

AN ESSAY
ON THE GEOGRAPHY

OF

NORTH-WESTERN AFRICA.

^K
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African Cases



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PARIS,
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1821.

TO

JOHN HOPE SMITH, Esq.

GOVERNOR IN CHIEF OF THE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS
ON THE GOLD COAST OF AFRICA.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR zealous interest in the discovery and improvement of Africa, and the persevering constancy of your labours for these great objects, in defiance of every obstacle which a cramp'd and pitiful system jealously opposed to your generous efforts, make this dedication a public duty on my part, to a man whom I am equally bound to esteem before every other, as a friend, in private life.

I cannot but congratulate you on the approaching termination of your arduous and illustrious struggle for the honour of the British name and the improvement of Africa, without support, and almost without means : but I must at the same

INTRODUCTION.



THE Quarterly Review having unprovokedly followed up its attack in March last by a second in July, I beg to submit the following brief reply to the candour and good sense of the British Public. I shall merely throw my vouchers into the scale, and leave the world to adjust the balance between facts and assertions.

First. I submit that the Quarterly Review convicts itself. (*a*)

(*a*) “ After all, we are much mistaken if the shortest
“ and best road for Europeans, to Tombuctoo, will not
“ be found to be that from Cummazee, the capital of the
“ Ashantees. It is somewhat remarkable that we should
“ just now, for the first time in the course of two hun-
“ dred years, learn any thing of this rich and populous
“ nation, whose capital is stationed not a hundred and
“ fifty miles from the British factory. In the course of
“ last year a mission from the Governor of Cape Coast
“ Castle was sent to Zey Tootoo Quamina, King of
“ Ashantee, consisting of Mr. Bowdich, Mr. Hutchinson,
“ and Mr. Tedlie. For some time after their arrival in
“ the capital, they were kept in close confinement, owing
“ to the jealousy instilled into the king’s mind by some

time lament that it will deprive my future enterprises, even if limited to those of a private individual for the benefit of science, of the influence of that name which would have been my best security and passport amongst the natives, whom your government has both awed and conciliated; of the aid of that judgment, knowledge, and experience, which would have been the best earnest of my success.

Believe me, my dear Sir, not as a relative, but as a friend,

Your's faithfully and affectionately,

T. E. BOWDICH.

Paris, January, 1821.

Secondly. To prove that my disappointed expectations of reward were not unreasonable, as has been represented, I submit the only application I ever made on the subject, in an extract from the only document existing in evidence of what I considered to be a fair recompense of my services, and a document published some months before the Quarterly Review hazarded the assertion which it contradicts: whether such a recompense ought

“ Moorish merchants, assisted by the intrigues of the
 “ notorious Daendels, once the servile tool of Buona-
 “ parte, and now the representative of his Netherlandish
 “ Majesty on this part of the coast of Africa. Their
 “ good conduct, however, enabled them to overcome all
 “ difficulties, and the king was so well satisfied of the
 “ sincerity of their views and declarations, that he con-
 “ cluded a treaty with them, and consented to send his
 “ children to be educated at Cape Coast Castle.

“ Mr. Bowdich has been indefatigable in his endea-
 “ vours to procure information respecting Ashantee and
 “ the countries beyond it. From one of the travelling
 “ Moors, he obtained, he says, a route book at the ex-
 “ pense of his own wardrobe and the doctor’s medicines;
 “ but the fellow told him ‘ he had sold him his eye.’
 “ The route from Cummazee to Tombuctoo, it appears,
 “ is much travelled; in the way thither the next adjoin-
 “ ing territory is that of Dwabin, with the king of which
 “ Mr. Bowdich also concluded a treaty.”

Quarterly Review. June, 1818.

to have been denied I leave the public to determine. (b)

Thirdly. As to my offering my services to the French, the illustrious friends whose written testimonies I shall presently submit, will affirm that such a view was never even contemplated on my part; and I am happily in possession of a document, (b*) in proof of the overtures having

(b) "As Mr. Dupuis' salary is a precedent for mine, I beg respectfully to submit, that, considering our comparative claims, (Mr. Dupuis having merely been found to fill a situation which my industry created) and the labour, responsibility, and risk of my undertakings, I could not accept less than 500 £. a-year, to be paid in sterling money in England, with the liberty of publishing the annual reports of our enterprizes, expressedly, by permission of the African Committee." *The African Committee.* Longman, 1819, p. 44.

(b*) *Paris, Mercredi 17 Novembre 1819.*

MONSIEUR,

Son Excellence le Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies, qui désire beaucoup vous connaître, vous prie de venir demain matin, avec moi, déjeuner chez lui.

Si vous voulez avoir la complaisance de venir me prendre à dix heures précises, j'aurai le plaisir de vous conduire.

Veuillez croire à tout le désir que j'ai de vous être à la fois utile et agréable.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer,

(Signed.)

CH. DUPIN.

M. Bowdich.

been made to me on the part of the government, which overtures, tempting and flattering as the terms were to my private feelings, were declined, as these same friends can prove, from a feeling which they pronounced to be honorable and generous, whilst others, recollecting my family and my injuries, condemned it as romantic. On such a charge as this, I cannot, as an Englishman, feel otherwise than indignant; I have given more than one proof how much I love my country; I have more than once sacrificed the interests and happiness of those who are dearest to me to this feeling; and the proudest moment of my life was that, when, surrounded by terrors and menaced by death, I rescued a falling Mission from the trembling hand which dared not shield it, redeemed the character of every one of my countrymen in the eyes of exulting barbarians, and vindicated one of the noblest causes of Great Britain from the doubts of the uncivilized and the artful calumnies of the enemies to Christianity.

Fourthly. As to my forming a conspiracy against Mr. James and inveigling "my young companions" (both older than myself) therein, I will request the Public to peruse the official report of Mr. Hutchison's rescue of a fellow-

creature from sacrifice at the imminent risk of his own life,* with Mr. Tedlie's chapter on the *Materia Medica* and diseases of Ashantee, and his relation of his interview with the king; † after which, I will ask whether it is likely that such young men as these could have been suddenly seduced by any influence of mine into conspiracy and falsehood?

Mr. Tedlie, who was educated in the University of Dublin, served with credit in the expedition to Candy, and died at Cape Coast Castle in his twenty-seventh year (of a dysentery contracted in the early part of the enterprise, and aggravated by the fatigues and privations of the march down), swore to his depositions against Mr. James, at his own request. Is it not enough for his afflicted family, for a doting mother and an indulgent father to weep the untimely death of the child they were proud of, agonised by the reflection that his zeal and courage had led him to quit the ample comforts of his home, deaf to the remonstrances of their fondness and the dictates of his own interest? Has not this worthy family contributed enough to the honour of the sister

* See Appendix I.

† Mission to Ashantee, p. 370.

country, at the expence of its own happiness, without aggravating, without insulting their grief, by endeavouring to attach the blot of *perjury* to the memory of a son, of a youthful victim to a generous cause, who has thus been hurried into the presence of the Almighty? But the blessings of hundreds of negroes, rescued from the long protracted torments of desperate disease, by his skill, by his patient and watchful tenderness, have reached the throne of their common Creator, and sealed the peace of that noble spirit, which an Englishman would thus have stained with the worst of crimes.

I next submit, that, independent of Mr. James's dereliction of duty from supineness and alarm, independent of those disgraceful points of his conduct which have not yet been exposed (the evidence, affidavits, and two dispatches being suppressed in my publication), his own public letter more than justified our conscientious interference for the rescue of an important and expensive Mission, which, as the results have proved, it would have been criminal and unmanly to have abandoned. (c)

(c) *Extract from Mr. James's dispatch.*

“ In the present suspicious state of the king's mind

Mr. James was *unanimously* condemned, by his *five* colleagues in council, as guilty of all which was laid to his charge; and these five colleagues concurred in the subjoined report of my conduct to the Committee. (*d*)

Finally, I quit this point of the charge by submitting public opinions of my conduct, both in the rescue (*e*) and consummation (*f*) of the Mission.

“ respecting us, I fear it would be impolitic to make the
“ enquiries you ordered in your instructions. I think
“ it will be more prudent to leave them to time. I
“ expect to return to the coast in a month.”

(*d*) *Extract from the Dispatch to the Committee.*

“ We cannot conclude this paragraph without no-
“ ticing the distinguished manner in which the nego-
“ ciation with our new allies, the Ashantees, was
“ conducted by Mr. Bowdich. By his talents, perse-
“ verance, and prudence, obstacles that seemed invincible
“ have been surmounted, and whatever may be the
“ extent of our future intercourse with the interior, the
“ foundation must certainly be attributed to him; to
“ recommend him to your notice would be a reflection
“ on your judgment.”

(*e*) “ As a political agent, also, Mr. Bowdich’s character
“ appears to merit high commendation; for he met
“ with trials in which promptitude of determination,
“ resolution in action, and consistent firmness in per-

Fifthly. The Quarterly Review's ridicule,

“ severing, were required by the circumstances of no
 “ ordinary kind of diplomacy.

“ On such an occasion, the original conductor of the
 “ mission being silent, Mr. Bowdich rose, and with
 “ combined energy and discretion addressed the sove-
 “ reign; explaining the motives of the mission with
 “ such marked appearance of sincerity, that, etc. etc.”

Monthly Review, Nov.

“ The next morning they had their first audience of
 “ the king, and at an ensuing interview the whole fate
 “ of the embassy seems to have been in imminent danger
 “ from want of presence of mind on the part of the
 “ conductor Mr. James. Mr. Bowdich's spirited promp-
 “ titude remedied this indiscretion, and his representa-
 “ tions to the seat of government procured the recall of
 “ his superior officer, and his own appointment in his
 “ room. He saved the mission from
 “ failure, and perhaps from outrage; and in consequence
 “ he was enabled to procure for us much information,
 “ which is altogether very valuable.”

British Critic, April, 1819.

“ On en confie la conduite à un homme qui, par sa
 “ faiblesse et son impéritie, met en danger le succès de la
 “ négociation, sa propre vie, celle de ses compagnons, et,
 “ par suite, tous les établissemens des Anglais sur cette
 “ côte. Un jeune homme, envoyé sous ses ordres pour
 “ faire les recherches scientifiques, par sa présence d'es-
 “ prit, son intrépidité, conjure l'orage, arrête les effets
 “ de la colère du roi des Ashantées, se concilie son

I cannot say criticism, of my geographical

“ estime, sa confiance, et établit entre lui et les Anglais
 “ une paix solide ; obtient qu’un consul Anglais résidera
 “ pour toujours dans la capitale de ce roi, devenu par
 “ son moyen ami et allié, d’ennemi redoutable qu’il
 “ était auparavant.”

Walckenaer's Itineraries to Timbuctoo.

“ M. James, le commandant d’Accra, chef de la mis-
 “ sion, surpris et troublé au dernier point de cet accueil,
 “ ne sut que s’excuser sur l’innocence de ses intentions
 “ personnelles, sans nier rien de la conduite du gouver-
 “ neur général, dont cependant il tenait sa mission, et
 “ demanda la permission de s’en retourner à Cape Coast
 “ avec son escorte, pour éclaircir ces sujets de plainte.
 “ Cette faiblesse étant naturellement prise pour un aveu
 “ formel, le roi, enflammé de colère, le renvoya de sa
 “ présence. Tout était perdu pour les Anglais, et leur
 “ vie même était en grand péril, lorsque M. Bowdich et
 “ ses deux jeunes compagnons se décidèrent à prendre
 “ sur eux seuls la conduite et la responsabilité d’une
 “ affaire si désespérée : ayant prévenu de leur résolution
 “ M. James, jusqu’alors leur chef, ils demandèrent à
 “ parler encore une fois au roi ; ce qui leur étant accordé,
 “ sans doute parce qu’on les croyoit perdus sans res-
 “ source, M. Bowdich prit la parole d’une manière
 “ solennelle, repoussa les soupçons élevés contre les
 “ desseins et la conduite du gouverneur général ; et, pour
 “ preuve de la vérité de ses assertions, il annonça que
 “ son intention était de renvoyer M. James à Cape
 “ Coast avec l’escorte de Fantées, et de rester seul,

labours, (g) and its *travestie* of my faithful

“ avec ses deux compagnons, entre les mains du roi à
 “ Coomassie, jusqu’à ce que les différens qui s’étaient
 “ élevés fussent aplanis. Cette démarche franche et
 “ hardie releva tout-à-coup le crédit des Anglais : leur
 “ offre fut acceptée, et ils s’empressèrent aussitôt de la
 “ mettre à exécution. En même temps ils écrivirent
 “ au gouverneur général pour lui exposer le parti qu’ils
 “ s’étaient crus obligés de prendre, et, en se soumettant à
 “ la justice, ils ajoutèrent ces nobles paroles,” etc. etc. etc.
 “ Les torts apparens ou réels dont se plaignait le roi
 “ des Ashantées furent expliqués ou réparés, et M. Bow-
 “ dich reçut l’ordre de prendre le commandement de la
 “ mission qu’il avait sauvée.”

Biot, Journal des Savans, Août.

(f) “ We could not, therefore, but form a favourable
 “ opinion of Mr. Bowdich’s talents when we reflected
 “ that, after the numerous abortive attempts of various
 “ able and persevering men to establish an intercourse
 “ with the inland country, this gentleman, in the short
 “ space of five months, so completely attained the object,
 “ that we have now a permanent accredited agent at
 “ Coomassie, the capital of a great and powerful king-
 “ dom, which but ten years ago was known to us only
 “ by vague and improbable reports.”

Monthly Review, May, 1820.

“ Every other expedition into that hitherto ill-fated
 “ and impenetrable continent, has miscarried in its
 “ objects, and proved destructive to its conductors. We
 “ have met with no relation for a long time which has

contributions to literature, (h) are to be weighed against the following commendations of more

“ so powerfully arrested our attention, and at once so
“ much awakēnēd and sō well gratifiēd our curiosity.”

British Critic, April, 1819.

“ En comparant ces résultats constamment funestes
“ avec le succès complet que M. Bowdich vient d’obtenir
“ dans la mission dont nous allons rendre compte, et
“ qu’il a exécutée sans préparatifs, presque sans frais,
“ seulement avec l’assistance de deux officiers Anglais et
“ deux soldats pris parmi les naturels de Cape Coast, à
“ la solde de la compagnie Anglaise, on pensera sans
“ doute que le plan qu’il a suivi, doit avoir eu des avan-
“ tages propres, et avoir été fondé sur d’autres principes
“ que ceux des voyageurs qui l’ont précédé; c’est en
“ effet ce que l’on reconnaîtra facilement par le récit
“ abrégé des aventures mêmes de ce jeune et heureux
“ voyageur.”

Biot, Journal des Savans, Août 1819.

(g) “ DEAR SIR;

“ I return your valuable MSS. with my best thanks
“ for the permission to read them. Without flattery, I
“ consider them as containing much new and valuable
“ information respecting the geography of a part the
“ least known, and which presents objects which were
“ not expected.

“ I consider the fact of the Gambaroo river as a new
“ discovery; and, as such, meriting examination. I really
“ think that the matter contains much internal evidence

impartial and disinterested critics, and of men of acknowledged judgment and science.

“ of its own truth, and that you have displayed much
“ judgment and industry in collecting it.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Most thankfully your obliged servant,

(Signed)

“ J. RENNELL.”

Nassau Street,

13th July, 1818.

T. E. Bowdich, Esq.

April 17th, 1819.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I thank you very kindly for the use of your book,
“ and felt myself very much indebted for the geogra-
“ phical part and the charts, which you presented to me
“ whilst at Brighton. Your book has given me much
“ information, and very much pleasure. With respect
“ to presenting copies of books, I will speak more here-
“ after; I think you have suffered enough to please
“ others.

“ Yours thankfully,

(Signed)

“ J. RENNELL.”

T. E. Bowdich, Esq.

Chelsea, March 29, 1818.

“ SIR,

“ I beg leave in the name of the African Association
“ to return you their thanks for your obliging present
“ of the original Moorish charts and routes published in
“ the Appendix to your account of the late mission to

Sixthly. That my character cannot suffer

“ the Ashantee country, together with some sketches on
“ the Gabon river. I beg leave to congratulate you on
“ the publication of your most interesting and instructive
“ book.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Your faithful and obedient servant,

(Signed) “ W. HAMILTON.”

T. E. Bowdich, Esq.

“ These are the most important extracts from this
“ publication, which is certainly one of considerable
“ importance, from the account it gives us of a people
“ hitherto almost entirely unknown, and from the light
“ which the very diligent and laborious enquiries of
“ Mr. Bowdich have thrown upon the geography of
“ Africa, and the probability held out to us of approach-
“ ing the great kingdoms on the Niger, by means of an
“ intercourse by no means difficult to be established with
“ the kingdoms of Inta and Dagwumba.”

Edinburgh Review, June 7, 1820.

“ But we must refer our readers to the work itself for
“ the additions which Mr. Bowdich has made to our
“ knowledge of African geography. It would be unjust,
“ even if it were not impossible, to abridge his valuable
“ chapter on this interesting and obscure subject.”

British Critic, April, 1819.

“ Ce jeune homme ardent, plein d'esprit et d'instruc-
“ tion, infatigable, profitant de la consideration qu'il
“ s'est acquise parmi les naturels, et de quatre mois de

from the aspersions of the Quarterly Review, is evident from the notes below. (i)

“ séjour, observe les mœurs, les habitudes, et les institutions d'un des peuples les plus curieux de l'Afrique. Il obtient, par un grand nombre de marchands Maures, et par les habitans de la rivière Gabon, des renseignemens sur l'intérieur de cette partie du monde, sur les noms et les directions des grandes fleuves qui arrosent le Soudan, et sur les nations qui peuplent ces vastes régions. De retour dans sa patrie il publie une relation, qui est, avec celle de Brown; de Hornemann et de Park, ce que nous avons de plus neuf et de plus intéressant sur l'Afrique.”

Walckenaer's Itineraries to Timbuctoo.

“ Cet heureux résultat et les négociations mêmes qui l'avaient amené, plaçaient M. Bowdich dans une position très-favorable pour acquérir sur les mœurs des Ashantées, sur la constitution de ce peuple, ses lois, son histoire, ses relations politiques ou commerciales, des notions sûres et propres à jeter une lumière toute nouvelle sur l'intérieur si peu connu de l'Afrique. . . . L'espace qui nous reste suffit à peine pour indiquer les résultats de tout genre que notre voyageur à recueillis. . . . Ces observations donnent beaucoup de notions nouvelles, et en rectifient également un grand nombre qui étaient fausses ou inexactes, parmi celles que l'on avait précédemment admises. Outre ces résultats de géographie générale, on trouve dans l'ouvrage de M. Bowdich une foule de détails locaux du plus grand intérêt. Plusieurs autres royaumes,

Lastly. Public opinion, and the measure of the government, has acknowledged my second

“ dont le nom et l'existence étaient précédemment tout-
 “ à-fait inconnus, ont été découverts par M. Bowdich,
 “ et leur position relative a été indiquée par ses re-
 “ cherches. En un mot, il a rempli de noms et d'intérêt
 “ ce grand espace vide qui existait dans la géographie
 “ de l'Afrique, depuis la côte de Guinée jusqu'au Niger,
 “ et dont on ignorait même s'il était désert ou habité.
 “ On peut avoir d'autant plus de confiance
 “ à son témoignage que, dans d'autres cas, il ne dissimule
 “ point les contradictions qui se sont rencontrées entre
 “ ceux qu'il interrogeait. C'est ainsi qu'il avoue n'avoir
 “ pas pu obtenir de renseignemens précis sur la source
 “ du Niger, et il ne paraît pas non plus séduit par le
 “ désir d'annoncer des résultats extraordinaires; car, au
 “ contraire, il rappelle avec empressement toutes les
 “ indications des écrivains antérieurs qui peuvent avoir
 “ vu ou soupçonné les mêmes faits.”

Biot, Journal des Savans, Août.

(h) “ J'ai heureusement trouvé la traduction de votre
 “ ouvrage, que j'ai lu avec autant d'intérêt que de curio-
 “ sité; vos tableaux sont si vrais que je ne suis pas bien
 “ sûr à présent d'avoir été à Ashantée.

“ Recevez tous mes remerciemens du plaisir que j'ai
 “ éprouvé de vous connaître et de vous lire.

(Signed) “ DENON.”

14 Mai 1820,
 A. M. M. Bowdich.

service to my country, in exposing the disguised system which perverted the uses of her valuable

“ Our difficulty in this review has arisen
 “ chiefly from the narrowness of our limits. Where
 “ almost every thing is new and worthy of relation it is
 “ not an easy task to reject. We confidently recommend
 “ our readers, therefore, to this work at large, assuring
 “ them, that we have been compelled to omit a vast portion
 “ of matter of extraordinary interest and information.
 “ The strange mixture of savage and civilized habits, of
 “ the grotesque and the horrible, the magnificent and
 “ the barbarous, throws a living character of the whole
 “ length picture, which we cannot hope to transfer to
 “ the miniature; and we should be most unjust if we
 “ did not repeat, that we know not when this species of
 “ literature has received so valuable an accession to its
 “ treasures.”

British Critic, April, 1819.

“ The terrific ornaments of the halls of Dahomy have
 “ indeed, heretofore, been *bruted* by fame, and amplified
 “ by imagination; but to the present spectacles are
 “ given an ‘habitation and a name;’ and such fictions
 “ as fancy draws have here received testimony and cor-
 “ roboration, to which even the incredulous cannot but
 “ assent. It will not therefore surprise our readers if
 “ we avail ourselves of an opportunity of rare occur-
 “ rence, and describe with some degree of detail the
 “ pomp and circumstance of the kingdom of Ashantee.
 “ It happens fortunately for such a purpose, that the
 “ author, whom we follow as our guide, seems to com-

settlements on the Gold Coast : I trust that the latter will ere long confirm the former in its

“ bine, in no ordinary degree, those qualifications which
“ are most requisite in a recorder of facts and a delineator
“ of men and manners; and it must be obvious to those
“ who peruse Mr. Bowdich’s work, that it marks its
“ author as a gentleman of liberal learning and attain-
“ ments. In the attempt to convey
“ some portion of each chapter to our readers, we have
“ followed the author with a closer step than our usual
“ custom induces, and with a confidence in him as a
“ guide, which we do not very frequently entertain.”

Monthly Review, November and December, 1819.

“ Un noble éloge adressé par l’orateur à un jeune
“ voyageur Anglais, présent à la séance, et déjà célébré
“ par une rare intrépidité, a excité les plus vifs applau-
“ dissemens.”

Journal du Commerce, de Politique et de Littérature,
Annual Meeting of the four Academies, 25 Avril, 1819.

(i) “ Je verrai avec plaisir citer mon nom chaque
“ fois que je pourrai vous donner un témoignage public
“ de mon estime, et de l’intérêt qu’inspire votre noble et
“ courageux dévouement. J’ai retardé ma réponse :
“ j’ai voulu consulter une personne qui vous est sincère-
“ ment attachée, et qui, comme moi, craint que votre
“ réponse pourroit vous arrêter dans la carrière utile
“ que vous voulez suivre. M. Cuvier pense, comme
“ moi, que l’on ne gagne jamais rien contre les jour-
“ naux, qui agissent comme les troupes réglées, comme

persuasion of the prudence, economy, and

“ des armées permanentes. Nous désirons votre repos,
“ et des succès, Monsieur, qui doivent récompenser un
“ si généreux dévouement, des études si laborieuses.
“ Veuillez bien excuser ma franchise, et agréer l'expres-
“ sion de ma haute et affectueuse considération.

(Signed)

“ HUMBOLDT.”

Paris, Mai 5, 1820.

“ I mentioned in my letter a few days since, that I
“ had enclosed Mr. Bowdich's papers to my brother,
“ Lord Exmouth, and to day I have them returned by
“ him with the following remark, to use his own words.
“ ‘ I have read all Mr. Bowdich's letters, and I think
“ ‘ as I did ; the subject is very interesting, and he has
“ ‘ been very ill-used, and that our affairs in Africa are
“ ‘ in very bad hands. I was present at a Trinity-
“ ‘ House dinner with Lord Liverpool, when he spoke
“ ‘ of Mr. Bowdich's work in the highest terms, as the
“ ‘ most interesting he had ever read, and the most
“ ‘ extraordinary. Mr. Bowdich will have a very diffi-
“ ‘ cult task to get heard as he ought to be, but he will
“ ‘ succeed at last either here or in France ; truth and
“ ‘ reason are his own.’

“ I am further convinced on his return to town, my
“ brother will hazard some questions on the subject, and
“ maintain his opinion. You will carry all this back to
“ my friend. Believe me, dear Madam, etc. etc. etc.

(Signed)

“ S. PELLEW.”

Falmouth,

March 24th, 1820.

Mrs. Bowdich.

benevolence of my views for our establish-

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I am sorry I could not accomplish the execution of
 “ your wishes by yesterday’s post, having many impe-
 “ riously important letters before me. I did not, however,
 “ omit writing to my cousin, Lady Grenville, to make
 “ honorable mention of your name in a message to her
 “ husband, calling his attention to the necessity of
 “ British influence being employed in Africa towards
 “ the abolition of human sacrifices, and the hindrance
 “ of a renewed secret slave-trade, that influence being
 “ to be supplied through a better medium than the
 “ ‘ African Committee of Traders.’ I shall resume this
 “ subject direct to himself, as the principal organ, in the
 “ House of Lords, of the national wishes on that sub-
 “ ject, as Mr. Wilberforce is in the House of Commons,
 “ to whom I will write. I think also of writing to my
 “ very old friend, Lady Bathurst, as you tell me that
 “ the matter depends on the branch of administration
 “ of which his Lordship is the chief. I also wish to
 “ know from you, on whom the appointment of a suc-
 “ cessor to poor Ritchie depends, and whether you
 “ would like the appointment, which I consider to be
 “ your right if you do, and this consideration alone
 “ hinders me from applying for it for Mr. Oates, Vice-
 “ Consul of Hanover, at Tripoli. If you obtained the
 “ appointment, he might be your second as British Vice-
 “ Consul at some neighbouring state, and you might
 “ thus mutually aid and assist each other. We will
 “ converse on this matter when we meet.

“ Yours faithfully,

Paris, March, 1820. (Signed) “ W. SIDNEY SMITH.”

ments and enterprises in this part of Africa; (k)

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ You will have learned from the English papers that
“ government means to make no alteration this year on
“ the Gold Coast, but that next year they mean to take
“ the management into their own hands, and I think
“ they will act in a very different way from the present
“ Company. I think your claims are so strong, that on
“ being properly urged, they can hardly fail of obtaining
“ an appointment for you. Under these circumstances,
“ I should hardly think it desirable for you to embark
“ in any expedition to Africa, till you see what the
“ changes of the next year will produce.

“ Mr. Wilberforce is interested in your cause, and
“ I trust that I shall have an opportunity this summer,
“ of consulting again with him on the subject. Be
“ assured that I will do any thing in my power to serve
“ you.

“ I am very glad to find that you are acquiring so
“ much knowledge in Paris; it will be an additional
“ claim on government, as rendering your services more
“ useful.

“ Believe me, my dear Sir,

“ Yours very truly,

(Signed) “MOUNTNORRIS.”

Arley Hall,

June 20th, 1820.

T. E. Bowdich, Esq.

(k) *Soho Square, Sept. 5, 1818.*

“ Your account of the kingdom of Ashantee and the
“ capital town of Coomassie, is most interesting, and

and that the Quarterly Review, recollecting

“ the means you point out of penetrating to the town
“ of Timbuctoo, and ascertaining the course of the
“ Joliba, which carry with them a greater probability
“ of success than any that have hitherto come to my
“ knowledge, cannot fail to attract the attention of all
“ who interest themselves in the discovery of the interior
“ of Africa.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

“ J. BANKS.”

“ Vous connaissez mes sentimens pour vous, Monsieur.
“ Il n’y a rien de plus affligeant que de voir entravé dans
“ de nobles projets, un homme qui a déjà déployé tant
“ d’ardeur et de courage. C’est en Angleterre même,
“ il me semble, que votre projet doit trouver le plus
“ d’admirateurs. Comptez toujours sur la part la plus
“ vive que je prends à votre sort.

“ Mille amitiés,

“ HUMBOLDT.”

Mardi,

Quai de l’Ecole.

M. M. Bowdich.

“ The information procured from such wise and
“ moderate undertakings would enable any future
“ mission to proceed with much greater ease and safety
“ into the interior, or prevent them from proceeding,
“ as they hitherto have done to their own destruction:
“ we strongly believe with Mr. Bowdich, that this is the
“ right road to the Niger.”

Edinburgh Review, January, 1820.

all that it has written on this subject, (*l*) will admit, with the rest of my countrymen, that this is the moment for action and discovery

“ Un des chapitres les plus intéressans et les plus utiles
 “ de l'ouvrage de M. Bowdich, c'est celui où il expose
 “ les moyens de lier des relations de commerce avec
 “ l'intérieur de l'Afrique par les établissemens de la côte
 “ de Guinée, et surtout, par l'intermédiaire des Ashantées.
 “ Tenir envers ces peuples une conduite noble et juste,
 “ qui leur inspire du respect pour le caractère Européen,
 “ répandre chez eux par la seule voie de la persuasion et
 “ de l'exemple, les sentimens d'équité, d'humanité, les
 “ idées de travail, d'agriculture et de commerce qui con-
 “ duisent à la civilisation ; les détacher ainsi naturelle-
 “ ment et sans violence de leurs superstitions cruelles
 “ pour les amener à une religion qui prescrit et inspire
 “ toutes les vertus sociales ; en faire ainsi des êtres bons,
 “ laborieux et heureux, telles sont les voies que M. Bow-
 “ dich propose ; tels sont les résultats qu'il regarde
 “ comme possibles, et même comme assurés, en suivant
 “ ces indications. Puisse son plan être adopté par ses
 “ compatriotes, et par les autres nations Européennes
 “ qui ont des établissemens sur les côtes orientales de
 “ l'Afrique ! Alors la civilisation et le bonheur pourront
 “ enfin paraître sur cette vaste partie du monde, si long-
 “ temps en proie aux superstitions, aux massacres, à
 “ l'esclavage, à la barbarie. L'Europe doit ce bienfait
 “ à l'Afrique, en réparation des maux que la traite a
 “ répandus depuis trois siècles sur cette terre infortunée.
 “ Une des considérations sur lesquelles M. Bowdich

instead of discussion and hypothesis, and that in seeking no other recompense for hazardous services, than the permission to expose my life,

“ insiste le plus, et avec raison, à ce qu’il me semble,
 “ c’est l’inutilité presque certaine de tenter désormais
 “ de pénétrer dans l’intérieur de l’Afrique par des entre-
 “ prises isolées, qui, rencontrant à chaque pas des résis-
 “ tances, doivent presque inévitablement finir aussi mal-
 “ heureusement que celles qui ont été essayées déjà.
 “ Tous les intérêts et tous les préjugés des naturels se
 “ réunissent contre ce genre de tentatives. Au lieu
 “ d’essayer encore cette voie hasardeuse, M. Bowdich
 “ propose de s’avancer graduellement dans l’intérieur
 “ par des liaisons politiques, de traiter progressivement
 “ avec les puissances maîtresses du pays, et d’établir chez
 “ elles des résidens accrédités, ayant de la probité, de
 “ l’honneur, du caractère et de l’instruction. Quels
 “ moyens en effet n’auront pas des hommes ainsi placés,
 “ pour recueillir paisiblement, sans obstacle, et sans
 “ inspirer aucune jalousie, tous les renseignemens utiles
 “ qui peuvent faire connaître ces contrées à l’Europe,
 “ et amener un jour leur civilisation ! Combien leur
 “ position ne sera-t-elle pas préférable à celle de voyageurs
 “ isolés, exposés à la malveillance, au soupçon, au pillage,
 “ et qui, s’ils échappent comme Mungo Park a eu une
 “ fois le bonheur de le faire, ne devront ce hazard qu’à
 “ l’indifférence qu’aura excitée pour eux la profonde
 “ misère dans laquelle ils seront tombés ! Dans ces vues
 “ nobles et généreuses, M. Bowdich demande que ces
 “ résidens près des peuples d’Afrique, deviennent aussi
 “ les correspondans de l’Europe entière : il veut qu’ils

under better auspices, for the benefit of commerce, science, and humanity, I am, at least, disinterested.

I conclude, by repeating, that, to become

“ soient chargés de recueillir les renseignemens de tout
“ genre qui leur seront demandés par les savans de toutes
“ les nations : et il espère, non sans vraisemblance, qu’à
“ l’aide de ce plan, nous aurions dans deux ou trois
“ années des stations d’observateurs placés aussi loin que
“ Tombuctoo même.

“ Un semblable projet n’a besoin que d’être énoncé
“ pour avoir l’approbation de tous les hommes éclairés
“ de l’Europe. On peut aisément se figurer tout ce que
“ les sciences naturelles et l’étude de l’antiquité devront
“ y gagner de découvertes. La physique y pourra enfi a
“ obtenir aussi les observations qui lui manquent pour
“ compléter les lois de la distribution du magnétisme
“ terrestre, dont, partout l’intérieur de l’Afrique, on
“ n’a pas la moindre notion ; elle y trouvera encore des
“ données météorologiques d’un intérêt extrême.”

Biot, Journal des Savans, Août.

(l) “ When we find Englishmen of rank, of family,
“ and of fortune, foregoing all the pleasures within their
“ reach, for a voluntary exile ; exposing themselves
“ with their eyes open to all the inconveniences and
“ hardships of painful and perilous jounies, to the
“ effects of bad climates and pestilential diseases, not
“ merely out of idle curiosity, but for the sake of seeing
“ with their own eyes, hearing with their own ears,
“ and of obtaining that information and receiving those
“ impressions which books alone can never give, we

intimately acquainted with the interior of Africa, and to tranquillize it, are the first great steps towards commercial intercourse and civilization.

To place residents in situations to mediate between the great contending kingdoms, and to originate commerce, is not only the most humane, the most prudent, and the most economical, but the only legitimate method of acquiring political influence and power.

Assured that benevolence is associated with commerce in the views of the British government in Africa, it is desirable for the happiness of the natives, as well as our own interests, that we should be the first to explore and attach the interior powers; the views of other European settlers on the coast, who would anticipate us, being more selfish, or simply commercial.

If we are anticipated by the Dutch in seeking alliances with the interior kingdoms, the prosperity of the British settlements will not only be sacrificed; but their safety endangered.

“ ought to be proud of this national trait peculiarly
“ characteristic, we believe, of British youth; and so
“ far from visiting their literary omissions with critical
“ severity, we should consider their communications
“ entitled to every indulgence.”

Quarterly Review, October, 1816.

The rivalry of science being a generous one, we should strive, being in possession of the field, to be the most conspicuous in making discoveries, and dissipating the errors respecting the interior of Africa.

The address of residents would daily extend and strengthen the British influence, induce and preserve peace, originate and nurse commercial intercourse, communicate encouraging impressions of the British character to the more distant kingdoms, introduce or improve the arts and habits connected with civilization, and by example and temperate reasoning gradually superinduce a disposition more congenial to humanity, if not to the true religion. Residents would also collect for geographers and naturalists the rare *desiderata* and novelties unattainable by travellers *en passant*, and pave the way for missions to more distant countries; by a chain of which we may not only reach, but establish ourselves on the Niger.

The present grant thus expended, would be productive of benefit to Africa, and of fame, honour, and wealth to Great Britain.*

* See the "*African Committee*," Longman, 1819, p. 18, 19, and 70. Also the "*Mission to Ashantee*," p. 338 to 343, and 453 to 460.

ESSAY

ON THE GEOGRAPHY

OF

NORTH-WESTERN AFRICA.

A Map of *Africa*, founded exclusively on the routes of travellers and detailed Itineraries, must not only be interesting, but highly necessary and useful; it will guide the traveller without deceiving him, and direct his efforts to those great points which are undetermined, whilst the suggestions of notes, recording the names of those countries which have been reported to us without Itineraries or distances, will afford him a clue for his enquiries.

On such a solid basis, the Geography of *Africa* will make a sure, if not a rapid progress; and by honestly exposing the nakedness of the map, we shall stimulate enterprise, and state our debt to science in a manner too striking to be a secondary obligation with those, who, like the members of the African Association, would not merely be just but generous in her cause.

The severely discussed Itineraries of Mr. Walckenaer, from *Tripoli* to *Timbuctoo* and *Kassina*, are, in the present imperfect state of our knowledge, invaluable additions to those which have been consecrated by the patience and judgment of Major Rennell, and to the routes of Hornemann and Browne. The three routes of Park, and the more limited tracks of the French travellers, are all that can be relied on or admitted for the regions west of *Timbuctoo*.

The route to *Ashantee*, the navigations of Colonel Starrenbourg, the excursions of Isert, and other hitherto unconnected data, which I shall discuss in their place, will enable us to reform and enlarge D'Anville's special map of the coast of *Guinea* and its interior, or rather to originate one for those parts, which must be a very close approximation to the truth.

The hourly arrivals in *Coomassie* of visitors, merchants, and slaves from the tributary kingdoms of *Gaman*, *Soko*, *Banda*, *Inta*, *Dagwumba*, *Gamba*, *Booroom*, and even from *Mosee* and *Kong*, with the daily departures of *Ashantee* caravans to all of these countries, and the checks and intersections their various and detailed routes afford us, furnish a positive knowledge, which, if laid down with caution and discussed with candor, will establish the *British* claim to the discovery of these regions, by solid outlines, which the grateful and assisted traveller of any other nation may

fill up and correct, but which he will never find reason to erase.

The shorter routes branching off from these kingdoms to *Fobee*, *Callana*, and less important nations, guide us with fidelity, if not with precision; and the detailed Itineraries from *Coomassie* to *Jennie*, from *Dagwumba* to the ferries of the *Niger* at *Yaora* and *Gamhadi*, the most important of which, wherein every day's halt is particularised, is now published for the first time, conduct us over the remaining blank space between the *Gold Coast* and the *Niger*, with much less uncertainty than we could have hoped for, in the first instance of our being able to reach it by distances and descriptions.

The candour and diffidence of the Moors who wrote and drew for me, the caution and minuteness with which they described their partial travels, and the numerous coincidences which I have discovered in geographers and travellers, Arab and European, whose relations were unknown to me at the time of my first publication, compel us to admit that their routes and distances to *Houssa*, *Cassina*, and *Bornoo*, from one kingdom on the banks of the *Niger* to another, in an order and time uniform and probable, are the only credible descriptions, the only itineraries we have for this part of the interior, and ought to be substituted for the uncertain and perhaps forgotten positions of *Edrisi*, whose complicated system has never

been delineated in an entire map, but only partially extracted, to be mixed up with that of Ptolemy and modern relations (1). Supported by the itineraries which have been procured by Browne and Burckhardt, the present will firmly await the corrections and additions of more perfect details and more fortunate travellers: *Quod ad opus, posteritate conficiendum, si hoc meo labore pauca etiam contulero, omnino contentus ero.*

This map will at least possess the same claim to approbation which has been acknowledged in so flattering a manner in the reviews of the geography of the *Mission to Ashantee*, that of presenting no hypothesis of my own, but simply what is actually known, or what is founded on detailed itineraries which have been submitted to every possible test of comparison and investigation (2).

The close woody country through which we marched from the coast to *Coomassie*, appears,

(1) Edrisi is only known to us by an imperfect and mutilated abridgment, which appeared in Arabic in 1592, and was translated into Latin in 1619. It is to be desired that some of our oriental scholars would examine the Edrisi MSS. in the Bodleian library at Oxford, in the hope of correcting or enlarging that edited by Hartmann.

(2) The hypothesis of the liberal-minded Major Rennell is traced, however, in faint lines, and the system of D'Anville is subjoined. The speculations of such men as these are best justified in the words of Cicero: *Ingenii magni est præcipere cogitatione futura, nec committere, ut aliquando dicendum sit, non putabam.*

from a variety of evidence, to extend as far as the rivers *Tando* and *Sennee*, which separate it from the open and sometimes sandy region of *Sarem*, a name which we should have mistaken for that of a kingdom, had not our residence in *Coomassie* been sufficiently long to correct, materially, almost all we had collected or concluded from the enquiries of the first three months. The conviction, from experience, that shorter residences are insufficient for obtaining correct descriptions of such extensive regions, abates my surprise at the contradictions furnished to Park in his first and second journey, respecting the countries between *Jennie* and the *Gold Coast* (1).

The horizontal value of the day's journey in the close woody countries, is calculated from our own experience of that made good in the march to *Coo-*

(1) I have already submitted these contradictions (*Mission to Ashantee*, p. 284), but we are to recollect that the route from the Niger to the Gold Coast was not the great object of Park's enquiry; all his views were directed eastward; and I have explained why the route from *Jennie* to the *Coast* is very little travelled, and consequently very little known. The absurd presumption of Mr. Molliou in altering the sources of the *Niger*, is candidly exposed in the present publication; and the still more presumptuous ignorance of Mr. Robertson (*Notes on Africa*, 8vo. London, 1819), in asserting that "all the names of persons which are mentioned in Mr. Park's journal, either of *Sego* or *Sansanding*, appear to have been feigned for the purpose of deceiving him," etc., is only worth noticing in the Appendix.

massie from the *Coast*, or about 10 G. miles in a journey of 15. Fifteen G. miles a day, I am persuaded both from experience and observation, as well as from a variety of evidence, both Moorish and Negro, is quite as much as should be reckoned on in a series of marches.

The personal knowledge of the *Ashantees* ends at *Kong* northwards, and at *Gamba* north-eastwards; that it extends to *Timbuctoo* and the *Niger*, is a wild assertion, wholly unfounded. The itinerary from *Kong* to *Jennie* being the only one unauthenticated, otherwise than by the repeated cross examination of the individual who furnished it, is not submitted with the same confidence as the others; but I had reason to think well of the Moor who gave it me, and he never contradicted himself, although repeatedly cross questioned, during four months residence in *Coomassie*. From *Kong* to the *Niger* was said to be a very laborious and dangerous journey for travellers, from the frequent mountains in the route, and from the inhabitants of several of the smaller states being professed banditti: this accounts for forty-seven days being required to perform the distance.

The *Coomba* river, *Zamma* of the Moors, crossed in going from *Gaman* to *Kong*, was always described as broad, deep, and flowing westward; of its source (probably in the *Koondoongooree* mountains, adjoining that of the *Adirree* or *Volta*) I know nothing, nor can I pretend to continue it

westward, for the Ashantees could not furnish me with the smallest clue (1). The Moors rarely frequent this northern route, for the nations are much less commercial and more barbarous than those on the north-eastern route to the *Niger* or *Quolla*, who have many of them received the Koran, and whose comparative civilisation will, I expect, surprise us even more than that of the Ashantees (2).

(1) According to Mr. Mollien, the native name of the Rio-Grande is *Comba*.

(2) Nothing could exceed the contradictory reports of the name and situation of the *Ashantees* before the mission to that country. Dalzel, governor of Cape Coast Castle, and author of the *History of Dahomy*, pronounced them to be the same as the *Intas* and *Tapahs*; Mr. Lucas and Dr. Leyden concluded *Ashantee* to be the same as *Inta*; D'Anville placed it north of the *Assinee* river; Romer, north of the *Volta*; Van der Bosch, behind *Einkira*; Bruns concluded *Kassentäi* and *Ashantee* to be the same, as Ehrman also insisted; but Oldendorp declared that *Kassentäi* was not the name of a people, but meant "I do not understand you," their common reply when spoken to on their arrival at the coast, to which they were brought from a country called *Tjemba*, distant six or seven months journey, the king of which was called *Ataöad*, and lived in the great city of *Gambaak*: *Tjemba* is evidently the kingdom of *Gamba*, N. E. of *Dagwumba*. Muller wrote that the *Ashantees* were the same as the *Akasses*, and that *Alanshee* was between them and the coast, which Adelung immediately concluded to be the *Calanshee* of Imhamed. Another Danish writer informed us that *Kassentäi* was two months journey south-east of *Ashantee*, and that the traders travelled from the one country to the other in caravans

The similarity of the names *Quolla* and *Kulla*; led me to believe that the latter, or the river of Browne, might be a continuation of the *Niger*, as Park had concluded; but the result of the calculation of the itineraries shews that the *Niger* or *Quolla* must flow much to the northward of the *Kulla*: yet Browne's reporting both a kingdom and a river of the name of *Kulla*, and all the Moors and Negroes I consulted persisting that there is a kingdom called *Quolla*, as well as a river, incline me to suspect that he has placed his *Kulla* too far to the south, and that it may not flow to the west-

of 3 or 4000 men, and always armed, from their dread of a very large species of bird of prey. Adelung's *Mithridates* 3th, 1 abth; Bruns, *Erd beschreibung von Africa* 4, p. 375; Oldendorp's *Account of the Danish Missions*; Isert's *Reise naar Guinea*, 1797. The ideas of the great wealth of the king of *Ashantee* were not less erroneous: even the judicious Isert tells us that "the king of *Ashantee* has a piece of gold as a charm, which four men cannot carry;" and in Bruns we learn that the king's furniture is covered with gold, that they do not know the value of it, and give large quantities for a little rum. The impression of the natives of other countries of the great riches of *Ashantee*, is artfully strengthened by the king and chiefs, who cause the greater part of their gold to be moulded or beaten into thin plates, to cover different ornaments and instruments, changing the shapes and patterns by remoulding them at every "yam custom," or annually. The largest piece of native gold which passed through our hands in *Coomassie*, weighed 14 ounces. According to Humboldt, the largest ever found in *South America* weighed 25lbs.; and it is said that a piece of gold was found in *Peru*, near *la Paz*, in the year 1730, weighing 45lbs.—Jameson's *Mineralogy*.

ward, as was presumed (1). The most northern *Dar Kulla* of Browne, for it will be recollected that his map and itineraries present two countries of that name, falls pretty nearly in the same latitude as our *Quolla*, but more to the eastward.

It is worthy of remark that Browne places his *Bahr Chauzi*, suppressed in Rennell's map, to the north of his *Kulla*, as all the Moorish travellers drew and described their *Bahr Caudee* to the north of the *Quolla*. There are several recent authorities in support of the existence and position of the kingdom of *Quolla* or *Quorra*, first laid down in the map of the Mission to Ashantee. Mr. Dupuis informs us that a Negro of *Bambarra*, bought at *Timbuctoo*, had spoken to him of a powerful nation of the interior, named *Gallo* or *Quallo*, where he had been carried as a slave, and which, from his representations, appeared more advanced in arts and civilisation than the others. Mr. Dupuis adds: "This country must be to the south-east of *Bambarra*: about three journies from the capital of *Quallo* is a considerable lake, or rather a river, which communicates with the Niger, and by which the Negro escaped." (2) Seetzen was informed of the *Dar Kuarra* (or the kingdom of *Quorra*) by

(1) "The course of the rivers (of the route from Wara to Kulla), if rightly given, is, for the most part, from east to west."
—Browne's *Travels*, p. 449.

(2) Appendix to the *Narrative of Robert Adams*.

the Ader Arab (1). Lastly, Burekhardt writes that *Dar-gulla* is one of the Negro countries south of *Bergoo* (2).

The oriental scholars of England and France transcribe the name *Quorra* or *Quolla*, as *Koad* or *Coud*; but it appears to me that they have decyphered the letter *lam* as a *dal*, and have thus made *Kouda* of *Koula*, it being scarcely possible to distinguish these two letters unless very well written. However this may be, the Negroes call it *Quorra*, and the Moors *Quolla*, the latter generally substituting the *l* for the *r* of the former (3).

(1) Adelung's *Mithridates* 3th. 1 abth., p. 146-8.

(2) Burekhardt's *Travels in Nubia*, p. 486.

(3) This substitution characterises the *Bashmouric* dialect of the *Coptic* language, and is also common to the *Chayma*, *Carribbee*, and *Tamanach* languages, as Humboldt observes, "from a defect of pronunciation common in every zone." Hornemann was told that the *Niger* was called *Gaora* after passing *Timbuctoo*, which agrees with its Negro name *Quorra*, with the exception of the substitution of *g* for *q*, as the French geographers write *Quadamis* for *Gadamis*, *Quana* for *Gana*, etc. Every Arabic student knows that the letter *k* is frequently softened into *g*, the city of *Kaw* on the *Nile*, the ancient *Antæopolis*, was formerly called *Gaw*, and it is shewn in my itineraries that the city which the Negroes call *Shago*, is written *Shako* by the Moors. Mr. Salt writes *k* where Mr. Bruce wrote *g*, as *Kella* for *Gella*; and the Portuguese missionaries wrote *Calla* and *Galla* indifferently.

As a further illustration of the substitution of *l* for *r*, Ludolf writes the name of the flat *Abyssinian* district between the mountains westward of the lake *Dembia*, *Kolla* or *Kulla*, according to the pronunciation of Gregory of *Abyssinia*, whereas Mr. Bruce

In addition to the evidence already familiar to my readers, of *Joliba* being merely a figurative name, signifying "the great river," I have to offer that of Seetzen, who tells us that the *Phellata* Arab of *Ader* knew the great river *Gulbi*, and said that this word signified a sea amongst the *Negroës*, who also call the Nile of Egypt *Gulbi*.

From *Jennie* overland to *Timbuctoo* is twelve journies, through the large towns or districts which appear in the map (1). Ebn Batuta (2), who writes it *Kuara*. *Kuara* is a generic name in *Abyssinia* for the vast flats formed in the intervals of mountains, "In locis planis atque depressis quæ *Kolla Habessin* dicuntur," as Ludolf expresses it; and it is curious to find, in Barrow, that *Koorra* is the generic name of the *Hottentots* for the same parts of their country. Mr. Browne was informed that his *Kulla* was a flat alluvial country.

(1) Hadjee Mohammed told Mr. Cahil that it was ten journies by land from *Jennie* to *Timbuctoo*. Our *Masheena*, in this route, is evidently the *Masina* of Park. A large city, called *Masana*, was reported to Colonel Fitzclarence, by Hadjee Talub, as twenty days S. E. of *Timbuctoo*. (Fitzclarence's *Narrative*, p. 497.) Is this the *Masina* of Park misplaced by the Arab? or is it the *Wassanah* of Sidi Hamed, which, according to his report to Riley, is nearly three times the distance, or fifty-four journies from *Timbuctoo* in a S. E. direction? The position assigned to *Wassanah* by the American geographer, Mr. Eddy, is recorded in faint lines in my map, although we did not hear of it in *Ashantee*; nor did we hear of *Bimbinah*, six journies from *Timbuctoo*, where the river began to flow directly S. E. The river on which *Wassanah* is situated may prove to be the same as the large river *Wole* or *Wola*.

(2) J. G. Kosegarten, *De Mohammede, Ebn Batuta, Arabe*

visited *Timbuctoo* before Leo Africanus, relates, that he went from *Eixelaten*, the *Walet* of Park, through a desert of twenty-four journies, to the city of *Malli*: this is the city of *Mali* or *Mallaiu*, laid down in all the *Ashantee* itineraries and Moorish drawings of the course of the *Niger*. From *Sagheri* he went to the city of *Karsechu* on the Nile, the nearest modern name to which, in the

Tingitano ejusque itineribus, in 4°. Jenæ. 1818. Ebn Batuta, a native of *Tangier*, travelled during twenty years, and traversed *Egypt*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, the *Greek Empire*, *Tartary*, *Persia*, *India*, *Ceylon*, *Java* and *China*, in the fourteenth century; he was fifty-three years of age when he returned to *Africa*, and undertook a new travel into the interior of that continent, and visited *Timbuctoo*, *Melli*, and many other of its kingdoms. He afterwards returned home and wrote his travels, of which unhappily we possess but an extract. Leo Africanus tells us that the ancient Arabic authors who preceded him, El Bahri and El Meschudi, could not afford any descriptions of the Negro countries, because they were not discovered until the year of the Hegira 350, A. D. 971. Leo was a native of *Grenada*, accompanied his uncle to *Timbuctoo* (who was sent there on an embassy by the king of *Fez* in the beginning of the sixteenth century), and remained four years in the interior of *Africa*. The then reigning monarch was Abubakir Ischia, a Negro who had commanded the armies of the former king *Soniheli*, but who revolted at his death, and in fifteen years recovered the empire of the *Soudan* from the Moors, and established that commerce at *Timbuctoo* which was formerly carried on with *Djennie*. This enterprising Negro, according to Leo, seized the kingdom of *Gualata*, to the north, rendered *Agadez* and *Melli* his tributaries, and conquered *Gubar*, *Cano*, *Cassena*, *Zegzeg* and *Zanfara*; but *Wangara* preserved its independence.

same position, is *Makasoorfoo*, probably the *Soorka* of Park (1).

The existence of the river of *Timbuctoo*, so clearly indicated by the expression of Leo Africanus, *vicino a un ramo del Niger*, seems supported by the observation of Ebn Batuta, "that the city is about four miles from the river," which answers to that Sidi Hamet described as one hour's ride on a camel southwards, the *Niger* being two hours ride distant. Hag Cassem describes *Timbuctoo* as situated in a plain, three quarters of a league from a river, which is said to have been formerly close to it (2). The course of this river, according to Hag

(1) I have since observed that Burckhardt, in his extracts from the abridgment of Ebn Batuta's travels, writes this name *Kar Sendjou*; he also writes *Sagher*, *Zaghary*, and mentions one or two names which I do not recollect to have seen in Kosegarten. Apparently each had a different abridgment of these travels, for Burckhardt tells us there are two, one by Ibn Djezy el Kelby, and the other, which he possessed, by Ibn Fathallah el Beylouny.

(2) This assertion, which seems to be supported by the remark of Leo Africanus, that "when the *Niger* rose, the water flowed through certain canals into the city," makes it probable that the river passing *Timbuctoo* was formerly more considerable than at present: indeed, we should always bear in mind that no small changes must have taken place in the large lakes and rivers of the interior of Africa since the time of Ptolemy, and even since that of Edrisi. The observations of Pallas confirm the authority of the ancient geographers for our belief that the *Caspian Sea*, formerly connected with the lake *Aral*, was once almost equal in extent to the *Mediterranean*. Herodotus shows us that the *Pa-*

Cassem, is from east to west (1); Leo Africanus, Abd Arrachman Aga (2), and Mr. Denon's informant, the brother of the king of *Darfoor*, whom he saw at *Girge* (3), to say nothing of Adams, assert that the river of *Timbuctoo* flows to the west; Mr. Hutchison received the same information, but I was told the contrary.

A traveller must record and communicate the declarations of the natives, however contradictory to his own impressions and opinions; and I must confess I hailed the declaration of the Jennie Moor to Mr. Hutchison, "that the river passing *Timbuctoo* falls into the *Niger*," with secret satisfaction; for my own opinion is, that the *Gambaroo*

lus Mæotis, or *Sea of Azof*, was, in his time, as large as the *Euxine*. The *Adour* is known to have fallen into the sea, 2400 yards from its present mouth. Cuvier, *Discours prélim.* p. 93. The city of Nueva Valencia el Rey was built in 1555, half a league distant from the lake, the length of which was to its breadth as 7 : 3. Humboldt found the city a league and a half distant from the lake, and the proportion between the length and breadth 7 : $\frac{1}{2}$. *Relat. histor.* t. 2, p. 69. Wiebeking, in his beautiful map of the *Rhine*, traces the considerable alterations which have taken place in the course of that river, and affixes the date of each.

(1) Hag Cassem is the author of one of the Itineraries to *Timbuctoo*, addressed to the Institute by the French consul, translated by Mr. de Sacy, and investigated by Mr. Walckenaer, who furnished Mr. Ritchie with copies of them.

(2) Niebuhr, *Deutsches Museum Stuck.* 1790, p. 963-1004.

(3) *Voyage en Egypte*, t. 1, p. 309.

flowing westward into the *Quolla* instead of eastward from it, may be the *Niger* of the *Arab* geographers flowing from east to west, whilst the *Quolla* flowing from west to east is the *Niger* of the *Europeans*: the Arab geographers always place *Kassina* and *Kano* about the same distance from the *Niger* as our informants reported them to be from the *Gambaroo*, which is another argument for my expectation. We must consider the equal reputation and unquestionable veracity of several of the authorities on both sides of the question; and the simple presumption that the course of the one river, the *Gambaroo*, has been mistaken, sometimes by me and sometimes by the Moors I consulted in *Coomassie*, and that it flows from east to west, passes near *Timbuctoo*, and falls into the *Niger* or *Quolla*, reconciles the whole, offers no offence to probability, nor any thing singularly new in geography (1). The hypothesis which requires the simplest and the smallest alterations in acknowledged reports and opinions, and which

(1) It appears to me, as most probable, that the *Gambaroo* falls into the *Niger* or *Quolla* between *Jennie* and *Timbuctoo*, which would explain the following important passage in *Leo Africanus*: “Alcuni dicono, che 'l detto fiume *Niger* incomincia uscire della parte d'occidente da certi monti, e correndo verso oriente, si converte in un lago, il che non è vero: perciò che noi navigammo dal regno di *Tombutto*, dalla parte di levante scorrendo per l'acqua fino al regno di *Ghinea*.” — *Ramusio*, t. 1, p. 1. D.

reconciles or verifies the greater number of credited authorities, is always to be preferred.

Park learned that the *Niger* divides into two branches; but he was also informed that they unite again, which has been doubted. *Djennie* has been described by a Moorish emissary sent from *Senegal*, as half a league distant from the point of the final separation of the two rivers (1). Ebn Batuta writes that "he left *Maly*, and came to a branch of the *Nile*, where he saw a great number of hippopotami, and from which he repaired to *Timbuctoo*." (2) The Ader Arab told Seetzen "that *Melli* was situated between the two principal arms of the great river." (3) This, it must be allowed, is strong evidence of the truth of my report of there being two large rivers flowing through these regions: indeed, it appears to me to be the only way of explaining Edrisi's remark on *Wangara*, *Nil ambit hanc terram* (4), and Ebn

(1) See the original information in Appendix I of the *Narrative of Robert Adams*.

(2) Burckhardt's *Travels*, Appendix III.

(3) Adelung's *Mithridates* 3th, p. 146-8. Seetzen well merited the following generous encomium of Burckhardt: "I am certain that you take a lively interest in the travels of the unfortunate Seetzen, who was poisoned five years ago in *Yemen*. His labours, I can assure you, have been very extensive, and conducted in a most enlightened manner. Although endowed with a lively fancy, and even with considerable poetical talents, he was a man of plain truth." — Page lxiii.

(4) Hartmann's *Edrisi*, p. 48.

al Ouardi's description of the same country as a peninsula, 300 miles long and 150 wide, bounded on three sides by the water (1).

I do not feel authorised, however, to continue the *Gambaroo* to its alledged junction with the river of *Timbuctoo* : in fact, I do not pretend to lay down either its source or termination; whether it flows to or from the lake *Caudie*, and waters *Oongooroo* or *Wangara*, as I am inclined to expect, remains for future travellers to determine (2).

Before we trace the course of the *Niger* or *Quolla* according to the itineraries, we must follow them from *Dagæumba* to this river.

The position of *Sallagha*, the great market of *Inta*, has been pretty well determined by the routes to the banks of the *Adirree* or *Volta*^{Arce}, by the distance and the route overland from *Odentee*, the highest point of the river to which the salt carriers

(1) Ebn al Ouardi, *Perte des Merveilles*. Mélange de Géographie et d'Histoire naturelle. Des Guignes, dans les *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, tom. 2, pag. 36.

(2) The *Ssansarra* river of Ebn Batuta probably derived its name from watering *Zanfarra*, which Niebuhr writes *Sanfara*, (as the *Niger* is called *Zimbala* whilst passing *Jimbala*), and may, therefore, be the same river as the *Gambaroo* : if what Bochart says be true, that the Arabs use *m* and *b* indifferently, *Gambaroo* would seem to be derived from *Goobirree*, the large kingdom which it waters on the north; but the etymology of the name of this second large river is of very secondary importance compared with the proof of its existence.

navigate from the coast : the river *Laka*, described as flowing from the neighbourhood of *Yahndi* into the *Adirree*, is probably the *Assuafrroo* of the salt carriers. Of the nature of the country to the eastward of *Inta*, the daring expedition of Zai Oppokoo, as related by Roemer (1), gives us a pretty good idea. In 1744, according to this Danish author, who resided as a trader on the coast, a king of the *Ashantees*, called Oppokoo, put himself at the head of a powerful army to make war upon a Mahometan nation situated far to the north-east. He marched twenty-one days through a woody country intersected by rivers, afterwards fourteen days across a sandy country without water, in which he lost many men, and then entered a fertile country, populous, abounding in all kinds of provisions, and the towns of which were exceedingly large. He possessed himself of several towns and a large booty, but the people of the country suddenly surrounded him with an immense body of cavalry : nevertheless, he carried off several slaves, and many MSS. written in Arabic, which afterwards fell into the hands of the *Danes*, the masters of *Accra* (2).

(1) Roemer. Nachrichten von der Küstr Guinea. Kopenhag. 1769.

(2) Bruns concluded that the country thus invaded by the king of *Ashantee*, was the *Degombah* which Imhammed made known to Mr. Lucas. But *Yarriba* and *Hio* are the most powerful nations of this part of the interior, whereas *Dagwumba* has been

I have placed *Yahndi* about a third of a degree more to the northward than in the map sketched tributary to *Ashantee* nearly a century : we witnessed the humble deportment of the ambassadors who brought the tribute from this far more civilised country at the yam custom. The *Dagwumbas* are almost impotent in war, from their devotion to commerce, and the Ashantees despise their troops too much even to use the stipulated contingency in their system of subjugating other nations with the troops of those already conquered. Apokoo told us, more than once, that there were three countries which would not pay tribute to *Ashantee*, two eastward, and one to the north west; each of those eastward had defeated the Ashantees. Speaking at another time of their defeat by the eastward nation, Apokoo added, that their king afterwards sent a message through the intervening states, begging the Ashantees to send another army, putting some particular mark on the single individual they wished his soldiers to spare, as the messenger of the second victory. Apokoo generally concluded that the Ashantees must have a *cavalry*, of which they are entirely destitute, before they could fight again with these people. The cavalry of the *Hios* amounts to several thousand, and they overwhelm their neighbouring country, *Dahomey*, at their pleasure. Truro Audati, one of the earliest kings of *Dahomey*, artfully averted destruction and stole a victory, by leaving a large quantity of rum and brandy in his abandoned camp, whilst he lay in ambush in a neighbouring wood; the *Hios* greedily exhausted the unknown nectar, and were butchered during their intoxication. During my residence at *Coomassie*, I had the gratification of explaining away an unfavourable impression of the king's with respect to the *Danish* governor in chief, Major Richter, whose polite acknowledgment of my opportune interference encouraged me, on my return to the Coast, to address him on the subject of the records in the archives of *Christiansbourg Castle*. The major had died a few days before my letter arrived, but his son answered me at some

for the *Mission to Ashantee*; the cross distance from *Daboia* required it (1). In the north route from *Yahndi* to the *Quolla* is *Goorooma*, a considerable kingdom, the position of which is confirmed by a second route to it from *Fobee*; it is, without doubt, the *Gurma* of the Fellata Arab questioned by Seetzen. *Matchaquawdi* and *Doolooë* are less important. *Ensoko*, sometimes called *Sokoquo* (2), is three journies from *Yahndi*. The

length, and informed me that governor Schionning, the predecessor of Major Richter, had destroyed all the books and records in the office, not long before his death, to prevent the exposure of the censured proceedings of his administration. If such was the case, the only hope is that these important MSS. may have been previously transmitted to *Copenhagen*, and deposited in the royal library. This note may procure the world some satisfactory information on this interesting subject.

(1) Yakouti, surnamed Abdorraschid, an Arab geographer of the fifteenth century (*Notice des Manuscrits*, tom. 2, p. 386), mentions a district called *Tephaouah* as south of *Mogreb* (Western Africa), near the ocean, where there were many mines of salt and alum. *Tafou* still exists as an old aboriginal town in *Ashantee*, and formerly belonging to the kingdom of *Inta*, the limits of which have been thus gradually narrowed by the *Ashantees*. Salt is still found near *Daboia*, the second town of *Inta*, whether in lakes or pits I do not know; and the translator should probably have written sal ammoniac instead of alum, the former being found in *Inta* and brought in large quantities to the *Ashantee* markets. The mountains in which the *Tando* rises are also still called *Toofeea*, and are probably the *Tafou* mountains placed by D'Anville in the interior of *Guinea*.

(2) This *Ensoko* is distinct from the *Soko* north of *Ashantee*,

positions of *Mosee*, *Fobee*, *Calanna*, probably the *Calanshee* of Imhammed, have already been determined by as close reasoning as the evidence will permit, in the geographical chapter of the *Mission to Ashantee*, wherein the route from *Dagwumba* to *Yawoorree* on the *Niger*, through *Zoogoo*, *Barragoo* (1), *Kaiama* (2), and *Wawwaw*, said to be the burial place of Mungo Park, is also detailed (3).

or the country which is the most productive of gold. The latter is the *Soko* reported by the Danish missionaries and other writers as six or seven weeks journey from the coast, as more civilised than the other nations, and, which I never heard of, as professing christianity mixed up with national superstitions. (*Adelung's Mithridates 3th.*; *Bruns*, vol. 4). *Bruns* concluded *Soko* and *Ensoko* to be the same; but *Ehrman* said positively that *Insoko*, as he wrote it, was not the same as *Soko*, which *Oldendorp* confirmed. *Uwang*, mentioned to the Danish missionaries as the neighbour of *Soko*, is probably our *Yngwa*.

(1) *Barragoo* is evidently the *Boorgoo* of D'Anville, justly concluded to be near the river of *Lamlam*, which is our *Lecasa*.

(2) *Kaiama* appears to have been known to *Ebn al Ouardi*, who writes (l. c. p. 36) that north of *Samkara*, an inland city, there is a nomadic people called *Ghama* or *Khama*, who visit the banks of a river which flows from the east into the Nile or *Niger*. The *Lecasa* river, bordering *Kaiama*, is said to flow into the *Niger* or *Quolla*; and that these people should have become stationary in their favourite haunt, is not extraordinary, when we recollect that the *Abyssinians* lived in camps rather than towns not very long before the time of their historian *Gregory*, and that *Ebn al Ouardi* is an author of the thirteenth century.

(3) *Wawwaw* is evidently the *Wawa* mentioned by *Oldendorp* as "very far in the interior," and the numerals of which

Yarriba, laid down on the authority of two coinciding MS. routes as six journies south of the *Leeasa* river, which communicates with the *Niger*, will be found to be a very important kingdom in that part of *Africa* (1).

In my first map, drawn in *Africa* before I had the advantage of more reading and reflection on the subject, and before I was possessed of a translation of the *Mecca* itinerary, I inconsiderately concluded *Katima* and *Cassina* to be distinct

are recorded in Adelung. I never heard of the *Carmasce* of Amadi Fatouma whilst in Ashantee; but I do not doubt its existence, since De Lisle and D'Anville place their *Cormachy* in this neighbourhood.

(1) In discussing the situation of this powerful kingdom, the *Yarba* of Imhammed, I considered his maritime country of *Affow* to be *Afflow* or *Afflahoo*, a town of the *Kerrapay* country and on the coast; but from its greater importance, I have since concluded that it must be the kingdom of *Affla*, formerly the great mart for slaves from this part of the interior. Isert informs us (p. 127) that the capital is situated five miles east of the beach, in a marshy bottom, adding, that from the number of men and equipages which he observed to form the suite of the king, this city cannot be contemptible, as Bosman has asserted in contradiction of the flattering descriptions of Desmarchais and Barbot. The power of the king of *Affla* has, however, been very much diminished since the abolition of the slave trade. Mr. Hutchison reported the distance from *Katanga*, the capital of *Yarriba*, to *Dahomey*, as twenty-eight journies; (*Mission to Ashantee*, p. 209); this measurement is very important in verification of my other lines or itineraries, which require thirty journies as the distance.

cities : I have now corrected this error. Brahma writes that this city is twenty-five journies from the *Houssa* ferry, and the Negroes called it one month's travel (1). *Gamhadi* is the first kingdom north of the *Quolla* in this direction, a city and district of which, called *Dogondaghi*, would appear to be the *Dandudjighi* reported to Niebuhr as a large city in the territory of *Cassina* : it is fifteen journies from *Gamhadi* to *Houssa*, the *Gambaroo* being crossed the ninth, and the small state of *Zessa* laying between the river and the capital. *Mallowa* or *Marrowa* appears to be a region comprehending the kingdoms of *Houssa*, *Zamfarra* (2), *Cassina*, and some others.

(1) *Souoola*, one of the large towns of this route, is apparently, from its name and situation, the *Zaouila* of Yakouti, who describes it as a city without walls, the inhabitants of which know the print of the foot of a stranger from that of one of their own people.

(2) *Zamfarra* is the *Sanfarra* of Seetzen Ader Arab, who told him that Osman ibn Phoduah was the regent of it, and that he was the patriarch of all the Mahometans of the *Niger* countries, who made pilgrimages to him. Abdarrachman told Niebuhr that *Sanfarra* was three months journey from *Tripoli*, and the residence of the king of *Afnoo* (reported to Browne as west of *Bornoo*, and abounding in silver), adding, that *Kaschna* was in the route from *Sanfarra* to *Fezzan*. Seetzen was informed that *Goobir* was but three journies from *Kassina* : I was always told eight. *Fillani* is evidently the *Fullan* reported by Ben Ali to the African Association as west of *Kassina*, and *Kallaghee* is probably the *Collega* of De Lisle, misplaced by him. The positions assigned to these countries in my map, are further confirmed by

Mallowa is undoubtedly the *Melli* of Leo, placed south of the *Niger* by modern geographers, merely because Hartmann, in the absence of all traces of the name, suggested that *Lamlam* might be an anagram of it (1). Nothing can more clearly identify *Melli* and *Mallowa* than the description of Leo : “ *Melli* regio quæ extendit se ad flumen “ quoddam quod ex Nilo effluit trecenta millia “ passuum;” and Major Rennell observes that we should naturally look for *Melli* eastward of *Timbuctoo*. It was reported to Cadamosto in 1455, as thirty journies beyond *Timbuctoo*, which is the distance of *Houssa*, the capital city of this region, according to the best authorities. It appears also to be the *Mali* to which Ebn Battuta repaired from *Sanfarra* or *Zamfarra*, and whence he proceeded to *Timbuctoo* : he remarks that an excellent policy reigned throughout this country, that the inhabitants are zealous Mahometans, and that strangers may reside there in perfect safety. *Mallowa* is also the *Melly* of Marmol, and evidently the *Melli* laid

one of the itineraries sent home by Mr. Fromont, the French vice-consul at *Tripoli* in 1791, wherein it is said to be fifty-seven journies from *Caschena* to *Marmara*, through *Zamfarra*, *Javouri* and *Nifi*.

(1) Adelung condemns this analogy of Hartmann's as inadmissible, and tells us that *Lamlam* means *salt* : *Lamlam* is the word for *salt* in the *Foolah* vocabulary procured by Mr. Mollien, and the *Foulahs* are known to have spread as far as *Bornoo* eastward, and to the fourteenth parallel northward.

down east of *Tagazza*, *Sudan* and *Tenbuck* (*Timbuctoo*), in the old map in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, in Paris (which was engraved on wood about the middle of the fourteenth century), with the remark : *A quest luggar Negre appellat Mussè Melly, senyor de los Negres de Guineva, a quest rey es lo piu rich et puo noble senyor de tota cota partida, e por l'abondanca de l'or, la quel se recull en la sua terra.* Mr. Hutchison writes that "the king residing in *Houssa* is the king of *Malla*, and has seven tributary kings." (1) But the most extraordinary confirmation is the Ader Arab's account to Seetzen, which describes *Cano* and *Melli* as situated *between the two principal arms of the great river* (2).

It is now time to submit the *Mecca* Itinerary, which will conduct us from *Gamba*, through *Cassina*, to *Bornoo*. This is the Itinerary of which I regretted the loss when I published the others. It

(1) *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 197.

(2) Adelung's *Mithridates* 3 th. 1 abth. 146-148.

There is also a curious coincidence between Mr. Hutchison and Ebn Batuta in proof of the importance and situation of *Malla* or *Mallowa*. The latter writes : " *Timbuctoo* is a town of the kingdom of *Maly*, and a black governor, named by the sultan of *Maly*, resides there." Burckhardt's *Travels*, Appendix III. — Mr. Hutchison informed us that "all the country from where the *Joliba* discharges itself into the *Quolla*, is subject to the sultan *Mali-simiel*;" adding : "What makes the sultan of *Timbuctoo* so much talked of, is his being near the water side; but his master, the Sultan of *Mali-simiel*, considers him merely as a deputy or governor." — *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 196.

has since been fortunately discovered amongst the papers of the gentleman who undertook to translate it, and reached me some months ago. Mr. de Sacy kindly condescended to translate it, and I congratulate myself on such excellent authority. The original has, of course, been sent to its proper destination, the archives of the African Association, to which I had the gratification of committing the others.

It was written for me by our good friend the shereef Brahima, on whose veracity I place the greatest reliance, from our own proof and experience of it whilst in *Ashantee*, from his frequent and conscientious contradiction of the doubtful assertions of others of his sect, and from his repeated acknowledgment of his ignorance on geographical points wherein he might safely have deceived us. Having furnished me with a north-eastward route from *Gamba* to the *Quolla* (which I found scrupulously exact, by comparing and checking it with Moorish, Negro, and every species of evidence), the present was to conduct me to the ferry of the *Niger* or *Quolla*, whence the route to *Houssa* branched off to the left, and that to *Cassina* to the right. Brahima makes no mention of time or distance in this Itinerary, because, as he told me, he composed it of a series of large towns on the route, which were about a day's journey distant from each other, and the usual halting places of travellers.

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

“ When we quit the city of the Sultan (or the capital), we go to sleep at the extremity of a lake or river (1) named *Bāzaon* (or *Bārāon*); from *Bazaon* to *Cayakshi*; from *Cayakshi* to *Droo*; from *Droo* to *Mashonkony*; from *Mashonkony* to *Bangoon*; from *Bangoon* to *Toonoom* (2); from *Toonoom* to *Yadjour*; from *Yadjour* to *Djabdzgo*; from *Djabdzgo* to *Kimba* (3); from *Kimba* we go to sleep at the extremity of a lake or river named *Cadarco*; from *Cadarco* to the lake or river named *Ashawanca*; from *Ashawanca* to *Goofl*, where the men are naked and the women clothed; from *Goofl* to *Samr*; from *Samr* to *Yarkon* (4), where the men are naked; from *Yarkon* to *Dzag*, where the men are naked; from *Dzag* to *Bananoo*; from *Bananoo* to *Dongoi*; from *Dongoi* to the wells named *Gondh*; from *Gondh* to *Salamon*; from

(1) Whether *Bahr* is to be understood as a *river* or as a *lake*, it is impossible for a translator to determine.

(2) The kingdom of *Tonowah*, of which *Assentai* was said to be the capital by the shereef Imhammed, must have been derived from this name. I had heard of *Tonomah* in *Ashantee*, and observed that I believed it was N. E. of *Dagwumba*, although I could not be positive.

(3) *Kimba* must be *Komba* or *Koomba*, which was accordingly well placed on my former map.

(4) *Yarkon* is probably the *Yahon* of Dalzel, which he heard of in *Dahomy*, and unaccountably concluded to be the same as *Mahec*.

Salamon to Djanbodoo; from *Djanbodoo* to *Sosoo*; from *Sosoo* to *Coriri*; from *Coriri* to *Conk*; from *Conk* to *Macrari* (1); from *Macrari* to the city of *Nak* (2), which is the residence of the sultan of *Bargoon*; from *Nak* to the lake or river of *Wadh*; from *Wadh* to *Dhough*; from *Dhough* to *Mazam*; from *Mazam* to *Cal*; from *Cal* to *Djabal*; from *Djabal* to *Magadj*; from *Magadj* to the wells named *Tafakat*; from *Tafakat* to *Albar*; from *Albar* to *Schal*: here is the river which is named *Coudha*, on the extremity of which is the great kingdom of *Your*.

Here terminates the route to *Haousa*. — From *Coudha* to the city of *Cathin*, twenty-five days (3); from *Cathin* to the city of *Can*, nine days; from the city of *Can* to the city of *Barnoo*, one month (4).

(1) *Mackrari* I conclude to be the *Magrara* of Ebn al Ouardi, which De Guignes transcribed as *Maghzara*. *Dhoga* or *Dhough* is probably *Dau*, one of the cities of *Magrara*, according to Edrisi.

(2) *Nak* is probably the *Nykee* of Imhammed.

(3) The distance of *Kassina* from this point of the *Niger*, agrees very well with that assigned to it in my first map, from the invariable information that *Goobirrie* was ten journies from the *Quolla*, and *Kassina* eight from *Goobirrie*.

(4) In the other routes from *Kassina* to *Bornoo* which we procured in *Ashantee*, *Cano* was said to be four journies from *Dawoorra* (the *Daura* of Hornemann), and ten from *Kassina*; from *Cano* to *Oongooro* or *Wangara*, nine (Edrisi writes eight); from *Oongooro* to *Bornoo*, fifteen, through the large towns which I have laid down in the map. Thus, according to the

The kingdom of *Barnoo* is the kingdom of the whole universe; there is none like it in the world. From *Barnoo* to the lake or river called *Schar*, thirty-one days (1); from *Schar* to the lake called *Schad* (2), four days : the water of the *Coudha*

Mecca Itinerary, it is one month's journey from *Cano* to *Bornoo*; according to the other authorities, twenty-four days. (For a detailed route from *Bornoo* to *Cobbe*, given to Seetzen by Abdallah of *Affadeh*, see the Appendix.)

(1) The *Sharee* river, first heard of in *Ashantee* (*Mission to Ashantee*, p. 204), was also described to Burckhardt by the Beni Hassan as a great river. : "Between *Katakou* and *Bahr el Ghazal*, flows the great river called *Shary*, in a direction, as far as I could learn, from N. E. to S. W. towards *Bagerme*; but its source was unknown. It is represented to be as large as the *Nile*, full of fish, and abounding with crocodiles, hippopotami, and an animal called *om kergay*, said to be as large as the rhinoceros, with a very small head and mouth, but harmless. Its banks are inhabited by elephants, rhinoceros's, lions, and giraffs. The *Bahr Djud*, a considerable stream, runs into the *Shary*, besides several smaller ones. From the limits of *Bornoo* to the *Bahr Shary*, is fifteen days slow march, in the direction of the *Kebly* (*Mekka*)." We heard of it in *Ashantee*, as "flowing into the *Quolla* from northwards." Burckhardt's information places it east of *Bornoo*, and the *Mecca* Itinerary crosses it in an intermediate point of its course. *Zerrokee Kerrobobee* is another large river, described to me as six journies east of *Bornoo*, near *Aweeac*.

(2) The *Chadee* of the Moors, and *Caudee* of the Negroes, is here written *Schad*; but Mr. de Sacy observes, in his excellent grammar (t. 1, p. 20), that the articulation of the letter *shin* is most perfectly rendered by *ch*, and that it is only written *sch* to prevent its pronunciation being confounded with that of the letter

goes there, and it is the mother of *Coudha* (1); from *Schad* to *Fur*, seven days; from *Fur* to *Wadai*, five days; from *Wadai* to the city of *Masr*, fifty-three days (2); from *Masr* to the city of the world (the capital of the world), *Mecca*, forty days, travelling day and night: it is there that the house of God is, and this house is the middle of the world; from *Mecca* to the city of *Medina*, twenty days, journeying day and night; from the city of *Medina* to the city of *Scham* (Damas), seventy days; and from *Scham* to *Bair Almokadda* (Jerusalem), ten days: there is the mountain named *Tour Sinai*. It was on the summit of this mountain that God spoke with Moses; and, because of that, Moses was called *Kalim kha*: thus *Schad* becomes *Chad*, and the want of points in many of the words in the MS., accounts for the concluding vowels being omitted.

(1) There is some obscurity in this passage, as Mr. de Sacy has remarked, and I do not think it has been possible to understand it properly; for all my other informants persisted that the *Quolla* did not go to the lake *Caudee*, but flowed two journies to the south of it, a high mountain intervening; and Edrisi writes that a river of the name of *Nile* or *Necl* passes by *Cauga*. However, I have not ventured to continue the course of the *Niger* beyond this doubtful point: perhaps the *Gambaroo* may be meant, as a branch of the *Coudha* or *Quolla*, being reported by the greater number of our informants to flow to the *Caudee*.

(2) Browne did not hear of *Wadey*, first reported by Hornemann, afterwards spoken of in *Ashantee*, and since described by Burckhardt. We find it in Ludolf's map. *Wadey* appears to be about sixty journies from *Cairo*, by Rennell's map.

Allah (he who has conversed with God). Under the mountain of *Tour Sinai* is the tomb of Moses."

Both Browne's and Burckhardt's positions of *Bornoo* appear in the map, my itineraries requiring an intermediate one (1). Browne says that a small river runs near *Bornoo* and falls into the *Bahr el Gazel* (apparently our *Gabooa*); and he places another small river, called *Kitchena*, between *Mesna* and *Bornoo*. Burckhardt calls the river of *Bornoo*, *Tsad*; Hutchison, *Koomoodoo Gaiguina* (2). The *Niger* bears the name of *Camodou* in De Lisle's map of 1722, as it passes south of *Bornoo*; but *Gaiguina* is probably the specific name, for *Kamadogo* means *river* in the *Bornoo* vocabulary procured by Burckhardt (3). The

(1) I have also recorded their different positions of *Wara*; but from the number and variety of the Itineraries procured by Browne to and from this city, I think there is little doubt of his position being the more correct of the two.

(2) *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 213.

(3) I must not omit to mention that Seetzen was informed by Abdallah of *Affadeh*, said to be close to *Bornoo*, that a river called *Lemszoumkoullagisse* (apparently a compound of *Koulla* or *Quolla*), flows four days eastward of the capital of *Bornoo*, being crossed in the route to *Cobbe*; and also, which is more extraordinary, that a river called *Halemm*, as large as the *Nile*, runs northwards about a league from the same city, and is navigated by large vessels containing 500 ardeps of corn, which trade to *Ouxnee*, *Kalo*, *Edumzam*, *Idillagnany*, etc. *Fezzan* was said to be forty journies north of *Bornoo*; *Manderah*, seven in the same direction; *Kanem* and *Affanoo*, to the west; *Mpade*,

Sharee, which one of Burckhardt's informants called the river of *Baghirme*, the *Zerrokee Kerrobobee*, and the *Coomoodoo Gaiguina*, may probably be found to be branches of the one great river in *Bornoo*; but as this is only to be presumed at present, I must merely lay them down on the map according to the data, without venturing to prolong or connect them (1).

The capital of *Bornoo* has received various names : in the time of Edrisi it seems to have been *Mathan*; D'Anville was informed that it was called *Karne* (2); Ensiedel, the Saxon traveller, who was sent to *Tunis* by the French government, in the hope of his reaching *Timbuctoo*, reports its name as *Mokowi* (3). Burckhardt's error in naming it

Kalphey, *Baghirme*, *Wadey* or *Mobba*, to the east; *Leekwang*, *Zelkba*, *Kalo*, *Jezikkel*, to the south. Abdallah assured Seetzen that there were several French slaves in *Bornoo*, whom the emperor would not allow to quit the country, and who had established a cannon foundery for him. (*Annal. des Voyag.* t. 19, p. 165.) I have added Abdallah's route from *Bornoo* to *Cobbe* in the Appendix.

(1) Seetzen's *Halem* is evidently merely a figurative name for a river; for D'Anville applies it to one of the tributary streams of the Senegal (see the map, p. 3). This large river may therefore be safely presumed to be one of those already known under their native names. *Halem*, meaning *convolutus* according to Scheid, is probably applied to any serpentine river, as its Hebrew synonyme *Ludim* was applied to the *Euphrates*.

(2) *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* tom. 26, pag. 67.

(3) Ensiedel in *Sammlung*, etc. Calen. Leips. pt. 3. 433-447.

Birney (for it appears by Mr. Ritchie's memoranda to be an error, although Seetzen supports it), is likely to have originated from its being generally called *Berinne Bornoo*, that is to say, the fortified city of *Bornoo*. I have lately discovered a curious confirmation in Niebuhr of my former remark on this subject: "In speaking of all fortified cities, the Negroes of *Mallowa* invariably prefixed *Berinne* or *Brinne* to the name, as an indication that they were so; this was always the case in mentioning *Houssa*, *Cabi*, *Cassina*, etc." (1) "Abdarachman Aga, the envoy of the pacha of *Tripoli*, described *Kaschna* as a very large city on the route from *Zanfara* to *Fezzan*, in the territory of which we find *Rhogo*, *Kankana*, *Kotour*, *Kouschi*, *Kiana*, *Saghani*, *Taghames* and *Dandudjighi*. All these places are distinguished by the appellation of *Berni*, which means *fortresses*." (2)

One of Burckhardt's informants assured him there was a fresh water lake close to the capital of *Bornoo*, which the other, who was a native of the country, contradicted. The nearest lake to *Bornoc* laid down by Browne, is the *Birket el Rumble*, about 430 G. miles to the south of it. The Mecca itinerary places the lake *Caudee* thirty-five journies distant from *Bornoo*. This *Caudee lake*, described as volcanic (3), and revered as the reservoir of the

(1) *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 197.

(2) *Deutsches Museum. Stuck.* 1790. 963-104.

(3) See Mr. Hutchison's description, p. 203. — Abdallah told

waters of the deluge, appears to me much more likely to be the *Cauga* lake of Edrisi than the *Fittri* of Browne, which has been concluded to be so by Major Rennell; for, added to the importance and similarity of name of the *Caudee*, this *Fittri* is a *river*, and not a *lake*, according to Browne, and a river of so little importance that he has not laid it down in his map (1). I cannot, with fidelity to my data, delineate it so, but I expect that the *Caudee* lake may be found to be nearer *Bornoo*, and perhaps be identified with the *Birket el Rumbé* of Browne, which is evidently the *Hadeba* lake of Burckhardt.

The only Itineraries we have of the course of the *Niger* from *Timbuctoo* to *Bornoo*, are those procured in *Ashantee*. They are the first which

Seetzen that convulsions of the earth were not unfrequent in *Bornoo*; and from our informant's description of this part of Africa, and the situation and nature of the lake, it probably occupies the site of some ancient volcano which disappeared like that of the Peak in the Moluccas in 1638, leaving a lake in its place. D'Aubuisson, *Traité de Géognosie*, p. 261. Mr. Hutchison heard of a volcano called *Tarbarbass*, apparently near the *Bahr el Abiad*, and described as two journies in height. There were three violent shocks of an earthquake felt at Cairo, and from Kour to Damietta, on the 20th of May, 1202. *Relation de l'Egypte, par Abd Allatif, médecin arabe de Bagdad, traduit par De Sacy*, p. 415.

(1) Hornemann's report from *Fezzan*, of the dominions of the Sultan of *Fittri* being situated around a large *lake*, is not to be weighed against Browne's itineraries to the *Fittri river*, procured in *Cobbe*, which is comparatively near to it.

have reached Europe, and were accompanied by drawings which agreed with each other, not only in the names of the kingdoms, but in the distances: these, therefore, imperfect as they are, are our only data for tracing the course of this river, and must appear in our map of *Africa* as such, until they are improved by subsequent Itineraries, or superseded by actual observations. From *Kabra* or *Kabarra*, the port of *Timbuctoo*, to *Yawoorie*, is twenty-five days navigation: this distance, with that of forty-two journies from *Dagwumba* and eighteen from *Cassina*, enables us to lay down *Yawoorie* pretty satisfactorily. Hartmann, in his *Edrisi*, estimates a day's navigation at 17 G. miles. The kingdom of *Gaw*, probably the *Geua* of Ptolemy, which the *Niger* passes after *Timbuctoo*, is evidently the *Joi* of Ebn Batuta, which he describes, according to Kosegarten, as the greatest of all the Negro kingdoms, and that of which the sultan is most powerful. *Tokogerri* I conclude to be the *Tocrur* of *Edrisi*, the *Tucuriol* of *Bemoy*, and the *Tokrur* of Abd Arrachman: *Edrisi* described it as twelve stations from *Berissa*; Hartmann reckons 21 G. miles to a station, and this agrees pretty well with the distance of *Tokogerri* from *Boussa*: the *Kok* of Ebn Batuta may be a contraction of this name (1). From *Yawoorie* or

(1) Bemoy, prince of the *Jaloffs*, was the first African monarch who sought the alliance of the Portuguese. The *Tocruris*, or pilgrims who frequent the regions of the *Nile*, have often

Yawoorie (1) to *Noofie* is one day's navigation; from *Noofie* (2) to *Boussa*, three. From *Boussa* (3)

been confounded with the inhabitants of this city or district. Burckhardt wrote, in his letter from *Esne*, October 14, 1813: "These pilgrims go here by the name of *Tekayrne* (*Tekroury* in the singular), from a verb meaning to renew, improve and purify, that is, their faith and learning, by pilgrimage. It is probably from this name of *Tekroury* that the Arabian geographers have placed a city called *Tekrou* between *Timbuctoo* and *Kashna*; none of these travellers knew of any such country." Yet, in his journal, he writes: "The name *Tekroury* is given to these pilgrims, I suppose, from their being natives of the district of *Tekrou* in *Soudan*." We are informed by Browne, that "the *Tocruri*, who come from various parts, and somewhat resemble the Dervishes of the North, travelling as paupers, with a bowl to drink out of and a leathern bag of bread, frequently take the route from *Fur* to *Swakem*, and pass in safety." Niebuhr reports *Tokrur* as the residence of a sultan, vassal to that of *Afnoo*, and possessing the towns of *Andana* and *Mara*.

(1) The *Yaouree* of De Lisle, the *Yaouri* of Einsiedel, the *Yauwar* of Seetzen, the *Yaour* of Amadi Fatouma, and the *Javouri* of Fromont. Our *Gangee* island, passed in crossing the *Niger* from *Wawwaw* to *Yawoora*, is the *Gongoo* island of Imhammed and Ben Ali, south of *Cassina*, and the *Gonga* of Seetzen's Ader Arab.

(2) The *Nouffy* of De Lisle, the *Nafi* of Einsiedel, the *Nyffee* of Hornemann, and the *Nifi* of Fromont.

(3) The *Berissa* of Edrisi, the *Bousa* of De Lisle and Amadi Fatouma, the *Baudjti* of Seetzen's Ader Arab, and most probably the *Bow* of Ebn Batuta. "From *Zagha* the *Nile* flows down to *Timbuctoo*, then to *Kuku*, to *Mouly* (the last place of the country of *Maly*), to *Bow*, which is one of the most power-

the *Quolla* flows, through *Hoomie* and *Rakkah*(1), to *Atagara*, a navigation of twelve days. In thirty days navigation from *Atagara*, the kingdom of *Quolla-raba* or *Quolla-liffa* (2) is reached. Six navigations eastward from *Quolla* is *Maseegoodoo*, which may prove to be the province of *Bergoo*, called *Muddago* by Browne, and pronounced *Modjo* to Burckhardt. From *Maseegoodoo* they navigate in thirteen days to the neighbourhood of the high hills which separate the *Quolla* from the

ful cities of *Soudan*, and the sultan one of the most powerful of that country; no white man enters it, for he would be killed before his arrival." — Burckhardt's translation.

(1) The nearest name to the *Reghebil* of Edrisi : three jour-
nies south of *Rakkah* is *Koofee*.

(2) The *Quallo* of Dupuis, the *Kuara* of Seetzen, the *Kouar* of Abdarrachman, and the *Gulla* of Burckhardt. — From the numerals of *Quolla* procured by Mr. Hutchison, it would appear that the language is a dialect of that of *Cassina* and *Houssa*. African travellers should make it a rule to procure the numerals, at least, of the different kingdoms they hear of; they are of great importance in geographical investigations, and often serve to decide the identity or approximation of two countries. The numerals of *Bornoo* given to Niebuhr by Abdarrachman, confirm my correction of Imhammed's; and those furnished by the *Afnoo* slave scarcely differ from the numerals of *Houssa* and *Cassina*. The other *Afnoo* words are not so similar.

	HOUSSA.	AFNOO.
<i>Man</i>	Motoo.	Motoon.
<i>Woman</i>	Motee.	Baoia.
<i>Gold</i>	Jennarea.	Dsjenar.
<i>Water</i>	Looa.	Grooa.

Caudie lake, which is two journies to the north of the river (1).

The numerous Itineraries procured by Browne during his long residence in *Darfoor*, leave no doubt of the accuracy of his position of the *Bahr Misselad*, which he describes as a considerable river, and the only considerable one he heard of in that part of Africa (2). In Browne's map it is traced no further than the western confines of

(1) My informants always insisted that the *Quolla* or *Niger* diminished very much in this part of its course: Hornemann's information implies the same. Probably it gives off part of its waters to the *Bahr Salamat* and the other lakes and streams placed by Browne to the south of it: Again, there are, no doubt, some small rivers branching from it (which we have not yet heard of from their secondary importance), between the *Leeasa* and the *Caudee*: Lastly, it must lose a considerable portion of its waters, in so long a course through sandy soils, from filtration and evaporation. Humboldt was the more struck with the diminution of the *Apure* from the island of *Carizales*, because, after the *Bocha Arichuna*, there was no arm or canal to take off its waters, lost, therefore, by evaporation and filtration in the moist sandy soil adjoining it, and whence the water gushed, merely on inserting a stake, at nearly 100 yards from the mouth (p. 222-3). Humboldt further observes (p. 230), that the same river, which was 136 toises broad at *Cano Ricco*, had diminished to 60 or 80 at its mouth, its depth also being but 3 or 4 toises; and this, as he considered, after every allowance for its two arms, principally from evaporation and filtration. *Relation historique*, etc.

(2) "The river called *Bahr Misselad* is said to be a considerable one. Its source is not described, but appears to be not far distant from the supposed site of the copper mines."

Bergoo, being but three journies distant from the capital, *Wara* : Major Rennell continued it to the *Fittri*. It is equally certain that the *Quolla* or *Niger*, after it passes *Caudie*, must approach very nearly to the *Misselad*, whether we make the course of the former river higher or lower than it appears on my map ; wherefore, were I to hazard a conjecture, it would be that the *Niger* flows into the *Misselad*, and that the unanimous report of an *innavigable* communication with the *Nile of Egypt*, rests on the existence of some small stream connecting the *Misselad* and the *Bahr el Ada*, as the *Cassiquaire* connects the *Orinoco* and the *Negro* rivers.

D'Anville's information, that the river of *Bornoo* communicated with the *Nile* by the *Bahr el Azrak*, was derived by Father Sicard from a Negro of that country, with whom he sailed on the *Nile* (1). Browne's route has disproved D'Anville's position of this communication (north of *Cobbe*), but as the native insisted on its existence, it is not unlikely to be that between the *Misselad* and the *Bahr el Ada*. M. Fraisse was also informed that the river of *Bornoo* went to the *Nile* (2). Leo Africanus writes that *Bornoo* is 150 miles from the

(1) " Le fleuve qui traverse le Bornou, *Bahr el Ghazal*, " communique avec le *Nil*, surtout au temps de l'inondation, " par un canal nommé *Bahr el Azrak*." —D'Anville's *Mémoire*, page 67.

(2) Lalande's *Mémoire*, p. 25.

sources of the *Niger* (1); and Browne, that from *Donga*, where the *Misselad* springs, to the limits of *Bornoo*, is 20 journies.

When I mentioned the communication between the *Niger* and the *Nile*, I merely reported it as the assertion of the natives; I did not presume to offer an opinion, much less a conjecture, on the subject (2): even had they told me that the *Niger* flowed into the *Red Sea*, I should conscientiously have repeated it; for I considered that the speculations of those who dream of *Africa* by their fire-sides in *Europe*, were already superabundant, and that plain and faithful descriptions of what travellers had seen or heard, and of what natives knew or believed, were much more desired by men of science and the public. I did not expect that this fidelity to my duty would have subjected me to ungenerous observations or ridicule; and as I cannot but presume that their author is ignorant of the number of authorities which sanction the report in question, I must beg leave to submit them.

Eschylus seems to indicate a very close approximation, if not a communication, between the

(1) Abdarrachman told Niebuhr that the sources of the *Niger* were in *Abyssinia*, and that it flowed to the west. (l. c.)

(2) "The junction with the *Nile* having taken place, as Mr. Hornemann before reported, south of *Darfoor*, they continued the course to a large country called *Soonar*, indisputably the kingdom of *Sennaar*." (p. 204.)

Niger, or river of Ethiopia, and the *Nile*, when Io tells Prometheus to follow the course of the former until he arrives at the mountains giving birth to the latter (1). Herodotus learned that one half of the *Nile* flowed through *Egypt*, and the other half through *Ethiopia* (2). Strabo acknowledges that there were some who thought the sources of the *Nile* were situated in the further *Mauritania* [Morocco] (3). The Carthaginian books and king Juba, as cited by Solinus, assert that the *Niger* proceeds from the *Nile* (4); Solinus himself affirms

- (1) Τηλουρὸν δὲ γῆν
 Ἡξεις κελαινὸν φῦλον οἷ πρὸς ἡλίου
 Ναίουσι πηγαῖς, ἔνθα ποταμὸς Αἰθίοψ
 Τούτου παρ' ὄχθας ἔρφ', ἕως ἀν' ἐξίκη
 Καταβασμὸν, ἔνθα βύβλινων ὄρων ἀπὸ
 Ἴησι σεπτὸν Νεῖλος εὐποτον ρέος.

Prom. vinc. l. 806-11. Stanleii. p. 83.

The scholiast adds, that *Catabasmos* is a mountain dividing *Libya* and *Asia*; Vossius quotes the remark of Sallust: "*Africam habere ab ortu satis declivem altitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolæ appellant.*"

- (2) Τὸ μὲν ἡμίση τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ρέειν, καὶ πρὸς βορρῆν ἄνεμον· τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἡμισθ', ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ νότον.

Euterp. c. xxvii.

- (3) Τούς δὲ ποταμούς ἔχειν φασὶ καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ ἄλλα γένη ζῶων ἡμερῆ τοῖς ἐν τῷ Νεῖλῳ· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Νεῖλου πηγὰς πληθεῖν οἴονται τοῖς ἄκροις τῆς Μαυρουσίας.

L. 17. p. 1182. C. *Wolters.*

- (4) "*Æthiopiüs ubi exit, Nigrim facit fluvium, quem supra diximus terminum esse limitis Africani.*" (c. 32. p. 42.)

the same, according to Ludolf (1); and Pliny seems to me to have suspected it (2). Pomponius Mela admits the probability of the connection of the *Niger* and the *Nile*, whilst he conscientiously confesses that he is himself unacquainted with the termination of the former, which, under the name of *Nuchul*, flows eastward, intersecting *Africa*, and not directing itself towards the Ocean like the other rivers (3). Vitruvius wrote that the *Nile* flowed from *Mauritania* (4); Dion or Xiphilinus, that it rose in *Mount Atlas* (5). Agathemerus tells us that the *Niger* has its termination within the continent (6); and one of the lines of Lucan's ad-

(1) Jul. Solin. in Polyhist. c. 42 : “*Æthiopes et Atlanticæ gentes Nigri flumine dividuntur, quem partem putant Nili.*”

(2) “*Nigri fluvio eadem natura quæ Nilo : calamum et papyrus, et easdem gignit animantes, iisdemque temporibus au-gescit.*” (l. 5. c. 8.)

(3) “*In horum finibus (Æthiopiæ occidentalium), fons est quem Nili esse aliqua credibile est. Is Nuchul ab incolis dicitur, et videri potest non alio nomine appellari, sed a barbaro ore corruptus. Alit papyrus et minora quidem, ejusdem tamen generis, animalia. Aliis omnibus in Oceanum vergentibus, solus in mediam regionem ad orientem abit; at quonam exeat, incertum est.*” — Gronovii. l. 3, p. 298.

(4) “*Ex Mauritania autem caput Nili fluere.*” (l. 8.)

(5) D’Anville’s *Mémoire. Acad. des Inscript.* t. 26.

(6) Τῶν δὲ διαφύροντων τὴν ἐν τῷ Αἰθιοπικῷ καὶ τὰς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ τέλη ἐν ἡπείρῃ ἔχοντων μέγιστος ἐστὶν ὁ τε Γερ καὶ Νίγερ.

Geogr. Min. Oxoniæ, 1703, c. 10, p. 49.

dress to the *Nile* has been reasonably considered to imply its connection with the *Niger* (1).

Ebn al Ouardi places *Gana* and *Dongola* on the same *Nile*, and describes the separation of these two arms as taking place subsequently to that of the *Nile* of the *Zindgis* in *Damadem* (2). Ebn Batuta declares that the *Nile* of *Timbuctoo* flows to *Dongola* (3). Leo Africanus acknowledges the opinion that the *Niger* is a branch of the *Nile* (4). Schehab-Eddin describes a branch of the *Nile* as flowing to *Djenawa* (*Djennie*), but not as far as the Ocean (5). Ibn Said, as quoted by Abulfeda, says that the *Nile* of *Gana* is a branch of the *Nile* of *Egypt* (6). Edrisi describes the spot where they

(1) "Æthiopumque seris alieno gurgite campos."

Pharsal. l. 10, v. 292.

(2) I. c. p. 40. Ebn al Ouardi is known to have lived in the thirteenth century, from Cazoini having seen him in 1232. (p. 19.)

(3) "From *Bowdy* the *Niger* descends into the country of *Nouba*, passing the *Dongola*, the largest town of *Nouba*."—Burckhardt's translation.

(4) "E secondo, che affermano i nostri cosmografi, il *Niger* e un ramo del *Nilo*."—*Ramusio*. p. 1.

(5) Schehab-Eddin Ahmed, author of the *Book of Pearls*, written about 1450. De Sacy, *Notice des Manuscrits*, tom. 2. This geographer adds (p. 156) that several rivers, derived from the *Nile*, water *Nubia* and the country of *Djenawa*, flowing from east to west. "The Moors think, says Mr. Hutchison, that seven rivers from *Africa* turn their course to the *Mediterranean*, but only two reach the shores, of which the *Nile* is one." (pag. 407.)

(6) "Habet *Ganah*, secundum *Saidi* filium, etiam *Nilum*,

divide, the *Nile of Egypt* continuing northwards, and the *Nile* of the Negroes branching off to the westward (1). Fra Mauro, in 1464, delineated the *Niger* as a branch of the *Nile* (2). Cadamosto, the Venetian, was informed that the *Nile of Egypt* was a branch of the great river passing *Timbuctoo* (3). Gregory of Abyssinia wrote to Ludolf that the *Nile* of the Negroes flowed from the *Nile of Egypt* (4), which Bochart confirmed (5).

When, in addition to these scattered authorities, we recollect that Major Houghton, Hornemann,

“qui est gemellus *Nili Ægyptiaci.*” — *Abulfeda Geografia.*
Apud Busching. t. 4, p. 354.

(1) “Hic itaque est locus quo duo *Nili* se separant, quorum
“unus (*Ægypti Nilus*) ad septentrionem tendit, *Nubæ* terram
“alluit, etc. Alterum *Nili* brachium (*Nilus Nigrorum*) in pla-
“gas occidentales tendit et provolutum ab oriente ad occidentem
“ultimum.” *Hartmann*, p. 12. See also the various quotations
in Ludolf, with the Arabic text facing his translations.

(2) In the old map in the library of St. Michael Murano, near
Venice.

(3) “E un altro ramo del detto fiume *Gio* e il *Nilo* qual passa
“per l’Egitto.” *Ramusio*, p. 101.

(4) “Nec parum me confirmat judicium Gregorii, qui hisce
“verbis ad me scripsit. Veruntamen dicunt maximam aquæ par-
“tem (*Nili*) defluere in *Ægyptum*. Illa autem pars quæ separa-
“tur recta via pergit versus occidentem, ita tamen ut non per-
“veniet in *Barbariam*: descendit enim versus regionem *Elwah*,
“et sic illabitur in Mare Magnum, i. e. Oceanum Occidentalem.”

(5) “Quam sententiam postquam cum clarissimo *Bocharti*
“communicassem, rescripsit mihi.” — “Il est très-vrai que le
“*Niger* est une partie du *Nil.*”

Jackson, Burckhardt, and other travellers whose relations are too familiar to quote, have reported the same assertion of a communication between the *Niger* and the *Nile*, I think it must be allowed that there was neither fault or absurdity in my acknowledging that I had also received this information : I never presumed, until now, to offer any opinion or conjecture of my own on the subject.

The *Wola*, which the slaves brought from the interior to *Gaboon* believed to be the largest river in the world, appears, from the calculation of the itineraries in the map, to flow far to the south of the *Quolla*. Its position seems to be confirmed by the note of Burckhardt, that “*Ola* was the furthest off of the most noted pagan countries distant from *Borgoo*.” (1) I cannot help

(1) Burckhardt's *Travels*, p. 486. He also heard of *Benda* and *Djenke* in the same direction. *Bapoonoo*, *Okobella*, *Banginniga*, *Oonbambe*, and *Asango*, are states or kingdoms near the *Wola*, which I cannot lay down in their relative positions, but which future travellers may enquire for. *Temian*, *Beto*, and *Medera*, are as yet undiscovered countries, mentioned by Leo as far to the south : the first is not unlikely to be in the neighbourhood of Burckhardt's river *Om Teymam*. The only interior countries heard of by Captain Tuckey were, *Mandonzo*, very far up the river (*Narrative*, p. 135); *Soondy*, about twenty-five journies from the lower part of the river (p. 180); and *M'Intolo*, three moons distant, and on the banks of a river as broad as the *Zaire*, probably the *Wola* (p. 141). Mr. Hamilton met with some Negro travellers on the *Nile*, who said that they

thinking that the best point to proceed from, for the discovery of the sources of the *Bahr el Abiad* or true *Nile*, is the river *Ogooawai* (1).

Before I quit the interior to consider the geography of the coast, I must be permitted to offer some remarks on the vague appellation of *Jem Jem* or *Jum Jum*, which has been hitherto considered to be the name of a distant ^{mel} nation.

It appears to me very extraordinary that Hartmann should suggest that the *Jem Jem* reported by Niebuhr might be the same as *Lamlam*; for in the passage which he quotes, these *Jem Jems* (said to be anthropophagi) are placed “ in the country

belonged to a nation named *Secroua*, inhabiting a country called *Demourki*, five months journey from *Egypt*, and two from *Sennaar* and the *Nile*. Their king was named Abdarrachman, and lived in a very large city called *Tendelde*: west of this capital were *Maasy*, *Sooron* and *Teyer*; to the south, *Kione* and *Towala*; to the east, *Zamiel* and *Koodi*; to the north, *Kincooma*, *Aboohooman* and *Kobra*. Their country was a plain, surrounded on all sides by high mountains; the principal caravans which passed through it came from *Kub-Kubbee*, and their slaves from *Darfoor* and westward. *Demourki* would seem to be the *Toomurkee* of Browne; but, in this case, the description of the capital as being six foot journies in circumference, must be very exaggerated. *Ægyptiaca*. c. 24.

(1) M. Buache, the French geographer who inherited the MSS. of De Lisle, considers these sources to be more to the south than they have yet been laid down. Ebn Haukal, a traveller of the tenth century, translated by Sir William Ouseley, says (p. 31) that the *Nile* rises from a cavern in the country of the *Zindgis*.

of *Andam* in the kingdom of *Bournoo*," whilst Rennell, on the authority of Edrisi, has placed *Lamlam* south of the *Niger*, and at least twelve degrees westward of *Bournoo* (1). Mr. Hornemann reported the *Yem Yems* to be pretty nearly where Mr. Hutchison has since placed his *Jem Jems*, both anthropophagi, that is, ten journies south of the *Niger*, and nearly on the same meridian as *Cano*; which also agrees with the situation of the Ethiopian anthropophagi of the ancients, and of the most inland of those reported to me when in the *Empoongwa* or *Gaboon* country. Browne writes, that "in the most remote parts of the pagan countries south of *Dar-Four*, there is a nation whose people eat the flesh of their prisoners, and who are distinguished by the Arabs by the nickname of *Gnum Gnum*." Mr. Salt was informed by the *Shihos*, that beyond the countries of *Mara*, *Boja*, and *Manda* (which are north of Abyssinia), were the *Juma Jums*. I think we shall find, from the disagreement of the four positions, *north of Abyssinia—in the kingdom of Bournoo—south of Cano—and south of Dar-Four*, to which we may add that of Burckhardt, who says that *the Yem Yems are south of Borgoo*, that *Jem Jem* is a generic appellation, given by the Arabs to all the cannibals of the interior of Africa.

I have found a confirmation of my opinion, that

(1) Hartmann's *Edrisi*, p. 39.

Zem Zem or *Jem Jem* is only a generic appellation, in reading M. de Sacy's observations in the *Journal des Savans*, on Sir William Ouseley's *Travels in the East*. Sir William conjectures that the nomadic tribe of *Iliat*, which he found encamped in the plain of *Descht-i-Arjen*, are of the same race which, in the time of Ebn Haukal, a geographer of the tenth century, were called *Dzem* or *Zem*, which Haukal explains by the Arabic word *kabileh* or *tribe*. M. de Sacy considers that it is by inadvertence that Sir William has approximated this Persian word *zem* to the Arabic word *zimmi* or *dzimmi*, which signifies *an infidel who lives under the empire and protection of Musselmen paying a capitation*. As the *Zem Zems* of Abdarrachman Aga inhabit a northern district of the Mahometan kingdom of *Bornou*, there seems to me to be little doubt of this explanatory definition of M. de Sacy being applicable to the *Yem Yems* of Hornemann and Burekhardt, the *Jem Jems* of Hutchison, the *Gnum Gnums* of Browne, the *Zum Zums* of Einsiedel, and the *Juma Jums* of Salt, all disagreeing so widely in their geographical positions (1).

(1) The country of *Be Jarubroo*, reported to Mr. Salt by the *Shihos*, is without doubt the *Djowabere* of Burekhardt, and evidently the *Jarubroo* of the Ashantee itineraries: their *Makidzue* is the *Makadshee* of Ebn al Ouardi; their *Schwaiss*, the *Swakem* of Browne; and their *Jufagr*, *Djebotool* and *Zala*, are the *Djafecre*, *Djubail* and *Zela* of Burekhardt.

The etymology of the names of *African* kingdoms and *African* cities must long, if not ever, remain an obscure subject; two or three of the most considerable appear to me to have derived their names from *Bedouin* tribes who probably founded and at first inhabited them separately. *Djennie* [the ancient and vast commerce between which and the *Portuguese* settlements on the coast, is considered to have originated the much discussed name of *Guinea* (1)] may have been founded by part of the *Bedouin* tribe called *Djeheyne*, some of whom inhabit *Darfoor*, whilst one of their tribes still flourishes in the *Hedjaz*. *Kobbe*, the capital of *Darfoor*, may owe its name to the *Kobbar* tribe; *Salama* and *Dogh*, south of the *Niger*, to the *Es-salamat* and *Dogherme* tribes; *Walet*, to the *Fel-lata*; *Melly*, to the *Maala*; and the celebrated city of *Haousa*, to the *Aouy-sye* tribe. We read, in *Burckhardt*, that portions of all these tribes are scattered throughout *Bornoo*.

(1) Part of the coast of *Guinea* is still denominated the *Ivory Coast*; this, and the circumstance of the *Portuguese* trade with *Djennie* having been all directed to their most ancient settlement in the Isle of *Arguin*, and not to the coast of *Guinea*, inclines me to suspect that the name of *Guinea* is rather to be derived from *Gucna-niei*, which signifies *elephant's teeth* in the *Joloff* language, which, from the maritime position of that people, must have been the first *Negro* language familiar to the *Portuguese*. In some of the very old maps, we may see the name of *Guinea* extended over the coast even north of the *Joloffs*.

I will now offer a few additional remarks on the Coast, from the *Assinee* to the *Gaboon* river, with an attempt to trace a sketch of the history of the geography of *Guinea*.

The first map of *Africa* which comprehends the coast of *Guinea*, discovered, as Sanuto tells us, by Giovanni de Santarran and Pietro Scovare in 1471 (1), is that of John Scot, in the edition of Ptolemy in 1520. The line of coast is drawn in the parallel of 3° N. : from *Cape Three Points* to *Cape Cano Corso* or *Cape Coast*, is about 90 miles; from the latter to the *Rio da Volta*, 150; and thence to the *Lagos* river, 250. The river *Assinee* is placed about 100 miles west of *Cape Three Points*; the *Volta* is traced about 250 miles inland; the *Lagos*, 360; the *Gaboon* (the large basin of which is delineated about half a degree south of the line), 750. The rivers *Formosa*, *Forcado* and *Cameroon* are delineated, as are also the islands of *Fernando Po* (under the name of *Blandia*), *Princes*, and *St. Thomas*. The *Aoxin* country appears as *Aviniada*, but all the other names are Portuguese.

Grynæus, in 1535, lowered the line of coast to 2° S., and traced the *Gaboon* river to 12° N. Ramusio, in 1550, raised the coast again to 5° N. (2),

(1) Other authorities state in 1452.

(2) Thus Ramusio, in 1550, was more correct than Muller, in 1673, who placed *Cape Coast* in 4° 50' N.; or than D'Anville, in his Special Map of 1729, wherein *Cape Coast* is in 4° 51' N.

added *Bénin*, the island of *Annabona* (1), and seems to have been the first who laid down *St. Matthew*, which our cruisers have looked for in vain. Forlani, in 1562, raised *Cape Three Points* to 7° N., added *Dauma* (*Dahomey*), *Belafra* (*Biafra*), and traced the river of *Cape Lopez* far inland. Ortilius, in 1570, placed *Dahomey* on the *Volta*, which he calls *Rio del Gado*. Sanuto, in 1588, traced the *Volta* inland under the name of *Conversion river*, and the *Danger* as the *Fluvius Stationis*; his *Fluvius Lacus* and *Fluvius Regius* are also traced far inland. *Dauma* or *Dahomey* is not in the map of Sanuto, as has been asserted; but it is mentioned in his text as separated from *Bornoo* by the desert of *Seth*. Mercator the elder traced two arms of the *Cameroon* river far inland, as he did the river *Danger*, under the name of *Dangla*. Hondius suppressed the arms of the *Cameroon* river, and placed *Dauma* or *Dahomey* at the source of a river 10° N.

Mercator the younger, in his map entitled *Guinæ nova descriptio*, traced the *Ancobra*, or river of *Axim*, to 10° N.; the *Rio Volta*, with several western branches, to 12°, or to the country of the *Grand Accanes*; he placed *Dahomey* in 9°, between the *Volta* and *Lagos*, the latter of which he represented as the largest river of the coast,

(1) *Annobona* was uninhabited until the slaves of a large European vessel, having murdered the crew, fortuitously drifted ashore there, and originated the present race.

continuing it northwards to 12° . His *Zegzeg*, *Xabanda* and *Corriseno* correspond pretty nearly, both in name and situation, with our *Zoogoo*, *Banda* and *Coranza*. Sanson, the first celebrated French geographer, in 1650, added nothing but *Accara* : indeed, his contributions to the science appear to have been much overrated in every respect. Meursius, in 1686, lowered *Cape Three Points* to $4^{\circ} 30'$, abridged the inland course of the *Lagos* river, drew the lake *Curamo* communicating with the *Benin* river, prolonged the *Cameroon*, and placed the capital of *Biafra* on its eastern bank. De Lisle, in his latest map of *Africa*, that of 1722, placed *Cape Three Points* in $4^{\circ} 20'$, whence he traced the coast, about E. N. E., to the *Lagos* river, which he continued to 9° N. : he traced the *Axim* river to 8° , the *Volta* to 10° , the *Boosempira*, without a name, to 7° , and the *Danger* and *Gaboon* rivers due east about 300 miles. D'Anville shortened the coast between *Assinee* and *Ardra* to 5° (it had formerly occupied $6\frac{1}{2}$ in the charts, and in some even $7\frac{1}{4}$); he lowered the mouth of the *Volta* from 6° to $5^{\circ} 38'$; and *Whydah* from $6^{\circ} 40'$ to $6^{\circ} 20'$ (1).

(1) D'Anville's well known jealousy of the modest De Lisle here led him to suppress that his predecessor had, in his map of *Africa* published seven years before, already shortened the coast between *Assinee* and *Ardra* to 6° , and lowered *Whydah* from $6^{\circ} 40'$ to $6^{\circ} 30'$ N. Indeed it would seem, from the best astronomical observations yet existing, that De Lisle was more cor-

In D'Anville's Special Map of that part of *Guinea* between *Issini* (*Assinee*) and *Ardra* (1), the mouth of the river bearing the former name is laid down in 5° N., but no longitude is assigned to it; in his General Map (2) it is placed $15^{\circ} 25'$ E. of *Ferro*. In the Special Map the river expands into a lake about 13 miles from its mouth, narrowing again at about 25 miles, from which point it is continued N. E. to about $5^{\circ} 30'$ N. The borders of the lake (3) are described as steep and barren; those of the upper part of the river, as rich and fertile, and inhabited by the *Compas*. A note, placed above the river in this map, records the assurance that it comes very

rect in only reducing this interval of the coast to 6° , than D'Anville in afterwards shortening it to 5° . De Lisle had placed *Cape Coast* within $6'$ of its proper latitude, seven years before D'Anville laid it down $15'$ too much to the south. I venerate the memory of D'Anville, but we should also do justice to that of De Lisle, who first wrought that grand reform in geography which the astronomical observations in all parts of the world had so long necessitated; for, until his time, Ptolemy continued to be the basis of every system. De Lisle knew the *Bahr el Abiad* by D'Anville's own confession; and as the first who contracted *Abyssinia* to its true limits, at once raising its southern frontier 20° , he deserves to be eminently recorded, even had he not corrected equally gross errors in other parts of the world.

(1) *Carte particulière de la partie principale de la Guinée située entre Issini et Ardra*. April, 1729.

(2) *Carte de la Côte de Guinée*. July, 1729.

(3) In this lake, about five miles broad, is an island distinct from that on which *Assoco*, the capital, is placed, which is only four miles from the mouth.

far from the interior, and presents a fall between rocks about 50 leagues from the sea. In the General Map, D'Anville prolongs the course still more, and westward instead of eastward of north, noting above it, that the ancient Portuguese maps trace the river *Sueiro da Costa* very far from the interior, wherefore he concludes it to be the *Issini*. The natives of the interior believe the river *Assinee* to be a branch of the *Tando*, which rises in the mountains of the northern frontier of *Ashantee* (1).

(1) D'Anville's authority for *Assinee* and its neighbourhood, appears to have been : *La relation du Voyage au royaume d'Issyny, par le père Godefroy Loyer*. Father Gonsalves, of the order of St. Dominic, visited the coast of *Guinea* in 1687, in company with some other missionaries. Zena, the king of *Assina*, received them kindly, and entrusted two young Negroes to them, Aniaba and Banga, the former his own son, to be sent to *France* for education. Gonsalves left Cerizier, one of his companions, in *Assinee* (who died there some years afterwards), and proceeded with the other missionaries to *Whydah*, where they all died pretty nearly at the same period, and, as it was supposed, from poison. Father Loyer, who had just returned from a mission to the *West Indies*, was appointed by Pope Innocent XII, in 1700, to proceed to *Guinea*, according to his own request, to convert the Negroes. Louis Aniaba had by this time finished his education, and Father Loyer determined to proceed to *Assinee* in the man of war which was appointed to convey the African prince home again. They reached *Assinee* the 27th of June, and the king Abifini came from the capital, *Assoco* (situated in an island two leagues distant from the coast up the river), to receive them. To testify his gratitude to the French for their generous

In D'Anville's Special Map, *Assiantee* is placed north of *Dinkara*, of which *Wasa* and *Jufer*

care of the prince Aniaba, he permitted them to build a fort in his territory, close to the large river bearing the same name: the man of war had been furnished with an extra number of officers, marines, and military in this expectation. The branch of a tree was planted in the ground by the king's brother, in the presence of the French, who were all requested to touch it, and the land was thus made over to them. After this, the captain of the French man of war and his suite were conducted with much ceremony two leagues up the river, to visit the king and his capital. The king's throne was a bed covered with tigers skins; his palace, a reed hut. In passing through the courts it was required to ascend a ladder, the bars of which were two feet distant, merely for the ceremony of descending again by another, which none but the Negroes, who were accustomed to this gratifying piece of state, could do without falling. The king wore an aggrry bead in his beard, which his subjects valued at a thousand crowns, and his two favourite wives stood behind him with two large gold handled swords on their shoulders. The captain of the man of war and the priest were the only Europeans allowed to sit; not a word was spoken for the first hour, which was consumed in listening to the most barbarous military music. The African prince seems very soon to have forgotten his obligations and the good breeding he had acquired at Paris; for the first favour demanded by the king was that Captain Damou would forgive the recent bad behaviour of his educated nephew. They were bountifully regaled with large quantities of fish, palatably cooked in palm oil, wild boar, and fowls. The king then desired to know how he could contribute to the construction of the fort; the captain replied that he wished him to send down some large stakes; and three or four canoes full, from fifteen to sixteen feet long, were immediately transported. The king was said to have large quantities of gold dust, which he hid in the stalks of the bananas, having

(*Warsaw* and *Tufel*) are delineated as provinces. *Adoom*, which is merely a district of *Ahanta*, is extended 30 miles inland, whereas the whole kingdom occupies but 20. The river *Boosempru* is traced to *Dinkara*. The miserable town of *Commenda* appears as a kingdom, 18 miles long, which is also the breadth of the kingdom of *Fetu*, a mere district of *Fantee* (1). *Saboo*, *Atti* and *Dahoo* are

no occasion for it but in state emergencies, for it did not cost him ten pistoles a year for the provision and clothing for himself and all his wives. Loyer adds that he was so avaricious, that, notwithstanding his dignity, he went to market himself to buy his own fish, or even a single yam, and made a harder bargain than the meanest of his slaves could have had the face to do. His brother and another powerful chief were gratified by the exclusive patent of purchasing guns and powder on the coast: they also bought cloth and tobacco, and sent their slaves to sell it to the people inhabiting the mountains in the rear of *Assinee*, by which they made a profit of from two to six hundred per cent. The Dutch governor-general, Di Palmn, fearing that this new establishment of the French would be injurious to the Dutch commerce, cannonaded their fort in person, with a squadron of four vessels, and disembarked fifty Europeans in six canoes, who were cut to pieces by the natives on landing, with the exception of eleven who were made prisoners. But not long after their repulse of the Dutch, the French were compelled to abandon the fort from the want of supplies and the obstinacy of the captain of the man of war sent to relieve them. Their embarkation was so precipitate that the commissary of the king, the surgeon, and three or four other Europeans were drowned on the bar.

(1) Muller reported *Fetu* (*Affettu*) as extending 200 miles inland. Muller's *Afrikanische Landschaft Fetu*. Hamb. 1673.

kingdoms which we must have traversed in our first day's march, but never heard of. The western limit of *Assiantee* is on the meridian of *Cape Apollonia*, the eastern on that of *Cape Coast* (1); the middle point of its southern frontier is about one degree north of *Cape Three Points*; no northern frontier is assigned to it, D'Anville remarking, in a note, that he has no further information of the interior. *Very powerful* is added to the name of this kingdom, which is made to contain six provinces. Even *Fantee* is distinguished as *rich and powerful*; the two kingdoms of *Accron* are under its protection, and *Aqua* is subject to it. The little river of *Saccomo* is burlesqued by the name of *Rio Grande*, and the town of *Grand Accra* is ten miles inland. *Labode* has its boundaries, although it extends but three miles. *Akim*, *very extensive* (2),

(1) Forlani, in 1562, laid down *Cape Coast* in about $6^{\circ} 20'$ E. of Greenwich (taking Ferro as $17^{\circ} 41'$ W.); De Lisle, in 1722, in $41'$ E.; D'Anville, in 1729, in $41'$ E., but in 1749, in $1^{\circ} 16'$ E.; Arrowsmith, in his two-sheet map of *Africa* in 1802, placed it in $2^{\circ} 20'$ W.; Dr. Mackay, in his *Treatise on Navigation*, in $28'$ W.; Demayne, in his chart of 1814, in $1^{\circ} 3'$ W. : the observations of the commissioners in 1810, determined it to be in $1^{\circ} 51'$ W.

(2) I cannot discover the authority for the following extravagant account of *Akim* : " On the west of *Aquamboe* lies the powerful state of *Akim*, sometimes denominated *Akam*, *Achem*, and *Accany*, which occupies almost all the interior of the *Gold Coast*, and is supposed by the natives to extend to *Barbary*. The *Accanese* are represented as carrying on an extensive com-

and rich in gold, is also called *Grand Accane*, and contains three provinces, *Akan*, *Kuahou* (1), and *Tafou*, which adjoins mountains of the same name, where there are gold mines. From *Ningo* to the *Rio da Volta* is forty miles. *Aquamboo*, possessing the sovereignty over many states, occupies the interior from *Akim* to the *Volta*, or about 70 miles: this river is about 2 miles wide at the mouth, and a note remarks that *it is not navigated, and that its course is unknown*. The country from the *Volta* to about 15 miles beyond *Cape St. Paul*, is called the kingdom of *Coto* or *Lampey* (2). *Great Popo* is 32 miles N. E. of *Cape St. Paul*, and *Juda* or *Fida* (*Whydah*) is 21 miles N. E. of *Popo*. The river *Lagos*, found only in the *Carte générale*, and about 40 miles N. E. of *Whydah*, is in 6° 30' N. and 20° 40' E. of *Ferro*, the peninsula of which separates the lake of *Curamo* from the sea, and is ten miles broad instead of a hundred yards. *Jaboo*

merce with the interior kingdoms of *Africa*, particularly *Tonouwah*, *Gago* and *Meczara*, by which *Mourzouk*, the capital of *Fezzan*, seems to be intended." *Leyden's Discoveries in Africa*. The extent of this little *African* kingdom is thus made to rival that of the *Russian* empire.

(1) All the *Danish* authorities insist that *Quaoo* is a province of *Amina*; the name of the province, however, is much more familiar to me than that of the kingdom.

(2) This must be the *Koto* of the *Modern part of an Universal History*, vol. 16, p. 386: the name is unknown in this part of *Africa*, unless it be a corruption of *Akottim*, an interior province.

is removed far to the east of the accurate position of De Lisle, and the *Ayos* (*Hios*) are noticed, west of *Dahomey*, as a warlike nation of great extent.

This rapid, but I fear tiresome, sketch of D'Anville's map of *Guinea*, wherein towns and villages are transformed into kingdoms and provinces, and wherein even the most petty districts are divided and subdivided almost to burlesque (1), shews how impossible it is, even for the most sagacious geographers, to construct a map of Africa on a medley of reports transmitted to Europe without itineraries or distances.

Even in the large and expensive map of the *Gold Coast*, by General Van der Bosch, published in Amsterdam about two years ago (2), there are two kingdoms of *Ancouber*, besides that of *Axim*. *Commenda* is transformed into a kingdom, under the name of *Comani*; *Adoom*, which is the maritime district of the insignificant state of *Ahanta*, is represented as a great kingdom, occupying a considerable part of the interior; *Assantyn* is placed behind *Dinkara*; *Akim*, behind *Fantyn*; *Fetu*, merely a district of the latter, appears as an independent kingdom; *Warsaw* is forgotten;

(1) Yet D'Anville adds, in a note to this map: "On auroit même exprimé avec plus de circonstances la côte qui est entre *Axim* et *Acara*, si la grandeur de cette carte avoit pu être suffisante."

(2) *Kaart van de Guid Kust of Kust Guinea*. This map is beautifully engraved, and on a large scale.

Aquamba occupies a vast extent of country; and all the unknown regions of the interior are said to belong to the king of *Ashantee* (1). General Van der Bosch's publication, however, is more interesting than his map: he recommends his government to work the gold pits of *Ahanta*—to use their influence in consolidating the smaller nations under the predominant powers—to purchase lands for all the subjects of the Netherlands who are willing to settle in Guinea—to establish fortified markets for European manufactures on the banks of the rivers in the interior—to make all the government Negroes free, and allow them a daily pay—to cut roads—to allow the council to act as a tribunal of justice in all criminal cases affecting the internal policy of the projected colony—to give them the power of life and death in military crimes, but in civil offences of magnitude, merely that of sending the accused to Holland. M. Temminck assured me that the government intended to act on this advice forthwith.

My course of the rapid (2) river *Volta*, known

(1) I must here be allowed the pleasure of acknowledging my obligation to M. Bartells, formerly chief of the Dutch fort at *Boutrie*, who politely furnished me with a MS. map of *Ahanta* and *Warsaw*, constructed from the information and knowledge he had acquired during a residence of some years on that part of the coast, and which confirmed the accounts I had previously collected.

(2) *Adda* island, in the mouth of the *Volta*, seems to have

to the natives of the interior by the name of *Adirri*, and to those of the coast by that of *Flou*, must be a pretty close approximation to the truth, from the various data on which it is founded: 1st the route crossing it to *Boopee*; 2nd the route crossing it to *Sallagha*; 3rd the route crossing it to *Odentee*; 4th the navigation of the salt carriers from its mouth to *Odentee*, within four journies of *Sallagha*, and their route overland for the remaining distance; 5th the navigation of Colonel Starrenbourg (1) about 60 miles up from the mouth. I must again urge (2) the importance of this considerable river (thus traced inland for the first time, and abounding in fertile islands), to our views for advancing the British commerce and discoveries into the interior of Africa (3).

been long diminishing from the impetuosity of the current, according to the following sentence in Sanuto: "L'Isola da *Volta* " a piu tosto picciola che altrimenti e è posto in un golfo nel " quale sbocca il fiume dello stesso nome."

(1) M. Starrenbourg, colonel of engineers, who was member of council and secretary at *Elmina Castle*, received an addition of 2000 guelders per annum to his pay from the king of the Netherlands, in acknowledgment of his partial navigations of the *Ancobra*, *Boosempra* and *Volta* rivers; and M. Hydecoper was consoled for his personal risk and sufferings in an unsuccessful mission to *Ashantee*, by being promoted to the government of *Chamah*.

(2) *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 342.

(3) D'Anville and other geographers have told us that this river was named *Volta* by the *Portuguese*, on account of its rapidity;

I have already given an outline of Isert's excursion into the *Aquapim* country, and of his journey along the coast from *Christiansborg* to the *Volta*. The additional part of his route, which appears in my map, is constructed from his account of the expedition of the Accras and the Danes against *Augua* in 1784. Isert crossed the *Volta*, on this occasion, at a short distance from the mouth (its breadth being nearly 4 miles), landed in the *Krepee* or *Kerrapay* country (1), continued marching

but Sanuto, citing his authorities, explains it differently: "E si chiamano così della *Volta* perché nel ritornare le navi caravelle dall' isola di *San Thome*, convengo venire a quella costa per potere con maggior agio poi venirsene in *Ispagna*." This is a curious fact in the history of navigation, for any master of a vessel who now went from *St. Thomas's* to the *Volta*, to make his departure for *Europe*, would be thought mad. Vessels proceeding from *St. Thomas's* to *Europe*, now cross the line to about $2^{\circ} 30'$ or 3° S., then run with the S. E. trades to 19° W. (formerly as far as 23° W.), recross the line, generally carrying the S. E. trades as far as 2° or 3° N., where they are frequently becalmed before they fall in with the N. E. trades, which carry them into the variables, or to about 29° N.: they always keep about 300 miles to the westward in passing the *Cape Verd islands*, if possible. A Liverpool vessel once ran right up the coast from *Elmina* to *Cape Palmas* in the *harmattan* season, when the currents are reversed sometimes for nine days together, and made her passage within six weeks. Vessels beating up the coast, which is very difficult, always avail themselves of the *tornados*, after which the currents remain reversed for several hours.

(1) Romer is certainly wrong in stating *Kerrapay* to be tributary to *Ashantee*.

for 8 hours, and encamped for the night in a plain environed by a forest of palm-trees, in the middle of which they found tolerably good water : *Tetetu*, a small village nearer the sea, was within view. The next morning they marched in 4 hours through a marshy and inundated country to *Attoco*, only a mile from the sea, and the first village belonging to the Auguans : there they entered a marsh (full of the *cyprus articulatus*), and engaged and defeated the Auguans, 13 of whom were killed. The Accras burnt *Attoco* and *Fouthe*, towns close to the scene of action, and full of oxen and sheep, in spite of the remonstrances of the Danes. At five in the evening they reached *Augua*, the capital, which they also burnt, as they did *Attitoau*, *Uwaco*, and *Attaple*, situated further inland. Two days afterwards they quitted the ruins of *Augua* and marched in two hours to *Way*, a large town somewhat less than the capital, and which shared the same fate, as well as *Thebee*, not far distant : they shot all the oxen, sheep, goats, and pigs which they could not consume or take away ; or, tying their legs, threw them headlong into the flames of the towns. Isert speaks of the *Kerrapays* of *Way* as the most powerful race of Negroes ; he had seen several who were six feet and a half high, and some even more. He marched from *Thebee* to *Quitta*, a distance of about 8 miles, and thence, passing *Ajuga*, to *Pottibra*, a considerable town about 12 miles further eastward. There the negro

army increased to 4000 men, and attempting to penetrate inland through a country almost impassable, they marched from midday to sunset, and passed the night in a forest of palm-trees. After a further march of four hours on the following day, they discovered the camp of the enemy near *Fita*, which is at the back of *Pottibra*, and defeated them finally after seven hours fighting. Envoys were afterwards sent from the coast to *Kreko*, the nearest town of the Auguans, and a peace was concluded, by which the Danes were allowed to build a fort at *Quitta*.

The distances between *Quitta*, *Popo* and *Whydah*, as estimated from the journies of *European* travellers, do not altogether accord with the existing astronomical observations. Isert considered it to be 50 *German* miles from *Christiansbourg Castle* to *Popo*, by land; 14 from *Quitta* (1) to *Popo*, and

(1) Norrig's observation placed *Quitta* in $6^{\circ} 2' N.$; that of H. M. S. *Argo*, in 1802, in $5^{\circ} 42' N.$ (see the *Sailing Instructions*, published by Laurie and Whittle, and edited by Dalzel); in Demayne's chart (the master of H. M. S. *Amelia*), which Mr. Walker informed me was considered to be the best at present, *Quitta* is placed in $6^{\circ} 3' N.$; in the observations cited as the latest by Norrie (*Complete Epitome of Practical Navigation*, 1816), in $6^{\circ} 2' N.$ The chronometer of the *Argo* placed *Quitta* in $1^{\circ} 29' 30''$: I had already shown, in calculating Meredith's and Isert's distances, that this longitude appeared to be about 10 miles in excess (*Mission to Ashantee*, p. 220); and Demayne's observation, which was then unknown to me, giving $1^{\circ} 21' E.$, confirms what the investigation of the routes had led

10 from *Popo* to *Whydah*. Others, who have resided at *Popo*, conclude it to be 60 *English* miles from *Quitta* to *Little Popo*, 20 from *Little* to *Great Popo* (which is now the least of the two), and 40 from the latter to *Whydah* (1). The town of

me to conclude. Norrie places it in 57' E.; and, even taking Mr. Demayne's observation for the *Volta*, this still greater diminution of the longitude is partly supported by Norrig's "distance of 27 miles by land from the *Volta* to *Quitta*," which, supposing only 21 to be made good horizontally, would place *Quitta* in about 1° 10' E. I enter into these details, dry as they are, to show how much a series of patient astronomical observations is wanting along this coast: I would hope to be placed in a situation to contribute to this desideratum; should I be disappointed of that sort of appointment in the new service which would permit me to do so, and which I may without presumption hope for, considering the hasardous kind of service for which I have as yet been unrewarded, I must be content to correct my map by the observations of others, bet'er qualified from natural talent perhaps, but not from zeal, patient study, or opportunities. At all events the public will recollect that the present map has been the first basis in aid of the geographical reform and discovery of this part of *Africa*: I only wish that I could have afforded to have engraved it on copper, for the sake of distinctness, and for the greater facility in making partial reforms and additions hereafter.

(1). The *Argo* placed *Whydah* in 6° 14' N., 2° 31' E.; Demayne's chart, in 6° 18' N., 2° 37' E.; Norrie, in 6° 24' N., 2° 12' E. Desmarchais described the kingdom of *Whydah*, now a province of *Dahomey*, as containing "26 provinces;" Isert justly doubted if it comprehended even as many villages. Lalande has told us (in the Memoir before cited), that the *Malays* spoken of by Desmarchais, come from the environs of the *Nile*

Little Popo occupies the beach between the sea and the river, a breadth of about a furlong (1). This river, which appears to be the *Jakin* of D'Anville, receives the *West river*, running from *Lagos*. The *Mahees* navigate it when they bring down their ivory for sale to *Popo*; and I expect, from all their reports, that it will be found to rise in the rocky mountains of their country, and to skirt the western boundaries of *Dahomey*. Part of the European

to *Ardra* (the neighbour of *Whydah*), and are three months in performing the journey on horseback: this I doubt, as well as his informant's report of the visit of the *Armenians* to *Cape Coast*; but it would certainly be an interesting experiment to forward a letter from *Coomassie*, addressed to the British consul at *Cairo*, to demonstrate the intercourse existing between north and south *Africa*: I have not the least doubt of its reaching him, if the promise of a trifling reward were affixed.

(1) The water of this river is too brackish to drink, and the inhabitants of *Popo* are compelled to dig holes, from 14 to 16 feet deep, whence an abundance of fresh water issues, and within which they fix puncheons without bottoms, so as to form a kind of well. Considering that the river is not a furlong from the sea at the most distant part, that the soil is to appearance entirely composed of sand, and that the holes are dug in this narrow interval, I had hoped that the water thus found was that of the river (the mouth of which is blocked by sand) making its way to the ocean, and sufficiently corrected of its brackishness by filtering through the intervening bank of sand: but experiment has disappointed my expectation, and convinced me that mere filtration, on however large a scale, cannot produce this salutary effect on brackish water; these, therefore, must be springs issuing from an argillaceous bed beneath the sand.

goods received in exchange for this ivory, are exchanged for cowries on the coast, with which they buy salt at *Quitta*, to carry inland for sale on their return home. D'Anville's river *Eufrate* is the broad but shallow stream forded in the early part of the route from *Grigwee* to *Abomy*, and which Isert also notices as insignificant, although Dalzel, contradicting himself, delineated it as the continuation of the large river *Lagos* (1).

Abomy has been described by Lambe, Snelgrave, Norris and Dalzel, all of whom, as well as several others in the service of the African Committee, have visited it. Dalzel's History affords us no information on the geography of the interior (2); and even as relates to that of his own route, is inexcusably contradictory, for he places this capital 108 miles distant from the coast in a straight line, although he admits that the whole of his journey was but 96 miles (3). Lambe made it 200;

(1) Even in Arrowsmith's two-sheet map of *Africa*, dedicated to the African Association, in 1802, the river *Lagos* is made to flow across the route to *Abomy*.

(2) The *Watjis* (mentioned by Oldendorp as neighbours of *Sokko*), *Attins*, *Bombra*, *Bumbrongs*, and *Petcharies*, ~~which~~ *never* I never heard of, are reported by the Danish and German authors as inhabiting remote parts of the interior of *Guinea*. See the Appendix of Routes, *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 482.

(3) Dalzel, governor in chief of the British settlements on the *Gold Coast*, possessed, it is true, the rare merit in a servant of the African Committee, of contributing some little to our knowledge of the country he governed; but he was extremely inac-

Norris, 112; Isert, 80; Mr. Jarvis concluded it to be no more than 70 miles. I have already submitted the policy of establishing a residency in this capital, being one of the most important stations for our further progress in the interior: the present king has more than once expressed his anxiety to renew his acquaintance and connection with

curate and superficial in his observations: indeed, I think his pretending that Mr. Abson, the governor of *Whydah*, put all the pamphlets *pro et con* on the slave trade question into his pocket when he went to *Abony*, translated them all extempore to the king, who patiently heard them through, although frequently interrupted by state affairs, and then summed up a long logical speech in reply (humanely in favour of the continuation of the slave trade of course), which occupies several quarto pages of Mr. Dalzel's book; this, I think, was an insult to the common sense of the British public. The speech was no doubt written by some European, who, like Mr. Dalzel, found the slave trade very profitable. Poor Mr. Abson was known to be an easy, simple man, and so proverbially indolent, as not even to take the trouble of making out the accounts of what the Committee owed him, and who were, from this singular disposition, considerably his debtors at his death. I dare say he never even read, much less dreamed of translating this bundle of European political pamphlets into a Negro language: we shall next hear of our pamphlets on the finance and bullion questions being translated for the edification of the *Loo-Choos*. This speech, however, has been frequently quoted as genuine. I observe in the preface of the *History of the Revolutions of Marocco*, written by Captain Braithwaite in 1727, that the author was obliged to quit England for Africa before the publication of his book, being appointed governor of Cape Coast for the African Company; and, it is added, that a complete and exact description of that part of Africa, so little known, was ex-

the English (1). My position of *Badaggry*, on the authority of Mr. Jarvis, is too much to the eastward if Isert's report be correct (2).

The river *Lagos* is equally, if not more important than the *Volta* for the introduction of our commerce into the interior of Africa, and for the gradual progress of exploratory expeditions. Although no other person ever heard of what Mr. Robertson's informant assured him, "that canoes have come from *Timbuctoo* to *Lagos* in 3 days," yet it is very certain, from the details afforded me by Mr. Jarvis, who resided 3 years at *Lagos*, that the slaves who were brought there from the *Niger*, invariably declared that they were conveyed the greater part of the way by water; and it is

pected from him, as a man of much observation and experience, having been, successively, an officer in the navy of Queen Anne, a lieutenant in the Welsh fusileers, an ensign in the guards, secretary to the English embassy at Venice, in command of an expedition to St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the first gentleman volunteer at the siege of Gibraltar, and the companion of Mr. Russell in his mission to Marocco. *French translation*, Amsterdam, 1731. Perhaps the public expectation, thus expressed nearly a hundred years ago, of knowing something of Africa through this governor's administration, would not have been disappointed, if he had been sent out as the servant of the British government instead of the African Company.

(1) *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 340.

(2) Sir George Young reported *Badaggry* as on the coast; it is from 5 to 7 miles distant, and the tide of the West river, from *Lagos*, ascends thus far.

also certain that the canoes in which they arrive at *Kosie*, and which this gentleman had seen, are in size, make, and accommodation incomparably superior to any canoes known upon the coast (1). Other details are given in my account of the ex-

(1) "The resident traders at Lagos speak familiarly of Timbuctoo, and assert with confidence that canoes have come from thence to Lagos in three days. This account being confirmed by the Ashantees, I have no reason to doubt." *Notes on Africa*, p. 292. This is not the whole of the excess of geographical knowledge ascribed to the *Ashantees*, who candidly assured me in their own country, as I have before stated, that they knew nothing of the *Coast* beyond the environs of the *Volta*, or of the interior east of *Dagwumba* or north of *Kong*; which was all the knowledge the Moorish visitors and the slaves of the more interior countries, who had passed through other hands before they reached theirs, ascribed to them; and their eastward expedition, related in the present work from Romer, is a further confirmation. A few of them might accidentally have heard of the large river in the interior, but I am sure they had not even curiosity enough to make a single enquiry about it. Mr. Robertson gives them credit, however, for extent and minuteness of knowledge, to a degree which I never met with even in a Moor. "The *Ashantees* appear to have more correct ideas of the geography of *Africa* than any other nation which has communication with *Europeans*. They speak with confidence relative to the course of the *Niger*, which they call *In-sukessey*, and say that it continues its course eastward until it falls into the lake *Bondou*, which receives besides many other great rivers, and that it discharges its waters by three arms, which divide and fall into the sea by many branches in the *Bights of Benin* and *Biafra*, in the *Gulf of Guinea*, each, by its magnitude, a great river even in the dry season." (p. 210.) Is this part of the valuable information which this African trader

pedition of Peter Browne (1). Let us now hope that so favourable an opportunity for penetrating into the interior, as that afforded by the invitation of the king of *Kosie*, will not again be slighted, and that a Mulatto will never again be pawned off as an Englishman on an African monarch, who had until that moment formed an exalted idea of white men (2). I have already suggested that the

(who has also discovered, by *his fireside in Liverpool*, that Park made gross geographical blunders when residing in *Sansanding*), boasts of having received from Mr. James, whose cause and qualifications he so warmly advocates at the expence of truth?

(1) *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 225.

(2) The British government, by taking our valuable settlements on the *Gold Coast* into their own hands, and by throwing the trade open to the wholesome competition of free merchants, by this wise resolution, as auspicious to the increase of British commerce as it is to the discovery and improvement of Africa, has given the admiring continent a noble proof that the absurd and disgraceful act of Charles II, in 1672, which gave and accorded, like one of the popes of the darkest ages, to the African Company, the whole coast, with its rivers, harbours, and all the adjacent countries, from *Salée* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, to enjoy in exclusive commerce for a thousand years, is condemned by the present monarch, his ministers, and the country, as an unwarrantable and tyrannical invasion not only of the British constitution, but of the law of nature and the law of nations. This act of a *civilised* monarch reminds me of a deed of one of the *savage* ancestors of the king of Ashantee, which I omitted to affix in a note to that part of the king's letter which alludes to it. We are bound, in justice as well as humanity, to mitigate

river *Lagos* may flow from the great lake in *Ilio*, which the Portuguese mulatto, resident in *Abomy*, the barbarities of these benighted monarchs, by reporting every redeeming action which truth acknowledges and records as due to them: I do not pretend to determine whether the following was the impulse of generosity, vanity, or policy; but the fact is enough.

When the conquest of Dankara was meditated, (on the pretext of its monarch having violated some of the wives of the young Ashantee king, who had been appointed to accompany the embassy to Dankara, announcing the death of Sai Aquissi and the accession of Sai Cudjo, to mark it with the most flattering solemnity), the Dutch governor-general readily advanced a considerable quantity of arms and powder to the king of Dankara, on trust, and even furnished him with a few Europeans and some small cannon, from his dread of the ruin of a monarch who was the zealous and powerful patron of the commerce with the Dutch settlements. Nothing could resist the military genius of the *Ashantees*, who knew no trade but war, and felt confident, from the success with which they had subdued kingdom after kingdom from the time of their emigration, that they were destined by the Fetish to be the rising nation of that age and country. The king of Dankara, his bravest chiefs, and the flower of his army, fell in a series of sanguinary battles, wherein Bosman and Bardot assure us that 100,000 men fell on both sides; an absurd exaggeration, (to be attributed to their ignorance and awful impressions of the *Ashantees*), but at the same time a curious verification of the extent of the conflicts and the armies, as alledged by the Moors and Negroes at *Coomassie*. The whole kingdom of *Dankara* lay at the mercy of the *Ashantee* monarch, irritated by insults, injuries, and the most obstinate and destructive resistance. The Dutch governor-general dwelt but little on the loss of the considerable sum of gold the slain monarch was indebted to him for supplying the means of resistance; his thoughts were entirely

reported to Snelgrave as the fountain of several large rivers which empty themselves into the *Bay of Guinea*.

According to Bruns, whose authorities are Smith and Benzel, the river *Formosa* ceases to be navigable for large vessels at *Aribo*, 47 miles from its mouth, or only 30 according to D'Anville. Bruns does not mention the distance from *Aribo* to *Agathon*, where there is a market and the ruins of a Dutch settlement. The French travellers Flotte and Landolphe, reported *Agathon* as 46 leagues

and anxiously occupied by the dread of the vengeance of the conqueror, a vengeance we might almost call legitimate in a barbarous monarch. But the generosity of the savage, founded partly on magnanimity, partly on policy, and partly on vanity, relieved and astonished the European, who, whilst he feared the physical force of this African Cyrus, despised his nature and pitied his barbarism. The ambassadors of Sai Cudjo, the very chiefs who had bled in the sanguinary combats the Dutchman had nourished, presented themselves at *Elmina Castle*, with the full amount of gold in payment for the guns and powder supplied on loan to the king of *Dankara*. They put it into the hands of the governor-general, with this message: "The king of *Dankara* put shame
 " on the face of Sai Cudjo and of the *Ashantees*. Sai Cudjo held
 " his sword over the king of *Dankara*, and he is dead, and Sai
 " Cudjo stands on all the king of *Dankara's* people; but the
 " Ohennies (chiefs) tell him that the king of *Dankara* owed
 " much gold to the Dutch governor for guns and powder; so
 " now, as the country belongs to him, Sai Cudjo must pay the
 " gold, and he must tell the Dutch governor to be the same good
 " friend to him, which he was to the king of *Dankara*, whose
 " bad head the Dutch governor did not well know."

from the mouth; D'Anville laid it down as only 45 miles. The former give no distance from *Agathon* to the capital of *Benin*, but merely speak of the goodness of the road. Bruns says it is 8 miles; and Mr. Brown of Liverpool, who was killed in *Benin*, considered it to be 150 miles from the mouth of the river (1). The river of *Benin* is said to fall into the *Formosa* 28 leagues from its mouth, and *Gatto*, where the French had a settlement, to be 20 miles from the shore (2). D'Anville places a country called *Istanna*, N. E., and *Isago* N. W. of *Benin*. The people of *Usa* adjoining the *Formosa* are said to live by piracy and robbery.

Bruns describes the capital of *Waree* as 36 G. miles from the mouth of the river *Forcado*, 18 miles distant from that of *Benin*, and flowing very far from the interior. The extent of the kingdom of *Waree* is estimated at 46 G. miles, E. by S.

(1) Mr. Robertson says that it was Mr. Brown's own fault. I am informed that the king of *Benin*, who frequently makes it "his royal pleasure to get drunk," wantonly ordered the death of the white man in one of these moments of madness; and when informed of it on recovering his senses, manifested the greatest sorrow, and, by way of atonement, ordered all those to be killed, who, in obedience to his own orders, had been concerned in the tragedy.

(2) It appears to me improbable that *Benin* formerly paid tribute either to *Gana* or *Jennie*, as has been asserted on the authority of De Barros, who wrote it *Ogane*. Perhaps there is some great controlling power east of *Yarriba*, and not yet heard of.

The information of Nicholls, the traveller of the African Association, who died at *Calabar*, is very vague, and trifling. The *Aqua* country was said to extend far to the eastward; the *Howatt* and *Boring* countries were described as two-journies N. E. of *Duke's Town*, which, as he neither mentions the time or distance of the navigation from *Parrot Island*, cannot be laid down in the map; neither can any other of the small towns which he speaks of. Egbo Young told Mr. Nicholls "that *Cross river* came further down than they ever attempted to go, being stopped by an immense fall of water which they hear for several hours before they reach it, and beyond which the land becomes much higher." (1) Mr. Nicholls intended to have gone as far as he could up this river, before he set out for the interior (2).

(1) In Adelung the *Kalabari* are said to speak the same language as the *Ibos* (considered by physiologists as the lowest link in the chain of human beings), who make war with *Igan* and *Eoo* (*Hio*); and the *Kalabari* are said to war with the anthropophagi of *Bibi*, and to be neighbours of *Mokki*, which he says must be the same as *Makokko*, written *Ansiko* by Dapper. These are the only clues I can find for future enquiries in this neighbourhood.

(2) Mr. Nicholls reports (*Proceedings of the African Association*, vol. 2, p. 385, 395, 401, 407) *Aqua Town* as 3 miles east of *Duke's Town*, and 3 miles from *Old Calabar*; *Creek Town* as in a little creek 8 miles long; *Henshaw Town* as 2 miles from *Calabar*, and 5 west of *Duke's Town*; *John Ambo's Town* as 1 mile from *Calabar*, and 1 mile N. E. by E.

I find no other mention of *Gaboon*, than that “the king, whose dominion extends to *Cape Lopez*, resides in an island 15 miles above the mouth of the river; that the country is called *Pongo*, and that the barbarism of the natives makes it very dangerous for Europeans to visit it.” (1) The native name of the *Gaboon* country is *Empoongwa*; it is only a secondary chief who resides at *Dambee* or *Koënnig Island*, and their united dominions do not extend any thing like so far as *Cape Lopez*. I visited *Naango*, the residence of the king, about 45 miles from the mouth of the river, and found the people courteous, hospitable and intelligent: indeed, I would rather trust myself in their hands than in those of any other African nation yet known to me (2).

I have groped through almost all the old voyages, in the hope of finding some satisfactory geographical details of the countries between *Assinee* and *Sierra Leone*; but the data are so vague and trifling, that, feeling I must already have sufficiently

from *Duke's Town*; *Parrot Island* as 25 miles from *Tom Salt Point*, and 9 or 10 miles in circumference; *James Island* is near it, but much smaller. Nicholls's town of *Ericock* has lately been transformed into a kingdom, under the name of *Acricock*. Robertson's *Notes on Africa*.

(1) *Tableau historique des Découvertes et Etablissemens des Européens dans le nord et dans l'ouest de l'Afrique*, traduit par Cuny. Paris, an 12, p. 229.

(2) *Mission to Ashantee*, c. XIII.

tired the patience of the reader with dry geographical discussion (in my anxiety to make this little Essay as complete as possible, without being an incumbrance to an African traveller), I would blend the little which seems to be known of the geography, with what I have been able to collect of the history of these nations; and thus conclude by adding a sketch of the monarchs and their subjects, as a supplement to that which I furnished of their eastern neighbours, in my account of the mission to Ashantee. It must be recollected, however, that I am merely compiling the scattered accounts of others, in the present, and therefore cannot vouch for the truth, as in the former instance; but I have not the smallest reason for doubt.

It is as interesting as novel to contemplate the actions of the heroes and statesmen, whom the Negroes venerate as illustrious *exceptions* to the supineness of their race. I do not, however, believe these exceptions to be so rare as we imagine; and the histories of Agay and some others of the Ashantee chiefs and ministers, which I have submitted, support my impression. The barbarian must be original; if he becomes eminent, it is by the force of his own genius; he cannot study or copy the course and character of others in the page of history; he acts upon his own impulse, and shapes his own career. In the fine arts, originality is the great object of our search, the criterion of genius,

the theme of our admiration : why should we not, from the same feeling, seek and prize whatever is original in the history of man? Naturalists have too often overlooked their own species in their travels, and the insects of a remote country are sometimes better known than the people.

When the Caroos inhabited part of the region of the Folgas or Foulahs, the latter, after an obstinate warfare, were compelled to have recourse to a stratagem to reduce them to subjection. The Caroos venerated a sacred pond on a mountain, where they dedicated the spoils of their wars, believing that their first parents descended on that spot from heaven. The Folgian oracles counselled their disheartened warriors, to throw secretly into this pond some fish cooked without being scaled, forbidden food, and a profanation in the eyes of the Caroos. Horror struck at this prodigy at first, they afterwards suspected and accused one another — passion impelled them to a civil war — they first destroyed their own countrymen, and then became the prey of their crafty enemies. Their general, Sokwalla, was killed in the last effort to repulse the invaders, and his son, Flonikerri, succeeded him but to seal the submission of his diminished followers to the conquerors. Dreading some wild effort of despair on the part of these gloomy warriors, Flansire, the king of the Folgians, determined to reconcile and naturalize them by his generosity. He espoused the sister of their

chief, and consigned them to his paternal government.

Flonikerri and his people, diverted from their gloom, soon felt less dependent, for an opportunity occurred of acquitting their obligation to their generous conqueror. The king of Rîo Cestos declared war against the Folgians, whose monarch magnanimously confided the command of his army to his brother-in-law the Caroo chief. His ultimate success was enhanced by the dangers and difficulties of the war, and he returned covered with glory. Flansire, the exalted monarch who had thus won this grateful hero, was himself the vassal of Mendimo, the king of Manoo, a country immediately behind Folgia. Mendimo died, and his death was attributed to the poisons or spells of his brother Manimassa, who hastened to drink *quoni* to exculpate himself, and happily vomited the drug without injury. The powerful accusers of Manimassa, who had conspired to keep him from the throne, withheld the customary reparation. The injured prince swore that he would complain to the spirits of his fathers, and seek more worthy subjects : he fled to the Gallas, a people northwest of Manoo, and a name spread from Abyssinia to the Gambia, or from the eastern to the western coasts of Africa. The Gallas were a savage, brutal race, without a chief, without laws, without humanity, who knew not to obey or to govern. Manimassa artfully persuaded them that they needed

a chief, both for their good and safety; and they at length elected this ambitious stranger, and pledged him a tithe of their grain, their fruits, and their game, as a token of their obedience. But the Gallas soon became discontented with the presumption of their chief, and Manimassa with the freedoms of his subjects : he implored the assistance of Flansire, whose daughter he had married. Flonikerri was again invested with command, and again triumphed. The panic struck Gallas accorded that deference to their stranger chief, from fear, which they knew not how to grant from policy.

Flansire was anxious to bestow on Flonikerri some substantial mark of his favour and admiration; and he first suggested, and then granted, the request of the hero, to attempt the conquest of the fertile territory of Cape Mount for himself and his faithful Caroos, on condition that he and his successors held the crown of the kings of Folgia. The Veis, who inhabited this country, maintained many sanguinary conflicts with the Caroos, whom they intimidated by their poisoned arrows; but at length they presented themselves to Flonikerri, with their caps on their heads, as a sign of their submission. At his request, they fell with their faces to the earth. He quitted his tent, walked on their prostrate bodies, commanded them to rise, and sealed an alliance by eating the flesh of fowls with them, the blood having been previously sprinkled on both parties.

The solicitude and address of Flonikerri in gaining the hearts of his new subjects, was interrupted by the ungrateful son of Manimassa, who invaded the infant kingdom with an overwhelming army. The Caroos were yielding to the odds, when Flonikerri made a hole in the ground with his lance, large enough to receive his foot, and swore never to stir from it; his inspired soldiers snatched the victory from the shouting enemy, but forgot it in their sorrow for their king, who had fallen, covered with the hostile spears. His subjects concealed his death as long as they could, for they knew that his name alone protected them from their enemies.

Fillymangua, the brother of Flonikerri was elected as his successor; he enlarged the infant kingdom by subduing the Pui Monoos, the Quojas, and the Quillijas. He made Tomby his capital, where he was soon after poisoned by his own subjects. His kinsman Jemma was elected regent during the minority of the infant princes: he proved the Numa of the rising state; but the young monarch Flansire, like another Tullus, impatiently interrupted the peace which had existed through the regency, and urged that the fame of his father and his uncle demanded his emulation of their glory, by the aggrandizement of his kingdom. He raised an army, passed the river Maquebarri, and possessed himself of the territories behind Sierra Leone. Like Alexander, this negro hero di-

vided his conquests amongst his generals : the government of the states behind Sierra Leone was bestowed on Candaqualla ; Selboele was dignified by that of the provinces of the Rio das Palmas ; Sytre was recompensed by those adjoining the Rio das Galinhas.

The peace which succeeded was interrupted by the news that Falma, a native of Dogo, had expelled Candaqualla from his government. The viceroys of Palma and Galinha were ordered to raise their forces, and follow their king, who had left his wives, his children, and the government of his kingdom in the hands of his brother Gammina, and hastened to recover his provinces. He soon learnt that these viceroys, his favourite generals, had conspired with his perfidious brother to depose him. He preserved his firmness and courage, and resolutely embarking his troops, descended the river Galinhas to the mouth, and traversed the arm of the sea to the Banana Isles, to take under his protection those of his new subjects who had fled from Sierra Leone on Falma's invasion of it.

This Falma had been an interpreter to the king of Dogo, who ordered his ears to be cut off on his being surprised with one of the king's wives. Falma felt the more impatient under his punishment, as it had been thitherto customary to visit that offence by a fine of money and slaves. He dissembled his resentment, however, until time had moderated the anger of the king of Dogo. He then

found an occasion to urge to the monarch with equal force and moderation, that as he had been pleased to change the customs of the country in his case, he must accord his just demand, that whoever might hereafter be found guilty of the same offence, should be punished in the same manner, without respect of rank; otherwise he should be the only one in the kingdom bearing this new mark of infamy; he concluded, that if the king did not justify himself by according this demand, he would complain to Belli and the Jannanas, and make all the paths resound with his wrongs. The king was astonished; he dared not to accord the demand of Falma, since it might compel him to make enemies of the favourites and most powerful men of his court; yet his superstition sorely disquieted him with the apprehension that the spirits would listen to the complaints of Falma. He extricated himself by seizing the provinces behind Sierra Leone from the viceroy of Flansire, and giving the government to Falma to quiet him.

Flansire, with the aid of some whites, besieged Falma in a village to which he had retired, cut through the pallisades and double rows of trees by which it was fortified, and set the whole place in flames by fire brands and blazing arrows. Falma escaped with difficulty, and Candaqualla was firmly reestablished. Flansire hastening back to recover his kingdom, learnt on his way that his brother

had not only supplanted him, but violated his wives, massacred his children, and had boldly encamped to dispute his passage over the river Galinhas. His sorrows and his dangers were further aggravated by the intelligence that the Gobe Manoos had revolted, laid waste the district of Dauwala, and carried off the inhabitants as slaves.

Unsubdued by this accumulation of unmerited misfortune, Flansire crossed the Rio Novo and hastened to attack his brother. The battle was obstinate and sanguinary; Flansire still doubted of victory, when one of his flanking parties, stealing through a wood, surprised some soldiers of the enemy in the act of burying their rebel chief. They fled, leaving three human victims laden with chains, whom they were about to sacrifice on the grave; the panic spread, and Flansire commemorated his victory by a general amnesty. He lost no time in reducing the Gobe Manoos, and lived in peace at Tomby, until the Dogos, under the pretence of avenging the death of the unnatural Gaminna, compelled him, by their superior numbers, to retire for a moment to the island of Mapag in the river Ilizoge. His genius again extricated him; for having thus enticed the invaders into a straggling pursuit of his subjects, in canoes, he put them to flight, and established the tranquillity of his kingdom.

I believe this little Essay and the Map offer a fair statement of our knowledge and information. The

Benin and Congo hypothesis are too well known for me to detail, and are merely to be added to the list. For my own part, I think there is no comparison between the value of the time which has been spent in the discussion, and that of the small sum of money which is necessary for the ocular demonstration of this important geographical problem.

Half the expence of our former unfortunate expeditions (1), appropriated to a firm and gradual

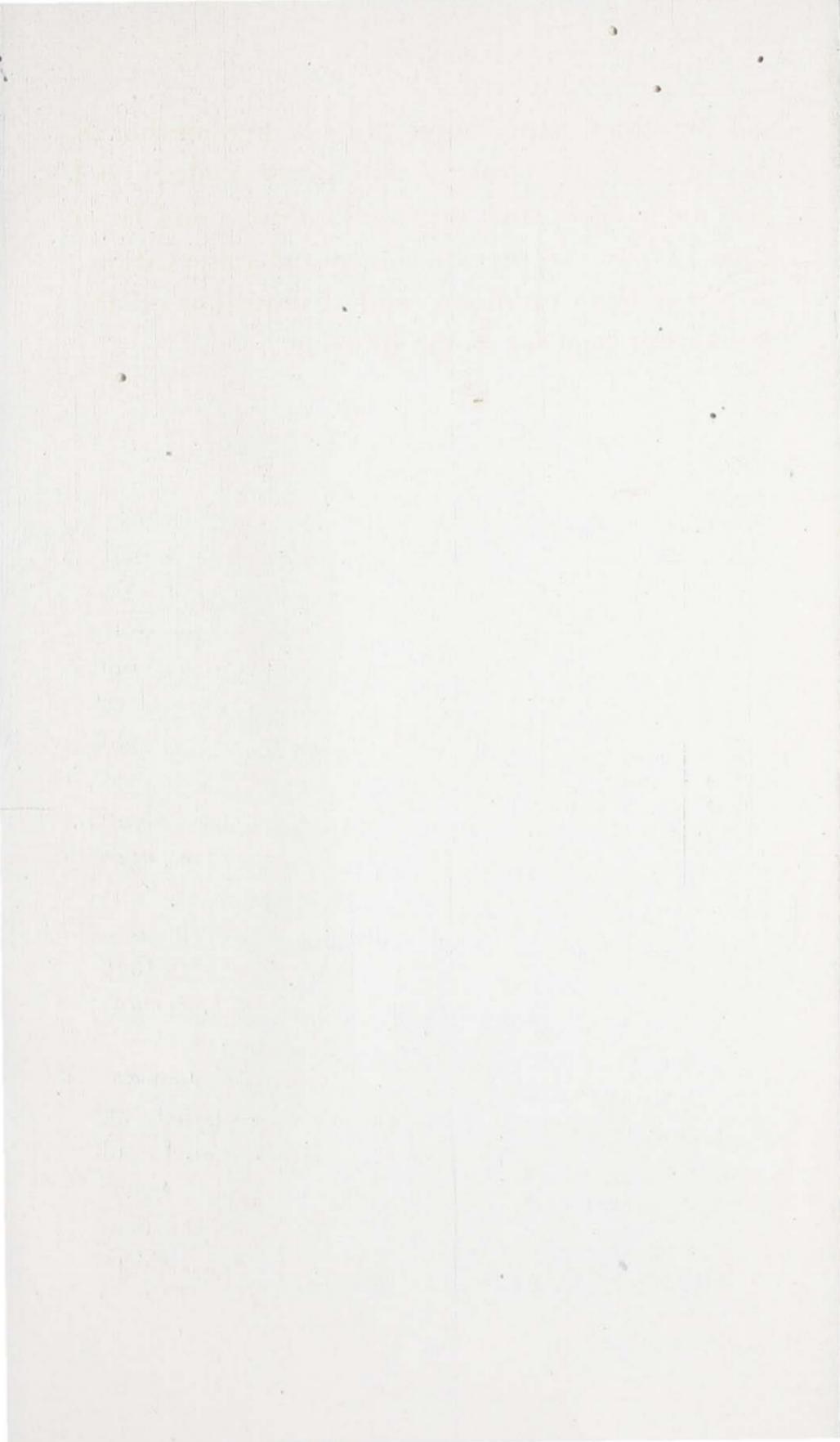
(1) I observe that Mr. Jackson has written a long article in an *Oriental Miscellany*, on the subject of the MS. which I brought from Ashantee, descriptive of Mungo Park's death, in which he seems to say that I was uncandid in not publishing a long explanatory letter which he submits as being addressed to me with his translation of the MS. : really I do not recollect having received such a letter, although I am sure that it is much more likely for me to have forgotten it, than for Mr. Jackson to be in error on the subject; especially as it does not even now appear to me, after the perusal, that I should have been justified in intruding so long and unnecessary a private document on the public : it would fairly have subjected me to the imputation of book-making. Without entering into Mr. Jackson's reply to the *Quarterly Review*, I will merely venture to submit, from the elementary knowledge of the Arabic language which twelve months assiduous study has yielded, that it is impossible that *akkadan* can mean, *and they tied or fastened them*, as Mr. Jackson insists from his colloquial knowledge of the language; for although the root *akada*, *to bind*, may be found even in Scheid, every student knows that it can only assume the termination *an* in the future dual, which it cannot be, since it has not the prefix characteristic of this tense, which would make it

advance from our settlements on the Gold Coast; and the economical and legitimate establishment of residences to keep up and extend the intercourse these limited but constant enterprises might originate, would, I am sure, not merely conduct us to the Niger, but establish us upon it in three or four years; an object which such vast, disquieting,

takadan in the active voice, assumed by Mr. Jackson: again it has not the affixed pronoun which his translation would require, making it *takadahoom*. I certainly am surprised at Mr. Jackson's remark, that "he is at a loss to imagine how it could have been rendered into *two maids in the vessel*;" for we find *akadaoo* given as *ancilla* in Castell (whose authority is preferred even to that of Golius), as well as in Richardson, the dual of which is *akadani*, or, neglecting the vowel points, as the Africans do, *akdan*, *two maids*. I had concluded this to be the meaning, improbable as it seemed, when on submitting the word to professor Boctor, a learned native, who was attached to the French army in Egypt as interpreter at the age of 17, and who has studied his language philosophically for upwards of 15 years, he reminded me that the situation of the word in Castell announced that *ancilla* was a very unusual acceptance, as he knew, and that it was clear to him, from the preceding words, that it should have been *kaadan* instead of *akadan* (the transposition of a single letter being frequent in bad or hurried Arabic writing), which is the dual participle of the verb *kad* to sit: so that instead of Mr. Salame's improbable translation, *and there were two maids in the ship*; or Mr. Jackson's, *and they tied or fastened them in the ship*, which is impossible; we should read, *and they* (the two white men just mentioned) *were sitting in the ship*. This, I think, is a very simple and satisfactory explanation of this much discussed passage.

and desultory expeditions, highly honourable as they are to our country, will never realize, if I may judge from such repeated failures, and from what I know, from experience and observation, of the policy, opinions, and dispositions of the Moors and Negroes of the interior.

FINIS.



APPENDIX I.

Mr. Hutchison's Public Letter.

“ At the latter end of December (1816), Tando
“ Cudjo, the oldest Caboceer at Dix Cove, died, and
“ great preparations were made for his funeral. To
“ conduct it with due ceremony, the corpse was
“ kept for nearly a week, a coffin was made, and the
“ body dressed in a silk robe and cap, with silver
“ chains round the neck, arms, and legs, and gold
“ was laid in the coffin with it. They intended
“ burying him in Fetish ground, on a neck of land
“ between the fort and the sea, on which is built
“ what is called ‘The Company’s Slave Town.’ It
“ having been reported that they intended making
“ human sacrifices ‘to *water the grave,*’ as they
“ term it, they were told from Mr. B., the Governor,
“ that such a thing could not be tolerated.

“ On the day of the funeral a great custom was
“ made, and as sun-set was the hour of burial, we
“ did not expect any murder to be committed until
“ then, although a strict watch was kept. About
“ four o’clock, a man reported that they had a man
“ and a girl rubbed over with fetish, dressed with

“ leaves and flowers, and ready to be killed. The
 “ Governor sent for the Caboccers to come into the
 “ Fort, at the same time warning them against killing
 “ any one. After a delay of half an hour they were
 “ perceived standing at the corner of a house, be-
 “ hind which there was a great noise, and presently
 “ a windward man came running in, saying they
 “ had cut off a girl’s head. About eleven o’clock a
 “ great clamour was heard in town, and one of the
 “ sentinels on the walls ascertained it to be the chief
 “ men met in council about sacrificing a man they
 “ had in irons. Young Tando Gudjo and one of
 “ the Caboccers were on the side of humanity, pro-
 “ bably on account of their pay, whilst all the others
 “ were for running the risk of his murder. The
 “ people hearing there was a difference of opinion,
 “ assembled in numbers, demanding their victim ;
 “ a message was therefore sent from the Fort or-
 “ dering them, on their peril, to desist from their
 “ intention, which they did.

“ The Governor having gone the next day to head-
 “ quarters to spend his new year, I was left in charge
 “ of the Fort, and received intimation that the king
 “ of Apollonia intended sending people to make cus-
 “ tom, with one or more persons to kill. Accordingly,
 “ on Saturday morning, about one hundred war-
 “ riors were seen descending the Apollonia pass,
 “ armed, and in their war dresses, who advancing to
 “ the town in two parties round the Fetish pond,
 “ continued a brisk firing of muskets for half an

" hour, then brandishing their knives, daggers, etc.
 " advanced to a fetish tree, shouting and dancing.
 " I then discovered a man in an iron chain, whom
 " they were beating with their muskets and the backs
 " of their knives. After some enquiry, the servants
 " confessed that they were taking him to Tando
 " Cudjo's house, to cut his throat over the grave.
 " I immediately called from the walls to a Mulatto
 " man of authority, who was passing to join the
 " throng, to order them to stop where they were,
 " until the Caboceers had seen me, or I would fire
 " on them. A message being sent to the Caboceers,
 " they came without delay, with the Linguist, when,
 " after pointing out to them the enormity of the
 " crime, the commands of the Committee and Go-
 " vernor in Chief, I told them I was ready to ransom
 " the prisoner at a moderate rate, or, if they per-
 " sisted in killing him, I would destroy the Caboccers'
 " and Linguists' houses, and disperse the Apollo-
 " nians, besides making them pay the usual penalty
 " of two ounces of gold for the first gun, every suc-
 " ceeding one to be doubled. They went out to
 " tell this message to the Apollonia and Dix Cove
 " people, who had now assembled in numbers, and
 " soon returned with one of the Apollonia chiefs.
 " They said the Apollonians laughed at the idea of
 " being dictated to by *one* white man, and he (from
 " the distant view they had of him on the walls), a
 " boy. The bell was immediately tolled to order
 " in all the people of the Fort, the guns were

“ pointed, and every preparation made for resist-
 “ ance. I allowed them an hour to think on my
 “ former proposal, and after some consultation they
 “ requested two, which was granted to them. They
 “ went out, and after being a short time in council,
 “ sent the Linguist to say they had consented to let
 “ the man free without any condition, and would
 “ strike off his irons near the Fort, which was done.

“ I was the more strenuous in saving this man,
 “ as not only *his* life but many others depended on
 “ the event; three weeks having elapsed since Tando
 “ Cudjo’s death, the usual intermission of custom,
 “ it had recommenced in the foregoing manner, to
 “ be continued every Saturday (the day of the week
 “ on which he died) for three months. The Caboccer
 “ of every Croom in the Dix Cove influence being
 “ expected to bring one or more slaves in rotation,
 “ and the king of Apollonia said he would send six
 “ more: Tando Cudjo having belonged to his tribe,
 “ called the “ Dog family,” and rendered great by
 “ the ambition of its members.

“ The next day young Tando Cudjo killed a large
 “ pig for them, but such was the famine that they
 “ were obliged to leave it for want of corn to make
 “ their bread, and the following morning departed
 “ for Apollonia from the same cause, and were re-
 “ duced to the necessity of eating grass on the way.

“ The day after the Apollonians departed, the
 “ chief authorities sent to me to say they wished an
 “ interview: on being admitted, they said, that as I

“ had saved a man’s life, they wished me, when they
 “ went to Council, to send out my sword and demand
 “ this man, either as my own slave or the slave of
 “ the Company. They were told in reply, that it
 “ was farthest from my intentions to save a man from
 “ death one day, and reduce him to slavery the next ;
 “ it was rather my wish to make them all free, if
 “ possible. The Caboccers in a body then pressed
 “ me to ‘dash the man to the stool,’ or, in other
 “ words, give my consent that they should make
 “ him their slave. I angrily told them never to make
 “ such a request again if they did not wish to be
 “ turned out of the Fort, and warned them against
 “ playing any tricks, as they should pay a heavy
 “ forfeit; making them stipulate that the man should
 “ be free, and whenever I wished to see him they
 “ should bring him that I might be assured of his
 “ safety.

“ Here the palaver was thought to be ended; but
 “ on the Monday morning, the Linguists said the
 “ Caboccers wished to come in and talk more about
 “ the Apollonia man. They came, they said, to tell
 “ me that the man had behaved ill, and that they
 “ had put him in irons, but, as they had been made
 “ responsible for his safety, came to inform me before
 “ they did any thing else. They would not say in
 “ what manner he had behaved ill, but it was soon
 “ learned, through a servant, that they had sent him
 “ with their slaves to work in the plantations on
 “ Sunday, when he attempted to make his escape,

“ but was caught and confined. I enquired why
 “ they did not bring the man into the Fort to hear
 “ what was said, as usual. They replied, he was
 “ afraid of white men, which was false, as he was
 “ known to have gone about Apollonia Fort without
 “ dread, which made me suspect their designs. On
 “ being told to bring the man into the Fort, they
 “ insolently said they could not, as the king of
 “ Apollonia intended sending for him. This being
 “ evidently a lie, I enquired why they left him with-
 “ out a guard when set at liberty, if the king wished
 “ for him back, and, if so, who gave them the
 “ power to make him a slave either to themselves or
 “ the Fort? It being impossible to answer these
 “ questions, after some muttering amongst them-
 “ selves they denied having said so: telling them
 “ that I held them responsible for the man’s safety,
 “ I ordered them to quit the Fort.

“ It being whispered about that they intended
 “ killing him on the Saturday’s custom, I thought it
 “ best to get him into the Fort to save further com-
 “ motion. On the Thursday it was ascertained that
 “ he was confined in young Tando Cudjo’s house:
 “ one of my servants effected seeing him when the
 “ people were absent; he stated his belief that he
 “ should be privately killed on the Saturday; he
 “ said he always wished to come into the Fort and
 “ be under my protection, but they would not let
 “ him, and begged that he might be saved from their
 “ cruelty. The next morning at day-light, taking

“ with me a soldier and a man belonging to the
 “ Fort, I went into the town to where he was con-
 “ fined ; at the door of the house I met Tando Cudjo,
 “ who seemed rather startled at so unexpected a
 “ visit : on being told to give up the man, he denied
 “ all knowledge of him ; but on the soldier being
 “ ordered to break open the door, he confessed he
 “ was there, and opened the hovel, where the man
 “ laid on an old mat, manacled hands and feet, and
 “ twisted so as to have cut the skin all round where
 “ the irons touched : one of the people took him
 “ him on his back to the Fort. When his irons
 “ were struck off, falling at my feet he attempted to
 “ put my foot on his neck, saying he had now only
 “ me to look to ; I was his meat and drink, his
 “ garment, his father and his mother. On being
 “ asked, in the event of the king of Apollonia sending
 “ for him (to whom he had been a slave), if he
 “ wished to be delivered up to him ; he said, rather
 “ reduce him to the lowest condition than give him
 “ back to the fury of his own colour. However, no
 “ message came, and he occasionally went out with-
 “ out any one molesting him for a month, the Cabo-
 “ ceers being told that the account of the affair had
 “ gone to the Governor in Chief, who would most
 “ likely order him to Cape Coast.

“ The Governor of Dix Cove having returned, I
 “ was obliged to go to Head Quarters on business,
 “ and I took the man with me by the Governor in
 “ Chief’s orders. As the Caboceers did not express

“ any desire to have the man back when I was in
“ charge of Dix Cove, it is strange they should after-
“ wards have succeeded in *making the Governor*
“ *Mr. Baily give his promise that he should be*
“ *given up to them again*, they threatening to take
“ him from Cape Coast if not put in possession of
“ him otherwise; and in fact *he disappeared in a*
“ *few weeks*, although to the last moment that he
“ was seen, he used to come in the morning and
“ thank me for saving him. Probably they effected
“ his destruction by means of their emissaries the
“ Fetish men, old Tando Cudjo, amongst other un-
“ known qualifications, having been one of the heads
“ of that ‘*sacred college.*’

(Signed) “ WILLIAM HUTCHISON.”

Dix Cove,

January, 1817.

APPENDIX II.

Route from Bornoo to Darfour (given to Seetzen by Abd-allah of Affadeh).

	Days' Journey.
From the capital of Bornoo to Szulo.	1
To Oloomzam.	1
Oloomrah.	1
Oloomvalco.	1
<i>River Lemszoomkoullagissee crossed in a canoe.</i>	
Oloomdagga.	1
Olcablantah.	2
Olonoodoolookkah.	1
Desert.	
Souggosch.	6
Baghermac.	2
Desert.	
Medsito.	3
Desert.	
Bitirih.	2
Balala (tributary to Bornoo).	2
Wadsey (the name given by the Bornoos to Szeleh or Mobba).	4
Dar-four.	3
Total.	30

FINIS.

D. No. 70