most formidable quarrels between them and the troops of the Society, till, some being wounded and some being flogged, peace was finally, though with difficulty, re-established.

* I should not here omit to mention, that in the colony of *Surinam* all emancipated slaves are under the following restrictions, *viz.*

They are (if males) bound to help in defending the settlement against all home and foreign enemies.

No emancipated slave, male or female, can ever go to law at all

against their former master or mistress.

And, finally, if any emancipated slave, male or female, dies in the colony, and leaves behind any possessions whatever, in that case one quarter of the property also goes to his former owners, either male or female.

This

This same day a poor sailor, while I was on board, was drowned in my presence, who fell from the gunwhale into the river, with the sheet anchor, which had been neglected to be lashed to the ringbolts. I instantly leaped into a boat to try to save him, but could only get his hat; the man went to the bottom, and never more was seen.

The day of our departure now approached fast, and I gave up my house; when, at Mrs. Godefroy's pressing invitation, I spent the few remaining moments in that which she had prepared for the reception of Joanna and her boy, in her beautiful garden, charmingly situated, under the shade of tamarind and orange trees; which house she also had neatly furnished with every accommodation that could be desired, besides allowing Joanna a negro woman and a girl to attend on her for life. Thus situated, how blest should I have been in this spot to end my days!—But fate ordained it otherwise.

On the 22d, I made it my business with Captain *Small* (who was come down with leave of absence) to wait on the Reverend Mr. Snyderhans, according to appointment, but who, to both our great surprize, peremptorily refused to christen the boy; alleging for his reason, that as I was going to Holland, I could not answer for his *christian* education. We replied, that he was under two very proper guardians: the blacksmith's son (for such was this divine) persisted, and we remonstrated, but to no purpose, for he was just as deaf as his father's anvil, and I believe,

CHAPTER. upon my soul, quite as empty as his bellows ; till at length,
 XXIX. wearied out with his fanatical impertinence, I swore that I would sooner see the boy die a heathen, than christened by such a blockhead ; while my friend Small could not help bestowing on him a hearty curse, and, slapping the door with a vengeance, we departed.

Feasting and conviviality now prevailed once more at Paramaribo, as on our first arrival. Grand dinners, suppers, and balls were heard of in every quarter. But I only visited a few of my select friends, amongst which number had constantly been Governor Nepveu, and where, for the last time, I made one of the company at a truly magnificent entertainment, which ended the scene of liberality and hospitality, for which the inhabitants of Surinam are so justly conspicuous ; and on the 25th the baggage was shipped on board the vessels.

Numberless, indeed, were the presents for the voyage, with which I in particular was now overstocked from every quarter ; and my provisions of live cattle, poultry, wine, rum, &c. &c. were almost sufficient to carry me round the globe : amongst the rest, in a small bottle case, containing liquors, I found a crystal phial filled with essential *oil of orange*, and a parcel of what they called here *tonquin beans*.—The first is extracted from the rind or peel of the oranges : which is done here by the tedious and laborious method of squeezing it between the finger and thumb. A few drops of this on a small piece of sugar,

sugar, is said to be an excellent remedy to strengthen the stomach, create an appetite, and help digestion; and one single drop smells so strong, that it is sufficient to perfume a whole apartment. The tonquin beans are said to grow in a thick pulp, something like a walnut, and on a large tree. I never saw them otherwise than dried, when they bear some resemblance to a prune or dried plum, and are made use of to scent snuff and tobacco, to which they impart a most agreeable odour.

On the 26th, we took our last leave of his Excellency the Governor, *en corps*, as assuredly was his due; after which all the officers of the Society troops waited on Colonel Fourgeoud, at the head quarters, to wish us a prosperous voyage to Holland, and the day was spent by a regale, *en militaire*, viz. a dinner, as usual, of salt provisions; but I must acknowledge, accompanied with as much good liquor of every kind, as Surinam could furnish, and a very hearty welcome.

I believe that now a hundred times Fourgeoud shook me by the hand, declaring, "That there was not a young man he loved better in the world; that had he commanded me to march through fire as well as water, he was convinced I should never have left it, without accomplishing his orders;" with many other fine compliments. But I must candidly acknowledge, that though I had a heart to *forgive*, my mind would never permit me to *forget* the many and unnecessary difficulties and
 miseries

miserics to which I had been too wantonly exposed. At the same time he informed me, that *he* did not propose to depart with us, but intended to follow the regiment very soon, with the remains of the last-come relief, when he would render me every service in his power. Whatever were his *real* motives for such a sudden change in his disposition towards me, suffice it to say, that few people at this time were better friends, than were the old Colonel *Fourgeoud* and Captain *Stedman*.

In the evening I went to take a short farewell of my most valuable acquaintances, such as Mrs. *Godefroy*, Mr. and Mrs. *Demelley*, Mr. and Mrs. *Lolkens*, Mr. and Mrs. *Gordon*, Mr. *Gourlay*, Captain *Mackneal*, Doctor *Kissam*, &c. who had all (besides Mr. *Kennedy*, and Mr. *de Graaf*, now gone to Holland) treated me with the most constant and distinguished civility since I had been in the colony: but my soul was too full of a *friend* that was still dearer, to be impressed with that sensibility on separating from them, that it must have felt on another occasion.—And here I cannot in justice omit remarking, that while I gave the most impetuous vent to my feelings, not the smallest expression of poignant sorrow, or even of dejection, escaped from Joanna's lips; while her good sense and fortitude even restrained the tear from starting in my afflicted presence. I now once more earnestly pressed her to *accompany* me, in which I was seconded by the inestimable Mrs. *Godefroy* and all her friends; but she

remained equally inflexible, and her steady answer was as before—"That, dreadful as appeared the fatal separation, perhaps never more to meet, yet she could not but prefer remaining in Surinam: first, from a consciousness that, with propriety, she had not the disposal of herself; and, secondly, from pride, wishing in her present condition rather to be one of the first among her own class in America, than a reflection or burthen on me in Europe, as she was convinced must be the case, unless our circumstances became one day more independent." Here Joanna shewed great emotion, but immediately retired to weep in private.—What could I say or do?—Not knowing how to answer, or sufficiently to admire her firmness and resignation, which so greatly exceeded my own, I determined, if possible, to imitate her conduct, and calmly to resign myself to my fate, preparing for the fatal moment, when my heart forebode me we were to pronounce the *LAST ADIEU*, and separate for ever.

"Zaïre, il est trop vrai que l'honneur me l'ordonne,

"Que je vous adorai ! que je vous abandonne !

"Que je renonce a vous ! que vous le désirer !

"Que sous un autre loix—Zaïre vous pleurer."

The whole corps being ordered, at seven o'clock on the morning of the 27th, to wait on Colonel Fourgeoud at the head quarters, I tore myself away from all that was dear to me in this world without disturbing them, in order to prevent

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prevent the tender scene of parting. He then conducted us to the water side, where the boats lay in waiting; and we were immediately embarked, under a general salute, and colours flying, from the fortress and the vessels in the roads. The whole corps now having dined on board the staff-ship with Lieutenant Colonel de Borgnes, Colonel Fourgeoud politely invited me to accompany him back to town till next morning; but which, with a broken heart, I thought best to decline. He then took his final leave, and wishing us all a safe and prosperous voyage to Europe, he returned under a salute of nine guns and three cheers, with Captain Van Geurike, his adjutant, back to Paramaribo.

On the 29th of March, at midnight, the signal-gun being fired, the two ships got under way, and dropped down till before the fortress New Amsterdam, where they once more came to an anchor.

Here my friends Gordon and Gourlay, the guardians of my boy, after the convivial Colonel Seyburg (for such he certainly was) had entertained them on board his vessel, the *Hollandia*, affectionately coming to visit me, they did no less than actually prevail on me to accompany them back to Paramaribo. My soul could not resist this second invitation of once more beholding what was so dear to me.—I went, and, must I say it?—found Joanna, who had displayed so much fortitude in my presence, now bathing in tears, and scarcely alive, so much was she become
the

the victim of melancholy and despair. Nor had she partaken of food, or sleep, since my departure, nor spoken to any living creature, indeed not stirred from the spot where I had left her on the morning of the 27th.

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The ships not being quite ready to go to sea till two days after, I was prevailed upon to stay on shore a little longer, with poor Joanna and her boy, which seemed to cheer her: But, alas! too dear we paid for this too short reprieve! since, but few hours had elapsed, when a sailor abruptly came in, with the message that the ship's boat lay in waiting that minute to carry me on board.—At that instant—Heavens! what were my feelings!—Joanna's mother took the infant from her arms, the all-worthy Mrs. Godefroy supporting herself—her brothers and sisters hung around me, crying, and invoking Heaven aloud for my safety—while the unfortunate Joanna (now but nineteen) gazing on me, and holding me by the hand, with a look ten thousand times more dejected than *Sterné's Maria*,—was unable to utter one word!!!—I perceived she was distracted—the hour was come—I exchanged a ringlet of their hair, and fondly pressed them both to my bosom:—the power of speech also forsook me, and my heart tacitly invoked the protection of Providence to befriend them.—Joanna now shut her beautiful eyes—her lips turned the pale colour of death—she bowed her head, and motionless sunk in the arms of HER ADOPTED MOTHER:—Here I roused all my remaining

CHAPTER. fortitude, and leaving them surrounded by every care
XXIX. and attention departed, and bid GOD BLESS THEM!!!

The boat still delaying a few moments, I now stepped up to poor Fourgeoud, surrounded by my friends, and grasping his veteran hand, I could not, for my soul, but forgive him all the hardships he had ever occasioned me.— He was *affected*. — This was a debt he owed me. — I wished him every good, and finally rowed down the river Surinam.

At this time the ships were riding off Bram's Point, where Mr. *Texier*, the deputy governor, came on board to wish us a prosperous voyage; and, after dinner, under a salute of seven guns, together with Captains Small and Fredericy, who had accompanied me hither, he returned back to Paramaribo.

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The Ships weigh Anchor, and put to Sea—Review of the Troops—Account of the Voyage—The Arrival in the Texel—Description of the Pampus near Amsterdam—Final Debarkation in the Town of Bois-le-Duc—The Death of Colonel Fourgeoud—End of the Expedition—Short History of the late Scotch Brigade—Conclusion.

EVERY thing being at last perfectly adjusted for our departure, both vessels, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel *de Borgnes*, weighed anchor on the morning of the 1st of April, 1777, when, with a fresh breeze at E. we put to sea, and kept course N. and N. W.—Motionless and speechless, I hung over the ship's stern till the land quite disappeared. After some days, however, by considerable exertions, I got the better of my melancholy, though not of my affection, and my mind became once more composed and calm. What chiefly contributed to the restoring of my peace, was the comfortable reflection, that if I had in some measure injured myself, I had at least done good to a few others, by relieving three* innocent and deserving young people from a state of

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* Joanna, Johnny, and Quaco.

bondage. Yet, for this action, I was assuredly most amply rewarded by the preservation of my life, principally owing to their unremitting care and attention, while such numbers fell all around me, and more were ruined in their constitution, the victims of the climate and the service, some having lost the use of their limbs, and some of their memory; nay, one or two were entirely deprived of their mental faculties, and continued in a state of incurable insanity for ever.

In short, out of the number of near twelve hundred able-bodied men, not one hundred returned to their friends and their country: and perhaps not twenty amongst these were to be found in perfect health. Among the dead were (including the surgeons) between twenty and thirty officers; three of which number were colonels, and one a major. So very destructive was the service to Europeans in such a climate; and such ever must be the result of the most successful operations in the unwholesome atmosphere of woods and marshes.

One or two remarks I must make before I conclude this subject, which are:—First, that among the officers and private men who had formerly been in the West Indies, none died, while among the whole number of above one thousand privates, I can only recollect *one* single marine who escaped from sickness; and next, that of the few belonging to the corps that were now on their voyage for the Texel (those gentlemen alone excepted, who at
this

this time belonged to the staff) I myself was the *only officer* who had sailed out with the regiment in 1772. This last was a pleasing reflection indeed, and which could not but render me sincerely thankful to Providence.

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About the 14th of April, having passed the Tropicks, and changed course to N. N. E. and N. E. we were becalmed for some days. I ought not to omit that when in about 15 degrees N. latitude, we sailed through what is vulgarly called the *Grass Sea*, from its being covered over with a floating kind of green and yellow weed, called *gulph weeds*; some of which, when dried in the sun, and spread between two sheets of paper, are very curious, resembling trees, flowers, shrubs, &c. and in which are harboured small crustaceous fish, scollops, muscles, and shells of many thousand different species. Among the last is often found that wonderful sea reptile, called the *hippocampus*, or sea-horse, which I could compare to nothing better than the *chevalier* of a *chess-board*; though it is generally larger, and sometimes eight or nine inches in length. The body is composed of cartilaginous rings: the head, snout, and mane are incrustated all over; and the tail, which is curvated upwards in the figure of an *S*, terminates in a point.

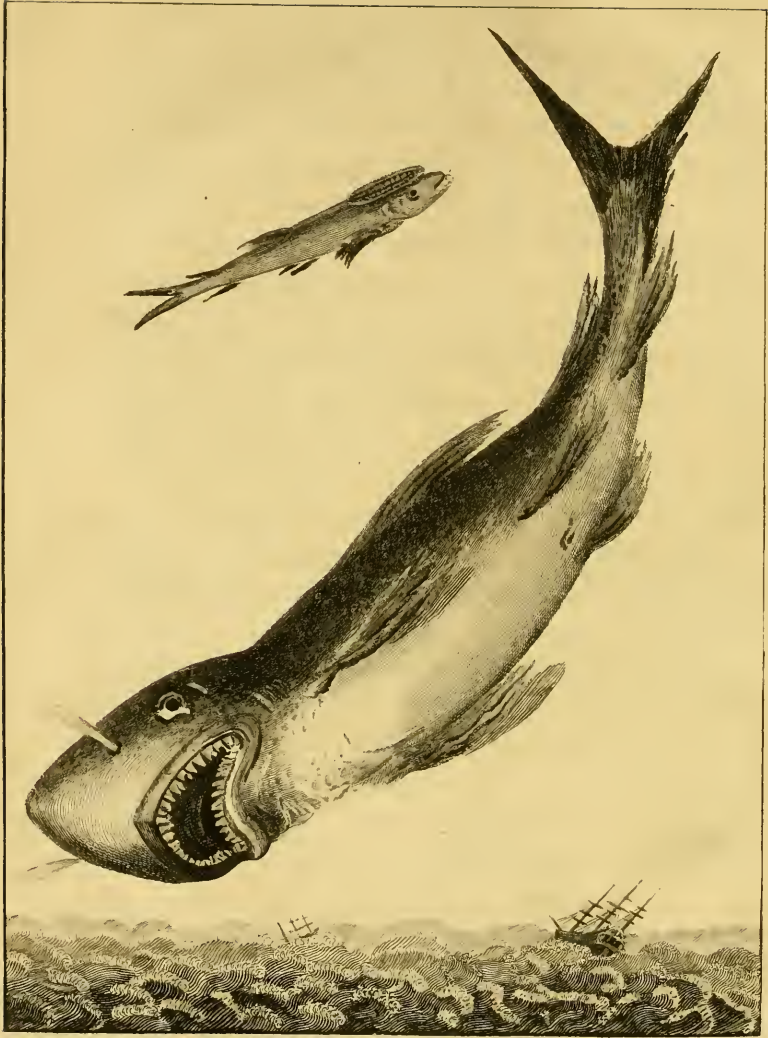
On the 19th, the calm still continuing, we were daily entertained by swarms of flying fish, and several doradoes and grampusses swimming and tumbling before and after the ships, as if delighting to keep us company. The
grampus

CHAPTER. *grampus* is a fish of the cetaceous kind, something resembling the dolphin, but much larger, and approaching the whale in size, some being near twenty feet in length, and prodigiously fat. This fish has forty strong teeth; is of a dark brown colour, and spouts water with considerable force. We also saw at some distance from the vessels several times above the water a large *north-caper*. This fish, which very much resembles the Greenland whale, is more dangerous on account of its being more active, which proceeds from the body being smaller and flatter than that of the former. The jaw is shorter, with very small barbs: the skin is whiter, and the produce of its blubber amounts seldom to more than thirty tons.

About the 22d, the weather began to change considerably, and the whole ship's company were attacked with a severe cold and cough, and many also with the ague.

On the 30th, the crew was so weak as to be hardly able to do their duty; two of them indeed, and one marine, were already dead and overboard. Colonel de Borgnes was also at this time so much indisposed, that the command devolved upon me for a few days during his illness, when observing the other ship ahead, and almost out of sight, I availed myself of my commodoreship, by hoisting a flag at the main-top, and firing a gun to windward to bring her to, which she punctually obeyed.

A large *shark* now swimming alongside the ship, we did all that lay in our power to take it, but to no purpose.



The Shark, & Remora.

Sharks are in these seas of different kinds ; but what is generally called the white shark is the most terrible of its species, on account of its size, weighing often one thousand pounds, and measuring sixteen or eighteen feet in length ; the head, which is something depressed, is large ; it has two spouting holes, and prominent eyes, which it can turn in every direction, and bespeak the malignity of its all-devouring nature ; nearly under these are its mouth and throat, of such an enormous size, that it will swallow a bull-dog : its teeth, which are placed in five or six rows, are so sharp and strong, that they will snap off a man's arm or his leg with ease, which has very frequently happened. The whole shape of this fish is in every respect like that of the dog-fish found in the North Seas, with very strong fins, one dorsal, two ventral, and two abdominal : the tail is bifurcated, the upper part being longest ; the skin is slimy, rough, and used for what we call *shagreen*. The shark always swims with velocity, but must turn upon its side to take its prey, by which many fish escape its jaws.

The *remora*, or sucking-fish, is frequently found sticking to sharks, and to ships' bottoms : this fish is ash-coloured, and long, about twenty inches ; the body roundish, and tapering near the tail ; the fins are placed as those of the shark, and the under skin is projecting ; its *sucker* is, however, what makes it most remarkable, being an oval gristly plate above its head, with transverse bars like the palate
of

of a sheep. This sucker has so much attraction, that no waves, however violent, can beat it off.—(For both these fishes, see the Plate annexed.)

The *pilot-fish* ought here also to be noticed: this is small, with brilliant colours, and is said not only to feed upon the gills of the shark, but to direct it to its prey, from which singularity originates its name.

On the 1st of May, being exactly one month at sea, during which time, by way of making a trial, I had continued bare-footed and bare-headed, without catching cold; I this day, for the first time, not only dressed like my ship-mates, but wore every thing double, and some things triple, which I found exceedingly comfortable.

About this time a Mr. *Neyseus*, one of our surgeons, having on board a *crabbodago* or *grisson* (whose ferocity I have already described) to carry home as a curiosity, the mischievous creature broke loose, and in one night murdered all the monkies, parrots, poultry and other animals that were upon deck, while it drove most of the crew who had the watch down the hatchway; till luckily one of them with a hand-spike knocked out his brains.

On the 3d, we had hard gales and heavy showers at S. E. Latitude about 40°. From this time the gale daily increased, till the ninth, when the weather began to moderate.

We now saw several porpoises, herring-gulls, &c. The first is a fish about five or six feet long, excessively fat,
of

of a bluish black colour, and without scales; the head has small eyes, and no gills, but a long snout, and sharp teeth. The fins are but one dorsal, and two ventral, and the tail is horizontal, to enable it to leap above the water, which it does frequently to blow or breathe, at which time its snorting may be heard at a great distance. The flesh of the porpoise when killed is red, and looks like some kinds of pork.

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The *herring-gull* is a bird as large as a tame duck, perfectly white, part of the beak and prime feathers excepted, which are of a dark ash-colour; the eyes are grey, the bill and feet are yellow; the claws are black, and the length of its wings is between four and five feet, from the extremity of the one to the other.

On the 13th, in the morning-watch, being not far from the *Azores* or Western Isles, the vessel was nearly laid on her beam-ends, though then under double-reefed topsails, by a sudden squall at E. At this time a broken top-gallant-mast, a new hand-spike, &c. floated past the ship, the melancholy remains of a shipwreck, which we since were informed to be a Dutch homeward-bound East Indiaman, that had foundered with all the crew near the island of *Terceira*.

On the 14th the wind was violent, carrying away our fore-top-gallant-mast, and splitting the main-sail, while the other vessel lost her bowsprit, &c.; and on the evening of the 15th it blew a perfect storm, accompanied with

thunder and lightning, and very heavy rain, which continued during the night, and which brought our main-top-mast by the board, while the ship's crew were so very much reduced as to be hardly able to clear the wreck, in which I cheerfully assisted, by cutting away with a hatchet.

The two following days we continued scudding before the wind, with a reef in the fore-sail, the sea running mountains high, and constantly breaking over the vessel—pumps going day and night; soon after which we saluted the Alarm frigate from Holland, which compliment they returned.

At length, the weather becoming fair, we were carried within soundings, on the 19th, when we hove the lead in ninety fathom water; but the wind shifting to the N. E. with foul weather, we beat about in the chops of the Channel, till the morning of the 21st, when at half-past one a signal gun was fired for the other vessel, that we saw the light off Scilly; and at four o'clock P. M. got the pilot on board.

Having been becalmed two days off Dover, it was the 27th before we first saw the Dutch coast: here we purchased some excellent fish from a *Schevelin* boat, with which we entertained the whole crew, though during this sea voyage no ship's company could be better provided.

Having kept off shore during the night, we at last doubled *Keykduyn* and the *Helder*; and on the 28th, at
three

three o'clock P. M. both ships, under a discharge of nine guns, dropped anchor in the Texel roads.

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On the 30th, having passed the small island of *Urk*, in the *Zuyder Sea*, which is the *only rock* in the province of Holland, both vessels running before the wind with a fine breeze, *premeditatedly* stuck fast upon the *Pampus*—this is a large bank of soft mire, covered with shoal water, and not far from Amsterdam, which it naturally protects like a barrier from all foreign invaders; since all ships whatever must either be lifted over or dragged through this bank of mud.

The first is done by sinking two concave vessels, called *camels*, which being chained together under the bottom of an Indiaman or man-of-war, of whatever burthen, the water is pumped out of them, when rising gradually to the surface with their burthen, they carry it to where there is to be found sufficient depth to keep it afloat.

The second method is practised on smaller vessels, and consists of half a dozen sail boats, called *water-manakins*, towing them through the mud, which can never be done but when straight before the wind: at which time not only the ship itself, but the boats that have her in tow, must crowd all the sail they possibly can carry.

On the morning of the 31st, having been becalmed all night, a fresh breeze at E. again sprung up, when we fired a gun as a signal, and five or six water-manakins instantly came off, by the help of which we were dragged

over the *Pampus*, not at the rate of fourteen knots an hour, but at that of fourteen hours a knot, since we did not get clear of it in less than three days sailing, though not four miles in length: however, I must confess, that the last day we had scarcely any wind at all.

During this tedious passage, it was no bad entertainment, to observe the contrast between some newly-arrived *Norwegians* and us; those people sitting upon deck in their shirts, and wiping off the perspiration, while we were strutting in great coats and fur caps, like so many *Muscovites*, to keep us from the cold.

Having at this time received a considerable present of refreshments, sent by the city of Amsterdam to the deliverers of their favourite colony, and being so near revisiting their old friends and acquaintances, all on board were in the highest flow of spirits, and exulting with gladness—excepting *one!*—from whose mind every happiness was banished.

I must here still relate the following singular circumstance: A man-of-war's boat coming alongside the *Hollandia*, the officer and crew no sooner entered on board, than one of them, without speaking, ran up aloft, with a knife in his teeth, to *cut down the pennant*. At this time Lieutenant Colonel Seyburg, presenting a musquet, and swearing he would shoot him out of the rigging, the poor fellow came down by the back-stays like a shot, to our great entertainment; next, having explained to him that
 both

both vessels had been put in commission by the Prince of Orange, the amazed lieutenant made a handsome apology, and left the ship.

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On the 3d of June, every thing being in readiness, the troops were put on board six lighters, appointed to transport them to *Bois-le-Duc*, in which town they were next to be completed, and do the duty as part of the garrison. On leaving the vessels we were once more saluted with nine guns from each; which having returned with three cheers, we set sail for the place above mentioned. As we passed in the lighters through the inland towns, such as *Saardam*, *Haerlem*, and *Tergow*, I thought them truly magnificent, particularly the glass painting in the great church of the latter; but their inhabitants, who crowded about us, from curiosity to see us, appeared but a disgusting assemblage of ill-formed and ill-dressed rabble, so much had my prejudices been changed by living among the Indians and blacks: their eyes seemed to resemble those of a pig; their complexions were like the colour of foul linen; they seemed to have no teeth, and to be covered over with rags and dirt. This prejudice, however, was not against these people only, but against all Europeans in general, when compared to the sparkling eyes, ivory teeth, shining skin, and remarkable cleanliness of those I had left behind me. But the most ludicrous circumstance was, that during all this we never once considered the truly extraordinary figure that we
made

made ourselves, being so much sun-burnt and so pale, that we were nearly the colour of dried parchment, by heat and fatigue; and so thin that we looked like moving skeletons; to which I may add, that having lived so long in the woods, we had perfectly the appearance of wild people: and I in particular, very deservedly, obtained the characteristic title of *le Sauvage Anglois*, or the English savage.

In this state we arrived, on the 9th, at the town of Bois-le-Duc, where the troops were finally disembarked.

“ Per varios casus, & tot discrimina rerum,

“ Pervenimus ad Latium.”————

———— “ Olim meminisse juvabit.”

Thus ended, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary expeditions that was ever undertaken by European troops; and to which only the exploits of the American Buccaneers have any, and even that a very distant, resemblance.

On our arrival I found that Lieutenant Colonel *Westerlo*, who went sick to Europe, in 1773, was not yet quite recovered. This gentleman now invited me, in company with some others, to dine with him at the public mess; where, while some Dutch officers complained that the soup was smoky, and the beef was tough, we adventurers declared that we never had tasted a more delicious repast; and at the same time, while they praised the strawberries, cherries, and other European fruits, we thought them very
indifferent,

indifferent, and greatly inferior to the avogado-pear, the water-melon, and the pine-apple, to which we had been lately accustomed—which shews that every thing in this world is only good or bad by comparison.

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The following day we were introduced, on the parade, to the Lieutenant Governor, General *Hardenbrook*, and spent the evening at his lady's card assembly, where I must acknowledge I was charmed with some very sweet faces, fresh as the rose and the lily, while they were no less entertained with our grotesque appearance, though we had now borrowed the assistance of powder and pomatum.

On the 18th the troops were finally cleared with, and paid their remaining arrears, and those who chose it permitted to return to their *former* regiments. Some of the privates had from thirty to forty pounds to receive, which, sailor-like, having earned it like horses, they spent like asses. Among others, a young fellow of my company, whose late regiment chanced to be quartered in the very same town, hired three post-chaises to carry him the length of one street only, ordering a couple of drunken fiddlers in the first, his knapsack in the second, and placing himself in the third, supported by a brace of the frail sisterhood: he was, however, unfortunately shipwrecked in his course, being run foul of by the *major de place*, who, having broken the fiddles, and set the ladies adrift, towed the roaring adventurer himself, after a hard tug, to the quarter-guard,

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where he came to an anchor in the bilboes, till the gale of his dissipation was quite spent, and he had got rid of all his cargo. In a similar manner went most of the money which had been earned with so much danger, hardship, and fatigue.

Now came the time to keep my long-made resolution of bidding a *lasting farewell* to Colonel Fourgeoud's regiment; from which, on the 10th day of August, I obtained my free dismissal, having requested it, immediately after my debarkation, from the Prince of Orange, who at the same time honoured me with a fresh Captain's commission in the Honourable General Stuart's regiment, which I had left in September 1772; while from that date to this very day my full pay had amounted to little more than four hundred and fifty pounds sterling, having regularly been stopped out of this sum *ten pounds per annum* for the putrid beef, pork, rusk-bread, and hard pease, that so miraculously had kept soul and body together.

Let me not, however, be considered as wishing to cast a reflection on the Dutch nation in general, who indeed omitted nothing for our preservation and encouragement during this long and painful service: a people whose virtues have been for ages as conspicuous as their valour—*one* man alone was the cause of all our sufferings.

Having now exchanged my blue coat for a scarlet one, bought a very handsome horse, and put Quaco in a brilliant



Europe supported by Africa & America.

liant livery, I for the last time entertained my shipmates, with whom, without exception, I drank an everlasting friendship: then taking my final farewell of them all, I the next morning set out to rejoin the old Scotch regiment, where I was received with the strongest marks of joy and unfeigned friendship by the corps.

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Going now to take my leave of Surinam, after all the horrors and cruelties with which I must have hurt both the eye and the heart of the feeling reader, I will close the scene with an emblematical picture of *Europe supported by Africa and America*, accompanied by an ardent wish that in the friendly manner as they are represented, they may henceforth and to all eternity be the props of each other. I might have included Asia, but this I omitted, as having no connection with the present narrative: we only differ in colour, but are certainly all created by the same Hand. Thus, if it has not pleased fortune to make us equal in rank and authority, let us at least use the superiority we possess with moderation, and not only proffer that happiness which we have to bestow on our equals, but let us extend it with cheerfulness to the lowest of our deserving dependants.

On the 25th of August I repaired to the palace of *Loo*, in Guelderland, where, by the Colonel of the regiment, I was introduced to his Serene Highness the *Stadtholder*; who not only was pleased to give me a gracious reception, remarking, that by my looks I must have suffered

CHAP. much, but soon after promoted me to the rank of *Major*
 XXX. in the same Scottish regiment.

As I had now the pleasure also to see a few others of my fellow sufferers recompensed after their hardships, I had reason to think the less of our former troubles; thus, instead of indulging in censure, I found a more solid consolation in the triumph of *truth*, which was *brought to light* without my farther interference.

“ *Magna est veritas & prevalebit.*”

On the 24th of September I went to the Hague, where I presented his Serene Highness with *eighteen figures* in wax, made by myself, for his museum, which were most graciously accepted. They represented the free Indians of Guiana, and negro slaves of Surinam, engaged in different occupations, on an island, supported by a crystal mirror, and ornamented with gold.

I now also, with *his own consent*, made a present of my faithful black boy, Quaco, to the Countess of *Rosendaal*, to whose family I was under very great obligations; and who since, on account of his honesty and sober conduct, not only christened him, by the name of *Stedman*, at my desire, but promoted him to be their butler, with a promise to take care of him as long as he lived; which was particularly grateful to me, being such advantages as I could never have procured for him myself.

Here I cannot omit an anecdote of attachment in this
 boy:—

boy:—Having set out by myself on a short journey, I found a crown-piece more than I expected in my purse, and for which I was at a loss to account; till on my return, when I questioned Quaco, he said, “that fearing I might be short of cash, where people seemed so fond of it, he had put his five-shilling piece in my pocket.”—This action was the more generous, not only in the manner it was done, but being at that time the only crown poor Quaco possessed in this world.

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About the latter end of October, I was offered by the directors of the settlement to be sent over as a lieutenant-governor to the colony of *Berbicè*, situated next to Surinam. In consequence, I immediately went to *Amsterdam*, to wait on them, and hear the proposals, in which they indeed offered me a higher salary, and greater advantages, than they had ever offered to any other gentleman in that situation; but I insisted on having either the *government* if I survived, or a decent *pension* after a certain number of years at my return; which being out of their power, they said, to grant, I declined accepting of the offer altogether, judging it more prudent to recover my health and vigour in Europe with a Scottish company, than to parch any longer under the Torrid Zone, without a prospect of settling at home with honour and a competent fortune. Nor was it long before I perfectly recovered, and became as stout and healthy as I had ever

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been in all my life: a happiness of which not one among one hundred of my late shipmates could boast.

Among others, poor COLONEL FOURGEOUD did not long enjoy his good fortune; for he was scarcely arrived in Holland, with the remaining few who stayed some time behind us, than his beloved *ptisan* having failed him, he was one morning found *dead* in his bed, attended only by a negro, and buried with military honours at the Hague.

Not long after this, expired also in Surinam, Fourgeoud's mortal enemy, the GOVERNOR of the colony; which vacancy was most worthily filled up by Colonel *Teaier*, and since by the deserving Mr. *Wichers**.

From this period nothing worth recording occurred till the year 1782, when the Emperor of Germany having retaken the barrier towns from the States of Holland, General Stuart's regiment was the last that evacuated the city of *Namur*, and on the same day the Imperial troops marched in to take possession: after which the Emperor ordered, in the year 1783, all the fortifications to be demolished. Soon after this, the Scotch brigade, the privates of which now consisted of all nations, was naturalized by the States of Holland, that is, formed into three

* This gentleman having also resigned, I have the pleasure to acquaint my readers, that in the year 1792, that gallant officer, Mr. F. Fredericy (so frequently mentioned in this narrative) and who had some time before re-entered into the service of the Society troops, was appointed Governor of the colony of Surinam.

Dutch

Dutch regiments, on account of the war with Great Britain; and this circumstance induced myself and most of the principal officers immediately to resign—as we refused to serve against our King and Country.

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Having thus left the Dutch service, on which day, by the Prince of Orange, I was complimented with the rank of *lieutenant-colonel*, the above gentlemen went to England, where, in consequence of their loyalty, they were taken under his Britannic Majesty's protection; and, on the 18th of June, eleven of them, of which number I was so happy to make one, were, by General *Conway*, introduced at St. James's, where we had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand.

On the 27th of the same month, the half-pay was voted for them all by the British House of Commons, according to the rank in which each individual had *actually served* while abroad*.—But, that the reader may have some idea of what is meant by the SCOTCH BRIGADE, and of what they formerly consisted, I will beg leave to insert the following particulars:

“ In 1570 this ancient corps first landed in Holland, as independent companies, commanded by some of the first noblemen in Scotland.

* The above gentlemen, who were looked upon as being the *real* representatives of his Majesty's Scotch brigade, had their loyalty further rewarded by the revival of that old

and honourable corps in Britain, which was since re-embodied under the command of General *Francis Dundas*, and sent to garrison *Gibraltar*.

“ In

“ In the year 1578 their gallant behaviour, together with the English, at the battle of *Reminat*, near *Mechlin*, is mentioned particularly by *Strada*.

“ In 1579 *Menin* was surprized, and the Spanish and Walloon guards taken prisoners by Colonel *Balfour*, with his regiment alone.

“ In 1588, at the memorable blockade of *Bergen-op-Zoom* by the Prince of *Parma*, the Scots, under the command of General *Balfour* and Colonel *Scott*, made a sortie, and demolished the greatest part of the Spanish lines, by which the enemy were forced to break up the siege, with considerable loss of men and ammunition.

“ In 1590, at the siege of *Zutphen-Deventer*, *Nineguen* and *Hulst*, their bravery is well known.

“ In 1593 they shared so much of the glory at the taking of *Gertrudenberg*, that both General *Balfour* and his regiment were highly distinguished by Prince *Maurice*. The General he made governor to command the garrison, instead of his brother Prince *Henry*; and the regiment he appointed, as the most spirited corps, to defend it.

“ In 1599, at the taking of *Bommel*, the Scots suffered most considerably.

“ In 1600 two field officers, eight captains, with above six hundred private men, were left dead on the field, after the famous *Battle of the Downs*, near *Nieuport*, where both they and the English behaved with the

“ greatest gallantry ; and to the valour of these united
 “ bands was attributed the success of the day. C H A P.
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“ In 1601, at the siege of *Ostend*, which lasted three
 “ years, and at which was levelled the whole power of
 “ Spain, nothing could equal the valour and courage
 “ both of the Scotch and English, the first commanded
 “ by Generals *Balfour* and *St. Clair*, the latter by Lords
 “ *Willoughby* and *Vere* ; who, after a great slaughter of
 “ the Spaniards (including all their best officers) forced
 “ the assailants to raise the siege, and retreat with great
 “ shame and confusion.

“ During the government of the three first Princes of
 “ Orange, *William*, *Maurice*, and *Frederick-Henry*, the
 “ Scotch behaved with so much bravery, honour, and
 “ reputation, that by the last prince (besides many other
 “ marks of distinction which he conferred on them) they
 “ were called the *bulwarks of the republick*.

“ The necessary limits of this chapter compel me to
 “ omit many memorable services which were rendered
 “ by this distinguished body of men to the provinces of
 “ Holland ; but I cannot overlook the last siege of *Bergen-*
 “ *op-Zoom* by the French, in 1747 ; where, while others
 “ shamefully ran away, one regiment of Scots in the
 “ middle of the town, having twice repulsed the enemy,
 “ fought alone till they were nearly cut to pieces, leaving
 “ fifteen officers and above five hundred privates on the
 “ field.”—Such is the history of the late Scotch brigade

C H A P. in the Dutch service : and such were the outlines of its
 XXX. military character, till the day of its dissolution, in 1783.

I must now draw this narrative to a conclusion, by once more mentioning the name of Joanna, and acquaint the reader, that, alas! ——— JOANNA IS NO MORE!!! —

In the month of August 1783, I received the melancholy tidings from Mr. Gourlay (which pierced me to the soul) that on the fatal *fifth* of *November*, this virtuous young woman departed this life, as *some* suspected by poison *, administered by the hand of jealousy and envy, on account of her prosperity, and the marks of distinction which her superior merit had so justly attracted from the respectable part of the colony.

But she is no more!— Reader!—the virtuous Joanna, who so often saved my life, is no more!!!—Her adopted mother, Mrs. Godefroy, who bedewed her beauteous body with tears, ordered it to be interred with every mark of respect, under the grove of orange trees where she had lived. Her lovely boy was sent to me, with a bill of near two hundred pounds, his private property, by inheritance from his mother.—Soon after which expired both his very faithful guardians.

This CHARMING YOUTH, having made a most commendable progress in his education in Devon, went two

* Her emancipated brother *Henry* underwent the same melancholy fate.

West India voyages, with the highest character as a sailor ; and during the *Spanish* troubles served with honour as a midshipman on board his Majesty's ships *Southampton* and *Lizard*, ever ready to engage in any service that the advantage of his king and country called for.—But, Oh ! —he also is no more, having since *perished* at sea off the island of *Jamaica*.

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The effect which the following lines had on the sympathetic and ingenious Mrs. *Cowley*, could alone induce me to intrude them on the Public. — Let this be my apology—Oh ! more than bitter task !!!—

AN Elegy ON MY SAILOR.

LOUD sounds the tempest !—peals of thunder roar ;
Tremendous lightnings flash from shore to shore :
Seas dash the shaking rocks—seas mount the flaming sky,
And elements convuls'd, speak dissolution nigh.
Such scenes as these (while tossing on the waves,
True to his duty still) the manly sailor braves ;
SUCH WAS MY BOY—(whose eyes could never weep
But for his neighbour's woes) now swallow'd in the deep.
Oh ! agonizing pain—pain never felt before—
My manly boy—my *John*—my Sailor is no more ; }
Still let me mourn with hope—and GOD adore : }
With hope, to see my sailor once again
Floating on seas of bliss, thro' th' azure main :
Till then a short farewell—my lovely boy,
Thy shipmates darling, and thy father's joy.

NARRATIVE OF AN

Yet one small comfort soothes (while doom'd to part,
 Dear gallant youth!) thy parent's broken heart;
 No more thy tender frame, thy blooming age,
 Shall be the sport of Ocean's turb'lent rage:
 No more thy *olive* beauties on the waves
 Shall be the scorn of some European slaves;
 Whose optics, blind to merit, ne'er could spy
 That sterling worth could bloom beneath a western sky.
 No more, my dear—no more—(while *such were scar'd*)
 UNDAUNTED shalt thou rock upon the yard;
 There, while the silver moon gleam'd thro' the gale,
 With manly skill and courage hand the sail.
 When Fame, who scann'd the value of her Tar,
 Did make thee shine on board a man-of-war
 With honour *—while, with equal glory fir'd,
 To please a parent, brother, friend, thou e'er aspir'd;
 Till Death—relentless Death—none can withstand,
 To *cut thy cable* ————— gave the LAST COMMAND!!!
 Soar now, my angel, to thy Maker's shrine,
 There reap that prize, due to such worth as thine.
 Fly, gentle shade—fly to that blest abode,
 There view thy *mother*—and adore thy GOD:
 There, Oh! my Boy! ——— on that celestial shore,
 Oh! may we gladly meet—and part no more!!!

A PARENT.

* Since the above lines were written, the last of his commanders, the gallant Captain *John Hutt*, lost his life in the memorable action, fought under Admiral LORD HOWE, against the French, on the 1st of June, 1794.

—This officer loved my Sailor well; nor was he less esteemed by Captain *Richard Keates*, from whom he had the honour to receive his first naval education.

And now farewell, my *friends*, who have been pleased to peruse this narrative of my distresses with sympathetic sensibility; particularly those whose goodness of heart can forgive my inaccuracies and foibles.—I say, farewell: claiming no other merit whatever throughout these pages, than that of having spoke the *simple truth*; which, if I wilfully have violated, may these volumes perish, and be forgotten with their author!—But should this treasure, TRUTH, so rarely to be met with, be found in this performance:—

C H A P.
XXX.

“ Let one poor sprig of bays around my head
“ Bloom while I live; and point me out when dead.”

THE END.

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