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Aphra Behn

OROONOKO

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OROONOKO:
OR, THE
Royal Slave.
A TRUE
HISTORY.

By Mrs. A. BEHN.

LONDON,
Printed for Will. Canning, at his Shop in the Temple-Chyfters. 1688.
The Epistle Dedicatory

To The
Right Honourable
The
Lord MAITLAND.1

My Lord,

Since the World is grown so Nice and Critical upon Dedications, and will Needs be Judging the Book, by the Wit of the Patron; we ought, with a great deal of Circumspection, to chuse a Person against whom there can be no Exception; and whose Wit, and Worth, truly Merits all that one is capable of saying upon that Occasion.

The most part of Dedications are charg'd with Flattery; and if the World knows a Man has some Vices, they will not allow one to speak of his Virtues. This, my Lord, is for want of thinking Rightly: if Men would consider with Reason, they would have another sort of Opinion, and Esteem of Dedications; and would believe almost every Great Man has enough to make him Worthy of all that can be said of him there.

My Lord, a Picture-drawer, when he intends to make a good Picture, essays the Face many Ways, and in many Lights, before he begins; that he may chuse, from the several turns of it, which is most Agreeable, and gives it the best Grace; and if there be a Scar, an ungrateful Mole, or any little Defect, they leave it out; and yet make the Picture extremely like: But he who has the good Fortune to draw a Face that is exactly Charming in all its Parts and Features, what Colours or Agreement2 can be added to make it Finer? All that he can give is but its due; and Glasses in a Piece whose Original alone gives it its Perfection. An ill Hand may diminish, but a good Hand cannot augment its Beauty. A Poet is a Painter in his way; he draws to the Life, but in another kind; we draw the Nobler part, the Soul and Mind; the Pictures of the Pen shall outlast those of the Pencil, and even Worlds themselves. 'Tis a short Chronicle of those Lives that possibly would be forgotten by other Historians, or I have neglected there, however deserving an immortal Fame; for Men of eminent Parts are as Exemplary as

1. Richard Maitland (1635–1691), later fourth Earl of Lauderdale, held important public posts in Scotland. A Jacobite and Roman Catholic, he followed the deposed James II to France but was both outlawed at home and exiled from the court in exile. The learned Catholic, whose writings remain rare, was not well known, but he was noted for his library and for a verse translation of Virgil.
2. Attractive qualities from the French agravems.
3. The comparison of poets to painters, a commonplace from Horace's Art of Poetry, was often used as a conceit by seventeenth-century writers. Richard Lovelace, in "Preludium" (1692), his tribute to the court poet Sir Peter Lely, used similar terms to elevate painting: "O sacred Painter! That dost so fair draw! What art in Man's deep inward Parts saw? . . . Thou that in famous strain didst kind, / And set a written and a lively mind."
4. Abilities.
even Monarchs themselves; and Virtue is a noble Lesson to be learnt, and thus by Comparison we can Judge and Choose. 'Tis by such illustrious Presidents, as your Lordship, the World can be Beet't and Rev'd; when a great part of the lazy Nobility shall, with Shame, behold the admirable Accomplishments of a Man so Great, and so Young.

Your Lordship has read innumerable Volumes of Men, and Books; not Vainly for the sake of Novelty, but Knowledge, excellent Knowledge; like the industrious Bee, from every Flower you return Laden with the precious Dew, which you are sure to turn to the Publick Good. You heard no one Perfection, but lay it all out in the Glorious Service of your Religion and Country; to both which you are a useful and necessary Honour. They both want such Supporters; and 'tis only Men of so elevated Parts, and fine Knowledge, such noble Principles of Loyalty, and Religion this Nation Sighs for. [Where is it amongst all our Nobility we shall find so great a Champion for the Catholic Church?]

With what Divine Knowledge have you writ in Defence of the Faith? How unanswerably have you cleared all these Intricacies in Religion, which even the Grown-men have left Dark and Difficult! With what unbeatent Arguments you convince the Faithless, and instruct the Ignorant! Where shall we find a Man so Young, like St. Augustine, in the midst of all his Youth and Gaiety, Teaching the World divine Precepts, true Notions of Faith, and Excellent Morality, and at the same time, be able to appear a perfect Pattern of all that accomplishment! A Great Man! You, my Lord, all that respect'd Wit that Charges, and the Affability that Oblige; a Generosity that gives a Lustre to your Nobility; that Hospitality, and Greatness of Mind, that engageth the World; and that admirable Conduct, that so well Instincts it. Our Nation ought to regret and bemoan their Misfortunes, for not being able to claim the Honour of the Birth of a Man who is so fit to serve his Majesty, and his Kingdoms, in all Great and Publick Affairs: And to the Glory of your Nation be it spoken, it produces more considerable Men, for all sense, Wit, Wisdom, Breeding, and Generosity (for the generality of the Nobility) than all other Nations can boast; and the Fruitsfellow of your Virtue sufficiently make amends for the Barrenness of your Soil:

5. Precedent or models.
7. Lord.
8. All the best and most ambitious sentiments admiring Catholic faiths survive only as a stop-press variant in the Bodleian Library copy, bound in Bute's own History (1653). This is the two columns version of the Scottish Parliament, bound in Bute's own History (1653).
9. Complete, fully against. St. Augustine (354-430), early church father and philosopher. His Confessions describe his worldly early years as a student and a teacher of rhetoric in North Africa and Italy, followed by his conversion to Catholicism by Bishop bonus. In his late life (Lord Milford), he has become a more widely known figure; he often wrote against pagan and Christian enemies of the Church and argued for its authority descended from the Apostles.

Orono.

Which however cannot be incommode1 to your Lordship, since your Quality, and the Veneration that the Commonalty naturally pay their Lords, creates a flowing Plenty there—that makes you Happy. And to complete your Happiness, my Lord, Heaven has blessed you with a Lady, to whom it has given all the Graces, Beauties, and Virtues of her Sex; all the Youth, Sweetness of Nature; of a most illustrious Family; and who is a most rare Example to all Wives of Quality, for her eminent Piety, Easiness, and Condescension; and as absolutely merits Respect from all the World, as she does that Person and Station she receives from your Lordship; and which is, on her part, with so much Tenderness return'd. Methinks your tranquil Lives2 are an Image of the new Made and Beautiful Pair in Paradise: And 'tis the Prayers and Wishes of all, who have the Honour to know you, that it may Eternally so continue, with Additions of all the Blessings this World can give you.

My Lord, the Obligations I have to some of the Great Men of your Nation, particularly to your Lordship, gives me an Ambition of making my Acknowledgments, by all the Opportunities I can; and such humble Fruits, as my Industry produces, I lay at your Lordship's Feet. This is a true Story, of a Man Gallant enough to merit your Protection; and, that he always been so Fortunate, he had not made so inglorious an end. The Royal Slave I have the Honour to know in my Travels to the other World; and though I had none above me in that Country, yet I wanted power to preserve this Great Man. If there be anything that seems Romantic, I beseech your Lordship to consider, these Countries do, in all things, so far differ from ours, that they produce unconsiderable Wonders; at least, they appear so to us, because New and Strange. What I have mention'd I have taken care shou'd be Truth, let the Critical Reader judge as he pleases. 'Twill be no Commendation to the Book, to assure your Lordship I write it in a few Hours, though it may serve to Excuse some of its Faults of Connexion; for I never rested my Pen a Moment for Thought: 'Tis purely the Merit of my Slave that must render it worthy of the Honour it begs; and the Author of that of Subscribing herself;

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most oblig'd and obedient Servant,

A. EKIN.

1. Troubleless. In praising Scotland's feudal traditions, Bute seems to allude not only to the traditional loyalties commanded by Highland chieftains but to the political sentiments of the Scottish Privy Council at Edinburgh. Both groups strongly supported the Stuart monarchy.
2. Condescension.
3. Anne Campbell, daughter of the Earl of Arran, belonged to a Protestant family that led the Scottish opposition to James II, while her husband seems to have resisted some of James's more extreme policies. This tranquility did not continue.
The History of the Royal Slave.

I do not pretend, in giving you the History of this Royal Slave, to entertain my Reader with the Adventures of a reign'd Hero, whose Life and Fortunes Fancy may manage at the Poet's Pleasure; nor in relating the Truth, design to adorn it with any Accident, but such as are in earnest to him. And it shall come simply into the World, recommended by its own proper Merits, and natural Intrigues; there being enough of Reality to support it, and to render it diverting, without the Addition of Invention.

I was my self an Eye-Witness to a great part, of what you will find here set down; and what I could not be Witness of, I received from the Mouth of the chief Actor in this History, the Hero himself, who gave me all the Transactions of his Youth; and though I shall omit, for Brevity's sake, a thousand little Accidents of his Life, which, however pleasant to us, where History was scarce, and Adventures very rare; yet might prove tedious and heavy to my Reader, in a World where he finds Diversions for every Minute, new and strange; but we who were perfectly charmed with the Character of this great Man, were curious to gather every Circumstance of his Life.

The Scene of the last part of his Adventures lies in a Colony in America, called Surinam, in the West-Indies.

But I give you the Story of this Gallant Slave, to let you tell me the manner of bringing them to these new Colonies, for those they make use of there, are not Names of the place; for those we live with in perfect Amity, without daring to command 'em; but on the contrary, care 'em with all the brotherly and friendly Affection in the World; trading with 'em for their Fish, Venison, Bufflo's, Shins, and little Rarities; as Mammots, a sort of Monkey as big as a Rat or Weasel, but of a marvellous and delicate shape, and has Face and Hands like an Humane Creature; and Courieres, a little Beast in the Form and fashion of a Lion, as big as a Kitten; but so exactly made in all parts like that noble Beast, that it is in miniature. Then for little Parahetoos, great Patrots, Mackaws, and a thousand Birds and Beasts of wonderfull and surprizing Forms, Shapes, and Colours. For Skins of preogious Snakes, of which there are some threscore Yards in length; as is the Skin of one that may be seen at His Majesty's Antiquities: Where

1. An English colony within the large River of Colon, on the South America; being part of the Province of Veneza, now Dutch Guiana, now Surinam. During the 1660s it was united by conquest to Brazil, where the trade was continued.

2. Quahah, or, a sort of large species of Tortoise, living near the Amazon; often mistaken for a Turtle, but less than a Mammoth, and safer to be seen than handled.

3. A local animal mentioned in various travel accounts but not consistently described. Probably the toad-headed monster, or perhaps the Pocite (Portuguese), a small reptile known as the Toad-man. According to George Warren's History of Surinam (1667), the "Quahah" lived in the sea and was "black, less than a Mammoth, and safer to be seen than handled."
handsome young Indian, dying for Love of a very beautiful young Indian Maid; but all his Courtship was, to fold his Arms, pursue her with his Eyes, and Sighs were all his Language. While she, as if no such Lover were present, or rather, as if she desired none such, carefully guarded her Eyes from beholding him; and never approach'd him, but she lock'd him down with all the blushing Modesty I have seen in the most severe and cautious of our World. And these People represented to me an absolute Idea of the first State of Innocence, before Man knew how to sin. And this most evident and plain, that simple Nature is the most harmless, innocent, and virtuous Mistress. Till she alone, if she were permitted, that better instructs the World, than all the Inventions of Man: Religion would here but destroy that Tranquility, they possess by Ignorance; and Law would but teach 'em to know Offence, of which now they have no Notion. They once made Mourning and Parting for the Death of the English Governor, who had given his Hand to come on such a Day to 'em, and neither came, nor sent; believing, when once a Man's Word was past, nothing but Death could or should prevent his keeping it. And when they saw he was not dead, they asked him, what Name they had for a Man who promised a thing he did not do? The Governor told them, Such a man was a Liar, which was a Word of Infamy to a Gentleman. Then one of 'em reply'd, Governor, you are a Liar, and guilty of that Infamy. They have a Native Justice, which knows no Fraud; and they understand no Vice, or Cunning, but when they are taught by the White Man. They have Plunder of Wives, which, when they grow old, they serve those that succeed 'em, who are young; but they have a Servitude caste and respected; and unless they take Slaves in War, they have no other Attendants.

Those on that Continent where I was, had no King; but the oldest War-Captain was obey'd with great Resignation.

A War-Captain is a Man who has led them on to Battel with Conduct, and Success, of whom I shall have Occasion to speak more hereafter; and of some other of their Customs and Manners, as they fell in my way.

With these People, as I said, we live in perfect Tranquility, and good Understanding, as it behoves us to do; they knowing all the places where to seek the best Food of the Country, and the Means of getting it; and for very small and unvaluable Trifles, supply us with what 'tis impossible for us to get; for they do not only in the Wood, and over the Severn's, in Hunting supply the part of Hounds, by swiftly scolding through those almost impassable places; and by the sheer Activity of their Feet, run down the nimblest Deer, and other edible Beasts.

3. Capacity to lead.

4. The contract sale of slaves in lot was a common method of sale, and twenty pounds a frequently mentioned price.

5. Not a country but a fortified English trading station on the Gold Coast of West Africa, in modern-day Ghana, established by agreement with the local Fante rulers in 1632. It became the English trading headquarters until taken by the Dutch in 1656. As the slave trade expanded, the English traders bought slaves from the kingdom called Coromants or Commercees (incorrectly spelled) and gained a reputation for their beauty, breeding, intelligence, and docility in war, and extreme dexterity under captivity or torture. They would have been mainly male and not exclusively Fante, Ashanti, and other Ahum-speaking peoples.

"I am black but beautiful, daughters of Jerusalem."
In his younger years he had had many gallant men to his sons, thirteen of which died in battle, conquering when they fell; and he had only left him for his successor, one grand-child, son to one of those dead victors; who, as soon as he could bear a bow in his hand, and a quiver at his back, was sent into the field, to be trained up by one of the oldest generals, to war, where, from his natural inclination to arms, and the occasions given him, with the good conduct of the old general, he became, at the age of seventeen, one of the most expert captains and bravest soldiers, that ever saw the field of man. So that he was adored as the wonder of all the world, and the darling of the soldiers. Besides, he was adored with a native beauty so transcending all those of his gloomy race, that he struck an awe and reverence, even in those that knew not his quality; as he did in me, who beheld him with surprise and wonder, when afterwards I saw him in our world.

He had scarce arriv'd at his seventeenth year, when fighting by his side, the general was kill'd with an arrow in his eye, which the prince Oroonooco (for so was this gallant Moor call'd) very narrowly avoided; nor had he, if the general, who saw the arrow shot, and perceiving it aim'd at the prince, had not bow'd his head between, on purpose to receive it in his own body rather than it should touch that of the prince, and so saved him.

'Twas then, affrighted as Oroonooco was, that he was proclaim'd general in the old man's place; and then it was, at the finishing of that war, which had continued for two years, that the prince came to court; where he had hardly been a month together, from the time of his fifth year, to that of seventeen; and 'twas amazing to imagine where it was he learn'd so much humanity; or, to give his accomplishments a juster name, where 'twas he got that real greatness of soul, those refined notions of true honour, that absolute generosity, and that softness that was capable of the highest passions of love and gallantry, whose objects were almost continually fighting men, or those mang'd, or dead; who heard no sounds, but those of war and groans: Some part of it we may attribute to the care of a French-man of wit and learning; who finding it turn to very good account to be a sort of royal tutor to this young black, & perceiving him very ready, apt, and quick of apprehension, took a great pleasure to teach him morals, language, and science; and was for it extremely beloved and vext by him. Another reason was, he lov'd, when he came from war, to see all the English gentlemen that traded thither; and did not only learn their

Language, but that of the Spaniards also, with whom he traded afterwards for slaves.

I have often seen and convers'd with this great man, and been a witness to many of his mighty actions, and do assured my Reader, the most illustrious courts could not have produc'd a braver man, both for greatness of courage and mind, a judgment more solid, a wit more quick, and a conversation more sweet and diverting. He knew almost as much as if he had read much: He had heard of, and admired the Romans; he had heard of the late civil wars in England, and the deplorable death of our great monarch, and would discourse of it with all the sense, and abhorrence of the injustice imaginable. He had an extreme good and graceful mien, and all the civility of a well-bred great man. He had nothing of barbarity in his nature, but in all points addressed himself, as if his education had been in some European court.

This great and just character of Oroonooco gave me an extreme curiosity to see him, especially when I knew he spoke French and English, and that I could talk with him. But though I had heard so much of him, I was as greatly surpris'd when I saw him, as if I had heard nothing of him; so by all report I found him. He came into the room, and address'd himself to me, and some other women, with the best grace in the world. He was very tall, but of a shape the most exact that can be fancy'd: The most famous Satyr would not form the figure of a man more admirably turn'd from head to foot. His face was not of that brown, rust black which most of that nation are, but a perfect ebony, or polish'd jet. His eyes were the most awful that could be seen, and very piercing. The white of 'em being like snow, as were his teeth. His nose was rising and Roman, instead of African and flat. His mouth, the finest shap'd that could be seen, far from those great turn'd lips, which are so natural to the rest of the Negroes. The whole proportion and air of his face was so noble, and exactly form'd, that, having his colour, there could be nothing in nature more beautiful, agreeable, and handsome. There was no grace wanting, that bears the standard of true beauty. His hair came down to his should-

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6. Battlefield, named after the Roman god of war. The Bantu people had a "brave," or military leader, resembling Belisarius's general, though not a strong monarchy. Moreover, as Europeans were slow to understand, diverse origins of the African-speaking peoples of this region were mistranscribed.

7. Lately used for any black-skinned people.
Oroonoko

drew by the Aids of Art; which was, by pulling it out with a Quill, and keeping it comb'd; of which he took particular Care. Nor did the Perfections of his Mind come short of those of his Person; for his Discourse was admirable upon almost any Subject; and who-ever had heard him speak, would have been convinced of their Error, that all fine Wit is confid.'d to the White Men, especially to those of Christendom; and would have confess'd that Oroonoeko was as capable even of reigning well, and of governing as wisely, has great a Soul, as politico Maxims, and was as sensible of Power as any Prince civiliz'd in the most refin'd Schools of Humanity and Learning, or the most illustrious Courts.

This Prince, such as I have describ'd him, whose Soul and Body were so admirably adorn'd, was (while yet he was in the Court of his Grandfather) as I said, as capable of Love, as 'twas possible for a brave and gallant Man to be; and in saying that, I have not the highest Degree of Love; for sure, great Souls are most capable of that Passion.

I have already said, the old General was kill'd by the shot of an Arrow, by the Side of this Prince, in Battell; and that Oroonoeko was made General. This old dead Hero had one only Daughter: left of his Race; a Beauty that, to describe her truly, one need say only, she was Female to the noble Male; the beautiful Black Venus, to our young Mars; as charming in her Person as he, and of delicate Vertues. I have seen an hundred White Men sighing after her, and making a thousand Vows at her Feet; all vain, and unsuccessful. And she was, indeed, too great for any, but a Prince of her own Nation to adore.

Oroonoeko coming from the Wars, (which were now ended) after he had made his Court to his Grand-father, he thought in Honour he ought to make a Visit to Imoinda, the Daughter of his Foster-father, the dead General; and to make some Excuses to her, because her Preservation was the Occasion of her Father's Death; and to present her with those Slaves that had been taken in this last Battell, as the Trophies of her Father's Victories. When he came, attended by all the young Soldiers of any Merit, he was infinitely surpris'd at the Beauty of this fair Queen of Night, whose Face and Person was so alluring, that it had ever behold, that lovely Modesty with which she receiv'd him, that Softness in her Look, and Sighs, upon the melancholy Occasion of this Honour that was done by so great a Man as Oroonoeko, and a Prince of whom she had heard such admirable things; the Awfulness wherewith she receiv'd him, and the Sweetness of her Words and Behaviours while he stay'd, gain'd a perfect Conquest over his fierce Heart, and made him feel, the Victor could be subdued. So that having made his first Compliments, and presented her as hundred and fifty Slaves in Petition, he told her with his Eyes, that he was not insensible of her Charms; while Imoinda, who wish'd for nothing more than so glorious a Conquest, was pleas'd to believe, she understood that silent Language of new-born Love; and from that Moment, put on all her Adornments to Beauty.

The Prince return'd to Court with quite another Humeur than before; and though he did not speak much of the fair Imoinda, he had the pleasure to hear all his Followers speak of nothing but the Charms of that Maid; insomuch that, even in the Presence of the old King, they were extolling her, and heightening, if possible, the Beauties they had found in her. So that nothing else was talk'd of; no other Sound was heard in every Corner where there were Whisperers, but Imoinda Imoinda.

'Twill be imagin'd Oroonoeko stay'd not long before he made his second Visit; nor, considering his Quality, not much longer before he told her, he ador'd her. I have often heard him say, that he admired by what strange Inspiration he came to talk things so soft, and so passionate, who never knew Love, nor was us'd to the Conversation of Women; but (to use his own Words) he said, Most happily, some now, and till then unknown Power instructed his Heart and Tongue in the Language of Love, and at the same time, in favour of him, inspir'd Imoinda with a Sense of his Passion: She was touch'd with what he said, and return'd it all in such Answers as went to his very Heart, with a Pleasure unknown before. Nor did he use those Obligations ill, that Love had done him; but turn'd all his happy Mornings to the best advantage; and as he knew no Vice, his Flame aim'd at nothing but Honour, if such a distinction may be made in Love; and especially in that Country, where Men take to themselves as many as they can maintain; and where the only Crime and Sin with Woman is, to turn her off, to abandon her to Want, Shame and Misery: Such ill Morals are only practis'd in Christian-Countries, where they prefer the bare Name of Religion; and, without Virtue or Morality, think that's sufficient. But Oroonoeko was none of those Professors; but as he had right Notions of Honour, so he made her such Propositions as were not only and barely such, but, contrary to the Custom of his Country, he made her Vows, she should be the only woman he would possess while he liv'd; that no Age or Wrinkles should incline him to change, for her Soul would be always fine, and always young; and he should have an eternal Idea in his Mind of the Charms she now bore, and should look into his Heart for that Idea when he cou'd find it no longer in her Face.

After a thousand Assurance of his lasting Flame, and her eternal Empire over him, she condescended to receive him for her Husband.

3. Suspicious.
4. Goddess of Love. According to myth, she and the god of war were lovers.
5. Senseless.
7. Company.
8. Beauties.
or rather, received him, as the greatest Honour the Gods could do her.

There is a certain Ceremony in these Cases to be observed, which I forgot to ask him how performed; but 'twas concluded on both sides, that, in Obedience to him, the Grandfather was to be first made acquainted with the Design; for they pay a most absolute Resignation to the Monarch, especially when he is a Parent also.

On the other side, the old King, who had many Wives, and many Concubines, wanted not Court-Treaties to intimate in his Heart a thousand tender Thoughts for this young Beauty; and who represented her to his Fancy, as the most charming he had ever possess'd in all the long Race of his numerous Years. At this Character his old Heart, like an extinguish'd Brand, most apt to take Fire, felt new Sparks of Love, and began to kindle; and now grown to his second Childhood, long'd with Impatience to behold this gay Thing, with whom, alas! he cou'd but innocently play. But how should he confirm'd she was this Wonder, before he us'd his Power to call her to Court (where Maidens never came, unless for the King's private Use) he was next to consider; and while he was so doing, he had Intelligence brought him, that Imoinda was most certainly Mistress to the Prince Oroonooko. This gave him some Shagam; however, it gave him also an Opportunity, one Day, when the Prince was absent, to wait on a Man of Quality, as his Slave and Attendant, who should go and make a Present to Imoinda, as the Prince; he should then, unknown, see this fair Maid, and have an Opportunity to hear what Message she would return the Prince for his Present; and from thence gather the state of her Heart, and degree of her Indulgence. This was put in Execution, and the old Monarch saw, and burn'd: He found her all he had heard, and would not delay his Happiness, but found he should have some Obstacle to overcome her Heart; for she expres'd her Sense of the Present the Prince had sent her, in terms so sweet, so soft and pretty, with an Air of Love and Joy that cou'd not be dissembl'd; insomuch that 'twas past doubt whether she lov'd Oroonooko entirely. This gave the old King some Affliction; but he said it with this, that the Obedience the People pay their King, was not at all inferior to what they pay'd their Gods: And what Love would not oblige Imoinda to do, Duty would compel her to.

He was therefore no sooner got to his Apartment, but he sent the Royal Veil to Imoinda; that is, the Ceremony of Invitation: he sends the Lady, he has a Mind to honour with his Bed, a Veil, with which she is cover'd, and secure'd for the King's Use; and 'tis Death to disobey; besides, hold a most impious Disobedience.

1. I.e., aiguan.
Oroonoko

er. Twas not enough to appease him, to tell him, his Grandfather was old, and cou’d not that way injure him, while he retain’d that awful Duty which the young Man and we’d there to play to their great Relations. He cou’d not be convince’d he had no Cause to sigh and mourn for the Loss of a Mistress, he cou’d not with all his Strength and Courage retrieve. And he would often cry, O my Friends! were she in wall’d Cities, or confid’d from me in Fortifictions of the greatest Strength; did Incantations or Monsters detain her from me, I would’r venture through any Hazard to free her; But here, in the Arms of a fearless old Man, my Youth, my violent Love, my Trade in Arms, and all my vast Desire of Glory, avail me nothing: Imoinda is as irrecoverably lost to me, as if she were snatch’d by the cold Arms of Death: Ooh! she is never to be return’d. If I would set early Yarn, till Fate shou’d bow the old King to his Grave, even that would not leave me Imoinda free; but still that Custom makes it so vile a Crime for a Son to marry his Father’s Wives or Mistresss, would hinder my Happiness; unless I would either ignorantly set an ill President to my Succession, and abandon my Country, and fly with her to some unknown World, who never heard our Story.

But it was objected to him, that his Case was not the same; for Imoinda being his lawful Wife, by solemn Contract, ‘twas he was the injured Man, and might, if he please, take Imoinda back, the Breach of the Law being on his Grandfather’s side; and that if he cou’d circumvent him, and redeem her from the Otan, which is the Palace of the King’s Women, a sort of Seraglio, it was both just and lawful for him so to do.

This Reasoning had some force upon him, and he shou’d have been entirely comforted, but for the Thought that she was possess’d by his GrandFather. However, he lov’d so well, that he was resolve’d to believe what most fav’r’d his Hope; and to endeavour to learn from Imoinda’s own Mouth, what only she cou’d satisfie him in; whether she was rob’d of that Blessing, which was only due to his Faith and Love. But as it was very hard to get a Sight of the Women, for no Man ever enter’d into the Otan, but when the King went to entertain himself with some one of his Wives, or Mistresss; and ‘twas Death at any other time, for any other to go in; so he knew not how to contrive to get a Sight of her.

While Oroonoko felt all the Agencies of Love, and suffer’d under a Torment the most painful in the World, the old King was not exempted from his share of Affliction. He was troubl’d for having been forc’d by an irresistible Passion, to rob his Son’s of a Treasure, he knew, cou’d not but be extremely dear to him, since she was the most beautiful that ever had been seen; and had besides, all the Sweetness and Innocence of Youth and Modesty, with a Charm of Wit surpassing all. He found that, however she was forc’d to expose her lovely Person to his wicked Arms, she cou’d only sigh and weep there, and think of Oroonoko; and oftentimes cou’d not forbear speaking of him, through her Life were, by Custom, forbid by owning her Passion. But she spok’d not of a Lover only, but of a Prince dear to him, to whom she spok’d; and of the Praises of a Man, who, till now, fill’d the old Man’s Soul with Joy at every Recital of his Bravery, or even his Name. And ‘twas this Duoage on our young Hero, that gave Imoinda a thousand Privileges to speak of him, without offending; and this Condescension in the old King, that made her take the Satisfaction of speaking of him so very often.

Besides, he many times enquir’d how the Prince bore himself; and those of whom he ask’d, being entirely Slaves to the Merits and Virtues of the Prince, still answer’d what they thought conducive best to his Service; which was, to make the old King fancy that the Prince had no more Interest in Imoinda, and had resign’d her willingly to the Pleasure of the King; that he diverted himself with his Mathematicians, his Fortifications, his Officers, and his Hunting.

This pleas’d the old Lover, who fail’d not to report these things again to Imoinda, that she might, by the Example of her young Lover, withdraw her Heart, and rest better contented in his Arms. But however she was forc’d to receive this unwelcome News, in all Appearance, with Unconceal’d, and Conten’d her Heart was burning within, and she was only happy when she cou’d get alone, to vent her Griefs and Means with Sighs and Tears.

What Reports of the Prince’s Conduct were made to the King, he thought good to judge as far as possible he cou’d by his Actions; and when he appear’d in the Presence of the King, he shew’d a Face not at all betraying his Heart: So that in a little time the old Man, being entirely convinc’d that he was no longer a Lover of Imoinda, he carry’d him with him, in his Train, to the Otan, often to banquet with his Mistress. But as soon as he enter’d, one Day, into the Apartment of Imoinda, with the King, at the first Glance from her Eyes, notwithstanding all his determin’d Resolution, he was ready to sink in the place where he stood, and had certainly done so, but for the Support of Aboon, a young Man, who was next to him; which, with his Change of Countenance, had betray’d him, had the King chanc’d to look that way. And I have observ’d, in a very great Error in those, who laugh when one says, A Negro can’t change Colour, for I have seen, but as frequently blush, and look pale, and that as visibly, as ever I saw in the most fair White. And it certain that both these Changes were evident, this Day, in both these Lovers. And Imoinda, who saw with some Joy the Change in the Prince’s Face, and found it in her own, strive to divert the King from beholding either, by a forc’d Cares, with
which she met him; which was a new Wound in the Heart of the poor dying Prince. But as soon as the King was busy’d in looking on some fire thing of Imoinda’s making, she had time to tell the Prince with her angry, but Love-daring Eyes, that she resented his Coldness, and bemoaned her own miserable Captivity. Nor were his Eyes silent; but answer’d hers again, as much as Eyes could do, instructed by the most tender, and most passionate Heart that ever lov’d. And they spoke so well, and so effectually, as Imoinda no longer doubted, but she was the only Delight, and the Darling of that Soul she found pleasing in ‘em its Right of Love, which none was more willing to resign than she. And ‘twas this powerful Language alone that in an Instant convey’d all the Thoughts of their Souls to each other; that ‘twas both found, there wanted but Opportunity to make them both entirely happy. But when he saw another Door open’d by Onahal, a former old Wife of the King’s, who now had Charge of Imoinda; and saw the Prospect of a Bed of State made ready, with Sweets and Flowers for the Delight of the King, who immediately led the trembling Victim from his Sight, into that proper’d Report; What Rage! what wild Frenzies seiz’d his Heart which forcing to keep within Bounds, and to suffer without Noise, it became the more insupportable, and rent his Soul with ten thousand Pains. He was forc’d to retire, to vent his Groans, where he fell down on a Carpet, and lay struggling a long time, and only breathing now and then,—O Imoinda! When Onahal had finish’d her necessary Affair within, shutting the Door, she came forth to wait, till the King call’d; and hearing some one sighing in the other Room, she pass’d on, and found the Prince in that deplorable Condition, which she thought needed his Aid: She gave him Cordials, but all in vain; till finding the nature of his Disease, by his Sighs, and naming Imoinda. She told him, he had not so much Cause as he imagin’d, to afflict himself; for if he knew the King so well as she did, he wou’d not lose a Moment in Jealousie, and that she was confident that Imoinda bore, at this Minute, part in his Affection. Aboam was of the same Opinion; and both together, persuad’d him to re-assume his Courage; and all sitting down on the Carpet, the Prince said so many obliging things to Onahal, that he half persuad’d her to be of his Party. And she promis’d him, she wou’d thus far comply with his just Desires, that she wou’d let Imoinda know how faithfully he was, what he suffer’d, and what he said.

This Discourse last’d till the King call’d, which gave Oronoko a certain Satisfaction; and with the Hope Onahal had made him conceive, he assum’d a Look as gay as ‘twas possible a Man in his Circumstances cou’d do; and presently after, he was call’d in with the rest who waited without. The King command’d Muskick to be brought, and several of his young Wives and Mistresses came all together by his Command, to dance before him; where Imoinda perform’d her Part with an Air and Grace so passing all the rest, as her Beauty was above ‘em; and receiv’d the Present, ordain’d as a Prize. The Prince was every Moment more charmed with the new Beauties and Graces he beheld in this fair One. And while he gaz’d, and she dance’d, Onahal was retir’d to a Window with Aboam.

This Onahal, as I said, was one of the Cast-Mistresses of the old King; and ‘twas these (now past their Beauty) that were made Guardians, or Governesses to the new, and the young Ones; and whose Business it was, to teach them all those wanton Arts of Love, with which they prevail’d, and charm’d heretofore in their Turn; and who now treat’d the triumphant happy Ones with all the Severity, as to Liberty and Freedom, that was possible, in revenge of those Honours they cob them of; enervy’ing those Satisfactions, those Gallantries and Presents, that were once made to themselves, while Youth and Beauty lasted, and which they now saw pass regardless by; and were pay’d only to the Bloomings. And certainly, nothing is more afflictive to a decay’d Beauty, than to behold in it self declining Charms, that were once ado’; and to find those Careless paid to new Beauties, to which once she laid a Claim; to hear ‘em whisper as she pass’d by, That once was a delicate Woman. These abandon’d Ladies therefore endeavour to revenge all the Depravitys, and Decays of Time, on these flourishing happy Ones. And ‘twas this Severity, that gave Oronoko a thousand Fears he should never prevail with Onahal, to see Imoinda. But as I said, she was now retir’d to a Window with Aboam.

This young Man was not only one of the best Qualities, but a Man extremely well made, and beautiful; and coming often to attend the King to the Otam, he had sub’d the heart of the antiquated Onahal, which had not forgot how pleasant it was to be in Love: And though she had some decay’s in her Face, she had none in her Sense and Wit; she was there agreeable still, even to Aboam’s Youth, so that he took pleasure in entertaining her with Discoveries of Love. He knew also, that to make his Court to these She-Favourites, was the way to be great; these being the Persons that do all Affairs and Business at Court. He had also observ’d that she had given him Glances more tender and inviting, than she had done to others of his Quality. And now, when he saw that her Favour cou’d so absolutely oblige the Prince, he fail’d not to sigh in her Ear, and to look with Eyes all soft upon her, and give her Hope that she had made some Impressions on his Heart. He

4. So that.

5. Female teachers or careritas. “Car.:” i.e., carrie.

6. The first editions read “pass were disregarded by.”

7. infancy.
found her pleas’d at this, and making a thousand Advances to him, but the Ceremony ending, and the King departing, broke up the Company for that Day, and his Conversation.

Aboan fall’d that Night to tell the Prince of his Success, and how advantageous the Service of Onahal might be to his Amour with Imoinda. The Prince was overjoy’d with this good News, and besought him, if it were possible, to caress her so, as to engage her entirely; which he could not fail to do, if he comply’d with her Desires: For then (said the Prince) her Life lying at your Mercy, she must grant you the Request you make in my Behalf. Aboan understand’d him; and assur’d him, he would make Love so effectually, that he would define the most expert Mistress of the Art, to find out whether he dissembl’d it, or had it really. And ‘twas with Impatience they waited the next Opportunity of going to the Otan.

The Wars came on, the Time of taking the Field approach’d, and ‘twas impossible for the Prince to delay his going to the Head of his Army, to encounter the Enemy: So that every Day seem’d a tedious Year, till he saw his Imoinda; for he believ’d he could not live, if he were forc’d away without being so happy. ’Twas with Impatience therefore, that he expected the next Visit the King would make; and, according to his Wish, it was not long.

The Paucity of the Eyes of these two Lovers had not pass’d so secretly, but an old jealous Lover cou’d spy it; or rather, he wanted not Flatterers, who told him, they observ’d it. So that the Prince was hasten’d to the Camp, and this was the last Visit he found he should make to the Otan; he therefore urg’d Aboan to make the best of this last Effort, and to explain himself so to Onahal, that she, desiring her Enjoyment of her young Lover no longer, might make way for the Prince to speak to Imoinda.

The whole Affair being agreed on between the Prince and Aboan, they attended the King, as the Custom was, to the Otan; where, while the whole Company was taken up in beholding the Dancing, and antique Postures the Women Royal made, to divert the King, Onahal sing’d out Aboan, whom she found most pliable to her Wish. When she had him where she believ’d she cou’d not be heard, she seiz’d him, and softly cry’d, Ah, Aboan! When will you be sensible of my Passion? I confess it with my Mouth, because I would not give my Eyes the Lie; and you have but too much already perceiv’d they have confess’d my Flame: Nor would I have you believe, that because I am the abandon’d Mistress of a King, I esteem my self altogether divested of Charms. No, Aboan; I have still a Rest of Beauty enough engaging, and have learn’d to please too well, not to be desirous. I can have Lovers still, but will have none but Aboan. Madam (reply’d the half-smiling Youth) you have already, by my Eyes, found, you can still conquer; and I believe it is in pity of me, you condescend to this kind Confession. But, Madam,
particularly concern’d, because on the Prince’s Stay depended her Happiness, for she cou’d no longer expect that of Aborn. So that, of they departed, she could not do it so, that the Prince and she should both come both night to the Grove of the Otan, which was all of Oranges and Citrons, and that there they should wait her Orders.

They parted thus, with grief enough, till night; leaving the King in possession of the lovely Maid. But nothing cou’d appease the jealousy of the old Lover. He would not be importun’d, but would have it that Imoinna made a false step on purpose to fall into Oroonoko’s bosom, and that all things look’d like a Design on both sides, and twas in vain she protested her Innocence: He was old and obstinate, and left her more than half asser’d that his Fear was true.

The King going to his Apartment, sent to know where the Prince was, and if he intended to obey his Command. The Messenger return’d, and told him, he found the Prince penive, and altogether unpreparing for the Campaign; that he lay negligently on the Ground, and answer’d very little. This confirm’d the jealous of the King, and he commanded that they should very narrowly and privately watch his Motions; and that he should not stir from his Apartment, but one Spy or other should be employ’d to watch him: So that the Hour approaching, wherein he was to go to the Citron-Grove; and taking only Aborn along with him, he leaves his Apartment, and was watch’d to the very Gate of the Otan, where he was seen to enter, and where they left him, to carry back the Tidings to the King.

Oroonoko and Aborn were so sooner enter’d, but Onashal led the Prince to the Apartment of Imoinna; who, not knowing any thing of her Happiness, was laid in Bed. But Onashal only left him in her Chamber, to make the best of his Opportunity, and took her dear Aborn to her own, where she show’d the height of Complaisance for his Prince, when, to give him an Opportunity, he suffer’d himself to be carres’d in Bed by Onashal.

The Prince softly wak’d Imoinna, who was not a little surpris’d with Joy to find him there; and yet she trembl’d with a thousand Fears. I believe, he omitted saying nothing to this young Maid, that might persuade her to suffer him to seize on his own, and take the Rights of Love; and I believe she was not long resisting those Arms, where she so long’d to be; and having Opportunity, Night and Silence, Youth, Love and Desire, he soon prevail’d, and ravish’d in a Moment, what his old Grandfather had been endeavouring for so many Months.

'Tis not to be imagin’d the Satisfaction of these young Lovers; nor the Vows she made him, that she remain’d a spotless Maid, till that Night; and that she did with his Grandfather, had rob’d him of no part of her Virgin-Honour, the Gods, in Mercy and Justice, having reserv’d that for her pious Lord, to whom of Right it belonged. And 'tis impossible to express the Transports he suffer’d, while he listen’d to a Discourse so charming, from her lov’d Lips; and clasped that Body in his Arms, for whom he had so long languish’d; and nothing now affrighted him, but his sudden Departure from her; for he knew her the Necessity, and his Commands; but should depart satisfy’d in this, That since the old King had hitherto not been able to deprive him of those Enjoyments which only belong’d to him, he believe’d for the future he would be able to injure him, so that, abating the Scandal of the Veil, which her was nothing so, than that she were Wife to another: He believe’d her safe, even in the Arms of the King, and innocently yet would he have ventured at the Conquest of the World, and have given it all, to have had her avoided that Honour of receiving the Royal Veil. 'Twas thus, between a thousand Caresses, that both henequin’d the hard Fate of Youth and Beauty, so liable to that cruel Promotion. 'Twas a Glory that cou’d well have been sparr’d here, though desir’d, and aim’d at by all the young Females of that Kingdom.

But while they were thus fondly employ’d, forgetting how Time ran on, and that the Dawn must conduct him far away from his only Happiness, they heard a great Noise in the Otan; and unusual Voices of Men; at which the Prince, starting from the Arms of the frightéd Imoinna, ran to a little Battle-Axe he us’d to wear by his Side; and having not so much leisure, as to put on his Habit, he oppose’d himself against some who were already opening the Door; which they did with so much Violence, that Oroonoko was not able to defend it: but was forc’d to cry out with a commanding Voice, Whoever ye are that have the Boldness to attempt to approach this Apartment thus rudely, know, that I, the Prince Oroonoko, will revenge it with the certain Death of him that first enter’d: Therefore stand back, and know, this place is sacred to Love, and me this Night, to Morrow is the King’s.

This he spoke with a Voice so resolv’d and asser’d, that they soon retir’d from the Door, but cry’d, 'Tis by the King’s Command we are come; and being satisfy’d by thy Voice, O Prince, as much as if we had enter’d, we can report to the King the Truth of all his Fears, and leave thee to provide for thy own Safety, as thou art advis’d by thy Friends.

At these Words they departed, and left the Prince to take a short and sad Leave of his Imoinna; who trusting in the strength of her Charms, believ’d she should appease the Fury of a jealous King, by saying, She was surpris’d, and that it was by force of Arms he got into her Apartment. All her Concern now was for his Life, and therefore she hasten’d him to the Camp; and with much ado, prevail’d on him to go. Nor was she alone that prevail’d, Aborn and Onashal both pleas’d, and both assur’d him of a Lyce that should be well enough contriv’d to secure Imoinna. So that, at last, with a Heart sad as Death, dying Eyes, and sighing Soul, Oroonoko departed and took his way to the Camp.

It was not long after the King in Person came to the Otan; where beholding Imoinna with Regre his Eyes, he upbraided her Wicked-
ness and perfidy, and threatening her Royal Lover, she fell on her Face at his Feet, beseeching the Floor with her Tears, and imploiring his Pardon for a Fault which she had not with her Will committed; as Onahlah, who was also prostituted with her, could testify. That unknown to her, he had broke into her Apartment, and ravished her. She spoke this much against her Conscience, but to save her own Life, 'twas absolutely necessary she should sign this Paper. She knew it could not injure the Prince, he being fled to an Army that would stand by him, against any Injuries that should assault him. However, this last Thought of Imoinda's being ravished, chang'd the Measures of his Revenge; and whereas before he design'd to be himself his Executioner, he now resolv'd she should not die. But as it is the greatest Crime in nature amongst men to touch a Woman, after having been possess'd by a Son, a Father, or a Brother; so now he look'd on Imoinda as a polluted thing, wholly unfit for his Embrace; nor would he resign her to his Grandson, because she had receiv'd the Royal Veil. He therefore removes her from the Otaun, with Onahlah; whom he put into safe Hands, with Order they should be both sold off, as Slaves, in another Country, either Christian or Heathen; was no matter where.

This cruel Sentence, worse than Death, they implor'd; but their Prayers were vain, and it was put in Execution accordingly, and that with so much Secrecy, that none, either without, or within the Otaun, knew any thing of their Absence, or their Destiny.

The old King, nevertheless, executed this with a great deal of Reluctancy, but he believe'd he had made a very great Conquest over himself, when he had once resolv'd, and had perform'd what he resolv'd. He believe'd now, that his Love had been unjust; and that he could not expect the Gods, or Captain of the Clouds (as they call the unknown Power) should suffer a better Consequence from so ill a Cause. He now begins to hold Oroonoko execrable; and to say, he had Reason for what he did. And now every Body could assure the King, how passionately Imoinda was belov'd by the Prince; even those confess'd it now, who said the contrary before his Flame was abated. So that the King being old, and not able to defend himself in War, and having no Sons of all his Race remaining alive, but only this, to maintain him on his Throne; and looking on this as a Man distracted, first by the Rape of his Mistress, or rather, Wife; and now by depriving him wholly of her, he fear'd, might make him desperate, and do some cruel thing, either to himself, or his old Grandfather, the Offender; he began to repent him extremely of the Contempt he had, in his Rage, put on Imoinda. Besides, he consider'd he ought in Honour to have kill'd her, for this Offence, if it had been one: He ought to have had so much Value and Consideration for a Maid of her Quality, as to have nobly put her to death; and not to have sold her like a common Slave, the greatest Revenge, and the most disgraceful of any; and to which they a thousand times prefer Death, and implore it; as Imoinda did, but could not obtain that Honour. Seeing therefore it was certain that Oroonoko would highly resent this Affront, he thought good to make some Excuse for his Rashness to him; and to that End he sent a Messenger to the Camp, with Orders to treat with him about the Matter, to gain his Pardon, and to endeavour to mitigate his Cruelty; but that by no means he should tell him, she was sold, but secretly put to death; for he knew he should never obtain his Pardon for the other.

When the Messenger came, he found the Prince upon the point of Engaging with the Enemy; but as soon as he heard of the Arrival of the Messenger, he commanded him to his Tent, where he embrac'd him, and receiv'd him with Joy; which was soon abated, by the downcast Looks of the Messenger, who was instantly demand'ed the Cause by Oroonoko, who, impatient of Delay, ask'd a thousand Questions in a Breath; and all concerning Imoinda. But there needed little Return, for he could almost guess himself of all he demanded, from his Signs and Eyes. At last, the Messenger casting himself at the Prince's feet, and kissing, with all the Submission of a Man that had something to implore which he dreaded to utter, he brought him to hear with Calmness what he had to deliver to him, and to call up all his noble and Heroick Courage, to encounter with his Words, and defend himself against the ungrateful things he must relate. Oroonoko reply'd, with a deep Sigh, and a languishing voice,—I am am'd against their worst Efforts —; for I know they will tell me, Imoinda is no more —; and after that, you may spare the rest. Then, commanding him to rise, he laid himself on a Carpet, under a rich Pavillion, and remain'd a good while silent, and was hardly heard to sigh. When he was come a little to himself, the Messenger ask'd him leave to deliver that part of his Embassy, which the Prince had not yet divin'd: And the Prince cry'd, 'I permit thee.' Then he told him the Affliction the old King was in, for the Rashness he had committed in his Cruelty to Imoinda; and how he design'd to ask Pardon for his Offence, and to implore the Prince would not suffer that Loss to touch his Heart too sensibly, which now all the Gods could not restore him, but might recom pense him in Glory, which he begg'd he would pursue; and that Death, that common Revenge of all Injuries, would soon even the Account between him, and a feeble old Man.

Oroonoko had him return his Duty to his Lord and Master; and to assure him, there was no Account of Revenge to be adjusted between them; if there were, 'twas he was the Aggressor, and that Death would be just, and, judging his Age, would see him righted; and he was contented to leave his Share of Glory to Youths more fortunate, and

8. Offensive.
9. In spite of Oroonoko is saying that he will die first.
Oroonoko

worthy of that favour from the Gods. That henceforth he would never lift a Weapon, or draw a Bow; but abandon the small Remains of his Life to Sighs and Tears, and the continual Thoughts of what his Lord and Grandfather had thought good to send out of the World, with all that Youth, that Innocence, and Beauty.

After having spoken this, whatever his greatest Officers, and Men of the best Rank, could do; they could not raise him from the Carpet, or persuade him to Action, and Resolutions of Life; but commanding all to retire, he shut himself into his Pavillion all that Day, while the Enemy was ready to engage; and wondring at the Delay, the whole Body of the chief of the Army then swore’d themselves to him, and to whom they had much a-do to get Admittance. They fell on their Faces at the Foot of his Carpet; where they lay, and besought him with earnest Prayers and Tears, to lead ’em forth to Battle, and not let the Enemy take Advantage of them; and implor’d him to have regard to his Glory, and to the World, that depended on his Courage and Conduct. But he made no other Reply to all their Supplications but this, That he had now no more Business for Glory; and for the World, it was a Trifle not worth his Care. Go, (continu’d he, sighing) and divide it amongst you; and reap with joy what you so vainly prize, and leave me to my welcome Destiny.

They then demanded what they should do, and whom he would constitute in his Room, that the Confusion of ambitious Youth and Power might not ruin their Order, and make them a Prey to the Enemy. He reply’d, He would not give himself the Trouble; but wish’d ’em to choose the bravest Man amongst ’em, let his Quality or Birth be what it would be, Por, O my Friends! (said he) it is not Titles make Men brave, or good; or Birth that bestows Courage and Generosity, or makes the Owner happy. Believe this, when you behold Oroonoko, the most wretched, and abandon’d by Fortune, of all the Creation of the Gods. So turning himself about, he would make no more Reply to all they could urge or implore.

The Army beholding their Officers return unsuccessful, with sad Faces, and ominous Looks, that press’d no good Luck, suffer’d a thousand Fears to take Possession of their Hearts, and the Enemy to come even upon ’em, before they would provide for their Safety, by any Defence; and though they were assur’d by some, who had a mind to animate ’em, that they should be immediately headed by the Prince, and that in the mean time Aboon had Orders to command as General; yet they were so dismay’d for want of that great Example of Bravery, that they could make but a very feeble Resistance; and at last, downright, fled before the Enemy, who pursu’d ’em to the very Tents, killing ’em. Nor could all Aboon’s Courage, which that Day gain’d him immortal Glory, shame ’em into a Manly Defence of themselves. The Guards that were left behind, about the Prince’s Tent, seeing the Sol-
in his young Pupil. This French Man was banish'd out of his own Country, for some Heretical Notions he had; and though he was a Man of very little Religion, he had admirable Morals, and a brave Soul.

After the total Defeat of Jameo's Army, which all fled, or were left dead upon the Place, they spent some time in the Camp; Oronoko choosing rather to remain a while there in his Tents, than enter into a Place, or live in a Court where he had so lately suffer'd so great a Loss. The Officers therefore, who saw and knew his Cause of Discontent, invented all sorts of Diversions and Sports, to entertain their Prince: So that what with those Amusements abroad, and others at home, that is, within their Tents, with the Persuasions, Arguments and Care of his Friends and Servants that more peculiarly priz'd, he was off in time a great part of that Shagrien, and Torment of Despair, which the first Efforts of Imoinda's Death had given him: Insomuch as having receiv'd a thousand kind Embassies from the King, and Invitations to return to Court, he obey'd, though with no little Reluctance; and when he did so, there was a visible Change in him, and for a long time he was much more melancholy than before. But Time lessens all Extremes, and reduces 'em to Mediums and Unconcern; but no Motives or Beauties, though all endeavours'd it, cou'd engage him in any sort of Amour, though he had all the Invitations to it, both from his own Youth, and others Ambitions and Designs.

Oronoko was no sooner return'd from this last Conquest, and receiv'd at Court with all the Joy and Magnificence that cou'd be express'd to a young Victor, who was not only return'd triumphantly, but belov'd like a Deity, when there arriv'd in the Port an English Ship.

This Proviso had often been in these Countries, and was very well known to Oronoko, with whom he had frequent'd for Slaves, and had us'd to do the same with his Predecessors.

This Commander was a Man of a finer sort of Address, and Conversation, better bred, and more engaging, than most of that sort of Men are; so that he seem'd rather never to have been bred out of a Court, than almost all his Life at Sea. This Captain therefore was always better receiv'd at Court, than most of the Traders to those Countries were; and especially by Oronoko, who was more civiliz'd, according to the European Manners, than any other had been, and took more Delight in the White Nations and, above all, Men of Parts and Wit. To this Captain he sold abundance of his Slaves; and for the Favour and Esteem he had for him, made him many Presents, and oblig'd him to stay at Court as long as possibly he cou'd. Which the Captain seem'd to take as a very great Honour done him, entertaining the Prince every Day with Globes and Maps, and Mathematical Discourses and Instrument.
could he move from the Place, where he was ty'd, to any solid part of the Ship, against which he might have beat his Head, and have finish'd his Disgrace that way: So that being depriv'd of all other means, he resolved to perish for want of Food: And pleased at last with that Thought, and told and tried by Rage and Indignation, he laid himself down, and mutually resolved upon dying, and refused all things that were brought him. This did not a little vex the Captain, and the more so, because, he found almost all of 'em of the same Humeur; so that the loss of so many brave Slaves, so full and goodly to behold, you'd have been very considerable: He therefore order'd one to go from him (for he wouldn't be seen himself) to Oroonoko, and to assure him he was afflicted for having rashly done so unhospitalable a Deed, and which couldn't not be now remedied, since they were far from shore; but since he presented it in so high a nature, he assured him he wouldn't revoke his Resolution, and set both him and his Friends a-shore on the next Land they should touch at; and of this the Messenger gave him his Oath, provided he wouldn't resolve to live: And Oroonoko, whose Honour was such as he never had violated a Word in his Life himself, much less a solemn Assereration, believ'd in an instant what this Man said, but reply'd, He expected for a Confirmation of this, to have his shameful Fetters dismiss'd. This Demand was carried to the Captain, who return'd him answer, That the Offence had been so great which he had put upon the Prince, that he durst not trust him with Liberty while he remained in the Ship, for fear lest by a Valour natural to him, and a Revenge that would animate that Valour, he might commit some Outrage fatal to himself and the King his Master, to whom his Vessel did belong. To this Oroonoko reply'd, he would engage his Honour to behave himself in all friendly Order and Manner, and obey the Command of the Captain, as he was Lord of the King's Vessel, and General of those Men under his Command.

This was deliver'd to the still doubting Captain, who could not resolve to trust a Heathen, he said, upon his Parole, a Man that had no Sense or notion of the God that he worshiped. Oroonoko then reply'd, He was very sorry to hear that the Captain pretended to the Knowledge and Worship of any Gods, who had taught him no better Principles, than not to Credit as he would be Credit; but they told him the Difference of their Faith occasion'd that Distrust: For the Captain had protested to him upon the Word of a Christian, and sworn in the Name of a Great C O D; which if he should violate, he would expect eternal Torment in the World to come. Is that all the Obligation he has to keep to his Oath? reply'd Oroonoko. Let him know I Swear by my Honour, which to violate, would not only render me contemptible and despoised by all brave and honest Men, and so give my self perpetual pain, but it would be eternally offending and dishonoring all Mankind, harming, betraying, circumventing and outraging all Men; but Punishments hereafter are suffer'd by ones self, and the World takes no cognizance whether this God have revenged 'em, or not, 'tis done so secretly, and without so long. While the Man of no Honour, suffers every moment the scorn and contempt of the honest World, and dies every day ignominiously in his Fame, which is more valuable than Life: I speak not this to move Belief, but to shew you how you mistake, when you imagine, That he who will violate his Honour, will keep his Word with his Gods. So turning from him with a disdainful smile, he refused to answer him, when he urg'd him to know what Answer he should carry back to his Captain; so that he departed without saying any more.

The Captain pondering and consulting what to do, it was concluded that nothing but Oroonoko's Honour would encourage any of the rest to eat, except the French-man, whom the Captain could not pretend to keep Prisoner, but only told him he was secured because he might act something in favour of the Prince, but that he should be freed as soon as they came to Land. So that they concluded it wholly necessary to free the Prince from his Irons, that he might show himself to the rest; that they might have an Eye upon him, and that they could not fear a single Man.

This being resolv'd, to make the Obligation the greater, the Captain himself went to Oroonoko; where, after many Compliments, and Assurance of what he had already promised, he receiving from the Prince his Parole, and his Hand, for his good Behaviour, dismiss'd his Irons, and brought him to his own Cabin; where, after having treated and repos'd him a while, for he had neither eaten nor slept in Four Days before, he besought him to visit those Distressed People in Chains, who refused all manner of Sustenance, and intreated him to oblige 'em to eat, and assure 'em of their Liberty the first Opportunity.

Oroonoko, who was too generous, not to give Credit to his Words, shew'd himself to his People, who were transported with Excess of Joy at the sight of their Darling Prince, falling at his Feet, and kissing and embracing 'em, believing, as some Divine Oracle, all he assured 'em. But he brought 'em to bear their Chains with that Bravery that became those whom he had seen act so nobly in Arms; and that they could not give him greater Proof of their Love and Friendship, since 'twas all the Security the Captain (his Friend) could have against the Revenge, he said, they might possibly justly take, for the Injuries sustain'd by him. And they all, with one Accord, assured him, they could not suffer enough, when it was for his Repose and Safety.

After this they no longer refused to eat, but took what was brought.
'em, and were pleas’d with their Captivity, since by it they hop’d to redeem the Prince, who, all the rest of the Voyage, was treated with all the Respect due to his Birth, though nothing cou’d divert his Melancholy; and he would oft sigh for Imoinda, and think this a Punishment due to his Misfortune, in having left that noble Maid behind him, that fatal Night, in the Otan, when he fled to the Camp.

Poss’d with a thousand Thoughts of past Joys with this fair young Person, and a thousand Griefs for evermore lost! Loss, she stand’d a tedious Voyage, and at last arriv’d at the Mouth of the River of Surinam, a Colony belonging to the King of England, and where they were to deliver some part of their Slaves. There the Merchants and Gentlemen of the Country going on Board, to demand those Lots of Slaves they had already agreed on; and, amongst these, the Over-seers of those Plantations where I then chanc’d to be, the Captain, who had given the Word, order’d his Men to bring up those noble Slaves in Petters, whom I have spoken of; and having put ‘em on, some in one, and some in other Lots, with Women and Children (which they call Frickanities), they sold ‘em off, as Slaves, to several Merchants and Gentlemen; not putting any two in one Lot, because they would separate ‘em far from each other; nor daring to trust ‘em together, lest Rage and Courage should put ‘em upon contriving some great Action, to the Ruin of the Colony.

Oroonoko was first seiz’d on, and sold to our Over-seer, who had the first Lot, with seventeen more of all sorts and sizes, but not one of Quality with him. When he saw this, he found what they meant; for, as I said, he understand’d English pretty well; and being wholly unarm’d and defenceless, as so it was in vain to make any Resistance, he only held the Captain with a Look all fierce and disdainful, upbraiding him with Eyes, that forc’d Blushes on his guilty Cheeks, he only cry’d, in passing over the Side of the Ship, Farewell, Sir; This is worth my Suffering, to gain so true a Knowledge both of you, and of your Gods by whom you swear. And desiring those that held him to forbear his pains, and telling ‘em he would make no Resistance, he cry’d, Come, my Fellow-Slaves; let us descend, and see if we can meet with more Honour and Plentry in the next World, we shall touch upon. So he nimbly leap’d into the Boat, and shewing no more Concern, suffer’d himself to be row’d up the River, with his seventeen Companions.

The Gentleman that bought him was a young Cornish Gentleman, whose Name was Treasy; a Man of great Wit, and fine Learning, and was carry’d into those Parts by the Lord——Governor, 1 to manage all his Affairs. He reflecting on the last Words of Oroonoko to the Captain, and beholding the Richness of his Vest, no sooner came into the Boat, but he fix’d his Eyes on him; and finding something so extraordinary in his Face, his Shape and Mien, a Greatness of Look, and Haughtiness in his Air, and finding he spoke English, had a great mind to be enquiring into his Quality and Fortune; which, though Oroonoko endeavou’rd to hide, by only confessing he was a Negro; yet, he was something greater than he confess’d; and from that Moment began to conceive so vast an Esteem for him, that he ever after lov’d him as his dearest Brother, and shew’d him all the Civilities due to so great a Man.

Treasy was a very good Mathematician, and a Linguist; cou’d speak French and Spanish; and in the three Days they remain’d in the Boat (for so long were they going from the Ship, to the Plantation) he enterain’d Oroonoko so agreeably with his Art and Discourse, that he was no less pleas’d with Treasy, than he was with the Prince; and he thought himself, at least, fortunate in this, that since he was a Slave, as long as he wou’d suffer himself to remain so, he had a Man of so excellent Wit and Parts for a Master. So that before they had finish’d their Voyage up the River, he made no scruple of declaring to Treasy all his Fortunes, and most part of what I have here related, and put himself wholly into the Hands of his new Friend, whom he found remarking all the Injuries were done him, and was charmed with all the Greatness of his Actions; which were recited with that Modesty, and delicate Sense, as wholly vanquish’d him, and subdue’d him to his Interest. And he promised him on his Word and Honour, he wou’d find the Means to reconduct him to his own Country again; assuming him, he had a perfect Abhorrence of so dishonourable an Action; and that he wou’ld sooner have dy’d, than have been the Author of such a Perfidy. He found the Prince was very much concern’d to know what became of his Friends, and how they took their Slavery; and Treasy promis’d to take care about the enquiring after their Condition, and that he shou’d have an Account of them.

Though, as Oroonoko afterwards said, he had little Reason to credit the Words of a Bavarist, 2 yet he knew not why; but he saw a kind of Sincerity, and awful Truth in the Face of Treasy; he saw an Honesty in his Eyes, and he found him wise and witty enough to understand Honour; for it was one of his Maxims, A Man of Wit cou’d not be a Knave or Villain.

9. Probably from the Portuguese pequenino, "very little," applied to slave children under the age of ten.
1. Prince, Lord Willoughby of Parham, restored by royal grant to his title as proprietor of Surinam (and also governor of Barbados and the Caribbean Islands) in June 1663. John Treasy was his plantation overseer.
2. An outer garment or robe.
3. White person or master; a variant of bavarist or bavarian, from an oldier English word imported with the slaves to Surinam and the Caribbean. Cf. "Bavarista" or "White Fields" (Great News from the Barbadoes, 1676).
For the future therefore, I must call Oronoko, Caesar, since by that Name only he was known in our Western World; and by that Name he receiv'd on Shore at Panama-House, where he was dedicat'd a Slave. But if the King himself (God bless him) had come ashore, there could not have been greater Expectations by all the whole Plantation, and those neighbouring ones, than was on ours at that time; and he was receiv'd more like a Governor, than a Slave. Nonetheless, as the Custom was, they assign'd him his Portion of Land, his House, and his Business, up in the Plantation. But as it was more for Form, than anything else, to put him to his Task, he endured no more of the Slave but the Name, and remained some Days in the House, receiving all Visits that were made him, without stirring towards that part of the Plantation where the Negroes were.

At last, he went on with his Land, his House, and the Business assigned him. But he no sooner came to the Houses of the Slaves, which are like a little Town by it self, the Negroes all having left Work, but they all came forth to behold him, and found that he was that Prince who had, at several times, sold most of 'em to these Parts; and, from a Veneration they pay to great Men, especially if they know 'em, and from the Surprise and Awe they had at the sight of him, they all cast themselves at his Feet, crying out, in their Language, Live, O King! Long Live, O King! And kissing his Feet, paid him even Divine Honour.

Several English Gentlemen were with him; and what Mr. Trefy had told him was here confirm'd, of which he himself before had no other Witness than Caesar himself. But he was infinitely glad to find his Grandure confirm'd by the Adoration of all the Slaves.

Caesar troubled with their Over-Joy, and Over-Ceremony, besought 'em to rise, and to receive him as their Fellow-Slave; assuring them, he was no better. At which they set up an Accord more terrible and hideous Mourning and Condemning, which he and the English had much ado to appose; but at last they prevailed with 'em, and prepared all their Barbarous Music, and every one kill'd and dress'd something of his own Stock (for every Family has their Land again, on which, at their leisure-times, they breed all estabile things); and chaffing it together, made a most magnificent Supper, inviting their Grandee Captain, their Prince, to honour it with his Presence; which he did, and several English with him; where they all waited on him, some playing, others dancing below him, all the time, according to the Manners of their several Nations; and with unwearied Industry, endeavouring to please and delight him.

9. Contributing jointly. The slaves' private plots (enabling them to feed themselves and communal activities with music are noted by many observers.

1. Not simply translated English; originally a Spanish translation of the highest rank, the name was applied to any man of eminence, including planters and mestizos.
While they sat at Meat Mr. Trefy told Caesar, that most of these young Slaves were undone in Love, with a fine she-Slave, whom they had had about Six Months on their Land; the Prince, who never heard the Name of Love without a Sigh, nor any mention of it without the Curiosity of examining further into that tale, which of all Discourses was most agreeable to him, asked, how they came to be so Unhappy, as to be all undone for one fair Slave? Trefy, who was naturally Amorous, and lov'd to talk of Love as well as any body, proceeded to tell him, they had the most charming Black that ever was beheld on their Plantation, about Fifteen or Sixteen Years old, as he guess't; that, for his part, he had done nothing but Sigh for her ever since she came; and that all the white Beauties he had seen, never charm'd him so absolutely as this fine Creature had done; and that no Man, of any Nation, ever beheld her, that did not fall in Love with her; and that she had all the Slaves perpetually all her Feet; and the whole Country resounded with the Fame of Clemene for so, said he, we have Christened her. But she deny's us all with such a noble Disdain, that 'tis a Miracle to see, that she, who can give such eternal Desires, should herself be all Ice, and all Unconcern. She is ador'd with the most Graceful Modesty that ever beautified Youth; the softest Sigher—that, if she were capable of Love, one would swear she languish'd for some absent happy Man; and so retir'd, as if she fear'd a Rupe even from the God of Day:' or that the Breezes would steal Kissing from her delicate Mouth. Her Task of Work some biding Lover every Day makes it his Petition to perform for her, which she accepts blushing, and with Reluctance, for fear he will ask her a Look for a Recompence, which he dares not presume to hope; so great an Awe she strikes into the Hearts of her Adorers. I do not wonder, replied the Prince, that Clemene should refuse Slaves, being as you say so Beautiful, but wonder how she escapes those who can entertain her as you can do, or why, being your Slave, you do not oblige her to yield. I confess, said Trefy, when I have, against her will, entertain'd her with Love so long, as to be transported with my Passion; even above Decency, I have been ready to make use of those advantages of Strength and Force Nature has given me. But oh! she disarms me, with that Modesty and Winking so tender and so moving, that I retire, and thank my Stars she overcame me. The Company laugh'd at his Civility to a Slave, and Caesar only applauded the Nobleness of his Passion and Nature; since that Slave might be Noble, or, what was better, have true Notions of Honour and Vertue in her. Thus pass'd they this Night, after having received, from the Slaves, all imaginable Respect and Obedience.

The next Day Trefy ask'd Caesar to walk, when the heat was abate'd, and designedly carried him by the Cottage of the fair Slave, and told him, she whom he spoke of last Night liv'd there retir'd. But, says he, I would not wish you to approach, sir, as I am sure, you will be in Love as soon as you behold her. Caesar assur'd him, he was proof against all the Charms of that Sex; and that if he imagin'd he had need cou'd be so perfidious to Love again, after imagin'd, he believ'd he should hear it from his Bosom. They had no sooner spoke, but a little shoc Dog, that Trefy had presented him, which she took great Delight in, ran out, and she, not knowing any body was there, ran to get it in again, and bolted out on those who were just Speaking of her. When seeing them, they cou'd have run in again; but Trefy caught her by the Hand, and cry'd, Clemene, however you fly a Lover, you ought to pay some Respect to this Stranger (pointing to Caesar). But she, as if she had receiv'd never to raise her Eyes to the Face of a Man again, bent 'em the more to the Earth, where he spoke, and gave the Prince the Leasure to look the more at her. There needed no long Gazing, or Consideration, to examin who this fair Creature was; he soon saw Imainda, all over her, in a Minute she saw her Face, her Shape, her Air, her Modesty, and all that call'd forth his Soul with Joy at his Eyes, and left his Body destitute of almost Life; it stood without Motion, and, for a Minute, knew not that it had a Being; and, I believe, he had never come to himself, so opprest he was with over-Joy, if he had not met with this Alley, that he perceiv'd Imainda fall dead in the Hands of Trefy; this awaken'd him, and he ran to her aid, and caught her in his Arms, where, by degrees, she came to herself, and 'tis needless to tell what transports, what strains of Joy, they both a while beheld each other, without Speaking: then Snatch'd each other to their Arms; then Caressed again, as if they still doubted whether they possess'd the Blessing. They Caress'd, but when they recover'd their Speech, 'tis not to be imagin'd, what tender things they express to each other; wondering what strange Fate had brought them 'em again together. They soon inform'd each other of their Fortunes; and equally bewaiv'd their Fate; but, at the same time, they mutually protest'd, that even Petters and Slavery were Soft and Easy; and would be support'd with Joy and Pleasure, while they cou'd be so happy to possess each other, and be able to make good their Vows. Caesar swore he disdain'd the Empire of the World, while he cou'd behold his Imainda; and she despis'd Grandeur and Pomp, those Vanities of her Sex, when she cou'd Caress on Ooronoko. He ador'd the very Cottage where she resided, and said, That little Inch of the World would give him more Happiness than all the Universe cou'd do; and she vow'd, It was a Palace, while ador'd with the Presence of Ooronoko.

2. The sun, Apollo, sometimes called the sun god, pursued Daphne in one famous episode.

3. Clear modern usage would call a second "had." "had had presented." "Shoc Dog": a long-haired dog or a poodle, especially associated with women of fashion.

4. Modern custom often alter the syntax at this point, but the early editors did not.
-Troy was infinitely pleas'd with this Novel; and found this Clementine was the Fair Mistress of whom Caesar had before spoke; and was not a little satisfied, that Heaven was so kind to the Prince, as to sweeten his Misfortunes by so lucky an Accident; and leaving the Lovers to themselves, was impatient to come down to Parham House, (which was on the same Plantation) to give me an Account of what had happened. I was as impatient to make those Lovers a Visit, having already made a Friendship with Caesar; and from his own Mouth learnt what I have related, which was confirm'd by his French-man, who was set on Shore to seek his Fortunes; and of whom they cou'd not make a Slave, because a Christian; and he came daily to Parham Hill to see and pay his Respects to his Pupil Prince: So that concerning and interest my self, in all that related to Caesar, whom I had assured of Liberty, as soon as the Governor arriv'd, I hasten presently to the Place where the Lovers were, and was infinitely glad to find this Beautiful young Slave (who had already gain'd all our Esteem, for her Modesty and her extraordinary Prettiness) to be the same I had heard Caesar speak so much of. One may imagine then, we paid her a tender Respect; and though from her being carn'd in fine Flowers and Birds all over her Body, we took her to be of Quality before, yet, when we knew Clementine was Insolent, we cou'd not enough admire her.

I had forgot to tell you, that those who are Nubily born of that Country, are so delicately Cut and Rachel'd all over the fore-part of the Trunk of their Bodies, that it looks as if it were Japan'd; the Works being rais'd like high Pow'r round the Edges of the Flowers: Some are only Carn'd with a little Flower, or Bird, at the Sides of the Temples; as was Caesar; and those who are so Carn'd over the Body, resemble our Ancient Piets, that are figure'd in the Chronicles, but these Carvings are more delicate.

From that happy Day Caesar took Clementine for his Wife, in the general Joy of all People; and there was as much Magnificence as the Country would afford at the Celebration of this Weddings; and in a very short time after the conceit'd with Child; which made Caesar even above her, knowing he was the last of his Great Race. This new Accident made him more Impatient of Liberty, and he was every Day treating with Trofy for his and Clementine's Liberty; and offer'd either Gold, or a vast Quantity of Slaves, which shou'd be paid before they let him go, provided he cou'd have any Security that he shou'd go when his Ransom was paid; They led him from Day to Day with Promises, and delay'd him, till the Lord Governor shou'd come; so that he began to suspect them of falsehood, and that they would delay him all the Time of his Wives delivery, and make a Slave of that too, for all the Breed is theirs to whom the Parents belong: This Thought made him very uneasy, and his Sufferings gave them some Jealousies of him; so that I was oblig'd, by some Persons, who fear'd a Mutiny (which is very fatal sometimes in those Colonies, that abound so with Slaves, that they exceed the White in vast Numbers) to discourse with Caesar, and to give him all the Satisfaction I possibl'y cou'd; they knew he and Clementine were scarce an Hour in a Day from my Lodging, that they eat with me, and that I oblige'em in all things I was capable of; I entertain'd him with the Lives of the Romans, and great Men, which charmed him to my Company; and here, with teaching him all the poetry Works that I was Master of, and telling his Stories of Nuns, and endeavoring to bring him to the knowledge of the true God. But all Discourages Caesar lik'd that the worst, and would never be reconcil'd to our Notions of the Trinity, of which he ever made a Jest; it was a Riddle, he said, wou'd turn his Brain to conceive, and one cou'd not make him understand what Faith was. However, these Conversations said not altogether so well to divert him, that he lik'd the Company of as Women much above the Men; for he cou'd not drink, and he is but an ill Companion in that Country that cannot; So that obliging him to love us very well, we had all the Liberty of Speech with him, especially my self, whom he call'd his Great Mistress; and indeed my Word wou'd go a great way with him. For these Reasons, I had Opportunity to take notice, that he was not well pleas'd of late, as he us'd to be; was more retir'd and thoughtful; and told him, I took it ill he shou'd suspect we wou'd break our Words with him, and not permit both him and Clementine to return to his own Kingdom, which was not so long a way, but when he was once on his Voyage he wou'd quickly arrive there. He made me some Answers that shou'd a doubt in him, which made me ask him, what advantage it wou'd be to shun it, it would but give us a fear of him, and possibly compel us to treat him so as I shou'd be very loath to behold; that is, it might occasion his Confession. Perhaps this was not so Luckily spoke of me, for I perceive'd he resented that Word, which I strove to Soften again in vain; However, he assure'd me, that whenever Resolutions he shou'd take,

5. Novel erect or place of novels.
6. indis. The carving is likened to figure biercwork in the Japanese style and is elaborately patterned "high point" leaf. The Ash is a species of the Coast Line Dart, not exclusive body carving, but some widely known works reports curlicled in the popular novel collection of Hatfield and Pavlini, which they did. A MS account says that none "rise their bows, with purity bows, etc., to it we branched throughly.
7. An ancient North British people, named by the Romers, Plutes (or Pluribus reges), who appeared in histories of England and Scotland. Gujaroom figures of Plutes and ancient Britons, said to have been found by the painter John White in "An old English album," were included in Thems des De Blye Amerika (1716) "to show how the inhabitants of the Great Britian have been in times past as savage as those of Virginia" (see the illustration on p. 72.)
8. Suspicion.
9. Below's publisher had recently issued Plutarch's Lives of the Romans in a new translation, the result of which was the dissolution of Bydorn.
he would act nothing upon the White-People; and as for myself; and those upon that Plantation where he was, he would sooner forfeit his eternal Liberty, and Life itself, than lift his Hand against his greatest Enemy on that Place: He besought me to suffer no Fears upon his Account, for he could do nothing that Honour should not dictate; but he assured himself for having suffered Slavery so long; yet he charg’d that he was born on Love Lane, who was capable of making him neglect even Glory itself; and, for which, now he reproaches himself every moment of the Day. Much more to this effect he spoke, with an Air impatient enough to make me know he would not be long in Bondage; and though he suffer’d only the Name of a Slave, and had nothing of the Toil and Labour of one, yet that was sufficient to render him Uneasy; and he had been too long idle, who us’d to be always in Action, and in Arms: He had a Spirit all Rough and Fierce, and that could not be turn’d to lazy Rest; and though all endeavors were us’d to exercise himself in such Actions and Sports as this World afforded, as Running, Wrestling, Pitching the Bar, Hunting and Fishing, Chasing and Killing Tigers of a monstrous Size, which this Continent affords in abundance; and wonderful Snakes, such as Alexander is reported to have encounter’d at the River of Amazons, and which Caesar took great Delight to overcome; yet these were not Actions great enough for his large Soul, which was still panting after more renown’d Action.

Before I parted that Day with him, I got, with much ado, a Promise from him to rest yet a little longer with Patience, and wait the coming of the Lord Governor, who was every Day expected on our Shore; he assur’d me he could, and this Promise he desired me to know was given perfectly in Compliance to me, in whom he had an entire Confidence.

After this, I neither thought it convenient to trust him much out of our View, nor did the Country who fear’d him; but with one accord it was advis’d to treat him Fairly, and oblige him to remain within such a compass, and that he should be permitted, as seldom as could be, to go up to the Plantations of the Negroes; or, if he did, to be accompanied by some that should be rather in appearance Attendants than Spies. This Care was for some time taken, and Caesar look’d upon it as a Mark of extraordinary Respect, and was glad his discretion had obliged ‘em to be more observant to him; he received new assurance from the Overseer, which was confirmed to him by the Opinion of all the Gentlemen of the Country, who made their count to him: During this time that we had, his Company more frequently than hitherto we had had, it may

2. Wild cats, including the South American jaguar and puma. "Pitching the Bar" is a context in which there are instances of throwing a heavy bar, as in a royalty, to signify a treaty or peace. Amazons in a campaign against India.

3. According to old romances, Alexander the Great is supposed to have encountered both natives and Amazons in a campaign against India.

4. Willingly represented a range of royal powers as the king’s lord governor he could appoint a deputy or lieutenant governor (or still post) and at his own pleasure he could appoint a lieutenant general (a military post). There is no record that he named anyone in the latter position, but during the period, becoming a base by the deputy governor, William Perry, also took the title in Surinam. "Continents," "Land not disputed by the sea from other lands" (Johnson’s Dictionary).
CROOOGOG

But while we had Caesar in our Company on these Designs we feared no harm, nor suffered any.

As soon as I came into the Country, the best House in it was presented me, call'd St. John's Hill. It stood on a vast Rock of white Marble, at the Foot of which the River ran a vast depth down, and not to be descended on that side; the little Waves still glistening and washing the foot of this Rock, made the sober Mammals and Putlings in the Woods crumble the Opposite Bank; it seemed with such vast quantities of different Flowers eternally blowing, and every Day and Hour new, some behind em with lobed Trees of a Thousand rare Forms and Colours, that the Prospect was the most ravishing that fancy can create.

On the Edge of this white Rock, towards the River, was a Walk or Grove of Orange and Lemon Trees, about half the length of the Mall here, whose Flowers and Fruit-bearing Branches meet at the top, and hinder'd the Sun, whose Rays are very fierce there, from entering a Beam into the Grove; and the cool Air that came from the River made it not only fit to entertain People in, at the hottest Hours of the Day, but refresh'd the sweet Blossoms, and made it always Sweet and Charm ing, and sure the whole Globe of the World cannot show so delightful a Place as this Grove: Not all the Gardens of boasted Italy can produce a Shade to vie with this, which Nature had joyn'd with Art to render so exceeding Fine; and 'tis a marvel to see how such vast Trees, as big as English Oaks, could take footing on so solid a Rock, and in so little Earth, as cover'd that Rock; but all things by Nature are Rare, Delightful and Wonderful. But to our Sports.

Sometimes we would go surprizing; and in search of young Tigers in their Dens, watching when old Ones went forth to forage for Prey, and often times we have been in great Danger, and have fled space for our Lives, when surpris'd by the Dams. But once, above all other times, we went on this Design, and Caesar was with us, who had no sooner stoop'd a young Tiger from her Nest, but going off, we encounter'd the Dam, bearing a Buttock of a Cow, which he had torn off with his mighty Paw, and going it towards her Den; we had only four

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THE HISTORY OF THE ROYAL SLAVE

Women, Caesar, and an English Gentleman, Brother to Henry Martin, the great Olliverian; we found there was no escaping this disagreeable and ravenous Beast. However, we Women fled as fast as we could from it; but our Heels had not saved our Lives, if Caesar had not laid down his Cub, when he found the Tiger quit her Prey to make the more speed towards him; and taking Mr. Martin's Sword desir'd him to stand aside, or follow the Ladies. He obey'd him, and Caesar met this monstrous Beast of might, size, and vast Limbs, who came with open Jaws upon him; and fixing his AWFUL stern Eyes full upon those of the Beast, and putting himself into a very steady and good alining posture of Defence, ran his Sword quite through his Breast down to his very Heart, home to the Hill of the Sword; the dying Beast stretch'd forth her Paw, and going to grasp his Thigh, surpris'd with Death in that very moment, did him no other harm than fixing her long Nails in his Flesh very deep, fiercely wounded him, but could not grasp the Flesh to tear off any. When he had done this, he laid down to return; which, after some assurance of his Victory, we did, and found him lying out the Sword from the Bosom of the Tiger, who was laid in her Bloud on the Ground; he took up the Cub, and with an uncorrected, that had nothing of the Joy or Gladness of a Victory, he came and laid the Whelp at my Feet: We all extremely wonder'd at his Daring, and at the Bigness of the Beast, which was about the height of an Heifer, but of mighty, great, and strong Limbs.

Another time, being in the Woods, he kill'd a Tiger, which had long infested that part, and born away abundance of Sheep and Oxen, and other things, that were for the support of those to whom they belong'd. Abundance of People assaileth this Beast, some affirming they had shot her with several Bullets quite through the Body, at several times; and some swearing they shot her through the very Heart, and they believe she was a Devil rather than a Mortal thing. Caesar had often said, he had a mind to encounter this Monster, and spoke with several Gentlemen who had attempted her; one crying, I shot her with so many papoon's Arrows, another with his Gun in this part of her, and another in that, so that he remarking all these Places where she was shot, fancy'd still he should overcome her, by giving her another sort of a Wound than any had yet done; and one day said (at the Table) What Treasures and Garlands, Ladies, will you make me, if I bring you home the Heart of this Ravenous Beast, that eats up all your Lambs and Pigs? We all promis'd he should be rewarded at all our Hands. So taking a Bow,

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5. A plantation near Willeborough's Pastam Hill owned by Sir Robert Harley, who held offices elsewhere.
7. The first edition reads "the most using that Sons can create," and the third edition of 1628 substitutes "ravishing." Walter Jerry (1625) suggested this emended phrase, which is used by Fuller later in describing the Indian war captain. The text appears to follow the third edition in altering "bloud" to "blood" and "fruitly bear Branches" to "fruitless Branches." A fashionable walk in St. James' Park in London.
8. A military term for making sudden attacks.
9. The very Same mixture of passions in the two episodes of the tiger may perhaps suggest reluctance to raise a feminine pronoun in moments of extreme violence. However, Jacqueline Benassani (1991) suggests that this tiger represents nature, conceived as female, "when strong and ruinuous," hunting males when defined. The first account went uncorrected in all four seventeenth-century editions; masculine pronouns in the second account were replaced in the third edition of 1698.

1. Henry Martin or Martin (1600-1680) was not a follower of Oliver Cromwell (or "Olliverian"); but he was one of the judges who signed the death warrant of Charles I and was impeached as a regicide at the Restoration. George, a younger brother who sought his fortune in the colonies, was a substantial planter in Barbados from 1647 and served in Virginia in 1650, dying there in 1655.
which he chus'd out of a great many, he went up in the Wood, with
two Gentlemen, where he imagined this Devourer to be; they had not
pent very far in it, but they heard her Voice, growling and grumbling,
as if she were pleased with something she was doing. When they came
in view, they found her muzzling in the Belly of a new ravish'd Sheep,
which she had torn open; and seeing her approach'd, she took fast
hold of her Prey, with her bare Paws, and set a very fierce raging
Look on Caesar, without offering to approach him; for fear, at the same time,
of losing what she had in Possession. So that Caesar remain'd a good
while, only taking aim, and getting an opportunity to shoot her where
he design'd; 'twas some time before he could accomplish it, and to
wound her, and not kill her, wou'd but have errag'd her more, and
indanger'd him: He had a Quiver of Arrows at his side, so that if one
fell he cou'd be supply'd; at last, waiting a little, he gave her oppor-
tunity to eat, for he found she was Ravenous, and fell to as soon as she
saw him retire, being more eager of her Prey than of doing new Mis-
tchiefs. When he going softly to one side of her, and hiding his Pern
behind certain Herbage that grew high and thick, he took so good aim,
that, as he intended, he shot her just into the Eye, and the Arrow was
sent with so good a will, and so sure a hand, that it stuck in her Brain,
and made her cramp, and become mad for a moment or two; but being
seconded by another Arrow, he fell dead upon the Prey: Caesar cut
him Open, with a Knife, to see where the Wounds were that had
been reported to him, and why he did not Die of 'em. But I shall now
relate a thing that possibly will find no Credit among Men, because
'tis a Notion commonly receiv'd with us. That nothing can receive a
Wound in the Heart and Live; but when the Heart of this courageous
Animal was taken out, there were Seven Bullets of Lead in it, and
the Wounds seem'd up with great Seem, and she liv'd with the Bullets
a great while, for it was long since they were shot: This Heart the Con-
queror brought up to us, and 'twas a very great Curiosity, which all the
Country came to see; and which gave Caesar occasion of many fine
Discourses; of Accidents in War, and Strange Happenings.

At other times he would go a Fishing, and disconcerting on that Di-
version, he found we had in that Country a very Strange Fish, call'd a
Numb Eel; (an Eel of which I have eaten,) that while it is alive, it has
a quality so Cold, that those who are Angling, though with a Line of
never so great a length, with a Rod at the end of it, it shall, in the same
minute the Bait is touched by this Eel, seize him or her that holds the
Rod with a numbing Skill, that shall deprive 'em of Sense, for a while;
and some have fallen into the Water, and others drop'd as dead on the
Banks of the Rivers where they stood, as soon as this Fish touches the
Bait. Caesar us'd to laugh at this, and believ'd it impossible a Man

5. Elfric's ed.

6. "Hypothesis or system upon which natural effects are explained" (Johnson's Dictionary).
they came up to us; and finding the Indian Trader whom they knew, (for 'em by these Fishermen, call'd Indian Traders, we hold a Commerce with 'em, for they love not to go far from home, and we never go to them) when they saw him therefore they set up a new Joy, and cry'd, in their Language, Oh! here's our Tiguany, and we shall now know whether those things can speak. So advancing to him, some of 'em gave him their Hands, and cry'd, Amora Tiguany, which is as much as this: How do you, or Welcome Friend? and all, with one din, began to gable to him, and ask'd, if we had Sense, and Wit? if we cou'd talk of affairs of Life, and War, as they cou'd do? if we cou'd Hunt, Swim, and do a thousand things they use? He answer'd 'em, We cou'd. Then they invited us into their Houses, and dress'd Venison and Buffalo for us; and, going out, gathered a Leaf of a Tree, call'd a Sarumbo Leaf, of Six Yards long, and spread it on the Ground for a Table-Cloth; and cutting another in pieces instead of Plates, setting us on little bow Indian Stools, which they cut out of one entire piece of Wood, and Paint, in a sort of Japan Work: They serve every one their Mess* on these pieces of Leaves, and it was very good, but too high season'd with Pepper. When we had eat, my Brother, and I, took out our Flutes, and play'd to 'em, which gave 'em new Wonder; and I soon perceived, by an admiration, that is natural to these People, and by the extreme Ignorance and Simplicity of 'em, it were not difficult to establish any unknown or extravagant Religion among them; and to impose any Notions or Fictions upon 'em. For seeing a Kinsman of mine set some Paper a Fire, with a Burning-glass, a Trick they had never before seen, they were like to have Ador'd him for a God; and beg'd he would give them the Characters or Figures of his Name, that they might oppose it against Winds and Storms; which he did, and they held it up in those Seasons, and fancied it had a Charm to conquer them; and kept it like a Holy Reliquy. They are very Superstitious, and call'd him the Great Poole, that is, Prophet. They show'd us their Indian Poes, a Youth of about Sixteen Years old, as handsome as Nature cou'd make a Man. They consecrate a beautiful Youth from his Infancy, and all Arts are us'd to compleat him in the finest manner, both in Beauty and Shape: He is bred to all the little Arts and cunning they are capable of; to all the Legendmain Tricks, and Sleight of Hand, whereby he imposes upon the Rabbles; and is both a Doctor in Physick and Divinity. And by these Tricks makes the Sick believe he sometimes eases their Pains; by drawing from the afflicted part little Serpents, or odd Hairs, or Worms, or any Strange thing; and though they have besides undoubted good Remedies, for almost all their Diseases, they cure the Patient more by Fancy than by Medicines, and make themselves Poessed, Lov'd, and

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1. B笛's "Petit Dictionnaire" lists these as "you", but rigorously applied to children or infants.
2. Portion.

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* A stew or mixture served on leaves.
Reference'd. This young Pease had a very young Wife, who seeing my Brother kiss her, came running and kiss'd me; after this, they kiss'd one another, and made it a very Jest, it being so Novel; and new Admiration and Laughing went round the Multitude, that they never will forget that Ceremony, never before us'd or known. Caesar had a mind to see and talk with their War Captains, and we were conducted
to one of their Houses; where we beheld several of the great Captains,
who had been at Council: But so frightful a Sight it was to see, 'em
no Fancy can create; no such Dreams can represent so dreadful a
Spectacle. For my part I took 'em for Hobgoblins, or Giants, rather
Than Men; but however their Shapes appear'd, their Souls were very
Humble and Noble; but some wanted their Noose, some their Lips,
some both Noose and Lips, some their Ears, and others Cut through
each Cheek, with long Slashes, through which their Teeth appear'd;
eyes had other several formidable Wounds and Scars, or rather Dis-
memberings; they had Combs, or little Aprons before 'em; and Gir-
dles of Cotton, with their Knives naked, stuck in it; a Bow at their
Backs, and a Quiver of Arrows on their Thighs; and most had Feathers
on their Heads of divers Colours. They cry'd, Amand Tigars, to us, at
our entrance, and were pleased we said as much to 'em; they seated us,
and gave us Drink of the best Sort; and wonder'd, as much as the others
did before, to see us. Caesar was marvelling as much at their Faces,
wondering how they should all be so Wounded in War; he was
Impatient to know how they all came by those frightful Marks of Rage
or Malice, rather than Wounds got in Noble Battle. They told us, by
our Interpreter, That when any War was waging, two Men chosen out
by some old Captain, whose Fighting was past, and who could only
teach the Themy of War, these two Men were to stand in Competition
for the Generalship, or Great War Captain; and being brought before
the old Judges, now past Labour, they are ask'd, What do you dare to
done they are worthy to lead an Army? When he, who is first ask'd,
making no Reply, Cuts off his Nose, and throws it contemptibly on
the Ground; and the other does something to himself that he thinks
upsets him, and perhaps deprives himself of Lips and an Eye; so
they Slish on till one gives out, and many have dy'd in this Debate.
And 'tis by a passive Valour they shew and prove their Activity; a sort
of Courage too Brutal to be applauded by our Black Hero; nevertheless
he express'd his Esteem of 'em.

In this Voyage Caesar begot so good an understanding between the
Indians and the English, that there were no more Fears, or Heart-
burnings during our stay; but we had a perfect Man, and free Trade
with 'em. Many things Remarkable, and worthy Reciting, we met with

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4. A custom, characteristic of the Foes of Peru, though the other details (such as height) are not.
5. The tabled jests only 20,000, gold mines or mountains, and gold that was sought in
6. The details of the Amazon, in Brazil, is far distant from Sinon, but in seventeenth-century
depicted and maps it missed the southeast boundary of Guiana.
7. Lord Willoughby was lost in a storm in the summer of 1656 while on an expedition against
the French at the island of St. Kris.
8. Whites who were transported by their passage or for crimes were indentured for a fixed
period. They were often called "worse slaves" and might be sold to planters on a temporary
basis, "Traders", indentures.
Oroonoxo

Negro Houses; and Sunday was their Day of Debauch, (otherwise they were a sort of Spies upon Caesar;) he pretendent out of Goodness to 'em, to Feast amongst 'em; and sent all his Musick, and ordered a great Treat for the whole Gang, about Three Hundred Negroes; and about a Hundred and Fifty were able to bear Arms, such as they had, which were sufficient to do Execution? with Spirits accordingly. For the English had none but rusty Swords, that no Strength could draw from a Scabbard; except the People of particular Quality, who took care to Oyl 'em and keep 'em in good Order. The Guns also, unless here and there, one, of those newly carry'd from England, wou'd do no good or harm; for 'ts the Nature of that Country to Rust and Eat up Iron, or any Metals, but Gold and Silver. And they are very Unexpect at the Bow, which the Negroes and Indians are perfect Masters off.

Casuall, having singled out these Men from the Women and Children, made them Harangue to 'em of the Miseries, and Ignominies of Slavery, counting up all their Toyle and Sufferings, under such Loads, Burdens, and Drudgeries, as were fitter for Beasts than Men; Senseless Bruises, than Humane Souls. He told 'em it was not for Days, Months, or Years, but for Eternity; there was no end to be of their Misfortunes; They suffer'd not like Men who might find a Glory, and Fortitude in Oppression; but like Dogs that lov'd the Whip and Bell; and feared the more they were beaten: That they had lost the Divine Quality of Men, and were become Insensible Brutes, fit only to bear; nay worse: in Ass, or Dog, or Horse having done his Duty, could lie down in Repose, and rise to Work again; and while he did his Duty induc'd no Stripes; but Men, Villaneous, Senseless Men, such as they, Toyl'd on all the tedious Week till Black Friday; and then, whether they Work'd or not, whether they were Faulty or Meriting, they promiscuously, the Innocent with the Guilty, suffer'd the inauspicious Whip, the sondir Stripes, from their Fellow Slaves till their Blood trickled from all Parts of their Body; Blood, whose every drop ought to be Reveng'd with a Life of some of those Tyrants, that impale it. And why, said he, my dear Friends and Fellow-sufferers, should we be Slaves to an unknown People? Have they Vanquish'd us Noblely in Fight? Have they Won us in Honourable Battle? And are we, by the choice of War, become their Slaves? They would not anger a Noble Heart, this would not animate a Souldier Soul; no, but we are Bought and Sold like Ape, or Monkeys, to be the Sport of Women, Poodles and Cowards; and the Support of Rogues, Rumagades, that have abandon'd their own Countries, for Raper, Murder, Thefts and Villanies: Do you not hear every Day how they upbraid each other

with Infirmity of Life, below the Wildest Savages? and shall we render Obedience to such a degenerate Race, who have no one Humane Vertue left, to distinguish 'em from the vilest Creatures? Will you, I say, suffer the Lash from such Hands? They all Reply'd, with one accord, No, no, no; Caesar has spoke like a Great Captain, like a Great King.

After this he would have proceeded, but was interuppted by a tall Negro of some more Quality than the rest, the Name was Tuscan; who Bowing at the Feet of Caesar, cry'd, My Lord, we have listened with Joie and Attention to what you have said; and, were we only Men, wou'd follow so great a Leader through the World: But oh! consider, we are Husbandmen and Parents too, and have things more dear to us than Life; our Wives and Children envy'd for Travel, in these impassable Woods, Mountains and Bogs, we have not only diffindo Lands to overcome, but Rivers to Wars, and Monsters to Encounter, Ravenous Beasts of Prey.

To this, Caesar Reply'd, That Honour was the First Principle in Nature, that was to be Obey'd; but as no Man wou'd pretend to that, without all the Acts of Virtue, Compassion, Charity, Love, Justice and Reason; he found it not inconsistent with that, to take an equal Care of their Wives and Children, as they wou'd of themselves; and that he did not Design, when he led them to Freedom, and Glorious Liberty, that they should leave that better part of themselves to Perish by the Hand of the Tyrant's Whip: But if there were a Woman among them so degenerate from Love and Virtue to chase Slavery before the Pursuit of her Husband, and with the hazard of her Life, to share with him in his Fortune; that such an one ought to be Abandon'd, and Left as a Prey to the common Enemy.

To which they all Agreed,—and Bowed. After this, he spoke of the Impassable Woods and Rivers; and convince 'em, the more Danger, the more Glory. He told them that he had heard of one Hannibal a great Captain, had Cut his Way through Mountains of solid Rocks, and shot a few Shrubs oppose them; which they cou'd Fire before 'em: No, 'twas a trilling Excuse to Men resolved to die, or overcome. As for Bogs, they are with a little Labour fill'd and harder'd; and the Rivers cou'd be no Obstacle, since they Swam by Nature; at least by Custom, from their first Hour of their Birth: That when the Children were Weary they must carry them by turns, and the Woods and their own Industry wou'd afford them Food. To this they all assented with Joy.

Tuscan then demand'd, What he wou'd do? He said, they wou'd Travel towards the Sea, Plant a New Colony, and Defend it by their Valour; and when they could find a Ship, either driven by stress of Weather, or guided by Providence that way, they wou'd Seize it, and make it a Prize, till it had Transported them to their own Countries;

9. Harm, slaughter.
1. Proverbial for something that destroys from comfort or pleasures, from the protective shams against evil or delusions of triumphing generals in ancient Rome.
2. Here a day of customary beating more wildly, a Friday interting some notable disaster. Originally from slaves' slang for examination day.
3. Savages.
4. According to accounts in Livy and Plutarch, the Carthaginian general and his troops literally hooked their way down the Alps into Italy in an unsuccessful attack on Rome.
at least, they shou’d be made Free in his Kingdom, and be Esteem’d as his Fellow-sufferers, and Men that had the Courage, and the Bravery to attempt, at least, for Liberty; and if they Dy’d in the attempt it wou’d be more brave, than to Live in perpetual Slavery.

They bow’d and kiss’d his Feet at this Resolution, and with one accord inswore, they would follow him to Death. And that Night was appointed to begin their March; they made it known to their Wives, and bid them to tie their Hammocks about their Shoulder, and under their Arms like a Scarf; and to lead their Children that cou’d go, and carry those that cou’d not. The Wives, who pay an entire Obedience to their Husbands, obied, and stay’d for ’em, where they were appointed: The Men stay’d but to furnish themselves with what defensive Arms they cou’d get; and All met at the Rendezvous, where Caesar made a new encouraging Speech to ’em, and led ’em out.

But, as they cou’d not March far that Night, on Monday early, when the Overseers went to call ’em all together, to go to Work, they were extremely surpris’d, to find not one upon the Place, but all fled with what Baggage they had. You may imagine this News was not only suddenly spread all over the Plantation, but soon reach’d the Neighbouring ones; and we had by Noon about Six hundred Men, they call the Militia of the Country, that came to assist us in the pursuit of the Fugitives: But never did one see so comical an Arny March forth to War. The Men, of any fashion, wou’d not concern themselves, though it was almost the common Cause; for such Revolts are very ill Examples, and have very fatal Consequences oftentimes in many Colonies: But they had a Respect for Caesar, and all hands were against the Peramboters, as they call’d those of Parham Plantation, because they did not, in the first place, love the Lord Governor; and secondly, they wou’d have it, that Caesar was Ill us’d, and Baff’d with; and ’tis not impossible but some of the best in the Country was of his Council in this Flight; and depriving us of all the Slaves; so that they of the better sort wou’d not meddle in the matter. The Deputy Governor, of whom I have had no great occasion to speak, and who was the most Faving fair-tonged Fellow in the World, and one that pretended the most Friendship to Caesar, was now the only violent Man against him; and though he had nothing, and so need fear nothing, yet talk’d and look’d bigger than any Man: He was a Fellow, whose Character is not fit to be mention’d with the worst of the Slaves; This Fellow wou’d lead his Arny forth to meet Caesar, or rather to pursue him; most of their Arms

The History of the Royal Slave

were of those sort of cruel Whips they call Cat with Nine Tails; some had much less Cours for show; others old Basket-bits; whose Blades had never seen the Light in this Age; and others had long Staffs, and Clubs. Mr. Tuffey went along, rather to be a Mediator than a Conqueror, in such a Battel; for he foresaw, and knew, if by fighting they put the Negroes into despair, they were a sort of sullen Folows, that wou’d drown, or kill themselves, before they wou’d yield; and he advis’d that fair means was best: But Byam was one that abounded in his own Wit, and wou’d take his own Measures.

It was not hard to find these Fugitives; for as they fled they were forc’d to fence and cut the Woods before ’em, so that Night or Day they pursu’d ’em by the light they made, and by the path they had cleared: But as soon as Caesar found he was pursu’d, he put himself in a Posture of Defence, placing all the Women and Children in the Rear; and himself, with Tuscan by his side, or next to him, all promising to Dye or Conquer. Incomung thus, they never stood to Parley, but fell on Pell-mell upon the English, and kill’d some, and wounded a good many; they having recourse to their Whips, as the best of their Weapons: And as they observ’d no Order, they perplex’d the Enemy so sorely, with Lashing ’em in the Eyes; and the Women and Children, seeing their Husbands so treated, being of meaner Condition, hearing the English cry out, Yield and Live, Yield and Live, by Pardons; they all ran amongst their Husbands and Fathers, and hung about ’em, crying out, Yield, yield, and leave Caesar to their Revenge; that by degrees the Slaves abandon’d Caesar, and left him only Tuscan and his Heroick Imotinda; who, grown big as he was, did nevertheless press near his Lord, having a Bow, and a Quiver full of point’d Arrows, which he manage with such dexterity, that he wounded several, and shot the Governor into the Shoulder; of which Wound he had like to have Dy’d, but that an Indian Woman, his Mistress, sick’d the Wound, and clean’d it from the Venem: But however, he sty’d not from the Place till he had Faced with Caesar, who he found was resolv’d to dye Fighting, and would not be Taken; no more would Tuscan, or Imotinda. But he, more thristing after Revenge of another sort, than that of depriving him of Life, now made use of all his Art of talking, and dissembling; and besought Caesar to yield himself upon Terms, which he himself should propose, and should be Socrately assented to and kept by him: He told him, it was not that he any longer fear’d him, or could believe the force of Two Men, and a young Heroine, cou’d overcome all them, with all the Slaves now on their side also; but it was the vast Esteem he had for his Person; the desire he had to serve as Gallant a Man; and to hinder himself from the Re-proof hereafter, of having been the occasion of the Death of a Prince.

5. Himroc.
6. Chekal.
7. William Byam. A Royalist exiled from England, rebelled again from Barbados, he was three times elected governor by the Bermudian planter assembly (1657, 1659), and remained in that post after 1669 until his appointment was confirmed under Lord Wilmot’s new royal patent. There are some recent complaints against him for high-handedness and from him about the disorders and reorganization of whites and slaves, while other reports are favorable.
8. Swords with protective hilt guards.
whose Valour and Magnanimity deu'th'd the Empire of the World. He
promised to him, he looked upon this Aktion, as Gallant and Brave;
however tending to the prejudice of his Lord and Master, who wou'd
by it have lost so considerable a number of Slaves, that his Plight of
his shou'd be look'd on as a Heat of Youth, and rashness of a too forward
Courage, and an unconsidered impertinence of Liberty, and no more;
and that he labourd in vain to accomplish that which they wou'd ef-
ficctually perform, as soon as any Ship arriv'd that wou'd touch on his
Coast. So that if you will be pleas'd, continued he, to surrender your
self, all imaginable Respect shall be paid you, and your Self, your Wife,
and Child, if it be here born, shall be set free out of our Land. But
Casser wou'd hear of no Composition;* though Byarn urg'd, if he pursu-
'd, and went on in his Design, he wou'd inevitably Perish, either by
great Snakes, wild Beasts, or Hunger; and he ought to have regard to
his Wife, whose Condition required case, and not the fatigues of tedious
Travel; where she cou'd not be secure from being devoured. But Cas-
ser told him, there was no Faith in the White Men, or the Gods they
Ador'd; who instructed 'em in Principles so false, that honest Men cou'd
not live amongst 'em, though no People profess'd so much, none per-
form'd so little; that he knew what he had to do, when he dealt with
Men of Honour; but with them a Man ought to be eternally on his
Guard, and never to Eat and Drink with Christians, without his Weapon
of Defence in his Hand; and, for his own Security, never to credit one
Word they spoke. As for the rashness and inconsiderateness of his Ac-
tion he wou'd confess the Governor is in the right; and that he was
ashamed of what he had done, in endeavouring to make those Free, who
were by Nature Slaves, poor wretched Rogues, fit to be used as Chris-
tians Tools; Dogs, treacherous and cowardly, fit for such Masters; and
they wanted only to be whipt into the knowledge of the Christian
God; to be the viles of all creeping things; to learn to Worship such
Deities as had not Power to make 'em just, Brave, or Honest. In fine,
after a thousand things of this Nature, not fit here to be recited, he told
Byarn, he had rather Die than Live upon the same Earth with such
Dogs. But Tryffy and Byarn pleased and pretended together so much,
that Tryffy believing the Governor to mean what he said; and speaking
very cordially himself, generously put himself into Casser's Hands, and
took him aside, and persuaded him, even with Tears, to Live, by Sur-
rendering himself, and to name his Conditions. Casser was overcome
by his Wit and Reason, and in consideration of Tryninda; and de-
manding what he desired, and that it shou'd be satisfied by their Hands
in Writing, because he had perceiv'd that was the common way of
contract between Man and Man, amongst the Whites: All this was

9. Sentiment.

English honor requires documentary evidence to
secure itself.

perform'd, and Casser's Pardon was put in, and they Surrender to the
Governor, who walked peacefully down into the Plantation with 'em,
after giving order to bury their dead. Casser was very much bog'd with
the bustle of the Day; for he had fought like a Fury, and whatMitchel
was done he and Yassan perform'd alone; and gave their Enemies a
Fatal Proof that they durst do any thing, and fear'd no mortal Force.

But they were no sooner arriv'd at the Place, where all the Slaves
receive their Punishments of Whipping, but they laid Hands on Casser
and Yassan, faint with heat and toil, and, surprising them, Bound them
to two several Stakes, and Whipt them in a most deplorable and in-
humane Manner, rending the very Flesh from their Bones; especially
Casser, who was not perceiv'd to make any Moor, or to alter his Face,
only to rouse his Eyes on the Faithless Governor, and those he believe'd
Gulpy, with Fierceness and Indignation; and, to complete his Rage, he
saw every one of those Slaves, who, but a few Days before, Ador'd him
as something more than Mortal, now had a Whip to give him some
Lashes, while he strove not to break his Pattens; though, if he had, it
were impossible: But he pronounced a Word and Revenge from his
Eyes, that darted Fire, that towerd at once both Awful and Terrible to
behold.

When they thought they were sufficiently Reveng'd on him, they
untied him, almost Painting, with loss of Blood, from a thousand
Wounds all over his Body; from which they had rent his Cloaths, and
led him Bleeding and Naked; as he was; and loaded him all over with
Iron; and then rubbed his Wounds, to compleat their Cruelty, with
Indian Pepper, which had like to have made him saving Mad; and, in
this Condition, made him so fast to the Ground that he cou'd not stir,
if his Pains and Wounds would have given him leave. They spair'd
Tryninda, and did not let her see this Barbarity committed towards her
Lord, but carry'd her down to Parham, and shut her up; which was not
in kindness to her, but for fear she shou'd Die with the Sight, or Mis-
carry; and then they shou'd lose a young Slave, and perhaps the Mother.

You must know, that when the News was brought on Monday Morn-
ing, that Casser had beat himself to the Woods, and carry'd with
him all the Negroes, we were possess'd with extreme Fears, in which no
persuasions cou'd Dissipate, that he wou'd secure himself till Night;
and then, that he wou'd come down and Cut all our Throats. This
apprehension made all the Females of us fly down the River, to be
secure'd; and while we were away, they acted this Cruelty: For
Laugher I had Authority and Interest enough there, had I suspected any such
thing, to have prevented it; but we had not gone many Leagues, but the
News overtook us that Casser was taken, and Whipt like a common
Slave. We met on the River with Colonel Martin, a Man of great
Gallantry, Wit, and Goodness, and whom I have celebrated in a Char-
after of my New Comedy, by his own Name, in memory of so brave a Man: He was Wise and Eloquent; and, from the fineness of his Parts, bore a great Sway over the Hearts of all the Colony. He was a Friend to Caesar, and presented him with a very much. We carried him back to Parham, thinking to have made an Accommodation; when we came, the first News we heard was, that the Governor was Dead of a Wound. News had given it, but it was not so well. But it seems was had the Pleasure of beholding the Revenge he took on Caesar; and before the cruel Ceremony was Finish'd, he drop'd down; and then they perceiv'd the Wound he had on his Shoulder, was by a -r's Arrow; which, as I said, his Indian Mistress heal'd him, by Sticking the Wound.

We were no sooner Arriv'd, but we went up to the Plantation to see Caesar, whom we found in a very Miserable and Unexpressible Condition; and I have a Thousand times admired how he liv'd, in so much tormenting Pain. We said all things to him, that Trouble, Pity, and Good Nature cou'd suggest; protesting our Innocency of the Past, and our Abhorrence of such Cruelties; making a Thousand Professions of Services to him, and Begging as many Pardons for the Offenders; till we said so much, that he believ'd we had no Hand in his ill Treatment; but told us, he cou'd never Pardon Byam; as for Trefly, he confess'd he saw his Grief and Sorrow, for his Suffering, which he cou'd not hinder, but was like to have been beaten down by the very Slaves, for Speaking in his Defence. But for Byam, who was their Leader, their Head; and said, for his Justice and Honor, have been an Example to em; - For him, he wish'd to Live, to take a Dic Revenge of him, and said, it had been well for him, if he had Scour'd me, instead of giving me the contemptible Whip. He Refus'd to Talk much, but Begging us to give him our Hands, he took 'em, and Protested never to lift up his to do us any Harm. He had a great Respect for Colonel Martin, and always took his Counsel, like that of a Parent; and asur'd him, he would obey him in any thing, but his Revenge on Byam. Therefore said he, for his own Safety, let him speedy dispatch me; for if I cou'd dispatch myself, I would not, till that Justice were done; to my Injured Person, and the contempt of a Southerner. No, I would not kill myself, even after a Whipping, but will be content to Live with that Injury, and be Pointed at by every Groaning Slave, till I have compleatly my Revenge; and then you shall see that Oronoko seems to live with the Indignity that was put on Caesar. All we cou'd do could not get more Words from him;

1. The Younger Brother, or The Amonos Life, not produced until 1696 despite this piece of promotion. Martin, called captain in the historical records, is stated earlier here and in the play, but commissioned and appointed they aboarded as the colonists. "Barbadoes, about 1650, seems since to have been populated with colonists" (James A. Williams, English Colonists in Guinea and on the Amazon 1644-1650, 1923).
2. Showing contempt.

and we took care to have him put immediately into a healing Bath, to rid him of his Fever; and order'd a Chirurgeon to assist him with healing Balm, which he suffer'd, and in some time he began to be able to Walk and Eat; we fail'd not to visit him every Day, and, to that end, had him brought to an apartment at Parham.

The Governor was so sooner recover'd, and had heard of the manner of Caesar, but he call'd his Council; who (not to disgrace them, or Burlesque the Government there) consisted of such notorious Villains as Negroes never transported; and possibly originally were such, who understood neither the Laws of God or Man; and had no sort of Principles to make 'em worthy the Name of Men: But, at the very Council Table, you'd Contradict and Fight with one another; and Swear so bloody that 'twas terrible to hear, and see 'em. (Some of 'em were afterwards Hang'd, when the Dutch took possession of the place; others sent off in Chains.) But calling these special Rulers of the Nation together, and requiring their Counsel in this weighty Affair, they all concluded, that (Damn 'em) it might be their own Cases; and that Caesar ought to be made an Example to all the Negroes, to fright 'em from daring to threaten their Masters, their Lords and Masters; and, at this rate, no Man was safe from his own Slave; and concluded, remaine confederates, that Caesar shou'd be Hang'd.

Trefly then thought it time to use his Authority; and told Byam his Command did not extend to his Lord's Plantation; and that Parham was as much exempt from the Law as White-hall, and that they ought no more to touch the Servants of the Lord —- (who there represented the King's Person) than they cou'd those about the King himself; and that Parham was a Sanctuary; and though his Lord were absent in Person, his Power was still in Being there; which he had intrusted with him, as far as the Dominions of his particular Plantations reach'd, and all that belong'd to it; the rest of the Country, as Byam was Lieutenant to his Lord, he might exercise his Tyranny upon. Trefly had others as powerful, or more, that interested themselves in Caesar's Life, and absolutely said, He shou'd be Defended. So turning the Governor, and his wise Council, out of Door, (for they sat at Parham-house) they set a Guard upon our Landing Place, and would admit none but those we call'd Friends to us and Caesar.

The Governor having remain'd wounded at Parham, till his recovery was compleated, Caesar did not know but he was still there; and indeed, for the most part, his time was spent there; for he was one that lov'd

3. Trefly.
4. The major Landois prisons, from which criminals were transported to the colonies. The Council would have been Spain's appointees.
5. No one disagreeing (Latin).
6. The King's policy in Landois. Trefly stands as Lord Willochep's deputy on his private (or particularly) land, Byam in the colony at large.
to live at other People's Expenditures; and if he were a Day absent, he was Ten present there; and of his constant Friends, and his constant Foes, with Caesar. So that Caesar did not at all doubt, if he once recover'd Strength, he could find an opportunity of being Reveng'd on him; though, after such a Revenge, he could not hope to live; for, if he escap'd the Fury of the English Mob, 7 who perhaps would have been glad of the occasion to have kill'd him, he was resolv'd not to survive his Whipping; yet he had, some tender Hours, a repenting Softness, which he called his Fits of Cowardliness; wherein he struggled with Love for the Victory of his Heart, which took part with his charming Imoinda. Where; but, for the most part, his time was past in melancholy Thought, and black Designs; he considered, if he shou'd do this Deed, and Dye, either in the Attempt, or afterwards, he left his lovely Imoinda a Prey, or at least a Slave, to the invid'd Multitude; his great Heart cou'd not indulge in that Thought. Perhaps, said he, she may be first Harried by every Brute; exposed first to the Nasty Lusts, and then a shameful Death. No, he could not Live a Moment under that Apprehension, too insupportable to be borne. These were his Thoughts, and his silent Arguments with his Heart, as he told us afterwards; so that now resolving not only to kill Byarn, but all those he thought had invid'd him; pleasing his great Heart with the fancy'd Slaughter he shou'd make over the whole Face of the Plantation; he first resolv'd on a Deed, that (however Horrid it at first appear'd to us all) when we had heard his Reasons, we thought it Brave and Just. Being able to Walk, and, as he believ'd, fit for the Execution of his great Design, he begg'd Trypho to trust him into the Air, believing a Walk would do him good; which was granted him, and taking Imoinda with him, as he was to do in his more happy and calmer Days, he led her up into a Wood, where, after (with a thousand Sighs, and long Gazing silently on her Face, while Tears gushed, in spite of him, from his Eyes) he told her his Design first of Killing her, and then his Enemies, and next himself, and the impossibility of Escaping, and therefore he told her the necessity of Dying; he found the Heroick Fists faster pleading for Death than he was to propose it, when she found his Eel'd Resolution; and, on her Knees, besought him, not to leave her a Prey to his Enemies. He (priev'd to Death) yet pleas'd at her noble Resolution, took her up, and embracing her, with all the Passion and Affection of a dying Lover, drew his Knife to kill this Treasure of his Soul, this Pleasure of his Eyes; while Tears trickled down his Cheeks, hers were smiling with joy she shou'd dye by so noble a Hand, and he sent in her own Country, (for that's their Notion of the next World) by him she so tenderly Lov'd, and so truly Ador'd in this; for Wives have a respect for their Husbands equal to what any other People pay a Deity; and when a Man finds any

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7. Common people or mobs; the same conveys inconsistency and unsuitability.

8. Sensitive.
Vigour to act his Design; and lay expecting it yet six Days longer; still mourning over the dead Idol of his Heart, and striving every Day to rise, but could not.

In all this time you may believe we were in no little affliction for Caesar, and his Wife; some were of Opinion he was escap’d never to return; others thought some Accident had hap’ned to him: But however, we fail’d not to send out an hundred People several ways to search for him; a Party, of about forty, went that way he took; among whom was Tuscan, who was perfectly reconcil’d to Byron; they had not got very far into the Wood, but they smelt an unusual Smell, as of a dead Body; for Sticks must be very nervous that can be distinguish’d among such a quantity of Natural Sweetness, as every Inch of that Land produces. So that they concluded they should find him dead, or somebody that was so; they past on towards it, as Loathness as it was, and made such a rustling among the Leaves that ye thick on the Ground, by continual Falling, that Caesar heard he was approach’d; and though he had, during the space of these eight Days, endeavor’d to rise, but found he wanted Strength, yet looking up, and seeing his Pursuers, he rose, and reel’d to a Neighbouring Tree, against which he fix’d his Back; and laying within a dozen Yards of those that advance’d, and saw him, he call’d out to them, and bid them approach no nearer, if they would be safe: So that they stood still; and hardly believing their Eyes, that won’d persuade them that it was Caesar that spoke to ’em, so much was he alter’d, they ask’d him, What he had done with his Wife? for they smelt a Stink that almost struck them dead. He, pointing to the dead Body, sighing, cry’d, Behold her there; they put off the Flowers that cover’d her with their Sticks, and found she was kill’d; and cry’d out, Oh mon-stress that hast murth’red thy Wife: Then asking him, Why did he do so cruel a Deed? He replied, he had no leisure to answer impertinent Questions: You may go back, continued he, and tell the Faithless Gover-ness, he may thank Fortune that I am breathing my last, and that my Arm is too feeble to obey my Heart, in what he had design’d him: But his Tongue faltering, and trembling, he could scarce end what he was saying. The English taking Advantage by his Weakness, cry’d, Let us take him alive by all means: He heard ’em; and, as if he had reviv’d from a Painting, or a Dream, he cry’d out, No, Gentlemen, you are deceiv’d: you will find no more Caesars to be Whipt: no more find a Faith in me; Fleeble as you think me, I have Strength yet left to secure me from a second Indigence. They swore all, and he only shook his Head, and held then Bartho with Soone; then they cry’d out. Who will venture on this single Man? Will no body? They stood all silent while Caesar replied, Fatal will be the Attempt to the first Adventurers; let him assure himself, and, at that Word, held up his Knife in a menacing Posture, Look ye, ye faithless Crew, said he, ’tis not Life I seek, nor am I afraid of Dying; and, at that Word, cut a piece of Flesh from his own

9. In the first edition these two sentences appear spliced together with no punctuation mark.

1. Clearly.
the Governor himself, than those of Caesar, on his Plantations; and that he could govern his Negroes without Terrifying and Grieving them with frightful Spectacles of a mangy'd King.

Thus Dy'd this Great Man worthy of a better Fate, and a more sublime Wit than mine to write his Praise; yet, I hope, the Reputation of my Pen is considerable enough to make his Glorious Name to survive to all Ages, with that of the Brave, the Beautiful, and the Constant Imoinda.

FINES.