

PRESENTED BY
THE INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES
LESON

WEST-AFRICAN SKETCHES:

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COMPILED FROM THE REPORTS OF
SIR G.R. COLLIER, SIR CHARLES MACCARTHY,
AND
OTHER OFFICIAL SOURCES.

" I am but a gatherer and disposer of other mens' stuff."—INIGO JONES.

" As men acquire freedom and security, they are known to improve in arts and industry. Without culture and encouragement we cannot expect to find them honest, friendly, or generous; and still less so, when there is neither use, motive, or demand for those virtues."

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ADVERTISEMENT.

To concentrate the many amusing and interesting details of Western Africa, scattered throughout the official reports of various distinguished persons visiting those shores, or resident at the British settlements thereon; has been the aim of the Compiler of this volume. And as the importance of the great continent or peninsula of Africa is unquestionable, the circumstance of its being comparatively so little known to the rising generation, is obviously to be regretted.

The smallest effort, therefore, to remove this ignorance, will it is diffidently hoped, be regarded with candour, and deemed acceptable by those to whom the subject may possess the merit of novelty.

" And thou, poor Negro! scorn'd of all mankind,—
Thou dead in spirit! toil-degraded slave;
Crush'd by the curse of Adam to the grave:
The messengers of peace, o'er land and sea
That sought the sons of sorrow, stoop'd to thee.
The Captive rais'd his slow and sullen eye,—
He knew no friend, nor deem'd a friend was nigh;
Till the sweet tones of pity touch'd his ears,
And Mercy bath'd his bosom with her tears !

* * * * *
* * * * *

His heart is aw'd, confounded, pierc'd, subdu'd,—
Divinely melted, purifi'd, renew'd;
The bold, base savage, Nature's harshest clod,
Rises from dust,—the image of his God !"

MONTGOMERY.

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WEST-AFRICAN SKETCHES

—————Spirits of Love and Liberty,
 On these benighted lands, oh kindly shed
 Thine own rich gifts! Let Religion's beam
 Illumine what is dark, and superstition chase!
 Let imitative art the dormant soul
 Arouse to usefulness—and energy
 (By sloth benumb'd and slav'ry's abject fear)
 With giant strength arise to aid the will!
 Ah! never more may Afric's solitudes
 Be the sad scene of violence and death:
 But Nature's varied gifts profuse and rich
 Invite (no longer dubious) to the shore
 Fair parleying commerce; nor crime again
 Nor treachery her curious search restrain!

M. A. H.

AFRICA is computed to contain one hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants! What a host of reflections does this calculation arouse in the breast of the philanthropist, when he recollects the possibility, that this immense population, now buried, for the most part, in the depths of superstition, may become, at some future period, acquainted with the blessings of religion, and rank among the civilized nations of the earth.

How does the heart expand at the idea, that the present may be the period decreed, by the counsels of the Most High, for the ray to

go forth which is to enlighten those who sit in darkness, and that, through the medium of a small British colony on the shores of that vast continent, the interior of which is, at present, nearly terra incognita to Europeans, the beam shall pierce the inmost recesses of superstition and idolatry.

The immense extent of the field, so far from damping the energies, or relaxing the efforts of the Christian philanthropist, will animate him to meet the difficulties which he is aware must accompany the progress of a work of such vital importance, and such magnitude.——He finds courage in the thought, that it is a work in which he can confidently implore the aid of Omnipotence, and that it has often pleased the Almighty to effect the most striking changes in the characters and fortunes of nations, by means apparently inadequate. Experience has informed him that there frequently have been critical opportunities, happy combinations of circumstances, in which the united efforts of a few private men, or even the energies of a single mind, have sufficed to effect great revolutions in the opinions, the manners, the laws, and the civil condition, of a whole people. Applying these reflections to the enlightening and civilizing Africa, we have assuredly nothing to discourage us.

It had indeed been alleged, that " upon the race of Negroes the sun of science might for ever beam in vain, and even the humble arts which form the exterior comforts of civilized man, would in vain be offered to those coarse and fierce barbarians; they are fitted only

for the yoke of a laborious and endless bondage."

This is the language of ignorance, cruelty, and pride, and fortunately admits of complete and abundant refutation, from the unerring test of experience. It is a false and degrading portrait drawn by the pencil of the oppressor, and the unhappy original sat for it in the distorted attitude of slavery. We trust that our faithful sketchings, cursory as they are, will amply prove the incorrectness of this picture. We trust that we shall be able to prove, that free negroes are capable of being governed by mild and equitable laws, requiring neither whips nor chains to enforce their submission to civil authority. That they are susceptible of the warmest and most generous affections—can duly appreciate the blessings of religion, and order—and are fully capable, and entirely disposed, to improve the advantages placed within their reach; while their bosoms glow with affecting gratitude towards their benefactors, as their minds expand beneath their fostering care.

The chain which bound Africa to the dust, and rendered abortive every effort to rise her, has been broken by British energy and perseverance; be it then our heaven-directed employ to teach her the exalted use of her liberated faculties, and to impart the boon by which she may continue to raise herself from the ruin and degradation, the misery and the crime, we have alas! so greatly contributed to bring upon her. By doing this we shall most unquestionably reap seven-fold the benefits of our benevolence; and if, in this work of just restitution, we are obliged to sacrifice present apparent advantages, we shall ultimately

find we are but laying a deeper and more solid foundation, whereon to raise the superstructure of our own national prosperity.

—————We have achieved the great national act of justice—the abolition of the Slave Trade, and we have thereby opened multifarious sources of legitimate and fair commerce.

Let us but cast our eyes on the map of Africa, and rejoice in the opportunities and facilities we possess to become the favoured instruments of Heaven, in redeeming from the darkness of idolatry, and the multiplied evils of bondage, so large a portion of the human family; and by thus doing, bring into exercise the nobles energies and duties of our nature as men, as Britons, and as Christians.

—————From Cape Verde in latitude 15° north to Congo in latitude 6° south, is a field in which our beneficence may profitably display itself in these grand objects, for to that long extent of coast we have sufficient access.

It is filled to the distance of 100 or 150 miles into the interior, with a great number of petty states or principalities, under the government of their several chieftians who may for the most part be considered as absolute, and exercising their power most despotically. Many of these small States are independent of, and even opposed to, each other; while some are bound together by a loose federal union under a nominal head, a powerful vassal; paying however, little attention to the sovereignty of his liege lord. They can hardly be said to be

controlled by any system of international law, or general policy; nor are they subjected to the jurisdiction of a legislative, or even of a regular judicial council. Their law is strength, and their strength men; their territorial limits ill defined, and the rights of succession ill settled. The passions and the caprices of their chiefs unchecked by any counteracting power.

The Slave Trade has nursed them for centuries in habits of violence and insecurity, and the acts of mutual aggression, which the temptation afforded by that horrid traffic have occasioned, remain deeply imprinted on the memories, both of chiefs and people: the seeds of eternal hostility thickly sown in minds exasperated with the sense of injuries received and inflicted. A state of society more miserably dismembered, and of which the elements seem less capable of combination, can scarcely be imagined. It must be remedied; it can only be remedied by foreign agency: Africa is unable to civilize herself.

But on the other hand, the picture is encouraging; the whole of this extensive tract is washed by the ocean, and hence easily accessible from every quarter; the soil is rich, furnishing those commodities which are largely consumed in the several empires of Europe, and a vast multitude of rivers entering almost every part of this territory, and connecting the whole of that maritime belt now described, with the sea, supply very great facilities both for the production and conveyance of those commodities, which may hereafter constitute the surplus wealth of this interesting portion of the globe. In short, it would be

difficult to determine, whether the physical advantages, or the moral impediments to the civilization of Africa are the greater. Happily however, man possesses more absolute dominion over moral, than over physical causes, and it remains for us to pay back to Africa some part of that enormous debt, which has been accumulating against us. Great Britain possesses many establishments on the windward coast, and a considerable number of forts and factories scattered along the line of coast, which lies between Cape Three-points and Benin; while no other nation at present possess any establishment in that quarter, if we except the French fort of Senegal, at the northern extremity of the windward coast, the small Portuguese colony of Bissao,* and two or three Dutch forts.

Such are the facilities of communication which may be improved by enlightened policy: it next follows what are the means to be adopted for reclaiming Africa from her present unsocial state, and preventing or diminishing the evils which must necessarily spring from a constitution of things such as we have described. The primary and most obvious measure appears, by all possible means to encourage internal industry, and to establish security; and even in the ill settled state of society now existing, there are circumstances favorable to these preliminary steps.

The African chieftians are, it has been stated, in a great degree absolute, and they are so numerous that they bear perhaps nearly the

* About 200 miles south of Cape Verd.

same proportion to the general population, as the higher classes in Great Britain to the mass of the nation. A large proportion of their dependents are in a state of servitude, that is, though possessed, by the customs of Africa, of many civil rights, their labour to a certain extent is the property of their master. Hitherto this labour has been little and of small value. Every chieftian was a slave factor, and men being the only export article, his subjects were valuable to him only as they furnished the means of panyaring* his neighbours, or were themselves, in default of other resources, objects of legal conviction for witchcraft, which made not only the culprit but his family liable to sale. These chiefs however, retain strong taste for the various articles of merchandize which they have been accustomed to purchase from Europeans, and there can be little doubt, will be willing to continue the commerce in those articles. This the labour of their vassals may enable them to effect. They require only encouragement and the guiding hand. Let Britain give the one; let her offer, as she is amply empowered, the advantages of the other; let her not shrink from the arduous task, let her not regret the expence where blessings so great are to be bestowed, where injuries so aggravated are to be recompensed.

It is evident that the export wealth of Africa must be chiefly agricultural, her soil and climate are fitted for the culture of fruits and plants which no art can raise cheaply in northern latitudes;

* Kidnapping.

with these she may be able to supply us, while in articles manufactured, our advantages and skill, while they set at nought her rivalry, will enable us to supply her every demand. At the same time it is of the first importance that encouragement should be given to her manufactures for home consumption. The Africans may go on purchasing daily, by their field industry, more and more of European luxuries, yet still remain nearly as barbarous and ignorant as ever, but if they are once taught to desire decent apparel, and comfortable habitations, innumerable blessings will spring up from the humble shoots.

Habits of domestic order, virtue, and happiness—habits of self-estimation, a sense of character and propriety, a desire of knowledge, prospective industry, and all the lovely family of social charities, which peace, security, and contentment engender, will gradually be diffused.

To this end it seems most important and desirable, that they should promptly be instructed in the most useful arts, and simplest machinery known among us. Much may be effected in this department by the aid of schools, for in imparting that practical knowledge which is within the reach of every capacity, the difficulty is found chiefly to be in the first stage of the process. Like a hardy exotic in a kindred soil, it may be speedily propagated on the largest scale, when once brought to flourish on the smallest. Every pupil soon becomes a teacher. Every successful example adds to the number of imitators, and though the field of exertion be originally small, the ultimate benefit will be

proportionate to the extent of the sphere, through which the knowledge thus accumulated may be at last diffused.

Much also may be effected by the activity of British settlers. Example is ever found to work more rapidly than precept on all who are quick to perceive but slow to reason, and such are children and uncultivated men. An African will discern characters as quickly as an Englishman, while of course it is difficult to make him comprehend a logical proposition. One of the first most important steps towards the civilization of a rude people, is undoubtedly to provide for general security, and in the existing state of African society, such provision is indispensable. Among many of the negro chiefs, as has been stated, an imperfect federal union subsists; a nominal sovereign is recognized, and palavers* are held, in which complaints are presented and redressed. Here therefore, at least, the elements of more perfect establishments are subsisting, and it appears that it may hence be possible to constitute and gradually establish in different quarters, some description of federal court or council, whose jurisdiction may extend to the adjustment of all national rights and differences.

The propriety and importance of forming and extending schools, admits not a doubt. The measure must be assumed as absolutely necessary, and therefore need not be dilated upon: yet it may be observed, that the very hope of ultimate success in every laudable plan, will

* Conferences.

naturally, under the blessing of Heaven, depend on the conduct of these juvenile nurseries of knowledge; for the young are of course much better subjects for civilization than the old, inasmuch as we have habits to form, not to extirpate; and with due care to infuse good and virtuous principles, the next generation may be as far removed above the present, as they themselves will probably still remain below their European instructors. The Mahomedans owe the ascendancy they have acquired, and are daily acquiring over the native princes of Africa, principally to their exertions in this line. Shall Christians be less active? The Arabic language has been extended by means of the Mahomedans, over a large portion of the western coast of Africa. The knowledge therefore, of this language by British subjects resident on the coast, would greatly tend to facilitate our intercourse with the interior, while it would afford a ready means of spreading useful knowledge throughout Africa. Tracts printed in Arabic would be eagerly read there, and might be dispersed to the farthest extremity of the continent. It is therefore, highly important that the study of Arabic should be encouraged at Sierra Leone.

The Susoo language is spoken very generally on the coast for about 150 miles northward of Sierra Leone. It is also understood by a great part of the Foulah and Mandingo nations, and is the vernacular tongue of the country of Jalonkadoo, a large kingdom in the mountains, out of which the Niger is represented as taking its rise. This language, which is remarkably simple and easy of acquisition, has already been

reduced to writing by the zeal of Mr. Brunton, who resided for sometime as a missionary among the Susoos, and who was assisted in the employment by some Susoo youths, who had been brought over to England for education, and have since returned to Africa. The fruit of Mr. Brunton's is a Susoo grammar and vocabulary, and several Susoo tracts, all of which have been printed. Colonists, or natives duly instructed in these languages and in English, might judiciously be employed as school-masters in the native towns, and knowledge and improvement be thereby rapidly extended, as well as the evils of the present system be removed.

That system on which the native chiefs seem uniformly to act, has a natural tendency deeper to root ignorance, and to produce poverty, crime, and depopulation. They live by the slave-trade; the more active, by carrying it on; the more indolent, by what they extort from the traders, occasionally selling one of their own people, or an unprotected stranger, to help them out of their pecuniary difficulties.

All this necessarily discourage cultivation, and the industry of the people. The chief is prompted by his indolence and necessities to keep but few domestics, (in other words he sells as many as he can) and these few are little looked after. His plantations therefore are small, and he is always poor. Should an industrious freeman under him get rich, his own superiority would be lost: He must keep all his people as poor as himself, and therefore must bring a palaver against every aspiring subject, seize the little property he has collected,

and perhaps sell the possessor. Though the chief will not rise he must keep others down. Many instances might be adduced of this. It is well known that the quantity of ground which any one is permitted to plant is closely limited. The country is thus systematically kept poor; and the influence of the traders, especially such as join the character of a native chief to that of an active trader, is proportionably increased. The number of domestic slaves and free men are attached to him, in consequence of his ability to supply them with all necessaries, and support him, right or wrong, against all who would injure or punish them.

At their head, he can domineer over any of the petty chiefs with their two or three dozen of subjects; he can make war upon them, or force them to make war upon others.

War, as carried on by the natives, depopulates the country in an extraordinary degree. To give no quarter to an enemy, or to put to death prisoners taken in the field, would doubtless reduce their number; but men, and men in arms, would be the only sufferers, and the slaughter of an army would tend to put an end to the war. In Africa, however, war is made equally on men, women, and children; those who are unable to lift a weapon are as much its victims as those who carry a musket; and a chief can never want funds for carrying on a war, so long as his enemy has abundance of people. It is well known, that a chief who suffered much in a war, is yet said to have sold no less than 400 slaves for his own share. Another source of depopulation is, that for

every offence, a man is lost to the community, too commonly his whole family also. Whoever carries on trade, finds abundance of Europeans ready to advance any goods he may want, and to take off his slaves. The only question is how he shall get slaves.

It is obvious that his interest is to increase the commission of crimes, even if he do not seek to obtain slaves by committing the greatest crimes himself. In a short time the creditor becomes pressing for a part of his due; but the trader is indolent, or the path is stopped (meaning that access to the interior, from which slaves are obtained, is prevented), or he has wasted his money.

A domestic slave, a dependent, or a near relation, has been given on first receiving the loan, under the name of pawn, but being unredeemed in time, is sold. If no unprotected persons can be kidnapped, nor a sufficient number caught by means equally unjustifiable, the relations and domestics of the debtor must be seized; and frequently all the people of a town may be sent on board a slave ship, for one man's debt; but the debtor himself is seldom or never meddled with.

The charge of witchcraft consigns numbers to the horrors of slavery. A belief in this is universal, and trials by red water are in proportion. The natives believe every death to be occasioned by magical influence, under whatever form of sickness or accident the cause of death may appear to the unilluminated eyes of an European. Among the Bulloms this belief is practically exercised to such an extent as often to break through every tie of natural affection. Those who have been

most under the influence of superstitious fears, and have therefore subjected the greatest numbers to the red water trial, are generally accused in their turn, and often by one of their own family.

The abhorrence of this offence (viz. witchcraft) is such, that death itself is almost to be preferred to living under the imputation of such a crime. None seem to prejudge and detest the offender more than those of his own household.

It is asserted that an African king killed six persons in one morning by the red water ordeal, and an equal number out of the families of the victims were immediately sold.

A very respectable man was accused; neither money nor solicitation could save him from death by the red water, and every individual of his family, consisting of eight persons, were immediately sold. It is, indeed, an ascertained fact, that two-thirds of those who are sent off the Bullom coast are sold for witchcraft. Not a doubt can be entertained that this shocking practice is upheld and fostered by that of slave-dealing, which polluting the sources of justice, exciting wars, and raising the arm of every man against his brother, has paralysed every energy of mind, and repressed even the desire of each individual to improve his condition. Hence, in order most effectually to promote the beneficent purposes of the friends of Africa, it seems of importance that the spirit of interchange and traffic, which has been excited among the chiefs and others by means of the slave trade, should not be suffered to expire, but should if possible be directed into other

channels; and that, instead of trading in their own species, they should be encouraged in the cultivation and production of such useful articles of a fair and legitimate trade, as may supply them in return with European productions, and continue a peaceable and advantageous commerce between two quarters of the world so eminently qualified to be of use to each other. For if the inhabitants can once be convinced, that the native productions of their soil and country will obtain them in exchange the articles of which they stand in need, it is fair to suppose they will not long resort to such dangerous and destructive expedients for obtaining them, as were requisite under the system of the slave trade. For upwards of a century, the Gold Coast of Africa has been known only for its chief productions of commerce—gold, ivory, and slaves. Those who resorted thither allowed themselves little or no time for inquiring into the nature of the country, and the state of its inhabitants. But respecting the agriculture and commercial capacities of the African continent, it may be affirmed that this part of Africa is rich in productions natural to countries under the same latitude, and abounds in other not to be found in the same luxuriance in either continent.

The profits that arise from the slave trade excluded many of the natives from applying themselves to manual labour: But the abolition depriving them of these resources, the necessity of being more industrious is clearly indicated; and the fact was pleasingly illustrated during the cessation of the trade, until peace revived it in a

melancholy extent, that the natives from indolence and ease turned their attentions to propagating the fruits of the earth; and it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that Africa is capable of wonderful improvement, both in a commercial and agricultural way, if proper means are resorted to. Until better plans of improvement and cultivation can be devised and adopted, commerce must be confined to few articles, as gold, ivory, palm oil, pepper, bees' wax, honey, and gums; coffee, indigo, sugar, flour, and various other articles may however, with every prospect of success, be added to the productions of Africa, and constitute a large proportion of her export riches.

Gold is found in many parts of Africa, sometimes in lumps in a pure state, but for the most part it is procured by merely washing with care the sand taken from the bed of the rivers. Undoubtedly all the inland countries in Guinea abound in gold mines; and though the natives are not artists enough to follow a vein, yet they find good quantities of gold in many of their mines, which are all so sacred to them, that they will not permit any European miner either to see their mines, or to search for others; nevertheless they bring down good quantities to the coast to traffic with. Ivory has hitherto formed, next to slaves, the largest branch of African commerce, and may still offer a most desirable part of it. Bees' wax is obtained in part of Africa, and in some places, particularly the rivers Gambia and Gaboon, it forms a considerable part of the exports.

Dye-woods of various kinds, including camwood, barwood, and fustic,

are now exported, the two first in considerable quantities. Requiring no previous cultivation, but only to be cut down in order to be brought to market, the trading in them has not been equally affected by the slave trade, as the commerce in those articles which require previous cultivation, and the profits of which are remotely prospective. There can however be no doubt that when the intercourse with the interior of Africa shall become more open and secure, not only the trade in dye-woods already specified may be greatly increased, but other valuable acquisitions of similar commodities probably be discovered.

Many kinds of timber are also produced in Africa, which are well adapted for the use of cabinet-makers, inlayers, and even of shipwrights. Potash might with facility be procured from Africa, the clearing of the forests of course supplying large quantities of this highly useful articles.

Gum Senegal and Gum Copal are now imported into this country from Africa, in a quantity nearly commensurate to the demand.

Besides these, there are many other varieties of gum, which, if properly examined, might prove valuable and useful both to our manufacturers and chemists; and they have the same advantage as dye-woods, requiring no cultivation, and little labour to prepare them for the market.

Palm oil, so useful in the manufacture of soap, may be obtained in considerable quantities.

Indigo grows wild in almost every part of the African coast, and

might with facility be brought into large cultivation.

Almost all the indigo which is now consumed in Europe is imported from the East Indies, under the disadvantages of a voyage more than thrice as long as that from Africa. Besides the indigo, there is another plant which the natives use as a blue dye, which appears to impart a more indelible colour, and which, provided it stands the test of experiment, may be brought into cultivation.

Rice forms the principal food of the Africans, and might doubtless become a large article of export for the supply of the West Indies and Europe. Several varieties of the coffee-tree, one of a kind not inferior to the justly prized Mocha, are found growing wild in the mountains of Sierra Leone. The cultivation of this highly useful article is begun at the colony, and promises entirely to succeed. It may thence be extended to every part of the continent.

Sugar cane of an excellent quality grows with hardly any culture in many parts of Africa, although it is not recommended at present to make it an article of exportation, still its existence and luxuriant growth give ample evidence of the capabilities of the country. Malaquetta pepper, an article in considerable demand, grows wild in great abundance on the Windward Coast. A variety of other spices, including the Cayenne, ginger, arbebs, cardamums, species of nutmeg, and cinnamon, are found in Africa, and might with advantage be cultivated.

Castor oil, musk, and various other drugs, might be derived from thence, together with the Indian arrow-root, tapioca, and sago. Among the medicinal plants should be named the bark of a large tree, called by the Foulahs, bellenda, and by the Suscoos and Mandingos, bembee, which is used in Africa with great success in epidemic dysenteries. Dr. Winterbottom also asserts that, in several instances of diarrhoea, it shewed itself very effectual. It has also been exhibited in agues, fevers, sore throat, and dysentery, with much efficacy. Dr. Clark has exhibited this African bark, in the infirmary at Newcastle, with complete success, in several cases of intermittents, and coincides with Dr. Willan and Dr. Cappe, in thinking it a valuable accession to the materia medica. "The high price of Peruvian bark," says Dr. Winterbottom, "the uncertainty of obtaining a constant and regular supply of it during the time of war, and the schemes of interested men to enhance its value and lower its quality, render it an object of importance for us to increase, if possible, the number of its substitutes." The bellenda appears entirely worthy of being ranked in this class, though the cases adduced in its favour are too few for any strong inferences to be drawn, yet the recommendation of physicians eminent in their profession, and possessing such a share of public esteem, must excite others to further trials with this bark, when a sufficient quantity of it is imported.

Tobacco is already cultivated in a small scale in various parts of Africa, and, if found desirable, might easily be extended.

A few hides are now imported from the river Gambia, and the number would doubtless greatly increase, in proportion to the security and industry of the country, which will naturally favour the rearing of the cattle. Sponge may also be procured from thence. Besides the articles thus enumerated, as already existing in Africa, and even forming a part of her commerce, there are others of a very valuable nature, which might easily be transported thither, with every fair prospect of becoming naturalized products. Amongst these we may name opium, cochineal, and the silk worm. In short, there are no articles produced between the tropics, which might not supply the place of the slave trade, on the Western shores of Africa.

It is hardly necessary to add, that all the vast variety of fruits, esculent roots, and grains, which grow in other tropical climates, are easily raised in Africa, such as cocoa-nuts, limes, lemons, oranges, plantains, banans, papaws, guavas, melons, pineapples, cashew-nuts, tamarinds, pumpkins, yams, cassada, goldoes, Indian corn, millet, &c.

These may afford advantageous modes of employing the labour of Africa, and of supplying ships that visit the coast; although they could not, from their perishable nature, form any part of a return cargo, except as pickles and preserves, as from the East and West Indies. Salt also, although not forming an article of export to Europe, affords an advantageous mode of employing the natives. It is manufactured to a small extent even now, for the purpose of supplying the interior, where it is in high demand. The manufacture might

be considerably enlarged, as well as the cultivation of the cola tree, so famed for its tonic qualities as to be carried by the Sataes, or travelling merchants, from the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone to every part of the continent, even to Egypt and Abyssinia.*

Destroy the Slave Trade, and all these, with many more sources of wealth and fair commerce, are open to us. It is admitted the process may be slow, but the result will assuredly be favorable. Slow as improvement may be, it still will proceed, and each year will find it advancing at an accelerating rate. One of the grand means to ensure ultimate success is obviously the establishment of schools, in which a knowledge of the elementary branches of learning must be imparted to the pupils; and with this should be combined instruction in agriculture and the useful arts, not only theoretically, but practically studied, and illustrated by experiment. In agriculture it is recommended to introduce European implements in place of the African hoe and bill. These schools must be upon an extensive plan; and as there is observed a great desire by people of consequence to have their children receive instruction in those branches of knowledge which will put them upon a footing with the whites, this predeliction will open facilities of choosing for instruction the children of the most distinguished and respectable families, in preference to those of less note,

* This fruit is bitter, like a chesnut, and is eaten by the natives as a great delicacy to relish water or honey-wine.

as by their influence and authority, when they come of age, the designs of the friends of Africa would be more materially extended and ensured. The ample experience of some years has sufficiently proved that the intellectual condition of the African is not to be despised. In whatever way he may be considered in the West Indies, or in other countries in an enslaved state, in Africa he has been studied in his genuine aspect. Observers generally agree that they have had frequent occasion to admire, and every day have beheld among them men of great strength of mind and quick perceptions. In a general sense it is even asserted that the intellectual powers of the African are as rich as the soil of his country, and, with the same attention, could be made as fertile. Some who have received even a narrow education in England, have evinced proofs of a quick and extensive genius, and, with few exceptions, have not only become useful members of, but ornaments to, society. Among the Dutch and Danish residents in the country are persons educated by means of established native schools, who give proof of strong intellectual powers. The Negro may indeed have rather more of that volatile sensibility, or irritability, which seems to mark the human character as it approaches the sun,—warmer, yet weaker;—their sentiments more ardent, seem to be more transient than ours; and their faculties may be somewhat different, but certainly not beyond the power of habit and education to model and assimilate.

Viewing the moral state of the African, a number of deformities are seen which every day (now the strongest exciting cause is removed)

will serve to correct. It is well known that the dearest objects of regard have often fallen victims to the fury of irreligion and the allurements of a traffic, for the loss of which Africa offers such abundant means of compensation, regarding it as merely a lucrative commerce.

That the same dispositions still remain among them cannot be denied; time and a different order of things can alone rectify the evil: this disposition doubtless will be as yet clearly manifested were the slave trade to be renewed by any power; but this conviction, so far from paralysing the noble efforts of Britain, should make her more persevering and strenuous to introduce the means of civilization and culture, and with them cautiously and progressively the blessings and sure counteractions of religion.

The dark superstition in which Africa is involved, combined with the influence of the traffic in their fellow beings, must inevitably be the fruitful parent of many crimes and incalculable moral evil, which a purer faith only can reform.

The forms of government too, inebecile or despotic, or both combined, must greatly tend to prevent all improvement in the condition of the people, but they are not insuperable obstacles; there is every hope that they will gradually be ameliorated and be regulated by a more enlightened and liberal policy. They prove in their present state how much human nature may be degraded for want of proper cultivation, and to what degree of cruelty, folly, and barbarity men may proceed

when abandoned to themselves without other guide than the blind and wild impulse of passion.

Here then is a field for the exercise of our genuine philanthropy; for, when we consider the distress and moral turpitude which superstition and its concomitants occasion in this interesting country, surely our humanity and pity must be strongly excited.

We shall however confine our hasty sketchings for the present to the countries immediately contiguous to the line of coast we have alluded to, dwelling a little more particularly upon the now flourishing colony of Sierra Leone, which may be justly considered as the medium of introducing the benefits of civilization, and, above all, the blessings of a pure faith into the interior of the African continent.

Africans divided into classes—Moors

AFRICA is indeed inhabited by three races of people: first, the Moors,* under which title are comprehended all the ancient inhabitants of that continent before the Arabian conquest, whether they were descended from Numidians, Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, or Goths.† During the Arabian Empire under the Caliphs, that is from 632 to 968, all those nations received the Mahometan faith. By their manner of living they may be divided into two kinds,—those who live in fixed habitations in cities and villages, following trade and agriculture; and those who live in the deserts, changing their habitations, supporting themselves by grazing and hunting, and whose profession is arms.

* Note A. Appendix.

† These successively occupied the northern parts of Africa, which has been the seat of many great revolutions, the seat of two powerful empires, the country of a commercial and industrious people, and the birth-place of many characters who will always be celebrated in history.

Arabians.

SECONDLY.—The Arabians who under the caliphs, successors of Mahomet, after they had conquered part of Asia and Egypt, passed the Nile, and subdued Africa. Most of the Arabians live in the deserts, feeding cattle, hunting, and in a state of war, raising contributions of the Moors, who live in cities and villages, and by agriculture. Some of these tribes penetrated southward as far as the river Gambia; and the people now called Foulahs seem to be descended from them.* These Arabs are the unconquered hordes who inhabit almost inaccessible spots. They have no fixed possession or place of abode. If they sometimes sow a small portion of land, or keep flocks, as they are then obliged to settle in the plains, they never fail to be robbed. They therefore retire to defiles between the mountains, or to caverns in the rocks. Wild fruits, tender roots, and the young shoots of plants, supply them with food. The greatest part of them have fire arms, which are considered as the most valuable inheritance that a father can leave to his son. These Arabs prefer independence and misery, to the more tranquil kind of life which they could not enjoy but by submitting to control. No one dares penetrate into the defiles of their mountains. All enterprises against them have failed; the troops having been cut to pieces, or the Arabs retreated into the interior recesses of their

* See Sketch V.

mountains. Sometimes they descend to the level country and plunder the neighbouring nations. Their appearance is lank and meagre, covered with rags, and disgustingly dirty. They never attack travellers but in large bodies, and as they live at great distances from each other and cannot quickly assemble, travellers do not find it difficult to avoid them. It is said there are a few distinct tribes of the ancient Arabians yet existing in the interior parts of Africa, a moral and elegant, a proud, but still a pastoral people. Indeed, among the Arabs in general, there is observable that vigour and noble carriage which announce the native dignity of man. Their gestures are not stiff, but natural: their gait is firm and manly; but it is only during childhood that the Arab can follow the dictates of nature, then wandering in the open plains surrounded by tents, herds, and flocks, and enjoying in full liberty all the pleasures of youth, and the bounties of nature; his ideas expand even with the objects of his delight. Restrained by no dread, checked by no sense of propriety, he speaks his sentiments in a firm and manly tone, without being in the least abashed. If he asks questions, none of them are answered but as they deserve it; at the same time, if what he says appears to be just, he is treated with attention and as a man, and this mark of distinction inspires him with the desire of acting like one.

But these simple manners are gradually destroyed by brutal prejudices, by the sanguinary disposition of their fathers, and

corrupted by habitual irregularities; and hence the blood-thirsty savage is substituted for the man of nature. One of the first prejudices instilled into them, is an implacable hatred of Christians; and this becomes so strengthened by age, that it is pretty certain there is not an Arab but considers it would be a meritorious act to deprive one of that faith of his life.

Negroes.

THE third race inhabiting Africa are the Negroes. They are found where the deserts end along the river Gambia, and from thence southward as far as the Cape of Good Hope. The most fertile of the Negro countries are those that border the river Gambia. They are divided into many kingdoms or states, some of which are yet altogether unknown to us: but our intercourse is likely to be greatly extended should our designs of African amelioration succeed.

Foulahs and their country.

IT was intimated in our mention of the Arabian invaders of Africa, that some had penetrated southward, from whom the present race of Foulahs appear to be descended. These people are of a tawny colour, much like the Arabs, and speak the Arabic language; it being taught in their schools: their laws are also written in the same. They have chiefs of their own, who generally rule with moderation. The people are of a quiet disposition, and so well instructed in what is right, that a man who does wrong is regarded with indignation. Although strangers, as it may be said, in the country, the Foulahs are the greatest planters in it. They are industrious and frugal, raising much more corn and cotton than they consume, selling the overplus fairly to the neighbouring people, by whom they are held in high esteem. Although mild, peaceable, and hospitable, these people are by no means deficient in courage, asserting their just rights with vigour and bravery. They plant, near their habitations, tobacco; and round their towns they open tracts for cotton, which they fence in; and beyond this are their corn fields, of which they raise four kinds, viz: Indian corn or maize, rice, and the larger and lesser Guinea corn.

In Gambia there is no wheat, barley, rye, oats, nor any other European grain, but there is a pulse between a kidney bean and pea, with potatoes and yams. The Indian corn is set in holes three or four together, and about a foot asunder, so that the plants rise like

hops. This corn shoots to the height of eight or ten feet, being a large cane with the ears growing from the sides. The rice, esteemed their choicest food, is set in rills, as we do peas; it flourishes in wet grounds, and ears like oats. The larger Guinea corn is round, about the size of the smallest peas. It is sown by hand as we do wheat or barley, and rises nine or ten feet upon a small reed, the grain at the summit in a large tuft. The lesser Guinea corn, is called by the Portuguese, the mansaroke, this is also sown by hand, and shoots to a similar height upon a large reed, on the top of which the corn grows in a head like a bull rush. The grain is very small, scarcely larger than canary seed, which it resembles in shape. These different species of corn are not made into bread by the natives, but the flour of coarse quality is used in the thickening of liquids, and in the composition of their favourite and universal dish coosh-coosh.

The Indian corn is generally used in the green state, at least just parched by fire, it then eats much like green peas. They cook their rice in the usual mode, and prepare the Guinea corn and mansaroke by beating it in a mortar to a coarse flour, as they also sometimes do the rice and Indian corn.

The Foulahs breed much cattle, and are dexterous in the management of them. The whole herd belonging to the respective towns, feed during the day in the neighbouring savannahs, and after the removal of the crop, in the rich grounds. They are attended by herdsmen, who prevent their entering the corn or escaping to the woods. They have

an erection near each of their towns for their cattle, in the midst of which a stage is raised about eight feet from the ground, and eight or ten feet in diameter. To this they ascend by means of a ladder: it is roofed and thatched but open on all sides. They drive a number of strong stakes around this stage, and every night they duly bring up the cattle, who are so tame and well-accustomed to it, that they are collected with perfect ease: each beast is tied separate to a stake with a rope of the country, formed of the bark of a peculiar native tree. After the cattle are thus fastened, the cows are milked, and four or five men remain upon the stage during the night with their arms to guard them from the lions and other wild beasts. The calves are weaned from the cows and kept in a common pen, which is surrounded with a fence so strong and high as effectually to protect them from all attack. In the morning the cows are again milked and conducted to their pastures.

The Foulahs are also great huntsmen, often going in large companies to hunt the tigers and elephants; selling the ivory of the latter and drying the flesh for food. In their dress the Foulahs are very particular, never wearing any but white cotton cloths, which they manufacture themselves. They also greatly admire large white and yellow beads, which latter are so much used as to acquire the name of Foulah beads. They are strict Mahometans, and very superstitious: among their many singular notions is that, if they know any one to boil the sweet milk had from them, they will not for any consideration sell

that person any more, because they say that boiling the milk makes the cows dry.

The Gambia River is navigable for sloops about 600 miles up the country, the tides reaching so far from the mouth; the source is not ascertained. At the entrance of the river, the land is low; but higher up, the country is rocky and mountainous covered with woods. Near the towns or villages, of which there are many, there is seen a long space of cleared ground for corn, rice, &c. The soil is mostly sand, with some clay, and a large proportion of rocky ground. The hills are of iron stone, and although they present little else but a continued rock, yet they are clothed with fine and beautiful trees. In every kingdom there are several lords of soils, commonly called kings of the towns where they reside. It is their property to have all the palm and ciba trees, so that no one dare even to cut a few leaves, or draw any wine from them without the previous knowledge and consent of these lords. The men who have liberty to draw the wine, give two days produce out of the seven to the lord of the soil, as an acknowledgement; and white men are obliged to make a small present to them, before they can have liberty to cut ciba leaves or grass to thatch a house.

Mandingoes and their country.

A PRINCIPAL nation also to the north, with whom we have intercourse, is the Mandingo; they are amongst the most numerous of the races which inhabit the banks of the Gambia.

When the country was conquered by the Portuguese about 1420, some of that nation settled in it, and intermarried with the natives, hence the Mandingoes consider themselves almost as whites, and are even displeased at being called negroes, giving that term only to their slaves.

Many of the natives have slaves born in their families. We are informed of a village in the Mandingo country consisting of two hundred people, who all are either the wives, slaves, or children of one individual.

In some parts of Africa the slaves born in the family are sold, as well as others; but on the Gambia, it is asserted, it is considered a very wicked thing to do so; family slaves never being sold, except for such crimes as would have rendered them liable had they been free. If there are many family slaves, and one of them commit a crime, the owner cannot sell him without the joint consent of the others, for if he does, it is likely they will all leave him, and be protected in the neighbouring kingdom to which they flee. It is stated as a fact, that during the existence of the slave trade, the slaves sold on this river, besides those brought down by the merchants, amounted in the period of

a year, to about one thousand. One of the principal articles of trade among the Mandingoes, is ivory; for whoever kills an elephant has liberty to sell him and his teeth. They are generally brought from a great distance in land. They also bring gold in small bars turned into rings, from ten to forty shillings each, and in some years slaves to the number of two thousand: also short cutlasses and knives. These merchants, who penetrate the interior for these commodities, are Mandingoes, and called in their language Jencoes. They are very reserved in their accounts of the countries they visit, especially respecting the mines. A considerable article of their trade also is bees-wax. The Mandingoes make their hives of straw, resembling ours in shape, and fit a bottom board into them, through which they form an aperture for the bees to pass through; they then sling them to branches of trees. When they take the combs they smother the bees, and pressing off the honey, of which they make wine, they boil up the wax with water, strain it and press it through coarse cloths into holes made in the ground for the purpose. They make and sell large quantities of it on the river, but the manufacture might be much increased. That which is clearest from dirt and dross is, of course, the best; the factors prove it by boring the cakes, which are from twenty, to one hundred and twenty pounds weight.*

Their mode of barter is by what are termed bars, a denomination

* Note B. Appendix.

given to a certain quantity of goods of any kind, which quantity was of equal value among the natives to a bar of iron, when the river was first resorted to. Thus a pound of fringe is a bar, two pounds of gunpowder is a bar, an ounce of silver is but a bar, and a hundred gun flints are a bar. Each species of trading goods has a quantity in it called a bar; therefore their mode of reckoning is by bars or crowns, one of which does not amount to above one shilling sterling; but that is according to the goods they most require, sometimes low, sometimes high. Some articles, namely dollars, chrystal beads, iron bars, brass pans, are called the heads of the goods, because they are the dearest.

When the factors agreed for the purchase of slaves, it was settled how many of the heads of goods he would give the merchant for each slave, which would be three or four, if the slave was worth forty or fifty, and higher in proportion: and an assortment was then made of the different species of goods to equal the price of the slave.

The Mandingoes are of a lively disposition, and will dance to a drum, or a balafon, sometimes for twenty-four hours together; dancing at times very regular, and others with much gesticulation, endeavouring to excel each other in nimbleness and activity. They are also very passionate, and their quarrels are very fatal; but if they murder their adversary, they fly to another kingdom, and are protected by the king as one of his subjects. They pride themselves upon adorning their house-slaves, particularly the females, who have sometimes coral, amber, and silver about their arms and legs to the value of twenty or

thirty pounds. They have a peculiar fancy and custom,—that of carrying a number of small keys about them, tied round their waists, it is said, with the view of being thought rich. They are extremely superstitious, firmly believing that all diseases are occasioned by witches; and if they make a vow, so much do they dread the punishment of breaking it, (that is, death by witches,) that they wear an iron ring round the wrist, in order to be continually reminded of it.

A Mandingo had a present of a slave, upon which he vowed never to part from him, and, as usual, wore a twisted iron manslie on his right wrist. About a week preceding his death, not from forgetfulness of his vow, but literally to buy corn for the subsistence of a numerous family, he sold his slave, whom he had vowed never to part from, and, dying suddenly, the natives declared it was certainly the punishment of his breach of vow. When the Mandingoes go to battle, they put so much faith in the Mahometan Foulahs, whom they call Busherines, that they purchase of them charmed papers, imagining that if they possess a paper written by a holy man no ill can happen to them; that it effectually will prevent the possessor from being shot; and, should the event prove otherwise, the charm is not called in question, but the reason assigned is, that the person was a wicked man, and therefore Mahomet permitted him not to live. When these charmed papers are procured, they are inclosed neatly in leather and red cloth, and being fastened with delicately twisted leather strings, are worn across the shoulders, over the breast, and on each side. Sometimes a man has so many that

they weigh several pounds. These amulets are styled *gree-grees*.

Were it not for their frequent divisions among themselves, the Mandingoes would be very powerful. They are Mahometans, and are, it is said, rapidly extending their influence over the coast country.

The British have always been on friendly terms with them; but their ambitious and intriguing spirit, their numbers and courage, would make them very formidable, were it not for their intestine jealousies and their frequent fears of insurrection amongst their slaves.

Jalofs

ON the north side of the Gambia, and from thence inland, are a people called Jalofs; their country is of great extent, reaching even to the River Senegal. These people are much blacker, and much handsomer than the Mandingoes; indeed few of the Africans equal the Jalofs for blackness of colour and beauty of features.

The Jalofs are a warlike people, and have several customs to preserve the fierceness and hardihood of their character. No Jalof, except the members of the royal family, are suffered to sleep under tendres, (viz. the musquite curtains,) upon pain of slavery, should the king hear of it. The like punishment also attends those who presume to sit upon the same mat with those of the royal family, unless expressly asked or ordered to do so. The royal family have a distinguishing name, which is 'Njay: They command absolutely, the reverence being very great with which they are regarded. Every one completely prostrates himself who enters their presence; they yet live in great equality with their soldiers, which circumstance sufficiently indicates their warlike character. The king distributes among his troops all he plunders, reserving only just what he wants to himself. This forces them to continual war; for as soon as what is obtained is wasted, he must endeavour to supply his men in a similar manner.

We have the following description of one of the family of the 'Njays, called Boomey Haman Seaca:— " He is of middle stature, genteel, and strongly made; active, and of a good countenance; his teeth beautifully white, his skin the most polished black, his nose high, and his lips thin, so much so as to give his countenance the cast of that of an European, as those of the Jalofs generally are observed. His dress was a white cotton vest with open sleeves, and trowsers of the same reaching to his knees. His legs and arms bare; on his head a small white cap; and gold rings in his ears.

" He rode upon a beautiful white horse, sixteen hands high, with a full and long mane, and a tail which reached the ground. His bridle was of bright red leather, plated with silver, in the Moorish fashion; the saddle of the same, with a high pummel, and rising behind. The breast-plate was also of red leather, plated with silver; but no cruppers are ever used. His stirrups were short, and as large and long as the foot, which they contained easily and firmly. Upon these the 'Njay raised himself upright, could stand steady at full speed and fire a musquet, or dart a lance, as well as if upon the ground. He carried a lance, or half-pike, in his hand, about twelve feet in length, which he held upright, resting the lower end upon his stirrup, between his toes; but when he curvetted his horse, imitating action, he brandished the lance high over his head. So complete a command had he of the noble animal, and so perfect was his own skill and activity, that he

would make the horse advance forty or fifty yards on his hinder feet without touching the ground with the others; sometimes curvetting round a ring, and then straining him so low to the ground as even to carry him under the Mandingo buildings, which are very few feet high."

Foulah customs.

TO the east and north-east of the Mandingo country lies that of the Foulahs, of whom we have already spoken. They form a widely extended and powerful nation; but, although more numerous and powerful than the Mandingoes, their influence is not so great as their's in extending their religion.

Their trade, which is very considerable, is engrossed by the factors on the Rio Pongas. The route however from their capital city Tumbo, to the upper branches of the Sierra Leone, is shorter than that to the Rio Pongas; but the rude dispositions of the inhabitants of the intermediate countries have hitherto rendered unsuccessful all efforts to open a direct intercourse with them from the colony. Nevertheless the attempt is still continued. Between these nations and the colony are many unconnected and independent tribes, belonging to the Susoo, Bullom, and Timmaney nations. The colony is on friendly terms with all with whom it has any intercourse. A war has feebly been carried on for several years among the natives of the Timmaney nations, who inhabit the upper branches of the Sierra Leone River. The mediation of the British Colonial Government was requested, in order to terminate it. To the south-east the country is inhabited to a great distance entirely by the Bullom people. A destructive war raged there a long time, but a truce was concluded through the mediation of the Sierra Leone Government, which continues hitherto unbroken.

The nearest neighbours of the colony, who some years since twice attacked, are now upon the most friendly terms with, it; nor is there a shadow of doubt but the influence of the government rapidly increases. Our forts on this part of Africa embrace a line of coast extending from Apollonia to Whydah, a distance of about three hundred and fifty miles by land. The natives of both these kingdoms are under a despotic government, particularly the latter.

Fanties and Braffoes. Fetishmen.

BUT there is a people differently governed called the Fantees, with some others adopting similar laws and customs. They possess a considerable extent of coast reaching to Accra, and are under a system of rule consisting of singular materials.

* Before the late visit of the king of Ashantee, the administration of affairs was regulated and decided by three classes of men,—Braffaes, Pynims, and Fetishmen. The Braffaes were a body (for very few of them now remain,—the Ashantees nearly extirpated the whole,) that made and administered laws with an absolute authority. When a Braffae walked abroad, he carried with him fear and terror: although he could not command the life of a Fantee,—and in this he only differed from the most despotic power,—yet his property was at his mercy. Whatever necessaries he stood in need of, must be supplied by an individual, or the public.

From the decision of a Braffae there was no appeal, neither did it admit of the interposition of any of the other branches; but it was only the richer part of the state that could call in the aid of a court of Braffaes: they required to be well fed and better paid; and woe to the party that did not act in a liberal and even profuse manner! They generally lost their cause, and half of the award was left for

* See Sketch 20.

their judges.

The Fantees bear the most unfavourable character of the natives of the gold coast. There is something in their character that causes them yet to be treated with respect, although they are hated by their neighbours. The cause of this dislike may be accounted for when we consider the nature of the Fantee laws, and the number of malpractices which those laws encourage.

The Braffaes who have always exercised so great authority over them, have shewn a bad example. It appears rather an inconsistency in the character of the Fantees, who are enemies to despotic power, that the Braffaes should have been allowed so much influence. This is said to have arisen from the following singular circumstance. Whether the Fantees were originally connected with the Ashantees, or formed a separate state, there is no satisfactory record to determine; but that they were subject to the kings of Ashantee is certain. They rebelled against that government, but not being able to repel the king's forces, they fled to the sea side, where they settled. During this contest, a certain individual held some station of authority among them; but as they dreaded the resentment of the king of Ashantee, and were fearful lest on the promise of payment or reward, this person would betray them, they required a most singular proof of his fidelity, and this was his consenting to lose his left hand. The man hesitating at this extraordinary method of trial, a general murmur arose against him, on which his cane bearer stepped forward, and laid his left arm upon the

block, saying, "that as his master seemed unwilling to lose his hand for the good of the people, he would." He lost his left hand, and was appointed their Braffae, which signifies captain, or leader. The title was to be hereditary; he was invested with many privileges, which almost made him absolute; his offspring were to be provided for, and considered as a sort of nobility. Hence arose the family of the Braffaes. Although the word Braffae is translated as captain, or leader, yet it is difficult to define its real import: in its true and original sense it seems intended to confer a title of the first distinction, next to that of king, and the power which they exercised confirms this. They lived separate from the community, in a district which hence derived the name of the Braffae country. When they went abroad, they were distinguished by a chain suspended round the neck, which was long or short according to the lineal or collateral descent. The race of Braffaes gradually extended the powers that were given them, till at length they became obnoxious to the people; and for many years back no person in the Fantee country has been permitted to exercise the authority, which was vested in the lineal descendants of the first Braffae. They were however allowed considerable privileges, and on many occasions were a burden on the people: now there is but very few of them in existence, the causes of which we shall notice when we speak of the Ashantees.

In every respectable town there are men established for the administration of justice, or more properly for executing and promulgating

the laws; these are called Pynins, which in a literal sense means the elders of the people. These men are chosen by a majority of the public. Sometimes they succeed by hereditary right; in this case, if any deficiency is perceived in their legal knowledge, their authority is suspended, and others appointed by the public voice. A court of Pynins may be justly called a court of equity, and is the only one in which a Fantee may expect a clear examination into his case, and an impartial distribution of justice. Their laws are particularly severe, as they have a general tendency to slavery. Murder is the only crime that does not meet with its merited punishment. Trivial offences are delayed, by which means they accumulate into what are considered serious crimes, and punished accordingly. If a person, for instance, through accident or design, was to kill a hen, no immediate notice would probably be taken of it, unless the person committing the offence should sue the party injured with presents, in which case forgiveness is granted. But if this is neglected, not only the person, but a part of his family, are liable to become slaves, or pay a handsome sum for their redemption. For the action is grounded upon this view:—the said hen would have prolific, her offspring would also have produced numbers, whereby the wealth of the owner would have been increased, and a sum adequate to this increase must be paid before a restitution is acknowledged. There is an instance recorded, illustrative of the evils produced by the temptations of the slave trade upon the principles of justice.—A negro saw a tyger devouring a deer, which he had killed and hung up

near his habitation; unwilling to lose his game, he fired at the tyger; the bullet missed its aim, and unfortunately entered the body of a man, whom it killed. The unintentional destroyer was condemned to slavery, together with his mother, three brothers, and as many sisters, and the king had the benefit of the goods in return for these victims of an unfortunate accident.

There is no part of the Fantee government where imbecility is more clearly seen than in the abominable practice of panyaring, which is an indulgence to seize any person or persons for the crimes of another, principally that of debt. By this distressing system whole families, nay, villages, have been sold, and rendered desolate. When the slave trade existed, this horrid practice was carried on with great fury, and it is even continued to this day. If the offender is given up, panyaring ceases.

The Fetishmen are a class full of cunning and deceit, and considered along the coast with an awful reverence, as the ministers of their deities; and where monarchy does not exist their power is great. They industriously scatter abroad the seed of superstition, to the end that they may be considered with admiration, and be consulted on every occasion of public or private calamity. The word Fetish signifies, in its literal sense, a supernatural power; it is also used in this country as the name of their deities or demons, whether ideal or corporeal. Their charms or amulets bear the same signification. In short, whatever is considered by them to possess the power of good

or evil, is denominated Fetish. Thus the tyger is worshipped at Dahomy; the snake, at Whydah; while the alligator, the lizard, the hyena, are the Fetishes of other parts of the coast. Different families have also different Fetishes. A piece of carved wood, besmeared with the yolk of an egg or palm oil, is held in as much veneration as the image of the holy virgin is in some countries of Europe: sentences of the Koran, carefully incased, are with some held in high estimation; while others prefer the horn of a goat, or the tooth of a tyger. Where no absolute government exists, a Fetish is consulted on almost every occasion. Their deity is easily bribed, and the man of indigent circumstances is sure to be the sufferer: for, in general, their deity is avaricious, and whoever is most profuse in gifts and sacrifices is sure to be held in favour with his God; but it is of course the Fetishmen who share the offering, and enrich themselves at the expense of their credulous neighbours. If implicit obedience be not paid them, they have recourse to horrid expedients; and should forgiveness be implored, the avenging Fetish expects a handsome present before he is reconciled.

Andrah Fetishes

In the kingdom of Andrah, adjoining that of Whydah, the Fetishes belonging to the king and court are appointed by the high priest. They are birds somewhat resembling the English crow. Prodigious numbers of them are kept in the gardens of the palace, and any disrespect shown to them is severely punished. The Fetishes of the common people consist of a particular stone, or piece of wood, or some other inanimate substance, which they keep concealed in their houses. Every six months they make a public offering to the priest in honour of their Fetish, at the same time inquiring of the idol various circumstances relative to their future welfare. If the priest thinks the offering too insignificant, he informs the part that the Fetish does not like it, and will not answer his questions until he has one to please him: on this the inquirer of course enlarges his offering, and then the answers are delivered by the priest in a low voice, which the credulous worshippers imagine to be effected by some secret impulse of the Fetish. The oracle thus delivered, the priest covers the idol, and sprinkles either with beer or meal. The same is done by every person present at the ceremony. The priests in general are considered by the people in the most reverential light; but the great marabout, or high priest, is perfectly adored by them: they imagine him to be an infallible diviner; and that he can foretell things by conversing with an awkward image, which he keeps

in his hall of audience, where he receives the visits of his credulous admirers. This image is painted white and represents a child, which the marabout asserts can communicate to him such circumstances as shall arise from their future conduct. When they go to consult the marabout they present him with the best offerings their abilities will permit, and in proportion to the value of it, the intelligence of their future success or misfortunes is principally directed.

In this kingdom of Ardrah, whoever disobeys the king's command is beheaded, and his wives and children become the slaves of the offended monarch. Insolvent debtors are left to the mercy of their creditors, who have full liberty to pay themselves by selling them for slaves. This country is fertile in Indian corn, palm wine plants, and fruits throughout the year; and large quantities of salt are also made by the inhabitants, who are said to be remarkable for their longevity.

Agoona Country

THE Agoona country, in which the English have a fort, is part of the kingdom of Benin. This kingdom exhibits many beautiful landscapes; but the air in many places is noxious and pestilential, on account of the vapours exhaled from the low grounds by the fervor of the sun. The sea forms the boundary of the Agoona country on the south, and on the west, north, and east is bounded by the countries of Akron, Adgumakoon, Assin, Akim, and Accra.

The aspect of the country varies considerably: in some places it is flat and marshy, consequently unhealthy; in others it rises into hills; in some it runs into open plains of considerable extent; while in others it is richly covered with wood. The climate is esteemed comparatively healthy, and it is more temperate than that of many other places on the same line of coast. The height of the thermometer is usually from 75° to 85°; in the rainy season it has been observed as low as 73°. The seasons may be divided into the tornado, the rainy, and the dry. The tornado season commences in March, and continues about two months: the rainy season begins about the end of May, and ends in August: the dry season follows, and continues, with trifling variations, throughout the remainder of the year, that is to say, from August till March.

"The tornado is one of the most awful evidences of Almighty power. The violence of the wind seldom continues more than half an hour;

but the scene during that time is one of the most terribly sublime the imagination can conceive. The approach of the tornado is foretold by certain appearances which enable people to be on their guard against its destroying power. A dark cloud, not larger than "a man's hand," is observed just on the verge of the eastern horizon: faint flashes of lightning, attended sometimes by very distant thunder, are then seen to vibrate in very quick succession: the clouds in that quarter become gradually more dense and black, they also increase in bulk, and appear as if heaped on each other: the thunder, which at first was scarcely noticed, or heard only at long intervals, draws nearer by degrees, and becomes more frequent and tremendous: the blackness of the clouds increases, until a great part of the heavens seem wrapped in the darkness of midnight, and it is rendered still more awful by being contrasted with a gleam of light which generally appears in the western horizon. Immediately before the attack of the tornado there is either a light breeze, scarcely perceptible, from the westward, or, as is more common, the air is perfectly calm and unusually still. Men and animals fly for shelter, and, 'while expectation stands in horror,' the thundering storm in an instant bursts from the clouds. It is impossible for language to convey a just idea of the uproar of the elements which then takes place. The temperature of the air is greatly affected by a tornado, (it becomes cool and clear,) and it is not unusual for the thermometer to suffer a depression of eight or ten degrees within two or three minutes

after the storm has gone by. After a tornado the frame feels invigorated and more active, and the mind recovers much of that elasticity which long-continued heat tends to impair." (Dr. Winterbottom's Account of Sierra Leone.)

About the end of December or beginning of January in every year, and sometimes in February, a land wind of a very peculiar nature, called the Uar mattan, continues to blow for four, six, or eight days, and sometimes for a fortnight. It is chiefly remarkable for its cold and chilling effects upon the human frame, and for the very extraordinary degree of dryness which it produces; the process of evaporation while it lasts proceeding with astonishing rapidity. Near the sea, the soil is in many places light and sandy, and therefore unfavorable to most articles of tropical produce. It is however perhaps, peculiarly suited to the cultivation of the sea island cotton of Georgia. Where the soil is of a different description, many plants are found not to thrive, in consequence, as is supposed, partly of the coldness and humidity of the sea breezes, or south-west winds, which meet with nothing on the shore to mitigate their severity; and partly because the air is there impregnated with saline particles thrown up by a constant and generally violent surf. About two or three miles from the sea the soil is found to be much more productive, and it gradually improves as it recedes, till at the distance of six or eight miles from the shore, it is so fertile as to be adapted for the growth of almost every article of tropical culture. The climate at

this distance is also improved, and so temperate as to favour the cultivation of European plants and seeds. The articles which succeed best near the sea, are rice, sugar cane, and cotton.

The only mineral production which has hitherto been discovered in the Agoona country is gold, the method of procuring which the natives endeavour to conceal from the Europeans. They are obviously very ignorant of the proper means of searching for mineral bodies, or of working them when discovered.

The domestic animals are sheep, goats, hogs, dogs, cats, common fowls, &c. Those in a wild state are tygers, leopards, hyenas, buffaloes, hogs, deer, hares, ant bears, musk cats, squirrels, alligators, monkeys, snakes, &c. There is but little timber in this country applicable to ship building, but a variety adapted to house work and cabinet ware, and other useful and ornamental purposes. Besides these, its chief vegetable productions are, maize, (of which there are two crops in a year) millet, yams, cassada, sweet potatoes, plantanes, bananas, sugar cane, rice, cotton, pepper, and pulse of various kinds, cabbages, ochrae, eschallots, &c. besides oranges, pine apples, and other tropical fruits. All these are more or less cultivated by the natives of Agoona. Their land however, is, for the most part, capable of producing all other articles usually reared between the tropics.

Their present system of agriculture indeed, is very rude and defective; but it might be greatly improved by introducing among them horses and horned cattle, and proper implements of husbandry, as well

as useful seeds and plants, provided they at the same time had the benefit of the enlightened example, and instruction, of intelligent Europeans, who might be induced to engage in agricultural pursuits, and provided also that their industry was excited and encouraged by suitable rewards. At present all the land in the country forms a common stock, and no part of it can be appropriated by any individual, except during the time he actually cultivates it. There are extensive tracts of unoccupied land, not above a tenth part being under cultivation. Any native of Agoona who chooses to clear and cultivate any portion of this unoccupied land, becomes the exclusive possessor of it for the time; but if he should afterwards allow it to lie waste, he ceases to have any peculiar claim to it, it may be occupied by any other individual. Among the natives there is no such thing as the lease or sale of lands, except in the case of Europeans, who sometimes, for five or six pounds, may obtain the appropriation of a considerable tract of land. Their title to lands so obtained is not likely to be disturbed, but in the present state of society, unless they had the means of protecting themselves, if necessary, by force, the produce which they might raise could not be considered as altogether secure. Their best means of protection would be to have a considerable number of hired cultivators in constant pay, who would serve the double purpose of cultivating the soil and protecting the fruits of their labour from pillage. Labourers may be easily had at the rate of from ten to twelve shillings and sixpence a month.

Agoona contains no navigable river, but it is tolerably supplied

with fresh water by means of rivulets, which flow through it and branch off in a variety of directions, adding greatly to the beauty of the country. The chief towns are Winnebah,* Agoona, Bereae, and Tet-tah. Their present extent and population fall very short of what they were before the late desolating expedition to the coast, made by the Ashantees, whose king † being provoked by the conduct of the Fantees, entered their country with an army of not less than fifty or sixty thousand men, and spread ravage and devastation throughout a great part of the Gold Coast. Indeed the whole population of the state cannot be estimated at more than ten thousand souls, of which number seven thousand may be considered as women and children. The country however has begun to recover from the effects of that disastrous war, and its population appears to be on the increase. Immediately on the sea coast the people derive their subsistence from fishing, in the other parts of the country from hunting and agriculture. It is a pleasant and fertile country, abounding in cattle, corn, palm wine, and oil, and full of narrow retreats bordered with fine trees. A few of the inhabitants, and only a few, gain a livelihood by trade. This trade chiefly consists in purchasing from Europeans in exchange for gold and a few other articles, cowries, East India cottons, iron, lead, spirits, tobacco, tobacco pipes, guns, gunpowder, vessels of brass, and woollen and cotton goods of British manufacture, which they afterwards barter with their countrymen, or with persons from the interior, for gold,

* Note G. Appendix.

† See Sketch 20.

provisions of all kinds, palm wine, oil, &c. &c. Cowries and gold form the current medium of exchange; forty cowries make a string, fifty strings a head, which is equal to one ackie of gold, and sixteen ackies make an ounce, the value of which is usually estimated at four pounds. They have no fixed standard of weights or measures.

There appears no difficulty or impediment to the increase of this trade, but only time and due attention, the means obviously consist in opening a free and secure intercourse with the interior, in introducing an improved system of agriculture, and the arts of civilized life, in enlarging the knowledge and exciting the industry of the people, and in establishing such a government and police, as shall secure them in the enjoyment of what they may acquire by their exertions. The government, political institutions, and laws of Agoona, resemble in a great degree, those of the Fantees, already described.*

In some cases the caboceers, or chiefs of petty districts, are hereditary; in others they are elected by the people. These chiefs occasionally assume a despotic power, but in general they do not retain it long, the people frequently revolting in such cases, and expelling, or otherwise punishing the usurper. The chiefs are aided in the administration of the laws by a kind of judicial senate, the members of which, called (as among the Fantees) Pynims, are chosen by the people from among the elders of the district, and it is their office to hear and decide causes, and pronounce the sentence of the law.

* See Sketch IX.

They must be considered as having an interest in condemning persons who are accused, as they have a share in all fines and forfeitures. The Pynins are the only depositories of the laws; and in order to preserve and transmit the memory of them, they hold frequent meetings, at which the laws are rehearsed. Almost all crimes, whether great or trivial, are punishable by fine or slavery, which, indeed, are almost identified; for if the convict cannot pay his fine, he becomes by law a slave. Every murder, (a crime of rare occurrence) though the laws say it shall be punished with death, may be compensated by seven slaves. All criminal charges are tried by the Pynins, who hear and weigh the evidence produced; but if there be no evidence, the cause is tried by a species of ordeal called doom, which consists in administering to the person accused, a certain quantity of the bark of a tree deemed poisonous. If he retain it on his stomach he is pronounced guilty, if otherwise, innocent. The refusal to submit to this kind of ordeal is considered as a decisive proof of guilt, and the judges proceed accordingly. The Pynins, (who combine the offices of judge and jury) are supposed to be very accessible to bribes; and no person who is liberal of his gifts is likely to be found guilty. In some cases, however, where partiality is strongly suspected, the cause is tried by the Pynins of another district, or referred to the decision of the Governor of the Fort. In the case of conviction of witchcraft, the family of the convict is involved in his punishment; it even extends to all persons residing under his roof, on the pretence that all in any way connected with him must possess a certain portion

of his malign influence. It is a remarkable fact that since the abolition of the slave trade, no convictions of this kind have taken place. Does not this sufficiently prove what was the great exciting cause of this cruel injustice, the fruitful parent of this pretended crime, the fosterer of this gross superstition?

Hereditary feuds are common among this people; and the way in which they usually proceed in the prosecution of hostilities is, to seize by surprise, and carry off, persons belonging to the state or district with which they are at enmity, or to any state in alliance with it; for they seldom engage in enterprises of a daring kind; personal courage is certainly not a striking feature in their character.

Most of their wars are of this predatory description, and the prisoners taken become the slaves of the captors, and are completely at their disposal. They are sometimes killed in the heat of passion, but generally are preserved with a view to profit. Prisoners are seldom exchanged. Sometimes two or more slaves are given for the ransom of an individual, but it is unusual. The people of the Agoona country are perfectly black, in general well made, vigorous, and capable of enduring labour. For the most part they have a pleasing and open expression of countenance, and are of a gay and cheerful disposition. They manifest a degree of slowness of comprehension, when new subjects are brought before them; and yet this is hardly to be ascribed to any peculiar dulness or stupidity, as they show a sufficient degree of quickness in matters with which they are

conversant. They cannot be said to be warm in their affections, and though occasionally violent and impetuous in their temper, yet they are more commonly slow and deliberate in their proceedings. Hospitality prevails among them to a great extent; all strangers and travellers being admitted freely to partake of whatever the family board affords. The natives of Agoona may be considered, on the whole, as an industrious people, particularly those who are engaged in fishing. With respect to those engaged in agriculture, as all their wants are supplied with little labour, it cannot be expected that, in the existing state of things among them, they should make any great exertions beyond what is necessary for that object.

The moral standard of this people is extremely low. They appear to have no idea of restraint beyond what their own interest or the dread of punishment imposes; and besides that their laws are both too loosely framed, and too partially executed, to have a powerful effect in curbing men's passions; it is to be considered that no laws can provide an effectual check for that class of offences, which may be comprised under the head of immoralities. It is only at the tribunal of his own conscience, that a man can be interrogated about a number of actions and intentions, which escape the vigilance of the best form of government, the most righteous laws. It is only the strong but mild ties of religion, which can restrain the headstrong will of man. Religion, which is so beautifully appropriated to that mingled pride and weakness which constitutes our nature. The inference, when

applied to the imperfect laws of the Africans, is plain to the perception of the Christian philanthropist.

The people who form the subject of our present Sketch, are without any education or discipline of a moral kind, and from their earliest infancy are habituated to examples of inhumanity, fraud, and licentiousness. In short, the moral principle is not cultivated among them; so that there is hardly any act which will attach disgrace or infamy to the individual, or even bring reproach upon him, if he do but pay the penalty of the law.

Their religious system has no tendency whatever to improve their morality. It consists almost entirely in a superstitious dread of suffering from some malign influence; and in the faith they repose in the Fetishes or charms, which are furnished by their fetish men, or priests, for the purpose of averting the dreaded evil.

The people in general do not seem to engage in any kind of worship, and although on certain days they abstain from their ordinary employments, yet they assign no reason for doing this, but that it has been the custom to do so. The Fetishmen however, who may be considered as an order of priests, engage in certain forms of worship and religious ceremonies; and they are supposed to hold communion with the demon or Fetish, and to obtain from him the knowledge which is requisite for the exercise of their profession, which is to solve the doubts and perplexities of their followers, and to furnish them with the means of averting evil, either actual or possible.

Their profits arise from the presents made to the Fetish, by the votaries, these they appropriate to their own use, and they are often of considerable value. The Fetishmen usually connect themselves with persons in power, and are often serviceable in strengthening the government, and enforcing obedience to the laws, as they have great influence among the people, and continue to be respected by them, even when the government has fallen into disrepute.

At Winnebah, there is an annual sacrifice of a deer made to the Fetish. Human sacrifices take place only when a man of eminence dies. The victims are selected from among the slaves of the deceased, and are generally old and infirm persons. Such sacrifices however, very seldom occur in Agoona. When a victim has been selected for this purpose, it is believed that he cannot be redeemed.

With respect to intellectual capacity, this people do not discover any natural inferiority to Europeans, at the same time their attainments are as low as can be imagined, their minds being destitute of any kind of culture. They are wholly ignorant of letters, and their language, which is the Fantee, has never been reduced to writing.

Arts and manufactures are in a low state among them. They make canoes, fishing nets, hooks and lines, hoes, bills, baskets, mats, and various other articles of the same kind, and some of them can work as masons and carpenters. The amusements of the young consist chiefly in dancing and singing; those more advanced in years; amuse themselves by relating the exploits performed in their youth.

The women in this country, as in all others where polygamy prevails, are in a degraded state. They are literally slaves to the men, and perform all the labourious offices, as, grinding corn, procuring wood and water,—they, in short, do every thing but fish and plant corn. The women act generally both as physicians and surgeons: the prevailing complaints are fevers, fluxes, rheumatism, and leprosy, for the cure of which they use for the most part certain indigenous herbs. They sometimes have recourse to bleeding, by means of scarification and cupping, and these operations are performed with much dexterity by the women. The number of persons in a state of slavery in Agoona is very small, not above one in forty, or perhaps in fifty, can be considered as a slave. The power of the master over the slave is absolute, and extends not only to the exaction of whatever labour the slave is capable of performing, but to life itself. The slave is liable to be seized and sold for the debts of his master, or for the payment of any forfeiture to which the sentence of the law may have subjected him. In respect however to the common field labour which they have to perform, there is practically no difference between the slave and the freeman. Their hours of working are the same, and those not strictly regulated; the forenoon only being usually allotted to labour. Nor are the slaves ever driven, or otherwise compelled to work: what they do they do it with willingness. In the year 1809 some slave trade was carried on by the Dutch, and since by the Danes, who continue to reside on the coast. The chief carriers of slaves from the Gold Coast are the

Portuguese. Their principal market however, is to the leeward, on what is called the Slave Coast.

Two vessels from Cuba carried off cargoes of Slaves from the Gold Coast in October of the same year.

The continuance of the slave trade, though on a reduced scale by other nations, has greatly impeded the beneficial effects which might have been expected to follow from its abolition by Great Britain; for though the export of slaves from the coast be comparatively trifling, yet it serves to keep alive there, many of the malpractices which would otherwise have ceased. What is required therefore to give this measure its full effect, is an universal abolition of the trade. Even as things are, however, the natives are become more diligent in searching for gold, and in procuring other articles wanted by the Europeans; and, generally speaking, more industrious; but still, the partial existence of the nefarious traffic is a great bar to industrious exertion.

It is also certain, that accusations and condemnations for crimes, (as witchcraft, &c.) and predatory wars, have been less frequent than formerly. Kidnapping or panyaring, as it is called on the Gold Coast, is not much diminished: But personal security is on the whole, increased: and this has manifested itself by its natural result, —increased industry; for as men acquire freedom and security, arts and industry will improve in proportion.

From these partial improvements may justly be inferred the unspeakable and innumerable benefits, which must accrue to Africa from a total abolition of the traffic in slaves, and an encouragement of a legitimate commerce.

These observations, it may be remarked, apply but to a small portion of the Gold Coast, and although there is, throughout the whole, much similarity of soil and climate, yet in other respects, there are material differences.

— Anta Country.

THE Anta country, which lies between the rivers Ancobra and Secondee, is rich, woody, and well watered, and well planted. The timber here is fit for every purpose. It abounds in gold and other metals, in a greater degree than the neighbouring states. The cultivation of the soil is more attended to than in many parts of the coast; and it has very many convenient creeks and harbours.

Apollonia. Moral and other improvements.

THE river Ancobra separates this state from the kingdom of Apollonia. Here the country is still better watered by lakes and rivers. It is more flat and better adapted for the growth of rice, sugar cane, and those plants which require a moist soil. The great disadvantage under which Apollonia labours, is that the surf along its coast is so violent, that it is impossible to land without imminent danger. The form of its government is despotic; a circumstance which certainly prevents many of those irregularities and abuses, which prevail in other districts.

As we recede from the sea however, and advance into the interior, the state of things appears to be much more favorable than it can be said to be on any part of the coast. We witness a life of more industry, and more happiness, and a great improvement, not only in these important respects, but in soil, climate, and other natural advantages. In short, the capabilities of Africa can be appreciated but in a very inadequate degree, if we confine our observations to the sea coast, and do not proceed inland. The difference indeed is visible even a few miles from the shore, but it is still greater the farther we advance into the country.

There is no article of tropical culture, however delicate or valuable, which might not be raised in this country in great abundance, while its population stands in need of our manufactures, and is

accustomed to their use. And when it is considered, what the hand of industry has done in the West Indies, and in the pestilential swamps of Guinea; what may not be fairly expected from the rich hills and extensive plains of this country, blessed as it is with a luxuriant soil, and a comparatively healthy climate?

To confirm the assertion ventured in the above sketch, that Africa presents many scenes of interest and comparative refinement, we shall deviate for awhile from the immediate line of coast in our observations, and give a cursory view of the capital of Benin; in which kingdom, it will be recollected, the country of Agoona is situated.

Benin. Character, classes, custom, dress, religion.

BENIN, the capital of the kingdom of the same name, is situated on the river Benin, or, as it is called by the Portuguese, Rio Formosa, or the beautiful river. Benin is the usual residence of the king, and is most pleasantly situated on the banks of the river, about forty miles from its mouth.

The city contains a number of streets, most of which are spacious, and the houses uniformly built. The principal street is very broad, and at least three miles in length; it is intersected by many cross streets, all of which are strait and of considerable extent; the whole city being about nine miles in circumference. The houses of the grandees are much loftier than those of the commonalty, and are ascended by steps. At the entrance of each is a vestibule, or porch, which is every morning cleaned by the slaves, and spread with mats. The inner chamber is square, with an opening in the centre for the admission of light; and in these apartments they both sleep and eat: though every thing is prepared in offices appropriated for the purpose. The buildings are formed of a red earth, tempered with water, which being dried by the sun, forms a solid wall. They are roofed with reeds, straw or leaves. The houses of the common people are entered by a small door, which is in the centre, and level with the ground, and instead of windows, the light is admitted by an opening in the roof.

The palace of the king is very extensive, consisting of several large squares, surrounded with galleries, each of which has a portico, or gate, well guarded. The king's apartments are entered by an audience chamber, where he receives his nobility, foreign ambassadors, &c. It is hung with tapestry, and the floor covered with carpets of European manufacture. The throne is formed of ivory, ascended by three steps, and has a canopy of the richest silk. The other apartments are all spacious and splendidly furnished.

The inhabitants of this city are all natives, no foreigner being permitted to reside in it. They are generally wealthy, many residing altogether in the vicinity of the court, and receiving the profits of the trade, or agriculture, followed by their wives and slaver residing in the adjacent villages.

In the principal street of the city a daily market is held, for the sale of provisions and merchandize. The former consists of dogs, of which they are very fond, roasted baboons, and monkeys, bats, and large rats, parrots hens, lizards dried in the sun, fruits, and palm wine. The merchandize comprises cotton, elephant's teeth, wooden platters, cups, and other householdstuff, cotton cloth, iron instruments for fishing and tilling the ground, lances, darts, and other weapons. A place is allotted for each sort of merchandize, and they are all disposed with great uniformity.

The city of Benin was formerly more populous, but a destructive civil war occasioned its partial decay. The sovereign, possessed of

an avaricious disposition, in order to increase his riches, condemned two of his wealthy chiefs to death, under pretence of their having conspired against his life. The wealth he accumulated by the death of these victims, did not however, satisfy his insatiable passion. He was prompted by it to make a like charge upon a third, in order to sacrifice him in a similar manner. But this chief happened to be universally beloved by the people. Timely notice was conveyed to him of the intentions of his sovereign; he accordingly fled, and was accompanied in his flight by a number of the people. On the king being informed, he dispatched a force in pursuit of the fugitives, to oblige them to return, but the army met with such a repulse, that they were forced to return unsuccessful. The king, irritated at his disappointment, made a second attempt, by sending a more considerable force, but they also failed; many of them being killed, and the rest returning precipitately to the capital. The fugitive chief, determined to be revenged on the king, marched with his augmented force to the city, which he plundered, sparing no place except the palace. After this he retired, but continued for several years to rob those inhabitants of Benin that happened to fall in his way; till at length, through the mediation of some Europeans, a peace was concluded between him and the king, by whom he was pardoned and intreated to return to his former situation. Fearful, however, of the integrity of his majesty, whom he still considered as his inveterate enemy, he did not think proper to comply with the invitation; but settled at a place about three day's journey from Benin, where he kept a court; was

highly respected by the people that followed him, and lived in as much splendour and dignity as the king himself. Some few of the citizens returned to the capital, and were not only received by the king with great friendship, but were preferred to honourable offices in order to induce the rest to follow their example; the multitude however were not thus to be deluded, they preferred a life of ease and freedom, to that of tyranny and oppression, nor could the most pressing entreaties of the king prevail upon them to return. Such were the circumstances that occasioned the reduction of the population of Benin, the number being nearly half less than before the irruption.

The natives in general are of a good disposition, and obliging to Europeans; and if complimented by presents, liberally seek to return the obligation. Gentle measures easily guide them, but violence and coercion render them refractory. Among themselves they carry the appearance of civility and complaisance, but they are in reality close and reserved in their dealings, and cautious of trusting. The traders are attentive to business, but strongly tenacious of old customs, with which if a foreigner complies, he may with ease and facility deal with them.

The inhabitants may be divided into four classes; the first of which is composed of only three individuals, called great lords, or great men: these are always near the person of the monarch; and whosoever wants to obtain any favour from his majesty must apply to these grandees, who acquaint the king with their desire, and are the

organs of his answer. As there is no other intermediate person between the king and he who solicits favours, they act on these occasions in such manner as best suits their own interests, so that in reality the government rests in their hands. However contradictory their conduct may be to the intentions of the king, yet it can never be known; as no other persons, except those in a public capacity, are admitted into his presence. The second rank of persons is composed of what are termed Ores-de-Roes, or Road Chiefs, who are of four sorts: —the meanest preside over slaves; those a degree higher, over the low rabble; the third, inspect the conduct of those concerned in husbandry and agriculture; and the fourth, or superior order, superintend the military. (Of this rank was the forementioned chief, who threw off the yoke of subjection to his king.) These people are very numerous, from whom are chosen the viceroys and governors of those countries subject to the king; they are all however under the command of the three great men, and are responsible to them on all occasions. They obtain their appointments through the interest and recommendation of these great lords; and the king, as an ensign of the honour conferred upon them, presents each with a string of coral, which they are obliged to wear round the neck. Though styled coral, they are, in fact, made of a sort of pale earth or stone, well polished or glazed, and greatly resemble variegated marbles. The possessors must be very careful of them, for if they should lose this badge of honour, whether by accident or otherwise, the consequence would not only be degradation, but even loss of life. The third class of people are

those appointed by the government to treat with the Europeans on behalf of the traders of Benin. They are called *Fiadors*, or *Brokers*, and their business is to see that all transactions of commerce are fairly adjusted between the respective parties. The last class consists of the commonalty: the generality of these are indolent, resorting to work only when necessity urges them. The laborious part of the business is usually transacted by the wives; such as tilling the ground, spinning cotton, weaving cloth, and other handicraft work. The principal artificers amongst them are smiths, carpenters, and leather-dressers.

Their dress consists of a white cotton cloth, fastened round the waist, and neatly plaited in the middle. The upper part of the body is uncovered. The wives of the *grandees* wear calico paans, the manufacture of the country, and beautifully variegated in vivid colours, and of the most delicate texture: these are confined round the waist; and the upper part of the body is concealed partially by a piece of cloth, about a yard in length, worn as a veil. They also wear necklaces and bracelets of coral, agreeably disposed, together with rings of different metals, round their legs and arms. When a great man goes abroad, he is attended by a number of followers, all of whom are armed, some with spears, others with long darts, and some with bows and arrows. He usually is mounted on horseback, sitting as females do in Europe. One of the attendants holds an umbrella above his head to shield him from the heat of the sun; and another leads the horse.

They use neither saddle nor stirrups; and the only security of the rider consists in his resting the left hand on the shoulder of one of his attendants, whose situation for this office certainly cannot be an enviable one. The houses are all built with a flat roof, on the top of which is a covering, raised several feet, to shade it from the sun; and it is on these roofs that the superior classes frequently regale themselves when they visit each other. The higher classes live extremely well, although not luxuriously. Their principal articles of diet consist of beef, mutton, or fowls: instead of bread they use yams, which, after having been boiled, are beat fine and made into cakes. Their common beverage is water, with occasionally a little brandy in it. The poorer classes live on yams, bananas, and pulse of various kinds; their drink is water, or a kind of beer, resembling that called pite on the slave coast.

Polygamy is allowed, and the consent of parents is the only ceremony, except a present to the bride and an entertainment to mutual friends, which is required. The wives of the great are secluded; those of the common people have liberty.

On the birth of a son in a family, it is presented to the king as his property; thus all the males in the kingdom are regarded as the king's slaves. The females are the property of the father, and he has full liberty to dispose of them at his own discretion.

If a mother has twin brothers born, immediate information is given to the king, who orders public rejoicings on the occasion; such

an event being considered as a happy omen in all the territories of Benin, except at one place, called Arebo, where it is productive of the most horrid cruelty, the people there sacrificing both mother and children to a certain demon, which they assert inhabits a grove near the town. This horrid custom has been of late years in some degree evaded by those inhabitants who can defray the expenses, by sending their wives upon the approach of their delivery to another part of the country.

Puncturing the skin is universal to both sexes, more especially the women. This painful operation is performed when the individuals are young, and being considered highly ornamental, the parents are profuse in bestowing them. The negroes of the kingdom of Benin are not so alarmed at the idea of death as those on other parts of the Coast of Guinea. When a person is seized with sickness he immediately applies to a priest, who also acts in the capacity of a physician and furnishes the patient with medicines; but if these prove ineffectual, he has recourse to sacrifices. If the patient recovers, the priest is rewarded for his assistance; but no further regard is paid to him. So that the priest are usually poor, having little other dependence than what arises from their abilities as physicians; for each man offers his own sacrifices to his idols, and thinks he sufficiently acquits himself of his religious duties, without applying to the priest.

When a person dies, the body is kept only one day before interment, except his death occurs at a distance from his general

place of residence; in which case in order to preserve it for conveyance, it is dried over a gentle fire to extract the moisture, when it is put into a coffin and publicly exposed; after which it is borne on men's shoulders to the place of interment. When the funeral is over, the nearest relations go into mourning and bewail their loss with cries and lamentations. The shew of mourning consists only in shaving their heads, some half way, and others all over: the men shave off their beards.

When a grandee is buried, many slaves are sacrificed on the occasion; but the greatest number fall victims on the death of the king. The ceremonies attending a royal funeral in this country are thus described by an eye witness:—"As soon as the king of Benin expired, they dug a large pit in the ground at the palace, so deep that the workmen were in danger of being drowned by the flow of water from the earth. This pit was made wide at the bottom, but narrow at the top. They first let down the royal corpse into it, and then such of his domestics of both sexes, as were selected for that honour, for which there was even great interest made. These being let down into the pit, the mouth of it was closed with a large stone in the presence of a concourse of people, who continued to watch day and night. The following morning the stone was removed, and an officer appointed asked the people inclosed if they had found out the king. If they answer, (which was the case in this instance,) the pit is closed up again, and on the following day opened with a similar

ceremony, which continues till the persons are dead, or no answer returned. After this the chief minister informed the successor, who immediately repaired to the pit, and causing the stone to be removed, ordered a variety of provision to be laid upon it for the entertainment of the populace.

After they have regaled themselves they commit the greatest outrages, killing whoever they can find; bringing the bodies, garments, goods, &c. as presents to the deceased monarch. This strange custom is still prevalent, and those allotted as victims on the occasion, so far from lamenting their fate, think it the highest mark of honour that can be conferred upon them."

After what we have related it will be easily imagined that the religious opinions of this people are strangely absurd and perplexed: they worship various kinds of idols: each is his own priest, and addresses himself to such of his idols as he best likes. Many of them, however, have a tolerable idea of the Deity; for they ascribe to God the divine attributes, and believe that he governs all things by his providence. As he is invisible, they say, it would be absurd to make any corporeal representation of him; for that could not be effected, as it would be impossible to make any image of what was never seen. The images of their idol gods they consider as subordinate deities to the supreme Being, and believe that they are mediators between them and him. They believe also in the devil, and think themselves obliged to reverence him, lest he should hurt

then. They make their offerings to him by the same idols they do the higher power, so that one image serves in two capacities. They also believe that the apparitions of their forefathers appear to them, but it is only when they are asleep. They call the shadow of a man passadoor, or conductor, which they believe really to exist, and that it will some time or other give testimony whether they have lived well or ill. This is a curious notion: it may be regarded as an external conscience bearing constant witness to the good and evil of the person. If they have lived well, they believe they shall be elevated to great dignity; if otherwise, that they will finally perish with hunger and poverty.

The inferior classes make their daily offerings to their idols, which consist only of a few yams mixed with oil. Sometimes they offer a fowl, but they only sprinkle the blood of it on the idol, converting the flesh to their own use. The great men make annual sacrifices, which are very expensive, and celebrated with great pomp. They then kill multitudes of cows, sheep, and other cattle, and provide elegant entertainments for their friends, which last during several days; besides which they give handsome presents to the poor.

They divide time into years, months, weeks, and days, each of which are distinguished by a particular name, as with us; but in their division they make fourteen months in the year.

They observe a sabbath every fifth day; when great solemnity prevails, particularly among the higher ranks. Cows, sheep, and

goats are sacrificed by the rich; and by the poor, fowls, dogs, cats, or whatever they are able to procure. Those who are so poor and distressed as not to be able to procure any thing, are assisted by others, in order that the festival may be universally kept. Besides the festivals held on the sabbaths, they have two others annually celebrated. The first of these is in commemoration of their ancestors, when they not only sacrifice a great number of beasts, but also human beings; who are generally malefactors sentenced to death, and reserved for these solemnities. If it happens that there is not so many criminals sentenced to death as are requisite on these occasions, (the number must be twenty-five,) the king orders his officers to parade the streets, and seize indifferently such persons as they meet not carrying lights. If the persons so seized are wealthy, they are permitted to purchase their redemption; but if poor, they are sacrificed on the appointed day. The slaves of great men so seized may be also ransomed, on condition that the masters find others to supply their place.

This custom is what chiefly contributes to the emolument of the priests, it being their province to redeem the persons so taken, from whom they receive a very handsome compliment on the occasion.

Their second annual festival, which is by far the most splendid, is called the coral feast, from the distribution of those ensigns of honour among the grantees. It is both a court gala, a religious popular feast, and a day of entertainment to the multitude and of joy

throughout the city.

The sovereign of Benin is an arbitrary monarch, his will being the absolute law; but the chief direction of government is vested in the three great lords. Their laws are in general very mild and not attended with those glaring impositions to which the inhabitants of some other countries are subject. When a person of property dies, the right of inheritance devolves to the eldest son; but he is obliged to present a slave to the king, and to each of the three lords, with a petition that he may succeed his father in the same quality, which the king accordingly grants, and he is declared the lawful heir of all the possessions left by his father. He is not compelled to make any allowance to his younger brothers, that being wholly left to his own discretion; but if his mother be alive, he must allow her a maintenance suitable to her rank. If the deceased leave no children, his brother inherits the property, and in case of deficiency of such heir, the next of kin; but if no lawful heir appears, the property becomes that of the king.

Punishments are inflicted on criminals according to the nature of the offence. The inhabitants of Benin have a particular respect to foreigners; the injuring, therefore, of any European is considered as a capital crime, and the punishment for such offence is singular. The offender is blindfolded, and his hands tied behind him: after this, the judge raises him up, so that his head hangs towards the ground; it is then instantly struck off by the executioner with a hatchet:

the body is then separated into quarters, and left to be devoured by wild beasts.

Theft is uncommon; the people forming an exception to the general pilfering disposition of their countrymen. However, when it does occur, the guilty person is obliged to restore the lost goods, and pay a fine; and if unable to do the latter, suffers corporeally. If the robbery is committed on a grandee the punishment is death.

Murder rarely occurs, but when it does the criminal is punished with death; except the offence be committed by the king's son, or a grandee; in which case the offender is banished to the most distant part of the kingdom, and never permitted to return.

If a person kills another by accident, he may purchase his life, by first burying the deceased, and afterwards producing a slave to suffer in his stead. When this slave is sacrificed, the offender must bend his body and touch the knees of the slave with his head; after which he must pay a fine to the three great lords, when he obtains his freedom, and the relations of the deceased think a sufficient atonement has been made for the offence. Other crimes are punished by fine, apportioned according to the nature of the offence; and if the criminal is not able to pay the sum levied, he is subject to corporeal punishment. The fines paid on such occasions are thus disposed of: —the person injured is first satisfied, after which the governor has his share, and the remainder goes to the three great lords.

In this sketch we noticed an inhuman superstition prevailing at a town called Arebo, on the river Benin. This is a place of considerable trade, situated about 50 miles from the mouth of the river: it is a large and populous place, and the inhabitants of it are remarkable for their uprightness and honesty in their commercial transactions.

The Dutch and English had each factories at this place; but the latter having neglected their trade, the factory went to decay, and has never been rebuilt; therefore the former is the only European settlement in this part of the country.

Kroo Country and Kroomen—character, customs, anecdotes.

THERE is a tribe of people called Kroomen, inhabiting a district of the grain coast of Africa, between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, who possess many peculiar and interesting characteristics.

The district inhabited by this people extends, according to the maps, about twenty miles along the coast, from north-west to south-east. Its extent inwards is not accurately known; but perhaps it is not greater, as the Kroomen have no towns except on the coast.

Fettra Kroo is the principal town. The general aspect of the country is champaign and very woody. It is free from marshes. Its chief vegetable productions are, rice, cassadae, yams, plantanes, and Malaguetta pepper. The rice which it produces is valued by Europeans on account of its superior whiteness, to what in general is met with on the coast. The rivers which water the country do not appear to be large, or to rise far inland; although the Kroomen, whose representation of distance is not very precise, speak of them as extending a great way. They are said to be full of banks and shoals, which obstruct the navigation.

In the Kroo country there are five towns: viz. Little Kroo, to the north, Fettra Kroo the chief town, Kroo bah, Kroo Settra, and Wills' Town. A few small villages, inhabited by strangers or slaves, are scattered over the intermediate space, and at a greater distance from the shore, probably for the purpose of carrying on their

cultivation. The population of this small district is thought to be greater than in most other places on the coast. No less than eight hundred Kroomen were estimated to be working as labourers at Sierra Leone in 1809; and Kroomen are to be found, though not in such large bodies, yet in considerable numbers, at every factory, nay, at every village in the intermediate space, which is an extent of three hundred and fifty miles.

Besides this, they are employed by all the vessels trading between Cape Mount, and Cape Palmas, to carry on their trade as factors and interpreters, and also to assist in the work of navigation, and particularly in manning boats.

They are also to be found, though in inferior numbers, on the other parts of the coast. The Kroomen who thus employ themselves, either as traders, sailore, or labourers, at a distance from home, are seldom under fifteen, or above forty years of age. Those who remain at home are chiefly employed in agriculture, and a few in fishing. They also rear a few cattle. The articles which they cultivate are rice, yams, and plantanes. The land forms a common stock, and does not descend by inheritance. Each man settle or rather cultivates where he pleases. Agricultural labour is conducted chiefly by women, though sometimes by domestic slaves. The commerce of the Kroomen is carried on entirely by barter, as they have no fixed medium of exchange. The articles which are in greatest demand among them are, tobacco, cotton cloth of East India fabric, a few English shawls and handkerchiefs;

hats, leather trunks, fire arms, bar iron which they manufacture themselves into implements of husbandry, knives, &c. and cowries which are used in making their fetishes, or amulets. In return for these articles, they sell a little ivory, palm oil, Malaguetta pepper, and rice; and occasionally supply ships with fire wood, plantanes, cassada, and even bullocks. They will sometimes row off in very small canoes to ships at a distance of four leagues from the shore, with not more of these articles than will procure them a few leaves of tobacco, reckoning their toil and hazard as nothing. Their chief article of barter, however, is their labour, which they hire to Europeans. This is the source from which they derive by far the greatest part of their imported commodities. They have long been the exclusive intermediate merchants, or rather factors, between the vessels trading on this part of the coast, and the interior: and while the slave trade flourished, this employment occupied a considerable number of hands. Since the abolition of that trade, they have sought other lines of service, and in the year 1809, as has been stated, the number of those who had hired themselves at Sierra Leone alone, a place distant about three hundred and fifty miles from their own country, was estimated at eight hundred.

The form of their government is monarchical, but it would appear that the old men (the Aristocracy) of the country, possess considerable influence, and that the power of the monarch is small, except when it is supported by their influence. Each town has a chief, whom they designate king, at least in conversing with Europeans; but there is

one chief who is considered as superior to the rest, and who rules over the whole. The power however, of the inferior chiefs, seem to be very great in their own district. At the same time, the children of the greatest chiefs work as labourers while they are young men, in exactly the same manner as the lowest of the people, nor are they to be distinguished on ordinary occasions, either by their dress, or by the superior respect which is paid to them.

In respect to the principal monarch, his power appears seldom to be brought into action, and instead of being the source of all authority, the fountain of justice, the original proprietor, and ultimate heir of all lands, he is in general no more than the last referee in important disputes; and the person in whose name business with other countries is transacted. A national war indeed, must, in conformity with this last principle, be carried on in his name; and backed by this, the real agents compel the services of all the people, but independently of the concurring voice of these head men, who possess the greatest share of activity and talent; his power is probably far less than that of many of his chiefs. Indeed, this remark applies not only to the Kroonen in particular, but to all the African tribes which have adopted the Mahometan faith. It is not distinctly known to Europeans, in what manner the chief authority is conveyed; whether by inheritance or otherwise. But there is reason to believe, that a sort of prime minister, or viceroy, is named by the king, who, in case of his decease, will possess the sovereign power, either during the youth

of the regular successor, or until his own death.

A mourning, or cry of seven days cotinuance, takes place on the death of the king; during which period, it appears that all arrangements respecting the succession are made. Although wars are not frequent among them, yet the Kroomen of different towns have sometimes very serious quarrels. One took place between the people of Will's town, and those of another. It originated in a private quarrel between two individuals, Tom Nininee and Jumbo; the people of each town taking part with their townsman, until it became an actual war between the two towns. The affair was as follows:

Jumbo appears to have been by right the head of all the Kroos; he was at least a man of high consequence among them. The father of Tom Nininee was chief of Kroo Sittra, and Jumbo deprived him of his dignity: the old man retired into the woods and died. His son determined to be avenged on Jumbo, and engaged the people of Wappo, the next town south of the Kroo country, to make war on him. They were successful, and Jumbo was obliged to fly to Rock Sestres, (a place at some distance northward,) where he remained seven years. During his abode at this place, he seized a chief, who had been sent into the river Sestres by Tom Nininee, and killed him. Nininee sent to require pecuniary satisfaction for the murder, according to custom, but was refused; and Jumbo subsequently found himself strong enough to return to his own country. Some of the people farther inland (Bushmen, as they are called by the Kroomen,) were hired to help him; and it is chiefly by

the aid of mercenaries that the war has been prosecuted by both parties, "Kroomen not liking to fight against Kroomen." It appeared that in this war all Kroomen who happened to be made prisoners, were released on paying a ransom, or rather making a present, according to the ability of the captive: and this, it is said, is the common practice of the Kroomen, though it is asserted, the prisoners are first punished by severe whipping, and then suffered to return home. It is certain they neither kill nor sell them. How they proceed with prisoners belonging to other tribes does not appear. The person of Tom Nininee is thus described by the same writer: "Tom Nininee is a short but stout man: he was dressed very gaily when I saw him, in a piece of showy handkerchiefs of English manufacture. A silver plate was suspended from his neck, with an inscription, purporting that it was given him by R. Hume, owner of the John and Sarah, for his gallantly recovering that vessel when out off by the crew, and the captain killed. It is, however, a very shabby plate, and the orthography of the inscription not very correct."

The submission of Kroomen to their superiors is carried so far, that when one of these commit a theft, for instance, the rest will run every hazard arising from judicial perjury, and resist every temptation of reward, rather than reveal it; and if there be no other mode of saving their superior from disgrace and punishment, they will take the crime on themselves, and suffer its penalty.

Many facts of this kind occurred at Sierra Leone. Among themselves, theft is punished by whipping. The punishment of adultery is

by fine. Murder may be punished with death, but it may also be atoned for by a pecuniary fine. Witchcraft is always punished capitally. Among the Kroonen, it is remarkable, no offence is punished with slavery; nor is any Krooman permitted to be sold on any account whatever. While the slave trade lasted, they were notoriously in the habit of kidnaping and selling the "Bushmen," who came down to the coast for the purposes of trade, whom also, in their capacity of factors, they were in the regular practice of defrauding.

In respect to the external appearance of the Kroonen, they are seldom very tall; but they are well made, muscular, vigorous, and active. They wear no clothing, except a piece of East India cloth, folded round their loins; but they are fond of obtaining hats and old woollen jackets, which they are allowed to wear in their own country in the rainy season, but never appear to suffer from the heat. A few wear European clothing when at Sierra Leone. They are extremely sensible of the cold during the rainy season. The form of the African head materially differs from that of the European; but this difference is far less observable in the Kroonen than in the other natives. In their temper they are generally gay and cheerful, and this disposition leads them to be noisy and talkative: they sometimes shew a considerable talent for mimicry. They are very fond of adopting English names, but their choice is very whimsical; such as, "Pipe of Tobacco," "Bottle of Beer," "Papaw Tree," &c. They are quick in feeling insults, or even angry or harsh expressions, becoming

immediately sulky and untractable: but they will bear any censure, even a sharp blow, when their negligence deserves it, if it can be contrived to be given so as to seem more in jest than in earnest. In their general course of conduct they are rather deliberate than impetuous; but they are far more courageous than the generality of natives about Sierra Leone.

It may be inferred that their dispositions are hospitable, from the readiness with which, when absent from their country, those who are employed and are consequently receiving wages, support those who are unable to work. When hired by the month, their wages depending on the time they are at work, not upon the work performed, they are apt to become rather indolent, unless carefully superintended. But they are fond of task work, or working by the piece, and exert themselves exceedingly when the reward is proportioned to the labour. Some years since it was deemed a gross absurdity among the individuals of our African settlement to imagine that a Kroonian would do any kind of work unconnected with boats or shipping, as in that way alone they had been employed, and it was supposed their prejudices against innovation could never be overcome. Necessity, however, forced the settlers to make the experiment, and it has been amply found that Kroonians will employ themselves in agricultural labour, and in any other way by which they can obtain money. They seem to think, however, some kind of work more creditable than others. The washerwomen at Sierra Leone sometimes employ their hired Kroonians in carrying home baskets

of wet clothes from the brook: they grumble very much under these burdens, because, "man was made to do woman's work;" nevertheless, as they gain money by it, they are disposed to put up with the indignity. In their expenditure they are most rigid economists,—a little tobacco is the only luxury which they allow themselves; in every other respect they are contented with the barest necessaries. They are allowed nothing more for their subsistence than two pounds of red rice per day, (which makes only a pound and a half, or three quarters, when clean and fit for use,) and of this they will sell half. Though extremely fond of rum, when given to them, they seldom or never buy it; but some will never drink it, even if offered to them. Their clothing probably does not cost more than ten shillings in a year: the residue of their gains is converted carefully into such goods as are most valuable in their own country. In eighteen months, or two years, a sufficient stock having been collected, the Krooman returns home with his wealth. A certain portion is given to the head men of the town; all his relations and friends partake of his bounty, if there be but a leaf of tobacco for each: his mother, if living, has a handsome present. All this is done in order "to get him a good name;" what remains is delivered to his father "to buy him a wife." One so liberal does not long seek a partner: the father obtains a wife for him, and, after a few months of ease and indulgence, he sets off afresh for Sierra Leone, or some of the factories on the coast, to get more money.

By this time he is proud of being acquainted with "white man's fashion," and takes with him some raw inexperienced youngster, whom he initiates into his own profession, taking no small portion of the wages of the eleve for his trouble. In due time his coffers are replenished; he returns home, and gives the residue of his wealth to his father to "buy him another wife." In this way he proceeds for perhaps ten or twelve years, or more, increasing the number of his wives, and establishing a great character among his countrymen; but scarcely a particle of his earnings is at any time applied to his own use. A Kroonian being asked, what he would do with so much money as he possessed; replied, that he hoped he had enough to buy him two wives, to add to the two he already had acquired. When he had got the additional two, he would return to Sierra Leone and get more money. His father, he said, had eighteen wives. The wives of course are servants, who labour in the field as well as in the house.

The number of Kroc canoe which put off to trading vessels, many miles from land, with trifling articles for sale, is another proof that they do not spare their labour, if they have the slightest hope of profit. Two or three pounds of tobacco is, perhaps, the utmost they can get in exchange for their goods; and for this trifle they will sometimes row out to sea ten, twelve, or fifteen miles. There was not less than twenty of these little canoes surrounding an English vessel, and they kept up with her by means of their paddles for more than an hour, although she was going from five to six knots, by the log.

They offered fish for sale, a leaf or two of tobacco being all they got for a fish, of which there was but a scanty number. In coming up with the vessel it was estimated that they could not go at a loss rate than seven knots an hour; yet, in many instances, the canoe was paddled by only two men.

Every observation that has been made upon the Kroomen tends to prove that they are very sensible to honour and dishonour, yet it may be doubted if they have any distinct notions of crimes apart from the notion of injuries. Theft is certainly not discreditable among them: their principal people are more than suspected of making their inferiors practice it, and sharing the gain. The inferior will often confess it, when really innocent, in order to conceal the real criminal.

Two Kroomen had been severely punished for theft at Sierra Leone, and were banished from the settlement,—of course they were penniless. A countryman was asked, what their fathers would say to the delinquents. "Oh, their fathers will curse (i.e. abuse,) them too much." "What will they say to them?"

"'You fools,' they will say, 'here have you been all this time in white man's country, and now, when you come home, you bring nothing back.'" If trust be reposed in a Krooman, they rarely indeed betray it. With regard to veracity, if the interest of their head men, or indeed any of their townsmen, be concerned, not the smallest dependence can be placed in any thing they say.

If a Krooman, by speaking the truth, should bring evil upon another, it would be an injury, as much as if the evil were produced by his speaking falsely,--and therefore would be just as much a ground for enmity and revenge. But take away their slavish fear of each other, especially of their head men, and they do not appear to be often induced to depart from truth. In their own country they are said to be cruel, especially to mariners shipwrecked among them; but they are not marked by any instances of it at Sierra Leone.

Witchcraft they greatly dread, and of course abhor; perhaps it is the only offence that is considered as unpardonable. They have the same implicit faith in Fetishes, or amulets, as other heathen tribes, and the same belief in the agency of invisible powers under the direction of particular men. The influence of their great men is considerably supported by these pretensions to supernatural power. Jumbo, for instance, boasts of having two Fetishes, made expressly to operate on Europeans: one enables him to gain the favour of white men in general; the other guards him from the "palavers" which individuals might occasionally bring against him.

The favour he suddenly obtained, after having been banished from the colony, doubtless confirmed his countrymen in their belief of the efficacy of these charms: nor are they indeed without their real effect, through their power over the imagination. Jack, a Krooman, had disregarded the nightly watch, which the governor had required all the inhabitants to keep in their turn, and the head Krooman called on

him to pay his fines.

He suspected that they deceived him grossly in the amount, and refused to pay. Jack was right; they had charged him nearly double what the officer of the watch had directed them to demand. They were vexed, however, that he had dared to oppose them, and uttered some obscure sentences of revenge. Jack, e're long, found himself indisposed, and believed that some of these head men had bewitched him; and though he had no severe nor even distinct illness, yet he pined away, became feeble and languid, and had always some pain or uneasiness to complain of.

At length he determined to return to his own country;—"for his brother there was a greater witch than any of the head men here, and he would soon make a Fetish which would be too strong for theirs."

To the Kroo country he accordingly went, and having confidence that he was un-bewitched, he recovered his health of course. He was seen by some English officers at Cape Mesunado, on his return to Sierra Leone; he declared himself to be quite well, although he looked ill and emaciated, in comparison of what he had formerly been.*

*This man evidently pined under those anomalous symptoms which mark those negroes in our colonies when said to have obiah upon them. Could they return to the superior fetishes of their country, perhaps the victims to this imaginary disease might not be so numerous: but hope comes not to them!

One of the greatest drawbacks from the usefulness of the Kroomen, as hired labourers at Sierra Leone, arises from their readiness rather to suffer in their own persons, than bear testimony against each other. Detection is rendered so difficult, and a thief of consequence can command so many accomplices, (for they scarcely dare to refuse their aid, and never dare to inform) that the temptation to steal is increased tenfold. The public punishment which our laws impose is far less feared than the sure and secret vengeance of the magician.

The artifices by which they often escape in our courts of justice, are deemed vain against invisible powers. It is not unlikely, while these people are thus enveloped in darkness, instead of admiring our laws they may despise them for their inefficiency, and give a sincere preference to the unerring decisions of the red water.

It has been asserted without examination, that they have been taught to steal from their infancy; and therefore that it is unjust to punish them. But it is not the fact; they know and declare that theft is punished in their own country exactly as it is at Sierra Leone, and if a man steal from them they shew him but little mercy. No man know better how to urge the unsuspected integrity of their former character, in proof of the improbability that they should have committed a particular theft now laid to their charge.

They are not inexperienced and untaught Kroomen who purloin the goods of others, but those who have lived long amongst Europeans, who are fluent in their language, acquainted with their manners, and

perhaps are about to give up their life of labour and wandering, in order to settle in their own country; and whose character among Europeans is therefore of the less consequence.

The state of the Kroonen in respect to intellectual improvement, may be considered as stationary; and from what has been related, it seems hardly possible that it should be progressive. It is universally admitted, that if a Krooman were to learn to read and write, he would be put to death immediately. Distinction, respect, power, among his own countrymen, as soon as age permits it, are the objects of every Krooman; he is trained up in the habit of looking forward to them as to all that is honorable or desireable; his life is spent in seeking them by the only means which the customs of his country will allow; when possessed of them, every exertion is used to train others to the same principles, in order that he may keep and enjoy what he has acquired with so much labour.

All this is supported by superstition; and under the cloak of superstition are cruelty and injustice. Who shall break through these strong shackles? Premiums have been proposed to Kroomen if they would settle at Sierra Leone; but take away from the Krooman his desire of respect and distinction in his own country, and you take away his very motive for that industry and self-denial, which procure for him at present a preference over other natives.* The indifference of

*The obstacles, great as they are, have not been found insuperable; as we shall show in the course of these sketches.

Kroomen to European arts and European comforts, induced many to think them a very dull race of people. An English officer was struck when he first visited Africa with the different manner in which a Krooman, and a Mandingoman (a Mahomedan) viewed an English clock. It was equally a novel sight to each of them. The Krooman eyed it attentively for about a minute, but with an unmoved countenance, and then walked away to look at something else without saying a word. The Mandingoman could not sufficiently admire the equal and constant motion of the pendulum his attention was frequently drawn to it, he made all possible enquiries as to the cause of its motion; he renewed the subject next morning, and could hardly be persuaded that the pendulum had continued "to walk," as he called it, during the night.

The difference holds good in most instances. They have little or no curiosity about things which are of no use in their own country; they are careless about our comforts and luxuries; none of them have been rendered necessary by habit, and they would often be inconsistent with the principal objects of their pursuit. But Kroomen are sufficiently acute and observant, where the occasion calls their minds into action. This inference, however, is drawn rather from a general view of their character and conduct, than from particular specimens of ingenuity. They have not the use of letters, and will not permit their children to learn; living by daily labour, which is paid for in European goods, they have no occasion for manufactures of their own. They have but few opportunities therefore of displaying any peculiar

talent. They form their own canoes, several implements of agriculture, and some trifling musical instruments. It is however, worthy of observation, that they sometimes plead their own defence with much art.

The evidence against a Krooman examined before Governor Ludlam, was so strong, that few men would have had the boldness to deny the charge. The culprit however, began a long speech, with expressing his sorrow that the governor was not born a Krooman, and proceeded to enlarge on the superior ability he would in that case have possessed to distinguish between truth and falsehood, in all cases in which Kroomen were concerned; not forgetting the security against deception, which he might have obtained by means of those fetishes of which white men knew not the value, nor the use. Had the governor possessed but these advantages, he would have known (the culprit argued) how much more safely he might rely on his veracity than on all the evidence produced against him, although it was backed by the unfortunate circumstance of the stolen goods being found in his possession.

The substance of this defences was, that he had fairly purchased the goods not knowing them to have been stolen; and that Kroomen, whom he named, were witnesses of the transaction, though for private reasons they would not speak. His guilt was clear; but had he possessed a tolerable character, he would have had some chance of escaping with a timid jury. He had been tried once or twice before and acquitted.

The chief amusement that prevails amongst the Kroomen is dancing.

One of them on board an English vessel had a set of dominos, which he had purchased at Sierra Leone; he said the Kroomen were fond of playing with them. This trifling circumstance is mentioned because no other instance is known in which the natives have adopted or imitated the European amusements, though they have several amusements of the same general class among themselves.

Every departure from old customs, also is worthy of some note, among a people whose peculiar character seems to be so much formed by, and dependent on, the peculiar customs and ideas which in their own country are transmitted unaltered from generation to generation.

Very few slaves exist in the Kroo country, and those few are little valued, being placed in the country, and land given them on which they are left to subsist themselves. Occasionally the master sends to them for a portion of the articles they raise, if he chance to be in want of them; but they seem not to depend upon the labour of slaves for their own maintenance, nor do they consider it as productive of much profit. What slaves they have are chiefly those, who, being brought from the interior for sale, are refused by the ships on the coast, as being too old.

A Krooman will never sell a Krooman, nor allow him to be sold by others, if he can prevent it, or will, if able, redeem him.

Partly from their general usefulness on the coast, partly from the probability that the sale of a Krooman would be severely revenged,

they go about every where, in slave ships and slave factories, and are active agents in the slave trade, without any more apprehension of being sold themselves than if they were British mariners. At home their numbers make them formidable to their neighbours, and they seem seldom to be engaged in war, but when great divisions exist among themselves; few therefore are ever sold. The Kroomen, we are informed by that distinguished officer, Sir. G. Collier, who appears to have studied their character closely, "are not permitted by their laws to engage in the slave trade; yet such are the temptations offered by Europeans and others, that they cannot resist them; and their agency and assistance is frequently very important." The precise boundaries of their country are not yet known; but the anchorage off their towns is not good, the beach being broken by many clusters of rocks.

In all visits of Europeans to these people, presents of cloths and spirits (and these to a considerable amount,) are indispensable, to insure a civil reception, and a safe return; for, without these, an African chief considers all visitors as intruders or spies.

The Kroo people are of a race entirely different from their more northern neighbours, and, excepting the woolly head, possess few personal characteristics of the negro. The forehead is large and bold, the eye intelligent, the nose not unfrequently prominent, the teeth regular and beautifully white, and the lips not so thick as the more northern negroes.

The face of the Krooman is, however, invariably disfigured with a broad black line from the forehead down to the nose, and one in the form

of a barb of an arrow () on each side of the temple. This is so decidedly the Kroo mark, that instances have occurred of these men being claimed and redeemed from slavery, only from bearing this characteristic mark of independence; for it is by no means unusual for vessels under Portuguese and Spanish flags, (and it was formerly not uncommon with the British,) to invite entire canoe crews on board, and carry the whole into slavery. For the reasons however assigned in a former part of this sketch, instances of this kind now seldom or never occur. The complexion of the Kroomen varies much from a dark brown to a perfect black, yet in all the Kroo mark is distinguishable. It is formed by a number of small punctures in the skin, and fixed indelibly by being rubbed, when newly punctured, with a composition of levigated gunpowder and palm oil. The body is also generally marked in an extraordinary manner by the same means.

The Kroomen are hardy and robust, of athletic form, excellent disposition, clear comprehensive understanding, and much attached to the naval service of Britain; and for this service many of those people are hired during the customary period of his Majesty's ships remaining on the coast. But they will not engage for an unlimited time, nor will they willingly serve during the season of rains, when they prefer their own country, complaining of their want of clothing when the rains set in; and if exposed to them, they are subject to a species of ague, of lasting though not of a very violent description; but of this complaint they have very great dread. The attachment of

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these people to the English is powerful, and their confidence in a British naval officer so great, that some of them, whom from ill health it may be necessary to part with, are perfectly satisfied to go, upon the commodore's promise that their wages shall either be sent to them, if not given to their own headman, or captain, or left with the governor of Sierra Leone for their own use. When a number of these men are embarked on board a British ship, a headman usually accompanies them, and he becomes responsible for the return of the whole. In their absence their wives and children are placed under the care of the Pines, or magistrates of the country, and one half of the earnings of each man is claimed by the king, or chief, as remuneration for the care and expense of his family during his absence. The slightest attempt at fraud in the payment is punished with severity, or death, with confiscation of the delinquent's property. These people acquire the English language, and therefore communication with them is easy and pleasant.

Like all the uninstructed natives of Africa, the Kroomen are extremely superstitious; and that most barbarous of all idolatry, Fetishism, is prevalent among them, as it is along this whole line of coast.

To protect them from the power of the evil spirit, whom they dread as the agent and author of all misfortune and calamity their priest sells the Kroomen amulets or charms, said to possess all the virtue necessary to protect them. But the Amulet, which of all others the Kroomen hold in the highest estimation, is the skin of a weasel,

vandercoote, or martin, stuffed and covered up, and thus worn round the neck. The ignorant and credulous Krooman, possessing this treasure, will face any danger, or encounter any peril, however great; and if he falls under the paw of the hyena of the country, or is caught within the jaw of the shark, (abounding in this sea,) his friends consider he has offended his Fetish, either by inattention or want of faith, or by not dedicating to him a share of every meal. This is an interesting fact; as it proves how strictly the Kroomen are likely to adhere to improvement, were they better informed; but they are bigotted to their superstitions beyond description. The Kroo country is rich in grain, and the shores abound in fish. The people are fond of agriculture, their general habits are industrious, and their knowledge of the English language more perfect than any other of the inhabitants of the coast. It appears probable that the good will of their chief might be easily obtained, and even their high priest himself be induced to consider the improvement of his fortune of more value than his present superstition.

Adjoining Free Town, in Sierra Leone, is what is called the Krooman's Town, which contains about seven hundred inhabitants.

They are considered by the colonists as decidedly an intelligent and laborious race of men; and, although so much attached to their country and superstitions, there appears nothing in them likely to indispose them to receive instruction, and gradually to become

influenced by example, to which their attachment to the English must unquestionably be favourable, if the motives which induce them to return to their own country should become weakened by time, and the vies of a different state of society existing in the colony.

Sherbro', Kizell—chiefs, slave trade, country, customs, &c.

THE Sherbro' is about 100 miles south-east of Sierra Leone: the English have a settlement at the mouth of it. The Turtle Islands lie at the north-west end of Sherbro' Island, between the latter and the shoals of St. Anne, extending about twelve miles from one extremity to the other. The largest is about two miles in length. They are low and sandy, but were formerly reported to be very fruitful. At present the inhabitants employ themselves in making salt, which they exchange for rice, &c.: they were formerly more numerous than they now are, the sea having gradually been gaining upon the land. Some of the smallest are too low and sandy to be capable of cultivation; but the principal islands are well inhabited, never having been disturbed by the wars between the chiefs, which desolated the whole of Sherbro' Island, although the Turtle Islands are part of the hereditary possessions of one of those chiefs. Seybro Island is commonly called Sherbro in the maps, consequently known to us by that name. It was called Ferrula, or Farillons, by the Portuguese; by the Dutch, St. Anna, or Maste Quoja; and is said to have been chiefly known in the seventeenth century by the name of Massokoy, from the prince who governed it. The river is also called Serbora, Madre Bomba, and Selboba; Tyah is the African name for it; and Deong is properly the name of the district through which it flows. Respecting the country on the banks of the Sherbro' and its inhabitants, we have an interesting account from a native sent from Sierra Leone by governor Columbine to negotiate with

his countrymen for a concurrent abolition of the slave trade. We shall premise our sketch with a brief account of this intelligent African. His name is John Kizell, a native of the country some leagues inland from the Sherbro.' His father was a chief of some consequence, as was also his uncle. They resided at different towns; and when Kizell was a boy he was sent by his father on a visit to his uncle, who was desirous to see him. The town was attacked while he remained; a bloody battle ensued, in which his uncle and most of his people were killed. Some escaped, the rest were taken prisoners, among whom was Kizell. His father, as soon as he heard of his son's fate, made every effort to relieve him, offering for his ransom three slaves and some goods; but his enemies declared they would not give him for any price, that they would rather put him to death. He was taken to the gallinas, put on board an English ship, and sent as one of a cargo of slaves to Charlestown. On the passage one of the women, pining way for grief on account of her situation, was tied up to the mast and flogged to death, as a warning to others not to indulge their melancholy to the detriment of their health, and thereby injure their value to the Christian owners. He arrived in America a few years before Sir H. Clinton took Charlestown. In consequence of the general's proclamation, he, with many other slaves, joined the royal standard. Kizell was close to Colonel Ferguson when he was killed. After the war, he was removed to Nova Scotia, from which place he was imported in 1792 into the colony of Sierra Leone.

He is a most intelligent man, has always preserved a most excellent character, and has the welfare of his country most sincerely at heart. The government at Sierra Leone have frequently employed him in negotiating with the native chiefs of the Sherbro', and he has always discharged his duty with great integrity and address. While at Nova Scotia, he acquired so much knowledge of letters, as to be able to read and write; and since he has resided at Sierra Leone he has uniformly maintained the character of an honest, upright, and industrious colonist.

The mission of Kizell to his countrymen was authorized by a letter from governor Columbine to the chiefs on the Sherbro' River, dated August, 1810, of which a copy follows.

"Friends,

" I have sent Mr. Kizell to visit you on my part, in order that you may communicate to him any thing that you may wish to say to me. With respect to the slave vessels which have been taken, they have been captured and condemned for breaking the laws of Great Britain, and for other reasons which it is not necessary for me to dwell upon just now. The laws of my country compel me to search all slave ships, and to deal with them according to the European law of nations, and the acts of the British Parliament.

"You must be sensible that the slave trade cannot be carried on much longer, and therefore I earnestly hope and entreat that you will

turn your views to the cultivation of your land, by which alone you can even rise above the poverty which renders you so dependent on Europe. What has the slave trade produced for any of you? Can any of you be said to be rich? Or is any one of you even in easy circumstances? No. Yet all this distress, and the depopulation of your country, arise merely from the sale of its inhabitants; instead of keeping the Africans to till their own soil, they are sent to the colonies belonging to Europe. If the inhabitants of Europe had sold themselves in like manner, do you suppose that we should have had ships and fleets, and armies and riches, as we now have? Certainly not. I hope you will allow my friend, Mr. Kizell, to have a sufficient portion of ground, or territory, for him to build a town; and to point out to you the proper mode of rearing those articles for trade which will supply you with European commodities. You cannot have the least reason to be jealous of him; he is one of yourselves, and he has the welfare of you and his country very earnestly at heart: and I entreat you to forward his views as much as possible, and to join him in a noble endeavour to make yourselves and your children great, and your country happy.

"I shall leave the transaction entirely to yourselves, as I do not intend to send a single European to live in Mr. Kizell's intended town; but I shall furnish him with tools, &c. for cultivation.

"I have no personal advantage to derive from your taking my advice on this subject; it arises merely from a sincere wish to see Africa in

a better condition than it is in at present.

"I beg leave to observe that Mr. Kizell is my friend and ally, and under my protection.

"I am, Gentlemen, &c. &c.

" E. H. Columbine."

From the correspondence of Kizell with Governor Columbine we now extract the account of the settlements, or towns, on the Sherbro', with their inhabitants, thus solicited to concur in the abolition of the trade of their countrymen.

" September 30, 1810.

"I have got into the Sherbro': I have acted as I thought for the best. When I came to York Island I saw Mr. Cleveland; I gave him two gallons of rum, and two bars of tobacco, and then I shewed him your letter. When he saw it he was glad. He said there never was a man that ever came to this country who spoke so well for the welfare of the people and the happiness of the country, as you do; and that this was his wish for these many years past: he said he hoped it would be carried on. Then he told me to go to the kings, to see if they would give me land; if not, he would give me land for such a noble work: before that work should be disappointed, he would give me land himself. He said he would send all his sons to you and Mr. Dawes to bring them up, that they may help me in the good work. He sent one of his headmen with me

to Sumano, (a chief,) to tell him, what the governor says is all good and truth, and that they must hear what I say to them; for it is not from me, but from the governor, who is a friend to that country.

"I went to Sumano with the head man; I gave him the things you sent for him; he was glad, and all his people; I then shewed him your letter. The young people were thankful for the word they heard; but there were some that did not like it. I then asked them,—' From the time your fathers began to sell slaves to this day, what have you got by it? Can any of you shew me how much money you have, how much gold, how many slaves, and vessels, and oattle, how many people you have? They said, None. Then I turned to their king; I asked him, What he was better than his people? He said, He was the poorest: he said, He only talked palavers, when any one brought them to him to talk. I then asked him, What they gave him for his trouble. He said, Nothing. I then told him, Our king wants to make you rich, and you must hearken to what he says. He said, That my king talked right, he wanted the country to be free. He then promised that he would give land for that good work; but that he cannot do any thing before he sees all the rest of the kings.' I then left them and went to Yohene, where I sent for old king Sherbro's son; who is my friend. I shewed him the things you had sent for the king: he was glad. I then shewed the letter to him: he said, It was right. He told me to go into the town with him. We went. He called for him who stands as king, and all the people; and then he told me to read the letter to them. They said to me,

That book you bring is good. I then asked them, If they never heard that there was an agreement between the King of England and King Sherbro': they said, Yes, it was as I said; they had the cane that was given to King Sherbro' at that time, now in their hands. The old people had told them that the King of England was to take care of them, and they were not to be made slaves; but he had forgot them. To these words I could not give them an answer; not that I did not know how to answer it, but I thought, if I did, I might not answer it as you might wish; so I told them they had better send a man to you themselves. I then told them to give me an answer to the letter: they said, It was very good; but that they could not say any thing before they had seen Mr. Cleveland. I told them I had been with him, and had shewn him this letter, and that he liked it well. They said they would go to him themselves, before they gave me an answer; and when I came back from Kittam, I must call on them to receive their answer to carry to you.

"I then left them and went to Shebar. The Tuchers came to me, and I was obliged to do to them as I had done all along. Many people came to hear the news; I gave them a little rum and tobacco; then I shewed them the letter. They inquired, If you come up to stop the slave trade, what shall we do for a living? I answered, You and your people, as the governor says to you, must all work, as other people do. Then I told them they need not look for any more slave ships here. I said this, knowing the Tuchers to be the greatest slave dealers in Sherbro'. They said it was hard; but if it was so, they would settle

a price on their camwood, and rice, and on all that they had. I told them they could do as they pleased with their goods; if they had any thing to sell, and if another man would not give them their price, they could keep it. I then went to Safer. There were a hundred people there with the king. When I came, the first word was, Are you come? It is you that have got all the slave vessels taken out of our river; you are come to make war on us; with much more to this effect. I told the king I was sent to him; why would he not hear what I had to say, before he began to make these charges? There was a young man with the king, who said, Kizell says he is sent to you, why will you not wait till you hear what he has to say? The king said this was right. I gave the governor's letter to him. He said I should not read it to him; he had a white man who could read it to him. He sent for Crundell, (a British slave dealer,) and when he came, the letter was given to him: Crundell looked at it, and immediately cursed and swore, and raved: he told the king and his people, that the governor was a nuisance. "He is like Buonaparte, he wants to take the country away from you. As to Kizell, he is the worst man the governor could pick out at Sierra Leone to send to you. Kizell is a troublesome and undermining man. The people of Sierra Leone want to take the country, as they have taken my goods from me (probably alluding to the capture of slave ships)." I then got up and called Mr. Taylor, a mulatto man, who was present, to bear witness to all that Crundell had said; as he would sooner or later be called to account for it. I told him, I knew he did not want

the slave trade to stop; he wished to kill the people's children, and to drink their blood. He said, He did not know what I meant: as to selling slaves, God had ordered them to sell slaves; if God did not like it, why did he not put a stop to it? I told him, That God had ordered him not to swear; why did he not obey him in this too?

Mr. Taylor then told him, What he had said about the governor, was not right. "The governor loved the people, and did not like that they should continue in slavery. The letter he had sent, was a friendly letter. If Kizell had not been a trusty man, the governor would not have sent him: yet you, Crundell, tell the people not to hear him." Crundell asked, Why had they not rather sent him the net, and desired him not to sell slaves? but now, he would sell slaves. I told him, That he knew the law already, but that he wanted to fatten on the people's blood. I enquired if they did not know that there had been a treaty made in old time, between the King of England and King Sherbro'. Crundell told the people I was a liar, and that there was no such thing. Bance Island had a grant for the country, and no one else; he belonged to that place, and the people must hearken to Bance Island.* I told him, I considered Bance Island merely as a private factory, which had nothing to do with government affairs.

* Bance Island was formerly a great slave factory in the river Sierra Leone.

You say the people must hearken to Bance Island, and that you are one of them: but I tell you, Bance Island is now of no more consequence than the dirt under my feet.' Then he, and the people about him, got in a great rage. I told them they might believe me, when I said they should see no more slave ships come into their river. Crundell said, 'Does not the law say, You shall not trespass on other people's waters? You have no right to take vessels out of these rivers' I told him, The governor would do nothing which he had not a right to do. At one time, they were so violent, I thought they would have beat me. They had got plenty of rum, and had all been drinking freely before I came to them. The same young man who had before spoken to the king, now rose, and said to the king and the people;—' Some years ago, when we were in trouble, was it not Kizell who was sent from Sierra Leone to make peace for us. We were then all glad to see him; then we called him a good man: Is not this the same Kizell whom the governor sent to us before? Yet now you call him a bad man, and why? Where was Crundell at that time? Was he not at the gallinas, buying and selling slaves? He that troubles Kizell, must first beat me.' This speech turned things in my favour, and Crundell, finding that he could do no more, went away.

" Then Taylor took the letter, and read it to the king and all his people: they were glad. He said, He did not think it had been such a letter: what made him talk to me as he had done, was, that the white people had told him that we were come to take his country from him;

but he would go to Sierra Leone, himself, and see the governor, and get from under his hand a promise in writing, that he might no longer be troubled with such reports. I said, I should be glad if he went. Then the young man, who had spoken so well before, asked him, 'Why do you listen to foolish people? If your people had done any harm to John Kizell to-day, your name (reputation) would have gone for ever; then, indeed, you would have had need to be afraid.' The king then called me, and we sat down: he said, He would give me land: he said, He was sorry he had talked to me as he had; but it was because they had told him so many things against me, and that I had come to make war: but he would order two men to go with me; so that, when the people saw them, they might not be afraid; for they also had heard that I was come to make war on them.

" I then took leave of him with the two men; I was glad my friend was one of them. I went next day on board the vessel which brought me here, and we warped up the river. On the second day we got sight of a town; as soon as the people saw the vessel, women and children began to run away from me: I sent my friend to them, and told them not to run, for I brought good news to them. He came back to me, and we worked up to the town. I sent for the chief and some of the old men; they came to me, and I gave them a little rum and tobacco. I then showed them the letter; they said, They were glad; and that you did right to send that letter, for the people did nothing but catch people's children and sell them. The chief then called all his people, men and women,

and told them all to hear what I had to say to them, and what the king of Sierra Leone sent: they ought not to hearken to the tales that were told them; they were not truth. I then read the letter to them; they all said it was very good. I then went on board. James Tucher (a native chief) sent to me to desire I would go to him. I went, taking with me the old man *you gave me to carry back with me; he was glad to see the old man, for he was related to him. Crundell, I found, had sent a letter before me to the Tuchers, saying, I was come to bring war on them. But Tucher said, He did not believe it; because, if the governor meant to bring war on them, he would not release their people from slavery, and send them home with free papers. † He then asked me to let him have a copy of your letter; which I gave him, for I saw that Crundell had done all he could to poison the people's minds against me. The current of the river being too strong to allow us to warp up to Kittan, without great loss of time, I determined to go to Bagaroo, to see what I could do there, before my enemies should know where I was going. We went off in the night. When I got to Bagaroo, I sent to all the head men to come to me, as I had a letter from the governor to them. After waiting eight days, their king came with some, but not all the chiefs. I carried three bars of tobacco with me,

* This was one of the slaves liberated by the Vice Admiralty Court of Sierra Leone, whom Governor Columbine had sent back into his own country.

† Certificates of their freedom by the governor.

which I gave him. Then I read the letter to them: they said, The letter was truth and good; but as all the chiefs were not there, they could not take upon themselves to give me an answer.

" They thanked you however for the letter. I took this opportunity of talking to the chiefs on the slave trade. I told them that the blood of their people cried against them, and that God had heard it. They had killed the poor of the land, the people that should work the land, and had sold them to fill their bellies. All their people were gone or going to other countries. They allowed the slave trade to stop their ears, to blind their eyes: for a little rum and tobacco they allowed their people to be carried off, and said nothing. I then told them of their bad ways towards their wives, whom they had when they were young; by whom also they had children, but whom, when they get a little old, they will accuse of being witches, so as to get rid of them to make room for young women: of these, some chiefs had thirty, some twenty, some fifteen, some ten, some more or less. They then called themselves great men. And if any of the young men were caught with their wives, he must be sold; and if any of his family complained, all of them were likely to be sold too. They all knew this to be truth. They had also a bad way of poisoning people with red water.* So in one way or another they made away with their people. I told them to look at Tassoo; all the young people of that

* Note D. Appendix.

place had been sold; the town was now broken up, and had none but old people in it. As I spoke, they all hung down their heads. They said, All the letter says is truth; all you say is the truth, we can say nothing against it. Then I said, They must leave off these practices. They said, They knew the kings of England and Sherbro' were friends in the old time, the old people had told them so; but the king of England had thrown them away, and had sent his ships to buy them, although the agreement was, they were not to be sold, as they were his people. I told them I had heard so too; but it was a subject on which I could not give an answer; they must send a man to the governor, and he would give them an answer. Then I asked them when they would give me an answer to the letter? They said, When I came back from Kitten I must go back to them; they must hear from Sherbro' and from Mr. Cleveland, before they could give an answer.

"I left them and went into another river, called Banga. There are but few people there: they all came, men and women to see me. I read the letter to them: they thanked you, and told me they had had much trouble, the war had broke up their town: God had sent me to them; they would not let me go, but they would give me land to live upon. I told them I could not agree to this, unless they agreed to the terms of the letter which I had brought. They said, Their father (chief) was not at home, he was gone to the plantains to the burial of an old chief, but they would send for him; which they did the same day. The next day I went to take a walk with one of the boys, and was

surprised to see so many coffee trees near the town. Some places were entirely covered by them. I pulled up three plants, and carried them into the town; I asked what it was? They said, It was all over their country. I then told them it was coffee: They said they did not know it: They can get plenty of it in the season: I told them if they would get a house full of it, I would buy it of them. Four days after, some people came from the upper country (the interior) to see me; I began to talk about the coffee. They said, I must go and shew it them. When I had done this, they said, They thought it was nothing valuable: It was in their country too, and they used it to fence their plantations: It was all over the country, in some places nothing else was to be seen. I was glad to find there was another trade which might be put in the room of the slave trade, and which might not lie in the hands of the white traders and the chiefs. The coffee trade is fit for women and boys, so that the poor women and the younger people may get money as well as the chiefs; for at present they and the white slave dealers keep the country under, because they can get goods, and the rest cannot. I have heard them (the traders) say that the natives are their money. I was concerned to think that there was no man to be found among them who had the welfare of his country and the people at heart, to observe what is in it, and what it will produce; instead of taking the natives and carrying them to the European islands to raise coffee, which is the natural plant of Africa. Her people are carried off to raise coffee to supply the markets of Europe, when

they might as well get it from Africa, if the people was but directed what to do. But I thank God for his over-ruling power. He does all things in their season; and this is the time He has appointed in which to rouse the great men of England, and to put it in their hearts to consider the human race. May the Almighty God incline them to persevere; for these men of sin would wish to keep the black people in slavery, and their minds in darkness, so that they should enjoy neither the good of this world nor the happiness of the world to come. After I saw there was plenty of coffee in the country, I thought there might be more things to be seen. I saw the women had some nuts, which they said were to rub their skin, as the nuts had a sweet smell. They look like nutmegs. As you know the nature of nutmegs, I have sent five to you in the shell, to examine. The land here is very good. I have examined it and find it good land".

* * * * *

" November 15, 1810.

" I wrote to you what the kings said. I also told you of a man that was not at home, and who has but a few people: he wishes you to have the settlement at his place, there is a great tract of good land there. The land abounds with coffee. As to stopping the slave trade, I see it must be done partly by force. I hope your excellency will be pleased to send the European slave traders out of this country, for they are a great hurt. They tell the people we are going to

starve them; they speak very much against you to the people. As to me, I am the worst man out of Sierra Leone, you could get to send to them. Even some of our own people who come into this country, say, that I am a deceiver, and that you never sent a letter by me to them. I have trouble enough, but I do not mind what trouble I have, if my country is freed from slavery. I will thank you to let Mr. Crundell be sent for, and Mr. Holmes, that I may have to do only with the natives, and not with both. The brig at Shebar is ready for sea; she has all her slaves on board: if you do send to take her, let the boat go in the night, for if they see it coming, they will put all the slaves on shore before the boat can get up to her."

" December, 1810.

" I will let you know as far as I am able the state of the country. On the 8th of October I sent a man to the country to buy rice; as he was coming home he met with elephants on the road. They chased him, so he was obliged to take to the trees for the safety of his life. On the same road, (I was told by the natives) there was a woman killed by them, which you will think very strange; but yet it is no wonder, for the country is in such a state that the beasts actually come into the towns. There are not many large towns to be seen; and wherever there is one, it is enclosed with bushes and large trees, so that I have seen the snakes go into their houses and catch their fowls. The leopards seize their goats in the town. They do not like to clear away the

wood about their towns; if you ask them why they do not clear away, they will tell you, if they did they would have no place to hide in when surprised by the enemy. The women and children may also hide themselves there. There is here a great deal of land on which no people live. There are in my opinion, millions of acres that never were cultivated. The people ought to be taught to work the ground; and if there is no one to take upon him to shew them what true riches are, they will always have the foolish notion, that all riches must come from Europe, although this country is very good. You cannot make them believe that they can have riches in this country as in others. They are given up to all manner of wickedness; they buy all manner of gree-grees, which they think will procure them favour with white men, so that they may get money from them by the help of their gree-grees, instead of working for plantations. When the men have finished cutting down the wood and burning it off, then the youngpeople and women perform the rest of the labour until the rice harvest is gathered. When the season comes round again, the men prepare the plantation as before, for they do not plant in the same place two following years, but cut fresh plantations every year; and during the time the men are so employed, the women are employed in making salt.

" The tools they have are very bad, their ax is not larger than a two inch chissel, their hoes are no better. The men think on nothing but to get slaves and country cloth. They will trust nobody. They walk with their swords in their hands; when they sit down, they

still keep them in their hands, for fear of being caught by some of the slave dealers. It is they who have done this country so much hurt, so that a man cannot trust his friend, for fear of being betrayed by him. Indeed they have great reason to be afraid; for I have seen a man deliver up another he has called his friend, for a little rum, tobacco, or cloth! Whole families have been sold by these kind friends.

" There must be some one who will take upon him to bring them under, and set an example for them to go by, and that man must understand ~~their~~ ways. This country wants nothing but people to bring them into order, and let them see that by working they will get money, and not by the slave trade, for that destroys the happiness of the country.

" I will now describe how the natives live in this country. They are all alike, the great and the poor. You cannot tell the master from the servant at first. The servant has as much to say as his master in any common discourse; but not in a palaver,* for that belongs only to the master. Of all people I have ever seen I think they are the kindest. They will let none of their people want for victuals; they will lend and not look for it again; they will even lend clothes to each other, if they want to go any where; if strangers come to them they will give them water to wash, and oil to anoint their skin, and give them victuals for nothing; they will go out of their beds that the strangers may sleep in them. The women are particularly kind.

* This word signifies both a political discussion and a suit at law

The men are very fond of palm wine, they will spend a whole day in looking for it. They love dancing; they will dance all night. They have but little, yet they are happy while that little lasts. At times they are greatly troubled with the slave trade, by some of them being caught under different pretences. A man owes money, or some of his family owes it, or he has been guilty of adultery. In these cases, if unable to seize the party themselves, they give him up to some one who is able, and who goes and takes him by force of arms. On one occasion when I lived in the Sherbro', a number of armed men came to seize five persons living under me, who they said had been thus given to them. We had a great quarrel, I would not give them up. We had five day's palover; there were three chiefs against me. I told them if they did sell the people whom they had caught at my place, I would complain to the governor. After five day's talk I recovered them. Sometimes I am astonished to see how contented they are with so little: I consider that happiness does not consist in plenty of goods.

" Their land is so fertile in some places, that it would surprise any man to see what a quantity of rice they will raise on a small spot. As to fish, their rivers abound with it, they can get as much as they want. Their sheep and goats are very fine and fat. They have plenty of fowls, also wild hogs, wild ducks, and geese. They do not salt their meat but dry it over the fire. They do not work hard except when they prepare their rice plantations, which is about two months in the spring, after which the men go and make canoes, or cut can-wood,

or carry the salt which the women have made, to sell for cloth or slaves. This is usually done in the rainy season, from June to September. They are not afraid of being wet, they will work in the rain. When they come home from work the women give them warm water to wash their bodies, and oil to anoint themselves with. The women will not do any thing in the morning until they have washed their bodies. They have the hardest lot; they do all the drudging; they beat the rice, fetch wood, make salt, plaster the houses, go fishing with hand nets, make oil from the palm nuts, which the men bring home. Their rice ripens in three months from the time it is sown. When the rice is out, they put it under water, where it keeps sound and good; when they wish to use it they go into the water and take as much thence as they want. During the rainy season the low lands are overflowed. When the water goes away it leaves the land moist, which is then planted, and will bring any thing to the greatest perfection. They have very good clay: the women make pots of it, which they sell for rice, cassada, and plantanes. The cotton tree grows here in great abundance. I think the cotton would do for hats as well as fur. The men make straw hats. It is the men who sew the European cloth they get into garments; of the women, not one out of twenty know how to sew.

" The king is poorer than any of his subjects. I have many a time gone into the houses of their kings: sometimes I have seen one box, and a bed made of sticks on the ground; and a mat, or two country cloths on the bed. He is obliged to work himself, if he has

no wife or children. He has only the name of a king without the power: he cannot do as he pleases. When there is a palaver, he must have it settled before the rest of the old men, who are all looked upon as much as the king, and the people will give ear to them as soon as they will to the king.

"The women, as I before observed, make salt; the men put it up in small baskets, and carry it into the interior of the country, and buy country cloth with it, (for they make no cloth themselves) this they give to their wives, and use for themselves. Their town has no regular street in it; the houses are built close together. They are made with strong rods fixed in the ground, which are tied together at the top with a string: they use no nails, they tie all with string, and then wattle it over and cover it with grass, which the women plaister over with mud. Their are no locks to their doors. They will not steal from each other. They are fond of presents from strangers. The king gets but little of any present that is made to him; if he is old they will sometimes tell him he has long eaten of the country, and it is time for the young people to eat as he has done. If the present consists of rum, they must all have a taste of it, if there is not more than a spoonful for each. If tobacco—and there is no enough to give every one a leaf, it must be cut so, that all may have a piece. If it is a jug of rum the king gets one bottle full.

" The young women are not allowed to have whom they like for a husband, the choice rests with the parents. If the man wishes to

marry the daughter, he must bring to the value of twenty or thirty bars to the father and mother; if they like the man, and the brother likes him, then they will call all their family together, and tell them; ' We have a man in the house who wishes to have our daughter, it is that which makes us call the family together that they may know it'. Then the friends inquire what he has brought with him; the man tells them. They then tell him to go and bring him a quantity of palm wine. When he returns they again call the family together, they all place themselves on the ground and drink the wine, and then give him his wife. In this case, all the children she bears are his; but, if he gives nothing for his wife, then the children will all be taken from him, and will belong to the woman's family, he will have nothing to do with them.

" There is much ceremony about the dead. If the husband dies, all his wife's family, her sisters and brothers, cousins and second cousins, (not her mother and father) are called together. They smear themselves from head to foot with ashes mixed with water; this makes them look very bad. If you ask why they do this, they will tell you—when he was alive he used to clothe them, and they ate of his goods; but now they must cry for him. This supposes him to have been a man of note. While this is going on, they erect a shed, where all the family come, and set up such a cry as would rend the heart of almost any man. All his people will cut themselves so bad, that the blood will run down. When they are going to begin

the cry, they carry the dead body into the house before day; then they continue to fire guns, to beat the drums, and to dance and cry all the day, at the same time drinking rum and taking snuff. During this time, the old men are employed in the adjoining wood; for they will have it that no man dies a natural death, but that something, or somebody must have killed him, or that some gree-gree (meaning some invisible power) must have occasioned his death. They send for the man who pretends to make the dead speak, or for the sand oaster,* that he may discover who killed him. The man who pretends to make the dead speak, will cut off the hair of the forehead, and the nail of the great toe, and of the thumb; and tying these into a mat, will put it on the head of a person selected for that purpose; then with a stick in his hand, he will strike the mat lightly, and ask 'Who killed you? your father or your mother; your brother or your sister; or any of your family?' If the mat should slide from the man's head at the moment that any particular name is mentioned, (for a great many names are called over) they go no farther, but fix upon the person last named as the murderer. They then go and take the dead out of the house, and have him opened. If he has no witch-bag, they carry him into the house again. If he has the witch-bag, they pronounce the gree-gree has killed him, in which case there is no more to be said.

* A kind of conjuror who pretends to the power of discovering guilt, by throwing hands full of sand on the ground.

If however, he has not the witch-bag, they oblige the person whose name was mentioned at the time the net fell from the man's head, if he denies his guilt, to drink the red water. Sometimes they will fix upon the head of a family, if he is a man they do not like, or one who has some property, or one who will not let them impose upon him and his family.* They think if they let this man alone he will grow too strong for them. When thus accused, he is taken out of his house and put in the stocks and kept for two or three days, when they give him the red water. Should it kill him, they sometimes sell all his children; but why the poor children should thus suffer with their parents I do not see. If a leopard, or an alligator, or any other destructive animal should destroy a man, they will have it that his death is occasioned by witchcraft. This leads to an attempt to discover the witch, who, when discovered, is obliged to drink the red water. In these cases, the whole family suffer through the ignorance of the people. The slave traders encourage this much, in order to have the people condemned that they may be sold to them, all the young people and old too if they can get them.

" I mentioned before how the women cut themselves, they also shave their heads. They keep the dead three or four days if poor men, if great men or women they keep them a month or more; during which time they dance night and day, and drink as much rum as they can get.

* Note E. Appendix.

two at the Plantanes. The estate of the father does not descend to the children, but to the brother; which I think very unjust.

" Some men have many wives. If you ask, Why they have so many? they will tell you, They have them to work for them: for they make the salt, which is sold for slaves; who are again exchanged with the white people for goods. In cases where the husband is jealous, and on that ground accuses another man, the gree-gree-man is sent for; and if he says the accused is innocent, then he has a right to demand that the woman be given up to him by the husband. But if the gree-gree-man says he is guilty, then he must be either sold, or redeem himself at the price of two or three slaves. There is, in truth, no justice to be had: he who has the most people in his family may do as he pleases; the king can do nothing with him. Sometimes, however bad a man's conduct may be, if he has only many people to back him, they are afraid to raise a palaver against him; and if they should call him to account, his plan will be, to go with as many people as he can muster, well armed, and make the judge afraid of him. Sometimes he who commits a crime is suffered to escape unpunished, whilst others are sold for it.

" If the people of this country had the same learning as Europeans, the best lawyer could not excel them in words and speeches.

" They are a sensible people to talk to in their palavers. They will sometimes talk a palaver so well, that you would be both pleased and astonished with them. If you were to hear two of them speaking, and how ably they open a cause, before they begin to enter into an

argument about it, you would be surprised. In their palavers (councils or courts) they use a great deal of ceremony at first; presenting mats, kola, or palm wine, to the old men. They then relate their story; the old men and the women sitting down to listen. A man stands by him, who speaks and repeats what he says as loud as he can; indeed, both speak very loud. When he has finished his speech, he sits down. His adversary then gets up, and begins, as before, with much ceremony, thanking the man who spoke against him for what he said. Having told his story, all the old men get up and say, they must retire and consider the matter, before they give an answer.

" If the party losing the cause is unwilling to give it up, then the other will ask him, if he will go before the king to talk the palaver? If he says, Yes; then they must go to the king with their people.

" The old men are much respected. The king, with their approbation, appoints a time to hear the palaver; but, before it begins, both parties must deposit a like sum, (twenty, thirty, or forty bars,) to await the king's sentence. Then the two men are called on, and all the old men and the women sit as before, while the accuser relates his complaint, another man repeating all he says after him. Every thing he says looks like truth, and very clear. But, when he has done, the other party will get up and deny all that has been said, and give to things a very different appearance. They have no jury, as we have; their old men settle all. Having heard all the pleadings,

the old men go out into what is called the devil's bush,* and determine who is right. Sometimes, when they see that the party who is in the wrong is the strongest, they will not give justice, being afraid of the consequences: this I have seen, and reprimanded them for it.

" I have said the king has the name of a king, but not the power; yet in general they do nothing without his knowledge. The king cannot make use of the services of any young man, without asking the leave of his father and mother. If he happen to have no people of his own, and he wishes to go to a distance, he must beg his people to convey him. The people do not contribute to his support: if he has no slaves or children of his own, he must work himself; if he has children, they will do all his work for him.

" All the land is said to belong to the king; but if a man chooses to clear a spot and erect a town, he may; the land is free for any of the people. If a stranger indeed, that is, an European, should wish to settle among them, he must make a present of goods to the king. These goods being received, all the people are called together, men, women, and children, and are told that he has given the stranger a piece of land. This is done, as they have no writing, that they, and their children after them, may know what has taken place. The goods are then divided, and although the land is called the king's, yet he will get no more for his share than any of the other old men. After

* A kind of consecrated grove.

this ceremony the stranger may live on the land as long as he pleases, but he cannot sell it again: his children's children may live on it as long as any of them remain: he must take care, however, to conduct himself peaceably and respectably till he becomes powerful, then he may do as he pleases.

" They do not carry all the disputes to the king: They will bring to him, especially, cases in which one man charges another with owing him money. In such cases, if the debt is proved, it is usual for the referee to buy the debtor of the injured party as a slave; and having thus settle the palaver, the purchaser will soon have him in a chain, on which the creditor receives the price agreed upon. Sometimes, on this ground, all the family of the debtor are seized and sold: such is the abominable custom of this country. It is the slave traders who have made it so; they have done it to get their own ends served in getting slaves. I have seen whole families sold in this way.

" They have a bad way in making their kings. They will not suffer any of the old king's sons to succeed him as king. They will say, 'That family has had the kingdom a long time; we must give it to another family, that all may be equal.' It is certainly no great object, as it is only the name, without the power.

" There is a race of people in this district, called the Mulattoes, that are a great plague to it: they think themselves better than either the whites or blacks; and, though they come from both, they do

all they can to injure both. They will address an European with fair words;—tell him they are the children of white men, they cannot treat their fathers ill, they will procure slaves for him, they know the price. If he refuses to give them his goods in advance to trade with, they will then send round to all the people, requiring them not to trade with him, or if they do, to ask a particular price; and, if he will not give that price, then to stop his fire and water; meaning to refuse him all supplies of any kind. If he consents to give them goods, they will demand 140 bars for a slave, and when they go to the blacks to make their purchases they will give them perhaps only 40 bars for a slave; and even with this profit, if they receive goods for eight slaves, for instance, they will pay to their employer perhaps only four of them, and will amuse him by saying, that the remaining goods have been sent up the country for slaves which have not yet come down. At the same time the truth is, that they have made their full purchase of slaves, and have sold them to some other European, from whom they have received goods in return. They are fond of a man who is newly arrived in this country, because they can take him in; but a man like me, who knows their ways, they call a bad man; and if a stranger should arrive, who will not trust them, they say it is owing to me,—I must have sent a letter to him.

I cannot tell what these people are made of. I have seen them take their wives and sell them, even when they have had children in their arms, and those children their own. They will take the child away and sell the wife, when they are in want of money. This I have

seen done amongst these very people, and they think nothing of it. I have seen them sell their wives and their brothers-in-law. They will take no care of a sick person, not even of their own children; and should they die, they will say it was the family of one of their wives that killed them, and will sell all that family. In short, they are not bound by any ties of nature.

The natives of Sherbro' are very credulous, they will believe any thing the people of the upper country say to them. These, therefore, impose upon them by bringing down any foolish thing, and telling them it is a *gree gree*: only give it the name, and affirm that it will keep witches from hurting them, and they will buy it. I have many times told them, that if a little cowdung were tied up in a piece of cloth and offered them as a *gree-gree* they would buy it. Yet they do not want sense in other things; they have sense enough to talk a palaver well, but then they make use of it to enslave and sell each other.

There is a sort of people who travel about this country, called Mandingo men:* they do not like to work; they go from place to place; and when they find any chiefs or people whom they think they can make any thing of, they take up their abode for a time with them, and make *gree-grees*, and sometimes cast sand for them, for which they make them pay. I could say much about them, but will go on with some account of the country.

* These are Mohammedans who itinerate from place to place selling *gree-grees*, or, as Mungo Park calls them, *saphies*.

My wish is to place the country in the truest light I can: I will begin with the Island of Sherbro'. The land here is not very good; it is sandy, with some swampy ground in it. It is good, however, for the growth of palm trees, of which there are great numbers on this island. This tree is ~~one~~ of the best that grows; I do not know one that is better. It produces the common palm oil, also a fine kind, called nut oil. From its leaves they make excellent line and rope; and, indeed, it is from this they make all their fishing nets and fishing lines. This tree produces also the palm wine, and the palm cabbage, which is very good food, and eats like a turnip: with the leaves too they cover their houses. From the bamboo tree, which also abounds here, they procure very good wine, as well as the materials from which they make their mats: the limbs of this tree are used in building their houses. Fowls are to be had in great plenty in this island. The inhabitants chiefly live by making salt; they sell it for rice, and cassada, and cloth: they have no corn: cloth, tobacco, iron pots, neptunes, kettles, iron bars, beads, and all kinds of trade goods, are what they call money. Their towns are built all alike. The houses are covered with grass or leaves and wattled, and either plastered with mud or covered with cloth or mats: mats will admit the air. I said before, that he who has the greatest number of people may do as he pleases. This is perhaps the reason why there are no large towns here. They live in families: you will see in some towns no other persons but such as belong to a particular family.. The kings have

thus little or no power to punish him who does wrong, as all his own people stand up for him, and will not suffer him to be punished. In the Sherbro' there is plenty of fish and oysters, and plenty of turtles too in their season.

" The Shebar is very poor land. It is a neck of land which runs toward the Gallinas. This neck is formed by the rivers Boom and Kittam. The land is sand, with here and there swamps. The Shebar is very good harbour for shipping, but the land is not good.

" The Bullom land is generally good; some parts very good, and some sandy, with many swamps. The low land is very rich; it is overflowed once a year. When the water retires, it leaves such a rich soil that whatever is planted will come to the greatest perfection. Wild rice grows in this country. You may see many acres together, on which the wild ducks, geese, and birds of all kinds, that will eat rice, live. Freshwater fish of all kinds are in great plenty in this country, and great variety of birds, large and small; amongst which are crown birds, ducks, geese, guinea hens, partridges, &c. the latter are of a dark speckled colour, with a brown spot, about the size of a halfcrown, on the breast; the legs and beak red, also a circle round the eyes: they are not quite so large as our partridges, but in shape exactly resemble them, running in the same manner, but erecting the tail like a chicken when running. They are exceeding fine flavour, but difficult to kill from their shyness. The cotton tree is in great plenty by the river side. Sea ows are to be seen in the river in the dry

season in considerable numbers. They have here a kind of rice that grows in the water. It would surprise any man to see what a quantity of rice they will get off a small spot of land. The high land would grow cotton very well. The meadow, which is the low land, extends for miles, and no rice is to be seen upon it, but only cotton trees by the river side. The grass is very good for cattle, they like it well; I have some bullocks there which are quite fat; the sheep and goats also are in good order. If a man has four acres of land in this country he can well maintain his family, (supposing he has six in family,) and have rice to spare. The neck of land is three miles wide in some places, and in some not so much. The low land is broken into small islands which are covered with water in the rainy seasons. In the dry season the whole is covered with good grass. There are vast swarms of musquitoes here in their season. When the water rises over the low land, it drives all the snakes out of the grass to the trees: sometimes ten on one tree are seen: sometimes the snakes will go into the houses, the towns being surrounded by bushy and large trees. The men are very idle: in the dry season they will often sit all day playing with a bone or a nut, which they will twirl about; this is a species of amusement they are very fond of: some will go in search of palm wine. I say they might live happy if it was not for the slave trade: their wants are few, and they are content with what they have.

" The Kittam is a country where I think there is more low land than in the Bullom. The country is covered with grass, except by

the river side. The higher land is sandy with a little black mould, and there the camwood grows, which has a better dye than that of Rokelle, but it is not so sound and straight, and therefore it does not stow so well. The low land is good. They have rice in this country that will ripen in three months from the time it is planted, and keep sound and good under water.

" The Kittam river is a branch of the Boom river. The place where it joins the Boom is about twenty miles from the Shebar. There are some beautiful lakes in this district. The large Barmer is one mile and half in length, and there is an island in the middle of it; and it has many beautiful views. On the east and south sides are high trees, but on the west and north are grass fields. There is plenty of fish in the lake. The lake Corgue also is large; the trees on its banks are mostly camwood. The water of the lake Cammerson is black. No river runs from any of them that I could perceive. The lake Capnahow is the most beautiful of all; there are a great many coves and points on it; if a gentleman had it in England he would not take £10,000 for it. On this lake it is that a mortal poison tree is said to grow. The natives will not shew it to any man; although they love me and would do much for me, yet I could never get them to shew it me. The clay of the district is very good. The people are the same as those of Bullom; they have very fine and fat cattle. They do not like the trouble of raising cattle, if they did their country would be one of the best for stock; but they love ease and

palm wine, as I before observed. They have but little, but with that they are content. The Boom is a good country; it is more like a garden than any I have seen: the land is good, very good; all things that are planted thrive well. Here is good timber. The plantains grow wild without care. The cassada is the best I have seen. All the things grow wild and large. Rice is in plenty. Of this country I cannot speak too well; it deserves all I can say for it. There are plenty of wild buffaloes here, they go in droves. As for birds of all kinds large and small, vast numbers are to be seen at the time of their breeding. They build their nests on large cotton trees. There is a snake in this country, (so I am informed by the natives) so very large as to seize a buffalo; this I have had from more than twenty people.

" There is a lake in the Boom which has a very large beautiful island in the middle of it; I never was there, but it is the same that David Tucher took refuge in, as he tells me, in the time of the war. The natives speak much of a cave not far from this island, which is inhabited by spirits, and of which they relate many surprising things. I am much taken up with this country, only it is too far from Sierra Leone. It is a good country; the people however are lazy, but this is no wonder, they love ease, they feel no need of riches, they have no care for any thing, all things are free; articles of food grow wild in the woods. They live content, having no want of much clothing, or shoes, or hats. The trees, and almost all the animals of the country

contribute to furnish them with food. The land is rich and good; and if it was not for that horrid slave trade, I think they would be the happiest people in the world. As for coffee, that is the common tree of the country.

" The Bogaroo land is good for rice and timber. Coffee is the common tree of the country here also; you may see it in the woods as common as any tree. I, and Samuel Garvin, have gone into the woods some miles, and have seen the coffee tree in all the woods as we walked, even by the water side. I have heard that the coffee tree grows only on high lands, but here I have seen it all over the low lands. The soil is good and free from stone: it will grow any thing that is planted on it, to perfection; but it wants people who understand how to work it. At Deong and Mattaroo the land is good, and the timber is as good as in any other part of the country. The people are great lovers of rum, and given to all manner of wickedness. Sir, I will stop at this; this is the true state of the country, and most of which I have been an eye witness to.

" I am, &c."

" January 30th 1811.

" On the 18th of December I was at Shebar; there were some of the slave traders there, and several Kroomen with them. There was a young man who had received goods from these traders, with which to purchase slaves for them. He had not got the slaves ready by the

time appointed. When the traders saw that the slaves were not procured, they said they would seize his wives for them. This was overheard, and the women and children escaped into the bush. In the evening the women ventured out. As they were going towards the town they saw on the road two or three Kroomen; one of the young women who was terrified at seeing them, ran back with such force that, meeting another woman with a bundle of wood on her head, she had not time to stop herself, but ran against the wood with so much violence, that a splinter pierced one of her eyes about an inch. Hearing a great cry, I went to enquire the cause. They pointed to the woman, who was in a very great agony; I think she will lose the sight of that eye. I went to the traders and told them, they had made the country so bad, that a man was afraid of his own friends. I talked very sharp to them. I told them they had made the Kroomen their dogs to seize people. They said, I was a dog too, for the governor sent me to tell him all I saw; but that I should never be able to stop the slave trade. I told them, If the governor would but give me a few men, I would soon find men enough to help me. I left the slave brig at Shebar, which had been taken and carried to Sierra Leone, and released again. The slaves they were seizing in such a violent manner, were for her.

" I quitted that place, and went to Kittan to Queen Messe; I gave her the articles you sent for her. All the old women and young people came to hear what I had to say. I then shewed your letter to her; she said the present sent was not enough. I interrupted her,

and said, the governor did not send me to blind her eyes, but to open them, and to persuade her no longer to sell her people. On hearing this, all the young people gave a shout, and the women clapped their hands for joy. I saw she did not like it, but she said nothing. I told her it was she who sold all her people, and that we meant to put a stop to it in the country if we could. All the young people shouted again, and said, 'the old people knew that they should not be sold, but that it was the young people who must be sold.' Then she said to me, 'If you come to stop the slave trade, will you give me the old price for wood, rice, goats, and all other things, as in the old time?' I told her I was not sent to fix prices; every man knew the price of his own goods; but as for you, you have changed the old price of your goods for that of your sons and daughters; the price you ought to have got for your goods you now get for your people. The young people said, That was all truth. One old man got up and said, The letter was good, and they must give an answer. They then appointed a day for me to come. On that day I went to meet them, but not one was to be seen, except three old men who were sick! I was much displeased, and told them to tell Messe, that, as she and her people thought the governor not worthy of an answer to his letter or of attention to his messenger, I would tell him of it; they had given us a great affront.

" I left then and came to Fed. I told the people at that town how I had been used. They said they would help me, if I could get men from the governor, to stop the slave trade, and would fight

against it, for it was too bad to be selling all the people. Indeed all the poor and the young people joined me in this. I told the young men, if the old people would join then, and do as they proposed, I would place myself at their head, but that I could not do any thing before I heard from the governor. If he should be willing, then we should fight for liberty and freedom against all who may stand up for the slave trade; and if we should overcome them, we should make them serve for a time, in order to see how they would like it.

" On the 2nd of January I was at Cotton. There was a man there, who brought two other men with him, strangers, who came from a short distance. They had brought plantains with them to sell, but they did not know that they were sold themselves. In the evening the two men were quietly sitting down, when all the people rose upon them and tied them like pigs, hand and foot, very fast. I heard the cry and went to see what was the matter. I asked what they tied the men for? They told me they were witches; one of the two men on the ground told me it was false; that the chief of this town had wished him to sell his children, and because he would not consent to it, he had framed this charge against him. He said he had fourteen children. I told them what the man said was truth, and why did they act so? I prevailed upon them to loose the ropes, and ease their hands. The same night they were taken to James Tucher's and put in irons. I went there and found seventeen in irons.

" I left this place and went to Tarbunpe. I sent for the king

and his people; the king came, but none of the old men would receive me. I waited all the day; the king was willing to receive me, but he was afraid the old men would have nothing to do with me or the letter. I told then, 'I will let the governor know what you are doing.' Some of them said, 'You come to stop us from selling people, what are we to do?' I told then the trade would be put an end to, and I should do all I could to that purpose. The king, as I said before, has the name, but not the power; and the minds of the people, I found, were poisoned against me. All the slave traders are against me, and they set the people against me——I left them, and went to the king Tayfor at Charr, for an answer; as he had told me when I came from Kittan, he would give me an answer. When I got there I found the old man was dead. The people told me the king was dead, they could not give me an answer; that king Sherbro' was the head king, and they cannot give an answer before they hear what he has to say.

" He has sent his answer in writing to the governor. The following is the letter of this chief.

" To his Excellency E. H. Columbine,

" Governor of Sierra Leone.

" Friend,

" Your kind favour by Mr. Kizell we had the pleasure of receiving; the contents we have perused with particular attention, and take the pleasure of returning an answer by him.

" The situation of the country is so, that it is not in my power to give you a full answer at the present, for many reasons which I shall represent to you, viz: with respect of the late war which our deceased friend Mr. Ludlan and Mr. Kizell interceded into, and made a truce of peace between both parties, which has been standing for these five or six years, waiting for Mr. Ludlan to come and assemble both parties together to make a general and standing place; this has been the duration of time we have all been waiting, for our since deceased friend Mr. Ludlan, to come to abate all grievances, and make us comfortable by a general peace—to nominate and crown the king of Sherbro'—to reinstate the family of the Clevelands upon their islands the Bananas. These are the reasons, with several other instances, too tedious to mention at present,

" And as the business is so, that you are now acting as governor of Sierra Leone, you must take that upon you, either to come or send a white gentleman along with Mr. Kizell, that will be capable of acting as yourself; far from saying Mr. Kizell is not capable of doing all himself; but it is my request. Then I would take infinit pleasure in giving you a full answer to your's by Mr. Kizell. I am greatly obliged to you for the present that accompanied the letter; and shall always remember it.

" Friend, I remain,

" Your Excellency's humble servant,

" King of Sherbro'.

" Signature of King X Sherbro."

" Yonie, January 27, 1811."

The foregoing extracts from Kizell's notes, especially the above letter, evidently dictated, if not written, by one of the slave merchants in order to create delay, need no comment; they contain volumes of argument sufficient to urge every British energy to perseverance in destroying the demoralizing and cruel trade in human beings !

Of the various wicked devices of the slave dealers to obtain their victims, we shall recount two or three contained in a letter from Kizell to Governor Ludlam, prior to the period of the preceding notes.

Methods of obtaining slaves.

" April 6th 1807.

" Sir,

" I before sent you word I met Tucher with canoes full of goods going to Kittam to get slaves. He went, but did not get the slaves as soon as he had agreed. He took goods to the value of ten slaves from Captain Slocum, and to the value of twenty slaves from Belbey, (two white slave dealers) they came for the slaves while he was in the Kittam. They sent after him; he would not come to them: they sent him word if he did not come to pay them, they would pay themselves. Now think what he did to get slaves to pay them? He had ten wives; he sent for a gree-gree man who told him his wives were kept by other men. In order to prove the guilt of his wives, he got some oil and put it in a pot, and set it on the fire; he knew the poor women could not put their hands in it without being burnt. He nevertheless called them, and said they were the cause of his not being able to get slaves. They asked, how? He said they were kept by other men. They said it was not truth: He answered, 'do you say No? Then put your hands in the burning oil, if you are not guilty it will not burn you; if you are, it will.' The women knew that whether they were guilty or not it would burn them, and therefore would not put their hands into it. He said, 'I see it is true, you must tell me the men's names.' He

separated out three, who he pretended were not guilty. He then went to the rest and said, They must inform against some one: they knew he did not want old men, and they to please him, mentioned the most likely young men they could think of. He then sent word for his younger brother to come to him, as he had now got slaves to pay his debt. They then sent persons to catch the young men who had been accused. He afterwards sent to a town and caught eighteen."

" April 21, 1808, There were two young men came from the gallies to Mr. Cleveland,* on some business. They called on me; I asked them what was the cause of the war in their country? They said, it had arisen on account of the conduct of the white people in respect to the prices of slaves and the duties; that when the old king died the white people would not pay the duties to his son, but to chiefs who had no right to them; and the chiefs told the whites not to pay duties to him, and not to trust him with any money, and if they did, not to give him the same number of bars for slaves as them. When the young man heard of this, he went to the oldest chief (Mattier) that used to be with his father, and complained to him how he was used. He said the people who had set themselves up for chiefs, he (Mattier) knew had been his father's slaves, and it was because he was young that they treated him so. I am now come to let you know I will not put up with it.

* A Mulatto chief in the Sherbro'.

" Old Mattier sent for Fan Souner and Seaker, two other chiefs, and told them what Prince Conay Billa had been saying, and inquired if it was so, although he knew himself it was the truth. They said they should call a palaver; that the boy wanted to oppose them, and they would see who was the strongest, he or they. The white people learning that a war was threatened, thought that if it was carried on, it would furnish them with the means of getting slaves. Fan Souner went to Mr. L. (a white slave dealer) and told him what he was going to do, and asked him to give him money. L. did not stop to consider whether it would be for his benefit or not, but let him have goods to the amount of forty slaves, and ten puncheons of rum. Seaker went to another white slave dealer, Mr. C. and obtained of him goods to the amount of forty slaves, and also ten puncheons of rum. These two chiefs had now got enough to talk the palaver, or begin the war. They desired Mattier to send for the young man to talk the palaver; he came: they then took two puncheons of rum and eighty bars of tobacco, and one slave, and gave them to Mattier, (who was to sit as judge) as his fee. While they were talking this palaver, the young man seeing what was going on said, ' I can do as you have done, but I must first go and inform my mother.' He went to his mother and told her what he meant to do, and said that war was coming. He went to Mr. W. (another white slave dealer) and told him what L. had done for Fan Souner, and asked him for goods, saying he would pay him again. Mr. W. in the prospect of gain, gave him the goods he asked for: when the Prince

got the goods he went home. In the mean time the other chiefs had agreed to have no palaver, but when the prince came, to seize, and kill him. Some of the Marno people (friends to the prince) were there, and saw and heard what was going on. They immediately went and told the prince that the war was begun, and that if he went to the palaver the chiefs would kill him; they had heard them say so. On hearing this he removed all his goods that night, and the women and children, and dug up the bones of his father, and carried them with him. The chiefs went to desire him to come to the palaver. When the messengers came they found he was gone; they returned and reported this to the chiefs, who sent men to kill his cattle. The men whom the prince had left to guard the town and this cattle, seeing them come to fire on the cattle and kill some, fired on them, and the battle began.

" The Marno and Tebeo people came to the palaver, and said to the chiefs, ' You have prevented us coming to the factories, you tell the white not to give us the same price as you: you are to have one hundred and forty bars for a slave, and we are only to have eighty or ninety bars for our's, be they ever so good. You tell them to give us for boys and girls from ten to twenty, thirty or forty bars, and you are to get from forty to sixty. And you tell them not to trust us with any money, and will not let us go to make our trade, but it must pass through your hands to them. And you tell them not to pay any duties to the king's son, but to you, as if we were your slaves. You all know that Comy Billa is the king's son, and you have not made a new

king; and you all know that you are his people. You want to be greater than your master. No, we will join with him, and drive all the white people from us, for it is they who make you all so proud, and cause all the trouble in the country. We will have all the up-country to help us, for the king came from them; and you will see that we will drive all the white people from you.' These words put the chiefs in a rage. The Marno and Tebeo people went from them and joined the prince. Another young man, a chief, heard what had been done, and also joined the prince. When the chiefs heard that this young chief (Stephen) had joined him, and knowing him to be a dangerous man, they attempted first to take his town, but there they met with a very stout resistance, and were beat off with much loss; they went again but were again beat off with shame and loss.

" Stephen, being elated with this second victory, called all his men of war to go and take a town with a great many people in it. The chief of it had just come home, and had given his people a puncheon of rum to be merry and dance before him. Stephen came upon them in the night, while some were dancing, some drinking, and some drunk; he surprised them and took a hundred and eighty prisoners, and killed the chief. The young men belonging to the town got out of it and went to waylay Stephen. In the meantime he ordered the town to be burnt. As his people were leaving it he himself brought up the rear. The people who had placed themselves in ambush let them come very near before they fired: Stephen's people were thrown into confusion; but

they fought very hard and cut through the enemy, but with the loss of a hundred of their prisoners. During the contest a man who knew Stephen throw a spear at him and cut his hamstring;—he fell. By this time his army had retired, leaving their general behind: they did not miss him until it was too late. His enemies told him to sing them a war song; he would not: they then killed him, and cut him up, and sent a piece of him to all their friends, and told them to rejoice with them, for they had killed Stephen. I was in the Kittam when this happened. One of his arms was carried to old Mattier, that they might rejoice over it. The prince, seeing this and that his ally was gone, was at a loss what to do. He came into the Kittam; from thence he went into the interior, and told the people there what had happened to him, and how he had been used, and applied to them for help. While he was in the interior, the people of the gallinas went against the Marno people and took three of their towns, and caught many people: they came back dancing and rejoicing. They drove Mr. W. the slave dealer away, because he had given the prince money; and they paid L. and C. for the goods they had advanced. They now thought they had driven the prince away; all rejoiced that they had got the better of him. Mr. W. was in great trouble, while the rest of the whites were rejoicing. Some of Mr. W.'s goods were taken from him, and he removed to Casse. I saw him afterwards, and he related to me how he had been used. Soon after this the prince came back with nine hundred men at his heels, and in a month's time eight hundred more joined him. He then

fell on the chiefs in the gallinas, and burnt many towns, and killed and took many prisoners. He went to C.'s, (the white slave dealer,) caught him and his people, and took all he had from him. By this time L. (the other white slave dealer) was dead; the man who was left in his place was obliged to go off to a ship to Cape Mount. The white people were all driven away, and not one got off without great loss. The prince sent his brother to Mr. W. and paid him. The war still rages; there are but five or six towns now standing (I am told) in the gallinas.

" John Kizell."

" Written at Bagaroo, in Sherbro."

Narrative of a missionary visiting
John Pearce, chief of Cakundy.

NARRATIVE of a visit paid by a missionary to John Pearce, Chief of Cahundy, on the Rio Nunez, (a native African,) whose two sons were under the tuition of the Missionary, at the Mission School of Bashia.

" For a considerable time I have had a desire to visit John Pearce, and in April 1811 an opportunity offered, which I embraced. John Pearce received me with great civility, and immediately ordered his people to catch four bulls as a present. Mr. Pearce was extremely happy to hear that his sons were making good progress in our school, and said he would send more of his children. I visited the white and black traders in the river, who treated me with great civility, although some of them suspected me to be a spy, rather than to be their friend. The number of traders there is very small; I believe there are only four; and even these have but few goods to trade with. If there was no smuggling, the slave trade would get its final blow, and the traders diminish still more. The banks of the Rio Nunez are inhabited by three different tribes: the Bagars possess the sea shore, the Nalors and the Lantamas the other part of the river.

" The Lantamas were formerly more powerful than the others, but were reduced by the Nalors: at present they agree with each other, and Pearce is the principal chief among them. The Foulahs have great

intercourse with the white and black traders, bringing down slaves, ivory, gold, cattle &c. and they sometimes assume authority over the Nalors and Lentamas, not hesitating to say, ' We consider you as our slaves; we spare you only on account of the traders in your river, of whom we can get those articles of which we stand in need.'

" Cultivation seems to be little regarded in this quarter: the natives do not plant rice enough even for their own use, but purchase it from the Foulahs in exchange for salt. This neglect of cultivation originates in the slave trade. A great number of the natives have been employed in this traffic, either as servants, or as kidnappers, or as petty traders. They were encouraged by the high wages given by the traders, and by the high prices received for slaves. If a native could procure a slave and sell him, the profit would maintain him one year very easily without planting any thing. This was certainly a great incentive to an idle life, to which many persons, even in Europe, are prone, and much more in these dark regions.

" Many of the slave dealers now begin to ask, ' What shall we do ? the slave trade is abolished, and the trade for produce will not maintain us; and to go home with little, or a mere nothing, we are ashamed: and how shall we get off even with what property we have, since it consists of slaves ? The men of war are ready to capture us, with all that we have, and transportation will then be our lot.' Some say, ' We are resolved what to do.—We will wait for smugglers.

We purchase the slaves now cheap, and by these purchases we shall make a good bargain with some smuggling vessel.' Smugglers arrive; but the men of war lay hold of them. Great discomfort again! In the meantime the chief pays a visit to the traders, and expects as large a present as in former times, when the slave trade was going on briskly. The trader replies, 'You know that the slave trade is going on miserably, so that I can with difficulty sell a few: the man of war comes for ever into your own rivers to make prizes of every slave vessel; so that, in future, even the smugglers will not venture to come in, whereby I am unable to make you much presents.' The chief, displeased with the trader, and much more with the man of war, will ask, 'How can the man of war know every vessel, and hear so soon that she lies in the river? The trader will say, 'Do you not think that those gentlemen at Bashia (the Missionaries) give information to Sierra Leone against every slave vessel that they hear of in these rivers? and this will always be the case, so long as they are suffered in that quarter, and then this country is ruined.'

The chief knowing that the Missionaries at Bashia have some intercourse with Sierra Leone, becomes somewhat suspicious of them; but he will say, 'I am not chief for Bashia, and therefore have but little power in that quarter; besides, my child is there at school to learn "the book," for which cause I should not like that any should trouble them.' Such dissatisfactory answers still more vex

the traders. They then begin to consult the Mandingoes and Foulahs, who, as being Mohammedans, are bred up in habits of enmity to Missionaries of the gospel of Christ. Some time ago they even resolved that a present should be sent to the Foulah king, to beg that he would drive the gentlemen of Bashia out of their quarters, which would open a free course to the slave vessels to purchase all the slaves that the Foulahs might bring down. The present was sent, and received; but, great disappointment again ! The king, soon after he had received the present, was dethroned by his subjects, on account of the unsuccessful wars which he carried on with the Caffres in the interior, and another was set on the throne. Thus the devices of the wicked came to nought.

" Many of the native traders are now obliged to put their slaves on their rice plantations, since they cannot dispose of them. Many servants who have been employed in the slave trade, are now dismissed, and are obliged to live on their own planting; and thus cultivation will be more attended to.

" Having waited nine days for the repair of the vessel in which I came hither, and finding it was but badly done, I would not venture in it, but inquired for a path to return by land; and was told that there was one, but that it was very tedious for travellers, being a desert of about three days journey, in consequence of which one is obliged to sleep in the bush. It was said also that there were above two hundred Foulahs encamped to catch their runaway slaves, consisting of

above one thousand who had fled into the Capatches, a district near the sea shore, and who also were prepared for an attack. It happens sometimes, that some of these poor creatures go out into their rice plantations, not knowing that the Foulahs are lying in wait for them, and are thus caught and sold; the Foulahs themselves, however, sometimes sharing the same fate with them.

" Having received this information, I went immediately to John Pearce for advice; who said, If I would venture to go this difficult road, he would give me twelve of his trusty people, well armed, on account of wild beasts, which were dangerous in the night. As for the Foulahs, if they should meet me in the path, and see his people, they would not disturb me in the least.

" Upon this I resolved to set out by land the next day; and went to the factory, where I lodged, in order to prepare myself. Early the next day a man rushed into my room, calling out, Mr. Butscher, here is war ! here is war ! I rose up immediately, went into the front piazza, and saw a number of people surrounding the house; some fighting with cutlasses, and some tying others with ropes. I asked a trader the cause. He said, There came down yesterday one hundred and fifty men from the Cabba country, to sell their produce to the traders: some of them came to me with ivory, calabashes, and live stock; and I see that John Pearce's people are now catching them,—for what reason I do not know. Soon after breakfast I went to Mr. Pearce, where I saw

about a hundred of these people already in irons; and his people were employed in catching them the whole day, till all had been brought in. When I asked him, Why he caught them? he said, These people came from the Cabba country, which country is divided into two kingdoms; the one borders on the Lantamas, and maintains a friendly intercourse with them, even so much that their children are intermarried one with another. These two kings had war with each other; and that of the northern Cabbas burnt one town of those who are on friendly terms with the Lantamas, and in the flames perished some Lantama women and children. Their relations became now enraged, but yet could do nothing without my assistance. A few days ago, the head-men of those Cabbas who are on friendly terms with the Lantamas sent a message to me, that about one hundred and fifty of his enemy's subjects, especially of those who burnt the town where some of the women and children perished, were going down to the Rio Nunez with produce; and, in case they should arrive, he begged me to catch them, and sell them all for powder and guns, which would enable him to carry on war with his enemies again. The chief of the Lantamas received the same message, and on this account we caught them all. I said, I suppose they are not all guilty of the crime for which they are caught? He replied, It may be so: however, if a slave vessel should be here, they would be sold without mercy, guilty or not guilty; but, as there is not one, the matter will be considered, and the people examined,—perhaps all may return in safety; which was the case, as I learnt afterwards. Oh, what a happy

effect, even in this instance, has the abolition of the slave trade had on these hundred and fifty men, their families and relations!

" On taking my leave to John Pearce, after having walked about five miles almost in the dark through the bush, we reached a Lantana town, where I lodged in the chief's house that night, and was treated in a very friendly manner. Here I endeavoured to procure more rice and fowls for our journey, in case we might get detained by accident in the path; but I could get but little, as the Lantanas are also not very industrious in planting rice or raising stock of any kind.

" After having had a restless night on account of the musquitoes, we went on, about eight o'clock in the morning, and walked about fourteen miles, when we cooked our dinner, and waited till two o'clock in the afternoon. It was extremely hot, and we expected a tornado that evening. Having now taken refreshment, we walked on till night prevented us, and then took our lodging for the night under a few small trees, on two of which my hang-mat was fastened. The guide cut off small branches from the trees, and erected a kind of shelter on the east side, in case a tornado should come on at midnight. True enough, a tremendous tornado rose;* I left my hang-mat and went under the shelter; but, as we were fifteen in number, the hut could not shelter us from the violence of the rain, which continued about half an

* See Sketch XI.

hour. Our fire was extinguished, and our provision and clothes wet; we all felt very cold, and were anxious to see the dawning of the day and the rising of the sun.

" Before six o'clock we proceeded, in order to dry and warm ourselves by walking. Having again walked about fifteen miles through a barren and rocky tract of land, we rested at a fine brook, and took refreshment. There we had the river Capatches to the west, but saw not the least trace of Foulahs in the path; my guide, however, hastened us onwards. About fifteen miles further, we came to a little valley, overgrown with bush, through which runs a brook, where I wished to take our lodging for that night, as by the means of the bushes we should be preserved from the dew; but not far off we saw traces of Leopards, hyenas, elephants, and wild hogs, which had made a beaten path to the brook; the guide thought it therefore rather dangerous to stay there all night, and begged me to go on a little further, which we did, and took up our lodging in the open air, where we spent a pleasant night. Early on the following morning we proceeded with a cheerful expectation of seeing a town about noon, and in walking rather hastily I became much fatigued, and was frequently obliged to lie down on a rock to rest and draw breath. At last a town appeared, which we entered: we rested there about four hours. There was a woman who knew some of our school children, and treated us very hospitably.

" Thence we proceeded to a factory, named Quasinge, where we

arrived in the evening. It is a good day's journey from Bashia.

" From this factory an opportunity was offered to me to return home by water; and, as I then was very much fatigued, I cheerfully accepted it, and arrived safe, finding all in our settlement in perfect health."

The Missionary who wrote the above, states it as a fact, which he had full means of ascertaining, that since the abolition of the slave trade the number of slave factories on the several African rivers has greatly diminished. On that of the Rio Pongas and some adjoining, in 1807, the number was seventy-two: in 1812, this number had been reduced to eighteen; and it was supposed that the operation of the Slave Felong Bill would soon put a stop to the greatest part, if not the whole of them.

SKETCHES OF SIERRA LEONE.

"-----The charm dissolves apace:
 And as the morning steals upon the night,
 Melting the darkness, so their rising senses
 Begin to chase the ignorant fumes that mantle
 Their clearer reason."

THIS interesting colony is situated on the south bank of the Sierra Leone river, in lat. 8° 30 north. Free Town is the principal town, standing in St. George's bay, six miles from Cape Sierra Leone.

There are five villages, between two and seven miles distant, in different directions from Free Town; severally called Regent's, Gloucester, Wilberforce, Leicester, and Kissey Towns. The local situation of the colony is admirable for health and commerce; the sea breeze having free access; the mountains lofty; and the river navigable by the largest ships.

The population exceeds twelve thousand. These are the first settlers from England, and those removed from Nova Scotia; Maroons from Jamaica; those who have been liberated from slave ships; and a few hundreds from the adjacent tribes;—all these are people of colour. To these may be added about fifty Europeans, who are civil and military officers, religious teachers, merchants, and mechanics. The colonists sustain most of the subordinate offices. It may naturally be expected that there is a great diversity of character in such a mingled population. The conduct of the settlers differs but little from that

of English villagers: they are chiefly employed in trading speculations. The captured negroes, on the other hand, subsist by agriculture. Sierra Leone is supplied with fruit and vegetables, almost exclusively, by them from their respective plantations.

Many intermarriages between the Nova Scotians and Maroon settlers take place, tending greatly to the improvement of both.

All the settlers are married according to the rules prescribed by the Established Church; and the institution of marriage gains ground even among the captured negroes: amongst them, indeed, exists every shade of improvement; from an appearance almost miserable, to a state of improvement, if not rivalling that of the settlers, approximating it very nearly.

At Cabenda, Bassa Town, Leicester Town, Portuguese Town, and Bambama, they have built huts, each in the fashion of his own country. In the neighbourhood of these places they have allotments of land, which they gradually improve. In appearance, they most respectable are found among those who have been longest in the colony. Among the new comers there are generally some turbulent spirits, who are apt to commit irregularities. Unaccustomed to European dress, they neglect external appearance: such, however, are only found among the fresh arrivals, and are of rare occurrence. They soon form acquaintance, accustom themselves to their new dresses, become settled, and in their turn emulate their neighbours in respectability of appearance.

This only requires time, and it is thus they get on from one improvement to another. The schools are very flourishing; and the progress of the pupils does not differ from that of any English school. Much good has resulted also from an evening school, where tradesmen, apprentices, and others, who are engaged during the day, receive instruction: it is numerously attended. There is also a public school for females; and one exclusively for captured negro girls, in which from eighty to a hundred girls are daily instructed in reading, writing, and needle-work. The children who have been born in the colony are active, intelligent, and healthy. Those who passed their first five or ten years without instruction, and then endured a period of confinement, famine, and disease on board of slave ships, need some months or years to acquire the health, animation, and intelligence which they might otherwise have possessed. They are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic; and some of them the rudiments of the English grammar and geography.

The Church Missionary Society has extended to this colony its fostering care and liberal aid. Several chaplains and schoolmasters have been furnished and supported, at different periods, through their agency.

The Christian Institution, established on Leicester mountain, accommodates about two hundred children, who are mostly named and supported by benefactors in England. These are children, once

destined by cupidity to foreign slavery and its accumulated miseries, now fed, clothed, governed, and carefully taught in the Christian religion.

Assembled in the church to worship the God who has been disclosed to them, they present a spectacle of grateful admiration; and their state happily exemplifies the divine origin and holy principles of the religion in which they are taught: truly may it be observed here,—

" See barbarous nations at Gods's courts attend,
Walk in his light, and in his temples bend."

" At Regent's Town, which has a population of thirteen hundred souls, two hundred children present themselves to the spectator; and on the sabbath more than a thousand of the children and people attend divine service,—neatly dressed, sober, reverential, attentive to hear the word of God, and uniting their voices to sing his praise. The sabbath is, indeed, strictly observed throught the colony, with the exception, perhaps, of some Europeans and the Kroomen. The town has five religious teachers, (three Europeans and two men of colour). Leicester mountain has two, and each of the villages one. These are all men of exemplary Christian character.

Free Town presents a pleasing appearance; the streets are at right angles, wide and neat. Fruit trees grow about the town. The houses at first erected were small; but those now building are of stone, two stories high, airy, and convenient.

The colony is advancing in wealth and improvement in that progressive manner which bids fair for its permanence. Trade has hitherto been chiefly pursued, but agriculture begins to have a due share of attention. In short, all the pleasing anticipations of philanthropists have been realized in the present state of the rising colony of Sierra Leone.

With the exception of an attack made on it by the French squadron in 1794, during a period of actual war between Great Britain and France, the colony has never experienced hostility from any European power. And such at the time was the friendly disposition of the adjacent African tribes towards the colonists, that when dispersed by a superior foe, the unfortunate fugitives sought it, they found an asylum in the hospitality and kindness of their neighbours. In one solitary instance only have any portion of the natives, subsequently to this invasion, manifested a different temper by actual hostilities; and the disorderly rabble who then attacked the settlement were driven back with great facility. After having, in short, liberated more than nine thousand negroes, with scarcely any other aid than a single armed brig, this colony has happily inspired with awe the remorseless slave dealers who yet infest the coast, and has induced the native tribes who inhabit its shores to believe its power invincible; thus giving opportunities for a gradual development of good, and corresponding facilities to effect it. The effect of the climate were severely felt

by the original settlers, who arriving in the worst season, a great mortality ensued. The subsequent attack of the French, and other obstacles, seemed to threaten the utter destruction of a settlement projected by an exalted humanity. Protection from the mother country, perseverancy added to great good intention, and indefatigable exertion on the part of those in civil and military power in Sierra Leone, all however combined to counteract these unfavourable omens; and, considering how frequently all human hopes are defeated by a climate destructive to European life, brought the colony to a state of improvement scarcely to be conceived or expected: and the arrangements are now so good, that stability and progressive improvement may confidently be looked for to reward the efforts of all who have co-operated in the humane and honourable work.

In the rebuilding of Sierra Leone after the destruction by the French army, errors were committed which generally occur in infant colonies, which time, ability, and experience, will enable the inhabitants to rectify.

The injudicious choice of a situation for a church is to be regretted. It is stated to be within range of an attack by shipping; and, from its commanding elevation, would most certainly become an object to engage attention. Had it been placed near the citadel, it would not only have been protected, but have been far more convenient for the population as a more central spot.

The importation of redeemed negroes has enabled the governor of Sierra Leone to clear some parts of the woods surrounding the establishment, the benefits of which are undoubted. A swamp, however, of considerable extent lies to the westward of Free Town, and produces exhalations in the sickly season most prejudicial to life and health; and the evil must continued so long as the swamp, its cause, remains uncleared and undrained. It does not appear a task of difficult accomplishment: various modes offer to effect the necessary work. Perhaps the laws of the colony would authorise the governor and magistracy to require of the black population, generally, a labour of a certain term in this object of general utility; or, if this is not expedient, the employment of all those under the sentence of the law at Sierra Leone might be required. This is a usual European practice, and therefore no objection it is supposed can be made to its adoption in Africa.

The roads are cut in every direction useful for communication. Many towns and villages are already built; and, as the black population increases, they continue to be building. In fact, more improvement, under all circumstances of climate and infancy of settlement, can scarcely be supposed; and in visiting the black towns and villages, in attending the public schools, and other establishments, it is not possible in any population to find more contentment or more happiness.

On the extremity of Fourra point, about two miles from Free Town, some land has been cleared by a person connected with the public

service; and his experiments have proved the soil capable, with little labour and care, of producing all the vegetables and fruits with other productions of a tropical climate. The situations of the black towns are well chosen; and the manner in which the buildings are laid out, do credit to those who planned them, peculiar attention having been paid to the convenience of the inhabitants.

In Free Town a good church has been erected; and it is pleasing to add, that this sacred edifice was entirely built by the boys and redeemed negroes, superintended by only one European. This surely gives evidence of great docility, quickness, and aptitude to the attainment of the useful arts, in the Negro population, for the church is sufficiently capacious to contain more than a thousand persons.

Regent's Town, near the heights of the Sierra Leone mountains, is more healthy than any other spot. The town is well supplied with water, the natural advantages having been so much improved as to supply it in any quantity required.

Cattle are brought from the Bulam shore, on the opposite side of the river; the only spot where they can be obtained, with the exception of British Accra, on the whole line of coast: but, whenever the ground shall be cleared, grazing, no doubt, will follow; and there appears to be no existing reason, why as good cattle may not be reared at Sierra Leone, as at Jamaica.

In regard to agricultural improvement, great benefits would no

doubt result to the colonists by a supply of grass and other seeds suitable to a tropical climate; and the seeds (or plants if they could be had) of West India trees, fruits, and vegetables. The soil, there is no doubt, will suit all such; and many of the useful plants and vegetables of Europe would also thrive near the mountains, the soil and climate there being congenial. The lemon, the shaddock, and the forbidden fruit are known in this part of Africa; and the blacks from the West Indies would, in all probability, be readily able to cultivate them. In the woods of the mountains the largest forest trees are met with, and the species of greatest growth is known as the silk cotton tree, from its pods bearing a silky cotton. Though this cotton has hitherto not been applied to any useful purpose, yet the trunk of the tree affords the African his canoe, and that frequently so large as to be capable of containing a hundred men. Those used of the Bight of Biafra and the coast of Benin, frequently even carry a brass gun. Around this tree grows a sort of vine, which rises and descends something like the Indian banian. If a part of the branch be severed from the trunk, it affords a draught of pure cold water, particularly refreshing to the thirsty traveller in this burning climate.

In the mountains of Sierra Leone the magnet is found in large and powerful masses. In clearing the ground for the town of Kiskey large lumps were met with, and the whole surface is covered with stones having a strong magnetic quality. This may probably account for the variation of the compass observed on approaching the shores of Sierra

Leone.

The navigable entrance of the Sierra Leone river is narrow, the tides are strong, and the Bulam shoal or middle shoal very steep. The river can only be entered with safety with a sea breeze, which though tolerably regular, is not always certain either in strength or duration. The breeze usually sets in about eleven or twelve o'clock, but frequently not until three or four. Its strength is uncertain, and it is not unfrequently checked by the land wind, before ships of war can gain an anchorage off the town.

Defended as Sierra Leone now is, a squadron might anchor in the narrows out of cannon shot of any battery, and make dispositions for landing. If other works of defence were raised on the points of land formed by the shoal at the entrance of the river, and two martello towers established and well connected, the channel would be effectually guarded, and cover a battery which might be advantageously placed at high water mark.

The western beach from Cape Sierra Leone to the new establishment near Cape Shillen, in its entire extent is sufficiently protected from any attack by a heavy and tremendous surf, which can only be ventured through by the canoes of the country, and even in those not at all times.

The colony of Sierra Leone was in 1808 transferred from the Company to his Majesty's government, and by a return made in the then Sierra Leone gazette, the total number of births in the year 1807, were

57; of deaths, 36; and marriages, 14. In 1818, it was stated as a proof of the improved condition of the colony in every respect, that the marriages in one week exceeded those of a whole year in the former period. If we therefore compare the state of the colony in 1818, with that of 1808, we have abundant reason to render thanks to God, and to hope for the happiest results. In 1818, the number of youths of both sexes attending schools in Free Town and other towns, actually exceeded by many hundreds the whole population of the former year. It is admitted that the progress for some years was very slow, so much so, as to call forth the complaints of many; but difficulties have been surmounted, and every branch of civilization, of moral and religious improvement, makes rapid and sure advance. At a quarterly examination of the scholars of the Colonial Free School, which took place before the governor, chief justice, and the members of the council, it appeared from the report of the school-master, that some of the scholars had quitted the school in the capacity of shop-keepers and clerks; and it was a subject of pleasure to the authorities to remark, among those that remained, a considerable improvement had taken place. Several of them, both male and female, recited portions of scripture with great propriety and correctness. Several boys also now fill situations, for which, but for this opportunity of instruction, they would have been totally unfit. Surely this affords ample encouragement for the friends of humanity to proceed in the good work they have begun.

At Regent's Town, on the 31st of December 1817; a similar examination

took place of the pupils, when the numerous spectators were gratified by observing the appearance of the scholars of both sexes, to be equally creditable to their teachers and themselves. The sight of a well-regulated school is always interesting to a feeling heart and reflective mind. In the present instance every thing rendered it peculiarly so. A very short time had elapsed, since many of the benefactors of these poor beings, now so cleanly clad, so neat in appearance, had been themselves brought naked and wretched to the colony, without the faintest idea of the true God, yoked together as brute beasts employed by man for the labour of the field! Could this contrast be reflected upon, this change observed, and the heart not glow with thankfulness to that great over-ruling power, which had thus brought good out of evil!

In reading, the adults were found to have made considerable progress since the previous examination, and the girls and boys to have kept pace with them. The examination was concluded by singing (boys and girls in chorus) of hymns in praise to the Redeemer. We might expatiate on this affecting scene, taking place in such a spot, for scarcely had three years elapsed since it was a wilderness known only by the name of Hogbrook, but now converted into a christian and beautifully romantic town, inhabited by upwards of thirteen hundred British loyal subjects. The company on this interesting occasion were hospitably entertained by the governor, at the parsonage-house, erected within the last year, and then just completed, as the residence of the Rev. W. Johnson, chaplain and superintendant, and most worthy of his

high responsibility. The house, the church, and other public buildings, and indeed the private houses (now building by subscription among themselves) were raised, and are raising by the very beings, whom the dealers in human blood have so long calumniated and oppressed. The whole of these buildings are in a good style, and, as before observed, were built by the captured negroes, a few soldiers of the royal African corps, and an European artificer attached to the engineer department.

On the 6th of January 1818, the school on Leicester mountain was examined; it proved equally creditable to children and teachers as those before-mentioned. The examination took place in the church erected by the African society. Two hundred boys and fifty girls were assembled. The site of this church commands a most extensive view of the town, harbour and sea. It will stand as a land mark of christianity. The British sailor seeing its spire from afar, may return praise to his God, and bless his country, for having thus afforded an asylum to the oppressed African.

The view of a church on British ground in Africa, proclaims the true liberty of the subject. " For slaves by truth enlarged are doubly free."

" Oh, he will say, submissive at thy feet,
 While gratitude and love make service sweet,
 My dear deliverer out of hopeless night
 Whose bounty bought me, but to give me light:
 I was a bondman on my native plain,

Sin forged, and ignorance made fast the chain:
 Thy lips have shed instruction as the dew,
 Taught me what path to shun and what pursue.
 ——— Serving a benefactor I am free,
 At my best home if not exil'd from thee."

This affecting picture of our christian poet is fully realized at Sierra Leone, which affords practical evidences that the best feelings of the heart are full as powerful, and that the attainments of the intellect are as capable of being effectually exercised, among the native Africans, as in any other portion of the human species. Too much praise cannot be given to the official authorities at the colony, for their indefatigable zeal and ready attention to the grand object of education, and for the personal aid they afford to the regular teachers. It appears from accounts, the truth of which cannot be doubted, that the natives on the western shores of Africa, are ready to receive instruction, and highly anxious that their children should do so. In the Bashia school the children are in a great state of improvement, answering questions with great intelligence, and many of the boys considerably advanced in accounts. Many of them also have been taught to sing, and it is very pleasing and affecting to hear them hymning the praises of God in a spot so lately the abode of superstition and gross idolatry. Singing appears to be an exercise in which they much delight, many of them voluntarily assemble at their leisure hours, thus to employ themselves. In a journal of Mr. Bickersteth, we find the

following account of the state of the natives:—" We set off on our return home by land, which gave us the advantage of seeing more of the country. We slept the first night at a native town, called Makahoury: the country appears but thinly inhabited, but the abolition of the slave trade has already begun to operate most beneficially. Trials for witchcraft are greatly diminished, personal security is becoming more established, and mutual confidence revived. We were told that we could not have travelled this route some years back, without meeting several companies of slaves in fetters. We had several opportunities of observing, that the conduct of the missionaries seems to have established perfect confidence in their good intentions among the natives. From this as well as from expected temporal advantages, every head man seems anxious to have a missionary settled with him. The present low state of their minds, and degradation of character among the head men, arises in all probability from the demoralizing effect of the slave trade.

" Many of them appeared to think no good could be expected from white men, but rum and tobacco for themselves, and guns for defence against their enemies. They may however, be considered, generally speaking, as inoffensive; and there appears to exist among them perfect security for strangers, in residing or travelling. Much hospitality is shewn, and they protect the missionaries from individual wrongs, but they take care to be well paid for such protection. There is now a school established at Yongree on the Bullon shore, opposite to Free

Town, and about seven miles from it. It bids fair to be equally successful with those already named. These schools are now put on the national system, and the head men of Yongroo Pouch readily consented that land should be given to the missionaries, and that the children should be allowed to work part of their time in the cultivation of it; also that a missionary should have free permission to preach in the town, thus causing Yongroo to bid fair in becoming a promising sphere for missionary labour."

In visiting the missionary schools at Sierra Leone, Mr. Bickersteth began with Leicester mountain; we extract from his journal his notice of them. "When I arrived" he says, "about twenty acres of land were cleared, and the missionary settlement contained about one hundred and fifty boys. Fresh slave ships being frequently brought in, above a hundred more were added to the number before I left the colony; and soon after our school-mistress arrived, nearly one hundred girls were placed under her instruction. Many of these had suffered much from their confinement on board the slave ships. All the healthy boys were useful in clearing the ground, and in assisting to carry materials for the buildings erecting in the settlement. It is difficult to express the interesting sensations brought home to the mind, on hearing the names of the children called after benefactors in England, and seeing so many cheerful young black faces in a christian school bearing these names! When I recollect the scene which I beheld of the hold of a slave ship, in which most of them had been immured; on the wretched

state of nakedness, ignorance, and sloth, in which I had seen them lying about in their native villages, and contrasted this with the schools on Leicester mountain; and the names of Wilberforce, Buchanan, and Martyn; the hope could not but arise, that sons of these children would become such benefactors to their country as those honoured characters had been to that which gave them birth.

" I directed that those boys who were attentive in school hours, and were promising in talent, industry, and behaviour, should by degrees be allowed to give their whole time to the schools, beginning half a day or more as ~~their~~ conduct justified the measure, till the whole of their time was devoted to instruction. Such boys would be chosen as candidates to become teachers to their countrymen. In general, I made it a main principle that the children should be engaged in useful work one half of the day, and the other be devoted to learning. In addition to the schools, through the zealous exertions of the governor and the chief justice, a number of apprentices attend the evening school from six to eight; there is also a girls' apprentice sunday school. Indeed these distinguished persons not only warmly second every attempt to do good, but are the first to suggest and carry into effect plans for the benefit of the colony; and they seem ever disposed in every way to promote both its temporal, and its religious interests. The number of inhabitants is calculated at a moderate scale, to amount to between nine and ten thousand."

There is here then an extended field for every exertion, and for

every trial of enlightened humanity and policy. Captured negroes are continually brought in, who are in a deplorable and wretched condition, naked, ignorant, weak, sick, diseased, and in every form of misery that can be imagined of creatures dragged from the narrow hold of a slave ship, the masters of which seem themselves to have lost all the feelings of human nature, and totally to have forgotten that they have a cargo of sentient beings at their mercy! These poor negroes are received, clothed and provided for by government. They are placed in the different towns of the colony, and are supplied with regular rations of food till they are able to maintain themselves. It is therefore evidently of the first importance, that religious instruction be communicated, which, when truly received, will furnish a stimulus amply adequate to urge those poor fellow-creatures to industry, and become the fructifying sun which shall bring to perfection every mental and moral seed of improvement.

Sierra Leone is moreover the central point as it were, whence the blessings of religion and civilization may be diffused through a great part of Africa.

At Free Town there are several places of public worship, not of the establishment, the principal of which is under the care of a highly respectable, zealous, and excellent minister of the Wesleyan connection. He has done much good in the colony, and has always shewn himself very friendly to the establishment.

Not far from the Kroo is the Soldiers Town, where the black

soldiers and their families reside. It is said to contain about six hundred inhabitants. It is to be observed in general, that the negroes are at present, although collected in towns, far inferior to the settlers in Free Town in respect to dress, manners, acquirements and civilization, though some of them are rapidly improving.

Adjoining to the christian institution on Leicester mountain is the negro town of Leicester. It is nearly three miles from Free Town, and may contain one hundred and fifty inhabitants, who are a mixed people, Jaloofs, Bombanas, and Yeolas. A considerable extent of land is cleared in its neighbourhood. This town may be considered as sufficiently provided with the means of religious instruction, from its vicinity to the christian institution: several of the families attend the domestic worship at that place.

Cabenda, or Congo Town, and also Kosso Town adjoining, are nearly four miles from Free Town to the south-west, near the signal station, and may contain about four hundred inhabitants, almost entirely Congo and Kosso people. They are here literally impatient for religious instruction. The houses are more scattered in this place than elsewhere. The people seem particularly industrious; and it is to be recommended as a promising situation for an English clergyman.

Kissey Town is on the opposite side of Free Town; with the knots of huts in the neighbourhood, it is considered to contain four hundred inhabitants. It was formed in 1812. The people of this town have built a place for a school, and for public worship; and manifest an

eager desire for instruction. A missionary resides there.

Portuguese and Basse Towns each contain about one hundred and fifty inhabitants. In the former they understand but little English, but are progressively improving. They were formed 1813.

Regent's Town, formerly called Hogbrook, is by far the most considerable of the captured negro towns. It is nearly five miles from Free Town, and was formed in 1813, chiefly by people brought by a slave ship from Mesunado. The inhabitants are principally Foy people, but it contains some of the most of the neighbouring tribes or nations. Its population may amount to about eleven hundred. There is a plain handsome stone church erected, and a house for the officiating clergyman.

New Town is about two miles from Regent's towards the Kissey, and contains about one hundred and fifty people, chiefly Jaloo's, Mandingoes, and Susocs. They understand very little English, and appear in a more imperfect state of improvement than many others. There is a considerable quantity of land cleared between this place and Regent's Town. About a mile farther is Leopold's Town, and also Charlottes':
 —Who, in enumerating these settlements can avoid reflecting on the wisdom and goodness of Providence, in bringing so many individuals from so many remote nations, and in such peculiar circumstances as to awaken mutual sympathy, under the protection of the British government? Here we have all the advantages of teaching, in perfect safety, those benighted beings, who feel under obligation for the temporal benefits

which they have received, and who, it is amply ascertained by men of unquestioned integrity, are anxious to receive christian instruction, and to welcome christian teachers. In the great want there is of a sufficient number of instructors to answer the demand for tuition, it is certainly desirable to bring forward, as soon as possible, the most intelligent of the native youths, by employing them as ushers in the several schools. This perhaps will be found to be the more necessary, as the debility and sickness occasioned by the climate, frequently may disable the European missionaries and teachers from giving their whole time to their duties. The impediments to preaching have hitherto been ignorance of the language—want of interpreters—the presence of the slave traders—sickness—the climate, which renders excursions in the rainy season impracticable, and the care of the children, which occupies the time of the missionary; and perhaps to these must be added, the reluctancy of nature to enter on a new undertaking, and to incur the requisite sacrifices.

The state of the country is now however, much more favourable to a public declaration of the gospel, than at the commencement of the missions. The slave trade is so far crippled, that many of the evils are passing away, and personal security and mutual confidence are more established. The country has been greatly improved within these few years; this is partly to be attributed to the presence and labours of the missionaries, and partly to the diminution of the slave trade. The lives of many converted adult Africans prove that the gospel when

truly received, produces the same effects in Africa as elsewhere; several not only judiciously assisting the missionaries, but giving, in their conduct and conversation many pleasing evidences of their sincerity. Certainly the education of children is a most important subsidiary means of promoting christianity. Its value in this respect is ascertained beyond all controversy, and where the adult mind has been debased by peculiar habits, there are stronger reasons added to pay attention to the education of the children. The labours of the society have not been in vain amongst these poor children; many of them have, it is confidently trusted, received strong and indelible impressions of divine truth, and will doubtless be most useful to the country. But we have need of patience at all times in our arduous undertakings for the good of others, especially in schools where of necessity it must be many years before we can see the fruit of our labours. The advantage, and indeed the necessity of teaching the children of Africa to read their own language, in order to their being useful to their parents and other countrymen, is obvious; and therefore it is desirable to have missionaries fixed in native towns within a convenient distance of a settlement, whose exclusive object it should be to learn the language, translate the scriptures, and preach to the natives. It seems probable that the judicious plan of adult schools may be brought into extensive operation in the colony, and ultimately in the country. The translation of the scriptures into the native languages is a very important object; it will unquestionably repay every exertion.

The climate of Sierra Leone is like all other tropical climates, divided into a sickly season, and one not positively so, for perhaps it may be considered as saying too much to speak of Sierra Leone as even absolutely healthful. Nevertheless, the month of December is hailed with joy and delight by all classes of the population, whether native or imported, blacks, or whites. Of the crews of the timber-ships visiting Bance island many die; for these people are now unaided by the relief which was afforded by the invaluable services of the Kroomen, and unprotected by those humane laws formerly in force when exposed to the same climate in carrying on the slave trade, by which the master was compelled to hire a certain number of Kroomen to relieve his crew alike from the effects of the sun, as from the pouring rains.

The sailor in the merchant service is now frequently compelled to work at all hours, on all days, and in all weather; and being unfurnished as the king's seaman is with a blanket dress, perspiration is suddenly checked by a tornado or the periodical rains; fever is thus generated, and death ensues; for although medical aid is within reach of merchant ship masters, the cases of disease among their crews are seldom sent to the Sierra Leone hospital till the crisis has arrived, and leaves no longer any hope.

From Sir G.B. Colliers's report we also extract the following gratifying notices of the colony :—" It is with pleasure" says this distinguished officer, " I now speak of the continual and increasing improvements of Free Town, which attracted my particular notice, and

added, if possible, to my respect for the governor, whose perseverance and indefatigable exertions, though almost unaided and unassisted in the great and laborious duties of his official situation, have effected more than can hardly be conceived possible. For it is not only to the improvement of Free Town, nor to the comforts of the residents, that Governor MacCarthy's mind is given, but likewise to the general increase of the colony, by attending to the population from one end of the peninsula to the other; by protecting the untutored and ignorant African, and giving the most patient consideration to his most remote grievances and wants. I was happy to see the suggestion in my former report acted upon, by observing the people under the surveillance of the law, employed clearing the ground in the immediate neighbourhood of Free Town, and in removing the grass and indigo from the streets; a measure, which if persevered in with care and attention, cannot fail to be highly beneficial to the general health of the community; for after a heavy fall of rain, and the sun striking on the ground with its vertical power, the vapours from the vegetable matter over-running the streets, is so perceptible to the senses, that in drawing breath I have felt as if inhaling a vapour which I could compare to nothing but that of gas from coal. I cannot better mark the rapid vegetation of Sierra Leone, than by noticing the following circumstance illustrative of it. When at the colony in 1819, in an unoccupied lot of ground in Free Town, were two or three small trees just sprung up, (seedlings of the preceding year) I was induced from curiosity to measure and mark

them in a particular way. On my return this year 1820—21; I observed the trees thus marked still standing; but their extraordinary size and increase made me even doubt my own correctness; my initials on the bark however, removed all doubt, they had grown to such magnitude as to be at least four times their former diameter. The defensive works have been put into excellent order, and some of the houses now built of brick and stone, for the accommodation of the various servants of the colony, are not only distinguished for peculiar neatness, but for the interior superiority of arrangement for the convenience of the occupiers.

" Before I conclude my remarks upon the improved state of Sierra Leone," continues this intelligent officer, "It is justice only that disposes me to notice the indefatigable exertions of the chief of the medical department, Dr. Nicoll. No part of the establishment of this colony reflects more credit on the heads of departments, or does more honour to the mother country, than the liberal manner in which this branch of the public duty is supported in England, and conducted at Sierra Leone.

" But it is not merely in his professional duties that Dr. Nicoll shews his zeal for the public service: his unwearied researches into the localities of the country, its capabilities and productions, as well as a close investigation into the causes of disease, and the best mode of treatment, makes his life a most valuable one, and his death or removal would be an irreparable loss to the colony. Talent, and

science, industry and application, are in his conspicuously blended.* The comforts and conveniences of the hospital are very great, the site is well-chosen, but the original construction was bad, and the decaying state of the building portends its dissolution. Every repair seems a doubtful remedy; the rot of timber, if not originally well-chosen and properly grown, is here greatly increased by the nature of the climate. The incessant employment here given to mechanics, carpenters and joiners in particular, may be accounted for in a never-ending demand for houses, and the necessity of getting over certain parts of the work before the setting in of the periodical rains; so that the price of labour, which to mechanics is generally three or four shillings per diem, rises frequently higher. From the hilly nature of the ground of this colony, scarcely twenty houses stand on a level spot; and it frequently happens that many of the foundations are sapped, or the walls disturbed, from the want of the precaution of either having an underground, drain or channel cut to lead off the waters, which come pouring down from the declivities, sapping and destroying the stability of the buildings. The hospital as well as the church at Regent's town, are strong proofs of this want of precaution.

" The manner in which the public schools are conducted, reflects the greatest credit on all those concerned in their prosperity, and the improvement made by the pupils, proves the aptitude of the Africans, if moderate pains be taken to instruct them. I have attended

* See note of the Editor at the end of Sketches of Sierra Leone.

places of worship in every quarter of the globe, and I do most conscientiously declare, never did I witness the solemnities of religion more piously performed, or more devoutly attended, than in Sierra Leone."

Another distinguished officer in the civil department at Sierra Leone, affords us also the following pleasing account of the colony in 1821. After giving a detailed account of the several places of worship within it, he thus proceeds. " In a general view, the observances which have been noticed, will probably be thought sufficient to create a favourable impression of the state of religious feeling and demeanor in the settlement of Free Town. The Lord's day is more decorously kept than it is in most other places. The shops are all shut, there is no such thing as buying and selling. The christian portion of the people attend public worship at the places which they have respectively chosen, and all the congregations are alike remarkable for uniform and devout attention. Throughout the streets a corresponding propriety is noticed. Intoxication, in the gross and disgusting forms in which it is too frequently seen on the sabbath in England, is of very rare occurrence here, with the painful exception of the European seamen, whose conduct and language in their frequent inebriations on that day especially are of most depraving example. It is not to be understood that the day passes in perfect sobriety among the inhabitants in general. It is the decency, and not the abstinence that marks the distinction. Excesses are sometimes committed, and are generally brought under the animadversions of the magistrates on the Monday, in consequence of the

quarrels occasioned by them; but these are almost always of very trifling nature. There is not any thing to detract from the credit that has been given."

In 1822, we have the following from Captain H. Turner.—" I visited the colony of Sierra Leone in 1817. My stay among the recaptured negroes was short, but of sufficient duration to ascertain they were deeply involved in heathen darkness and barbarity. Having again visited them in 1821, I am able in some measure to estimate the great change, since the former period, which has taken place, both in a moral and religious point of view, which may justly be attributed to the exertions of the missionaries, the indefatigable care of the constituted authorities, and the blessing of God upon their combined labours.

" Regent's Town, under the direction of the Rev. W. Johnson, was in 1819, but thinly inhabited. I received the sacrament from his hands, with about twelve communicants, the first seals of his ministry. Very few attended divine service. In contrasting its then condition with the present, I must confess a just description cannot be given without the appearance of exaggeration. The change is so visible, that no sceptic, however hardened, but must confess that it is a hand divine which, by the simplest secondary means, has effected it. The lives of the recaptured negroes are so apposed to their own, that they are astonished and confounded. Regent's Town now wears the aspect of a well-peopled village in our happy land; its inhabitants civilized, industrious, honest, and neatly clad. The ground allotted to each

family is diligently cultivated, each lot being distinctly marked out. I have frequently ascended an eminence near the town, to behold the pleasing scene on the sabbath; hundreds pressing on to the house of God, at the sound of the bell, hungering after the bread of life. Nothing but sickness prevents their attendance. Regent's Town now contains nearly two thousand inhabitants, four hundred of whom are members of the church, and whose conduct bears undoubted testimony of the sincerity of their faith. The church is commodious, containing about five hundred people. Eighteen native youths of great promise are preparing for missions. They express an ardent desire to be sent to their countrymen. Much good may be expected to result from this valuable institution.

" At Bathurst (where as well as all the other towns improvement is marked and progressive) a recaptured negro, converted by Mr. Johnson's ministry, labours among the people with great zeal and much success. He had visited forty-seven villages on the coast, and boldly propagated the gospel which has dispelled the mist from his own mental vision. He has greatly excited the attention of his countrymen, who are desirous he should again go amongst them. He is a bold decided champion of our Lord, qualified for eminent usefulness.

" Before I conclude," says this pious and intelligent officer, "some remarks on what has erroneously been asserted of the African capacity by those interested in the inhuman traffic, the slave trade, may not be unseasonable.

" Surely if such conclusions can be drawn from their present condition, it is because the necessary means have been withheld from them, their capacities have never been cultivated, the sublime truths of Christianity never preached. Facts now prove, that when they have enjoyed such privileges, they neither want abilities to comprehend nor inclination to receive them. Hundreds now in the mountains of Sierra Leone, have become evidences of the divine grace, which knows no difference between Jew, or Gentile, bond, or free, colour, or clime.

" Again. The Africans are very tractable, easily persuaded by those who manifest a concern for their welfare, strangers to the subtle arguments used to rob the Saviour of his glory, with meekness they receive the engrafted word through the preaching of their faithful ministers and missionaries. They are extremely grateful to their benefactors. Often do they when brought to pray, offer up their fervent intercessions on behalf of those who have sent them the bread of life."

As an undoubted proof that the Africans are susceptible of the best affections and exalted emotions of the human heart, we need but detail the accounts of the reception experienced from them by their beloved governor and benefactor Sir Charles MacCarthy, on his return from a visit to England, again to resume his high official duties. The Rev. W. Johnson writes on the subject:

" December 29, 1821.

" Sir Charles MacCarthy is arrived. The people received him with

the honour and affection due to him. We had two lines, three and four deep, formed from the bridge to my house. Men, women, and children, were neatly dressed, and decorated with flowers of the country. Twelve girls were dressed in white, ornamented with green ribbons, and decorated with roses. The eldest of them bore a banner. Sir Charles seemed quite overcome; and the gentlemen with him beheld the scene with astonishment. The Europeans who have inspected the mountains, have been surprised with the order, industry, and piety of the people. They acknowledge that the gospel is the only means of civilizing the barbarians; and that above all others, our institutions have proved the most beneficial to the children of Africa."

Another officer writes on the same subject:

" December 8, 1821.

" On Monday last our esteemed governor Sir Charles MacCarthy, rode to Kiskey and Wellington, accompanied by a number of gentlemen of the colony. The moment he entered Kiskey, the liberated negroes flocked about him testifying their joy at his return, and expressing their warmth of affectionate regard for him, who had ever guided and protected them with paternal care and tenderness. Nothing could be more gratifying to the governor, than to receive the welcome greetings and kind salutations of these thriving and intelligent people. The governor and his party breakfasted with the Rev. G.R. Nylander, the Rector, and afterwards proceeded to Wellington, one of the villages formed by

the disbanded soldiers of the late 4th West India Regiment. This village has truly a most respectable appearance. There are three hundred houses in it; each house stands on a small allotment, and the inhabitants cultivate their farms about the country surrounding them.

" There are no less than two hundred farmers, forty lime-burners, thirty sawyers, and ten shingle makers; besides a few carpenters, masons, and a blacksmith. Upwards of two hundred acres in the vicinity of the town is under cultivation. Rice, cassada, cocoa, and Guinea corn, are the produce.

" The superintendent of Wellington gives a high testimony in favour of the orderly conduct of the inhabitants, and of their industrious habits. Without doubt credit is peculiarly due to him, for the attention he seems to have paid to the duties of his superintendence. After Sir Charles had received the kind respects of the whole of the inhabitants, he returned with the party to Free Town to dinner. On Tuesday he visited the mountain towns of Gloucester, Regent, Bathurst, Leopold, and Charlotte: a numerous cavalcade of civil, naval, and military officers accompanied him, as well as many of the principal inhabitants of Free Town.

" On his way to Gloucester, Sir Charles inspected the civil hospital at Leicester mountain, and expressed himself much pleased with the neat and orderly arrangement of that establishment, and the cleanly and comfortable appearance of the liberated negroes. On his excellency's arrival at the lodge, he was welcomed by its proprietor J. Reffell, Esq.

principal superintendent of the liberated negroes. This gentleman with his characteristic hospitality, had prepared for his distinguished visitor and party, a splendid dejeuner a la fourchette; after partaking of which, the governor proceeded to Gloucester, and as he approached the village, the inhabitants, with their rector Rev. H. Daring; at their head, greeted the governor on entering the town. As he advanced he was met by the most affectionate cheers of welcome, and in a moment was surrounded by hundreds, eagerly striving to shake the hand of their common father and benefactor. The rector afterwards collected his flock in the church, where they all united in singing the national anthem of 'God save the king,' in a manner truly affecting to every one present.

" Sir Charles and party next proceeded to Regent, and as soon as he was espied from the heights above the town, the British ensign was displayed, and a salute fired with much regularity, the re-echo of which among the distant hills, had a most grand effect. On his excellency passing the large stone bridge adjoining the town, he was met by a band of young school girls, modestly and neatly attired, and decorated with the simple though beautiful and fragrant flowers of the country. The oldest girl supported a banner of blue silk, upon which was exhibited in large white characters, 'Fear God,' 'Honour the King,' 'Obey them who have the rule over you,' 'God save the King.' These girls preceded Sir Charles up the hill to the parsonage, amidst the enthusiastic and affectionate cheerings of full two thousand voices. Sir Charles

had scarcely entered the house to pay his respects to Mrs. Johnson and other ladies, when the anxious crowd rushed into the great room, exclaiming repeatedly, ' Thank God our father is come, God bless him;' nor were they satisfied until Sir Charles again went in amongst them.

Never was a more gratifying scene, nor one better calculated to awaken the finest feelings of the human heart. Most honourable was it to the individual who inspired, and those who exhibited such feelings, the most lively gratitude on the one part, the most winning condescension and purest benevolence on the other. The joy depicted on every countenance and the warmth of affection poured forth by these freed children of Africa, excited emotions in the beholders, which language is inadequate to describe. The governor remained among them a considerable time, when their rector and superintendent Mr. Johnson, led them in a body to the church, where they united in hymns of thanksgiving to the Almighty. So many voices, on such an interesting occasion, accompanied by the solemn and swelling tones of an excellent organ, produced in the spectators sensations of the most serious though gratifying description.

" The governor then proceeded to visit the other towns, in each of which he remained a short time, and was universally welcomed with the same expressions of affectionate joy. On his return, he visited McCarthy's cataracts, where an entertainment was prepared by the chief superintendent, in the neat cottage erected on that romantic spot. On the return of Sir Charles to the seat of his government, he was accompanied in his visits to the negro towns by the captain of the

vessel which conveyed him from England. This gentleman had seen much of the negroes in Jamaica, and asked what time the settlement (Gloucester Town) had been formed? When told in the beginning of 1817, he smiled and said, 'If I know not your excellency to be a man of honour, I should think myself greatly imposed upon by your answer; and I must candidly confess I can hardly believe it now.' The governor then pointed out to him the way he first came to the place, and the old trees still lying about the town, cut down three or four years since, as evidences of his assertion; 'but,' said the captain, 'what sort of people were they, with which it was commenced.' The superintendent pointed out to him some newly imported negroes, that looking at their emaciated limbs, he might form some idea of those by whom the work was begun; and who were only sixty two in number, twenty of whom died ere scarcely a month had elapsed!

The captain then enquire what method had been pursued to bring them into such a state of comfort in so short a time? 'No other,' said Sir Charles, 'than the truths of Christianity, which the estimable individuals sent by the Church Missionary Society have sedulously instilled; by these they have ruled them, and raised them to a common level with other civilized nations: and believe me,' added this excellent man, 'if you will admit Christian teachers into your island (Jamaica), you will soon find the beings, now so much degraded, become affectionate and faithful servants to you! You will be the more surprised when I tell you, that the number of recaptured negroes now in this colony amounts to ten thousand, who are solely under the superintendency of

these gentlemen, whose number is so small that there is not one for a thousand.' ' This, certainly,' replied the captain, 'surpasses every thing hitherto heard of.'

The value of this rising colony may be easily and justly estimated, regarding it only in a mere temporal view, by the following account of the arrival of recaptured negroes. It is extracted from a letter of the Rev. W. Johnson.

" May 21, 1821.

" Last Tuesday evening I received a note from Mr. Reffell, chief superintendent, informing me that a slave vessel had been brought in, with two hundred and thirty unfortunate fellow-creatures; and that he and the acting governor had agreed to send them all to Regent's Town; therefore requested me to go down to Free Town the following morning with some confidential people and receive them. Our people soon heard the news; and great joy was expressed every where, from the idea that perhaps some of their relatives were among these liberated beings. On the morrow I hastened with some people to receive them, leaving orders with those who remained at home to prepare food for their hapless countrymen. Mr. Reffell had already disembarked the negroes, and thereby, doubtless, spared many lives. The vessel was a small schooner; and many of the poor creatures were dreadfully ill, and reduced to mere skeletons. Two hundred and seventeen were delivered to me, the remainder being carried to the hospital on Leicester Mountain.

" I cannot describe the scene which occurred when we arrived at

Regent's Town: I have seen many negroes landed, but never beheld such an affecting sight before. As soon as we came in view, all the people came out of their houses towards the road to meet us with the greatest acclamations. When they beheld the new people weak and faint, they carried and led them up to my house. After they had laid themselves upon the ground, being quite exhausted, many of our people recognized their friends and relatives, and there was a general cry of 'Oh Master!' 'My Sister!' 'My Brother!' 'My Countryman!' 'He lived in the same town!' &c. The poor creatures being faint, just taken from the hold of the slave ship, and unconscious of what had befallen them, were filled with astonishment; they knew not whether to rejoice or mourn, when they beheld the countenances of those whom they had supposed dead, but now saw clothed and clean, apparently happy, and perhaps with healthy children in their arms. No one could refrain from tears at the scene, whilst, at the same time, they lifted up the heart in praise to the wonder-working God, whose ways are inscrutable.

" The school boys and girls brought the provisions which had been prepared, and all the people, following their example, ran to their houses and brought what they had got ready; therefore, in a very short time, the strangers were overpowered with messes of every kind, and made such a meal as they had not been accustomed to for a long time. Pine apples, ground nuts, and oranges, were also brought in great abundance. After all had been gratified, I caused the people to withdraw, that their weary country people might have rest. Having

accordingly dispersed to their respective abodes, I lodged the men and boys in the boys' school, and the women and girls in that appropriated for girls."

At a period of nearly the same date, the superintendent of Gloucester states:

" In the month of May a considerable number of unfortunate victims to the cruel traffic in human beings were happily recaptured by the British cruizers on the coast, and brought into the harbour of Free Town. I received orders to go to town to take charge of them; I went accordingly; but various delays in the official details prevented them from becoming my charge until past four o'clock.

" When I had got them all out of the town, I viewed them, and soon found that I had not brought men enough to assist in their removal up the hill, which caused me great anxiety, it being so late. But what could I do; I must take them home. Fortunately for me and these miserable beings, a man, while they were passing through the court of the Mixed Commission at Free Town, had ran up to fetch more people than he saw I had to carry the sick to their destination. Ignorant of this circumstances, I went on slowly with them, almost despairing of getting them up; but I had not gone far from the foot of the hill, when I was met by great numbers, who, as they advanced, took up on their backs those who were unable to walk; and when I had got half way up, I saw almost the whole number carried by those who had come down for the purpose. This struck me very much, especially when I compared

the affecting scene with former instances of arrival. Formerly no such sympathy was evinced; for, wretched as the state of the captured negroes necessarily must always be, they excited but a small degree of apparent pity among those in the colony. The latter would, indeed, sometimes step out to see if any of their respective countrymen were among them; if not, they would take little or no notice of the unfortunate sufferers: but now they sympathize deeply with their poor fellow-creatures, evincing in the most striking manner the power of that principle which they have imbibed, which is pitiful, courteous, compassionate, kind, merciful, and hospitable. When I arrived at home I ordered provision to be prepared for the new people; but in the meantime provision came in from all quarters, and the women with part of the school-girls, who cooked it, asked not for their country people alone, but those who wanted it were refreshed without any ~~dear~~, or hesitation, or question. The day closed on this labour of love; and, it being Saturday, I quartered the men and boys in the church for the night, and on the following Monday distributed them among the old settlers in their houses, where they would be best taken care of.

" The principal difficulty I found was to procure all their names, in order to know where they might be found again; nor could I surmount it until the old people had got as many in their houses as could be made comfortable.

" Among the rest, a woman, a member of the Church, had taken a woman under her care. When I took her name, she was asked by

Mrs. Doring, what she wanted to do with the woman? as she had evinced a strong desire to have her as an inmate. She replied, 'Ma'an, it is now almost two years since I came to this country: my countrywoman then took me, and did me good, and told me of the Lord Jesus Christ; and that some thing she did to me at that time, I want to do to this woman now.'

" This spirit of humanity towards the unfortunate has not subsided, as is sometimes the case, upon the increase of individual comforts; it still animates the hearts of the negroes at Sierra Leone, who have imbibed the principles of Christianity; so true is it, that it brought 'peace on earth, and good will towards men.'

The new comers are generally subject to much sickness, which was the case of those whose arrival is mentioned above:

" But," adds Mr. Doring, "the evidence I have daily of the care they everywhere receive, makes my heart rejoice; because it is an irresistible argument for the powerful effect of the Gospel, even upon the heart of the rudest barbarian on this continent.

" But this is not all: the anxiety for temporal welfare is with many connected with spiritual also. Before I was able sufficiently to clothe the new comers, I saw them actually brought to church, morning and evening, clad in the habiliments of their protectors."

An American officer visited the colony of Sierra Leone in 1820, and gives the following brief testimony in its favour.

" During our stay at Sierra Leone, the European gentlemen resident there treated us with the utmost respect, striving who should be most forward in attention and hospitality. A party was formed by those gentlemen to shew our officers the interior settlements; and from their report, on their return, I learned the extent of the colony, and the benevolent philanthropy of the British nation, in alleviating the miseries of the oppressed and ignorant Africans. Thousands of captured Africans have been landed on the settlement by the British ships of war. On their arrival, those of a proper age are named, and sent to the adjacent villages. A house and lot is appointed to each family, and they are supported one year by government, at the expiration of which they are obliged to maintain themselves. The captured children are also sent to the villages, where they remain at school until they are married, which is at a very early age. At the head of each village is a missionary, who receives his annual support from the government."

To produce all these gratifying results, it may be readily imagined much attention, labour, perseverance, and experiment must have been passed.

The system of apprenticing the captured children among the colonists was pursued for a time, but the numbers soon made its continuance impracticable. It was given up in 1812; and, with few exceptions, the boys have since settled in the mountains with their countrymen, and the girls have been kept at school.

As to the captured negroes who have been placed in farms of their own, and therefore may be considered as incorporated into the colony, it must be acknowledged that much time was requisite to adopt a system suitable to them. For the first two years after the passing of the Abolition, great irregularity marked the management of this portion of the Sierra Leone population; and a general laxity of practice was permitted, wholly inconsistent with wholesome obedience and progressive improvement, the great ends of the institution. Of course, when a more efficient system was adopted, more frequent punishments for a time were necessary. Still, however, it would appear, that after the disorders alluded to had been repressed, and due subordination had been established, the captured negroes neither committed so many crimes, nor were punished so often, as an equal number of the other classes of the community; and at all times they have enjoyed the same laws, privileges, and protection, were tried with the same forms, and punished in the same manner as the other colonists.

A number of negroes having been placed in Leicester Mountain, about three miles from Free Town, were directed by Governor Columbine to cultivate the land around them, and to consider it as their own property. Tools and seed were given them; and as they had no means at first to provide for themselves, they had rations allowed them, till the produce of their lands should come to maturity; and, to supply them with a little money for other purposes, one third of their number was constantly employed in turn by the governor in the works of the colony.

Their industry and progressive improvement were soon evident. In a few months the brushwood, in which they were at first completely enveloped, was cleared away; and their temporary huts converted into a neat village, surrounded with a large open space, covered with corn and cassada, and as much exposed to the sea breeze as Free Town itself. As they enjoyed a much cooler and finer air, and the wood had been completely cleared around them, the inhabitants of Leivestar became remarkable for their strong healthy looks and active habits.

Such of the men who were at first unmarried, soon obtained wives of their own country from the prizes that arrived.

Both men and women might be seen in Free Town, with wood and other things for sale, as early as six o'clock in the morning; and after transacting their business, they returned home to breakfast, before the commencement of the labours of the day in the corn and cassada field. In a short time the colony was completely supplied with cassada and fuel from Leicester. To this location succeeded many on a similar plan, and with equally happy results.

These people in general set to work with considerable spirit; cleared a great part of their lands, built houses on their own lots, and soon had sufficient crops of rice, corn, and cassada to support themselves; and as they spent very little or none of their money in the purchase of spirituous liquors, their houses became more comfortable than those even of many of the settlers, and they themselves highly respectable. The succeeding governor, Maxwell, proceeded

upon a liberal plan respecting the captured negroes. He increased their rations, supplied them with more seed, and a greater quantity of tools than formerly, and began the system of clothing them, even from the first, in the same manner as the other colonists, ordering clothes for them from England on his own responsibility.

The benevolent cannot but reflect with great satisfaction upon the improvement generally of this hitherto degraded people, both in civilization and the arts of social life.

We are assured by numberless eye-witnesses, that it could not have been believed possible, prior to experience, that the wretched creatures drawn from the holds of the slave ships, and relieved from their fetters and from the lowest extremity of degradation and misery, should, in the course of a few months, become so comfortable and so useful. In regard to the female youth, in particular, it may be interesting to observe, that from the first it was a rule never to allow even the youngest girl to be apprenticed in a family where there was no female. When it was found that more girls arrived in the colony than could be apprenticed to proper persons, and, indeed, that some of them already placed out did not experience proper treatment and instruction from their masters and mistresses, a girls' school was formed, to which they were all sent, with a view to their acquiring habits and arts which might be useful to them in after life. Till the end of the year 1812 this school was but small; but about that period a number of Congo girls were brought from leeward and added to it; and since

that time it has been gradually increasing. Truth obliges us to add, that notwithstanding all these precautions, some of the female captured negroes have conducted themselves ill. This, however, will not surprise, although it may awaken the regret of, those who are conversant with human nature, especially as it exists in Africa.

It must afford the friends of Africa the purest pleasure, however, to be assured that the colony of Sierra Leone has prospered beyond their sanguine hopes. The present comfort and future welfare of it are equally studied by the appointed authorities. The captured negroes are treated by the government in the kindest and most liberal manner. Those appointed to watch over them have carefully attended to their interests, temporal and eternal, and protected them from injury; and that these poor objects of British philanthropy appear to be as happy, and as comfortably situated, and are as likely to rise to prosperity and respectability, as any class of persons in it.*

Wisdom and goodness are twin born; one heart
 Must hold both sisters, never seen apart.
 So then, as darkness overspread the deep
 Ere nature rose from her eternal sleep,
 And this delightful earth, and that fair sky
 Rose out of nothing, call'd by the Most High;

* Note F. Appendix.

By such a change thy darkness is made light,
 Thy chaos order, and thy weakness might;
 And He, whose power mere nullity obeys,
 Who found thee nothing, form'd thee for His praise.
 To praise Him, is to serve Him; and fulfil,
 Doing and suffering, His unquestion'd will;
 To learn in God's own school the Christian part,
 And bind the task assign'd thee to thine heart.
 Happy the man there seeking, and there found;
 Happy the country where such men abound.

COWPER.

 OBITUARY OF ANDREW NICOLL, Esq.

DEPUTY INSPECTOR OF HOSPITALS, AND CHIEF MEDICAL OFFICER ON
 THE COAST OF AFRICA, WHO DECEASED AT ACCRA, APRIL 27, 1823,
 ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP CYRENE.

WHEN the highly gifted, the useful, and the persevering are removed by death from their earthly scene of action, leaving a blank in the society they so greatly adorned, we are too apt to forget that they, humanly speaking, ' being perfect in a short time, fulfilled a long time,' and that, ' though the righteous be prevented by death, yet shall they be at rest.'

Perhaps these mournful feelings were never more justly excited than by the announcement of the decease of Dr. Nicoll, to the exercise of whose talent the colony of Sierra Leone owes so much.

Dr. Nicoll was ordered thither merely to superintend the medical staff of the colony; but the energy of his mind soon led him to suggest plans for the improvement of the settlement, which raised him to an important situation in its government, and which will long embalm his virtues in the memory and affections of every one interested in the happiness of Africa. He was the son of David Nicoll, a creditable farmer at Leggie, near St. Andrew's Fifeshire; received the rudiments of his education in the school of his native parish, and prosecuted his classical studies at Edinburgh, where he entered himself a student of humanity and medicine in 1807; graduated 1810; and was almost immediately afterwards appointed assistant surgeon to the 80th regiment, on the Madras establishment, where he joined it the following year. It was on this stage that he first displayed his professional talents, both in his care of the regiment to which he was attached, which soon devolved entirely upon him owing to the ill health of the surgeon, and also as an acute and accurate observer of the effects of climate and situation on the animal economy.

The result of his observations was contained in a memorial on liver disease and jungle fever, presented to the medical board of Madras, in 1817.

The high estimation in which he was held by that board was

acknowledged in a public communication addressed to him on his leaving India, stating the regret of the members, that one so well-calculated to investigate and throw light upon Indian diseases, should be withdrawn from the scene of Enquiry. The constant attention of Dr. Nicoll to the sufferings of the sick soldier, led him to suggest many things for his comfort; and, amongst others, to invent an excellent cheap vapour bath, which has been found of the greatest utility in the treatment of many diseases, particularly in chronic rheumatism, a malady from which soldiers suffer severely on returning home from warm climates. Soon after his return to England, Dr. Nicoll left the 80th regiment, carrying with him the sincere regrets and good wishes of his brother officers, to whom his open, affable, obliging, and gentlemanly deportment had greatly endeared him. He continued nearly a year officially unemployed, but fully occupied in acquiring a knowledge of mineralogy, botany, and natural history, in order to qualify him for any situation abroad to which he might be appointed.

His talents and industry did not remain long unobserved by the discriminating eye of Sir James MacGregor, the Director-General, who, conceiving that he was well-adapted to prove useful in a quarter of the globe which had excited much public attention, and that he was prepared to withstand the effects of a tropical climate by his previous residence in India, appointed him to the situation of principal medical officer at Sierra Leone, where he arrived in December 1818.

The impulse which the energy, the activity, and the industry of

Dr. Nicoll produced in the medical department over which he presided in Africa, was soon most conspicuous. The junior medical officers, who had previously merely attended to their duties of visiting and prescribing for the sick, were roused to direct their attention not only to the effects of climate on the constitution of the troops, but to the topography of the places where they were stationed; to cultivate a knowledge of mineralogy and botany; and to collect and preserve objects of natural history; and to keep regular meteorological tables. Quarterly reports were demanded from each establishment on the coast; and these, being embodied by Dr. Nicoll in general halfyearly reports, were sent home: a mass of information has been thus obtained, of great importance to the health of our sailors and soldiers who in future may be destined to serve on a coast so uncongenial to the constitution of Europeans as that of Africa. How well the expectations formed of him were answered, may be seen by the account given of him by Sir George Collier.* With this happy constitution of mind, and energetic disposition, Dr. Nicoll could not long remain a passive spectator of the public transactions connected with the colony, nor indifferent to the welfare and progress of civilization in Africa, and the amelioration of the depressed condition of her sable children.—

"Nihil humani a me alienum puto," was the guiding principle of his life; and he soon adopted such measures, as well as contributed largely, towards rendering a station, which was formerly not unjustly

* See p. 192.

regarded as a mere place of banishment, and the certain grave of our countrymen, superior in many respects to the majority of our colonies, by opening a wide field of interesting research in natural history, by improving the character of its limited society, and by his statistical regulations rendering the climate more salubrious, and under ordinary circumstances certainly less fatal to British life. But his exertions were not limited to Sierra Leone. He courted the acquaintance of every stranger who had visited, and every native who came from the interior of Africa; and, had he lived longer, many of the difficulties which have opposed the efforts of Europeans to penetrate into that mysterious country would have been removed.

"Wherever you turn your eye," writes an individual, who was an eye-witness of the activity and labours of this excellent man, "to any improvements, to any advancement of civilization at Sierra Leone; if you observe a good road, a handsome bridge, an elegant essay in the gazette, a correct and full almanac; if you notice a valuable collection of specimens of the productions of Africa; Dr. Nicoll was the projector—the architect—the author—the collector!" The loss of such a man is incalculable: alas! perhaps we must say, irreparable! His hospitality too, if it impoverished him, threw a lustre upon Sierra Leone, which enlivened to many a stranger the monotony of an African life. His society was the chief delight of the place; and it is not to be wondered at, that he was sought after by every enlightened visitor, or by every one who sought improvement. He has died poor; but he was a public character, and his private losses, arising from munificence, if

not to be indemnified, ought not to be placed amongst his faults.

With great liveliness of disposition, and a natural talent for satire, his conversation was embellished by wit and pithy remark; yet he was mild, amiable, and modest; and was endowed with all those kindly affections which attract others to their possessor, cement friendships, and form the charm of society. His discrimination of character was quick, his appreciation of merit in others correct, and his liberality and openness of heart so conspicuous, that in most instances he was regarded as a standard of excellence to those around him. He was plain in his attire, unostentatious in his habits, and simple in his manners; but his sociable powers were considerable, and he had acquired a profuseness of expense in his hospitality, which left him only the conscious approbation of his own mind, as the reward of his official labours. A short time before his death he made a will, leaving all his papers to a friend in England, with a request that such of them as merited publication might be prepared for the press.

He had suffered from frequent attacks of fever, but his last illness was an abscess of the liver, which, after reducing him to a skeleton, deprived the world of his high and useful qualities.

We cannot better conclude this tribute to the memory of this excellent officer, than by the following extract from a letter of the gentleman already alluded to, as the witness of his laudable exertions for the benefit of his fellow-creatures; as it describes the impression that his death produced on Sir Charles MacCarthy and those associated with him in the government of Sierra Leone.

" St. Mary's on the Gambia.

" The governor and suite arrived here a few days ago, in the Cyrene, from the Cape Coast, without stopping at Sierra Leone. A gloom pervaded the whole party when it landed in the boats under discharges of artillery. I anticipated something wrong. There seemed a cold indifference in the shaking of hands among old friends; and when I had gone through the ceremony I thought some one was wanting: the party was incomplete; but my doubts were at an end when W——, aid-de-camp to Sir Charles, turned to me and said, 'We have lost poor Nicoll; all would have been well if he had but been spared!' Sir Charles was deeply affected by his decease, and the more so as the danger was all along concealed from him. Sir Charles had lost in Dr. Nicoll his right hand, his adviser, his confidential friend, his companion in all his toils and pleasures; and life must appear a blank to him after such a separation. Our departed friend supported his spirits to the last moment of his life. He fell a sacrifice to a sense of duty; for if, instead of accompanying Sir Charles to Cape Coast, he had returned to England from Sierra Leone in November last, his valuable life would probably have been spared some years. So useful was he however to our worthy governor, that it is not wonderful that he should have persuaded him to remain on the coast. By doing this our lamented friend has verified your prophecy, ' that he would stay until it was too late to return.' His friends, his country, will ever have reason to lament his compliency of disposition on this occasion; yet the thought that he was in the line of his duty, must soften regret, as it doubtless soothed the last moments of him we mourn."

" Dulce et decorum est pro patriae mori !"

A CURSORY DESCRIPTION
OF BRITISH AND OTHER FORTS ON THE GOLD AND WINDWARD
COASTS OF AFRICA.

FROM THE REPORTS OF COMMODORE SIR G. COLLIER, ETC.

" ————— Let freedom spread,
And let it circulate through every vein
Of all your empire; that where Britain's power
Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too."

FORT Apollonia is situated on the western boundary of the company's settlements, and is one of the smallest upon the coast; and so ill appointed, that the colours of his Majesty are constantly subject to insult from the native chief. The walls of the fort are extremely low, and the guns so indifferent as to be useless; at least after one discharge they would be quite unfitted for a second, independently of the gun carriages being so defective. The garrison consists only of the governor, and a gentleman exercising the functions of an aid-de-camp and secretary, and half a dozen native servants, a force too insignificant even to be respected by the natives. The king of Apollonia is one of the most ignorant and insolent of the chiefs upon the coast; it is asserted that, presuming on his knowledge of the governor's incapacity to resist his demands, he is in the practice not only of using insulting language to him, but even of insisting upon having his want supplied on

every occasion. Formerly the Gold Coast trade was respectable, but of late it has fallen off considerably: nor is that of Ivory of any great extent. And as the king is supplied with goods at the invoice prices, his portion of the trade almost ruins the little which is left to the two Europeans within the fort. The landing on the beach is extremely dangerous, the surf frequently preventing all communication with ships in the offing for many successive days; and the difficulty and expence in procuring canoes must be considerable, as one of them cannot be launched through the surf without the assistance of one third of the native inhabitants of the town.

Fort Apollonia was originally established in the hope that it might lead to an advantageous communication with the interior, to windward of Axin. Fort Axin being the most western Dutch settlement upon the Gold Coast. The nature of the trade at Axin is similar to Apollonia, though the slave trade was certainly connived at by the late governor, who has been removed.

From Apollonia the next British fort is Dix Cove. The situation of this fort is more desirable than any other of the small forts upon the Gold Coast. The Cove is valuable as a port to merchant craft, and the landing being more convenient than any other point (except the Dutch fort of Elmina) makes the fort of Dix Cove of consideration, and connected with reference to its ready communication with the interior, it is very desirable.

Independently of this, Dix Cove is almost the only point on the coast whence timber and lime can be procured; and if all other objects were unimportant, this alone makes the Fort of Dix Cove worthy of attention, to preserve and improve it. The garrison at present is not much superior to that of Apollonia. The articles of timber and lime are of the first importance to our other settlements, particularly Cape Coast Castle. The Fort of Secondee and Commenda, are situated between Dix Cove and the Dutch Fort of Elmina. They are small, and, as military points, like most of the others on this coast, ill-constructed, badly kept, and worse garrisoned; they are capable but of little defence, if the Ashantee army advance from the interior, as their chief threatens to do. If there be any trade at present, it is not worthy of notice: and as to political importance, Commenda is more likely to embroil the country in a war than protect the natives, or support the honour or credit of the English. The abandonment of both of these Forts would be rather desirable than otherwise. Formerly their greatest utility appears to have been the ready communication they afforded to each other in case of attack.

The Dutch Fort of Elmina is one of the best maintained on the line of coast; and since the death of the Dutch governor-general, the miserable and short-sighted policy of that officer appears to have subsided.

General Dandnals, it was believed, had engaged to furnish the Ashantees with every possible aid and assistance, short of entering

upon an open alliance with the murderous chieftian of that country, against the Cape Coast and Fantee people. The Fort of Elmina is kept in excellent order, and is one of the very strongest along the whole line of coast. The guns are of the largest calibre, and many are of brass. The small harbour is capable of receiving sloops and small craft, and a river enables the boats to land without beaching.

Continuing the tract along the coast we arrive at the Presidency of Cape Coast Castle. Much has been done by governor Hope Smith, to recover the Fort from the decay into which, for years past, it had been gradually declining; but more is still necessary to be done. The Fort appears originally to have been badly planned; and the number of houses in the town, which almost touch its walls, offer such strong positions to a persevering enemy, that if it was to be attacked, great trouble, difficulty, and hazard, must attend the besieged. The walls of the Fort next the sea are in excellent condition, and are crowned by a line of guns of various calibre. The masonry of the western angle is inferior in strength to that of the other parts, and the walls are bad, so as to render it doubtful if they are capable of enduring a concussion from the explosion of gunpowder fired near the foundation (a mode of attack not unlikely to be adopted). Two guns sweep the western beach; but, being high, much of their effect would be lost. On the north side, and fronting the town, it is impossible to imagine any thing contrived with less judgment as a defensive post, and the guns here are generally bad, the carriages falling to pieces. Towards the eastern

beach the greatest strength of the Fort exists, and it is very probable that in case of attack, that the ignorance of the natives would induce an approach by the beach. In naming the state of the guns, we do not allude to those with iron carriages, which are in repair. The interior of the Fort is well arranged; and the chapel being in a state of progress, proves the governor not to have been inattentive to what has been so long required. A great part of the interior of the Fort is lined with store houses, and these are overrun with rats, white ants,* and other vermin. The remaining buildings are occupied by the governor and gentlemen composing the African company's servants, who all hold military commissions in the African Corps, and many of them are well-informed sensible men. The high state of order and discipline evident in this little garrison, proves satisfactorily, that although engaged in mercantile pursuits, every one appears sensible of the advantages of strict order and undeviating regularity. Each civil and military officer must have a sort of store, because he is paid by the Company in the manufactures of England. But there are not any shops, and every person has recourse to his lead, iron, or other goods, as so much ready money. Gold dust is generally taken in barter. Though the difficulty attending this mode of exchange is very great, yet, it must be submitted to by any persons residing at Cape Coast Castle, whether in the service of his majesty or not.

* Note G. Appendix.

This naturally creates a desire to trade, and hence the charge against all residents at Cape Coast, of "being petty shopkeepers." The garrison of about one hundred men, is in an excellent state of equipment and discipline, as any tropical troops existing. The men are regularly paid, clothed and fed, and are much attached to the service. The superiors are Europeans, the inferiors, natives. The garrison is constantly paraded, and perform their evolutions equal to the best native troops; added to this, many are artificers, and when off duty, they are employed at their several trades within the walls of the Fort. The African company's servants are in some few instances served by slaves, purchased or procured before the period of the abolition; but it may safely be affirmed, and it is due to the governor and council of Cape Coast Castle to affirm, that the traffic in slaves has been most completely abolished wherever the British flag is flying on that coast; and that the governor and chief, so far from conniving at its continuance, holds it in as much detestation as the most liberal-minded persons in England.

The dissatisfied in Africa, as in other quarters of the globe, scruple not to calumniate their superiors without ground. It is much easier to charge with wrong, than to prove it has been committed. The few slaves that remain at Cape Coast Castle, are so well treated, that it is not possible to distinguish them from servants hired from among the natives; nor do they appear as if they would change either masters or situation if they could.

The arrangements in the interior of Cape Coast Castle, are very well adapted for the station and climate. It appears to have been in contemplation to establish a naval and military depot therein, for the use of his majesty's cruizers. For a temporary purpose it might perhaps possibly answer; yet it is a matter of doubt if it would; for a considerable difficulty, expence and loss of stores and provisions, must, on account of the tremendous surf, attend the transshipment of those articles. Indeed, during the period of the rains, also in that of fogs, and not unfrequently during the prevalence of the harmattans, the surf along the whole line of the Gold Coast interrupts the communication of canoes for days together; and in truth, at all other times, except particular hours of the day, the surf is dangerous, and canoes are frequently upset, however lightly laden.

In no country do naval stores so soon decay as in warehouses situate on the coast of Africa. The damps are so extraordinary, and so very penetrating, and the exhalations from the earth are so powerful and continual, that nothing can resist their destructive effect; so that annual supplies by ships will be necessary, and the former stores in charge should be exchanged, if not, removed to the Cape or St. Helena before the commencement of the second season. Fresh water at Cape Coast is scarce, and preserved in tanks after the first and second rains. It is also liable from the construction of the tanks to receive soil from the Fort. This circumstance may be considered as one cause of the waters so early affecting the constitution of Europeans and producing so much illness as it does.

In referring to the defences still necessary to place Cape Coast Castle above any threatening native power, the same distinguished officer remarks——

It is necessary to observe that several buildings already erected, and others still building, having walls proof against small artillery and musketry, offer an advantageous post to an enemy; and these are so close upon the castle as to command its walls, and expose the embrasures of the castle to musketry. The walls being also in some places liable to escalade, it would be desirable to have two or three traverses thrown up on them, which, in case of successful attack by escalade from any part of the Ashantee army or other native troops, would prove of infinite service to those within; for unless the Fort has this outward defence, an enemy once in the parapet, resistance from within must cease.

To the south-east of the principal entrance into the castle, and immediately over the town of Cape Coast, is a commanding eminence, most favorably situated for a small martello tower, which, having a gun or carronade mounted on its top, would effectually protect the town and principal approaches to the castle. This building should have a tank below or iron tanks within. A cast iron gallery above, to secure from the destructive effects of the white ants; for this vermin of Cape Coast Castle are numerous, and quickly fatal, not only to ships and goods, but to ships receiving packages on board.*

* Note F. Appendix.

The great progress among the Ashantee nation in military knowledge, and their extraordinary restless disposition and fondness for war, makes them a much more formidable enemy than when they attacked the British fort of Annamaboe some years back; and though it may be a day very distant ere such an enemy as the Ashantee will presume to attack forts, constructed and defended as Cape Coast Castle is; yet even an Ashantee force should not be held too lightly in estimation, for the day may arrive when least looked for.

The Ashantee army is numerous beyond belief; and though quite an irregular mass, yet more than sixty thousand can be collected, acquainted with the use of fire arms, ready to sacrifice their lives to the nod or caprice of their chief or king, who is known to be savage and cruel in the extreme, and of the most obstinate and determined temper. At a palaver, or conference, between the heads of the British at Cape Coast Castle, the native chiefs of the town, and the Accra, and other chief captains from Coomassie, (the capital of Ashantee,) "at which," says the Commodore, "by the request of Governor Smith, I was present, the most determined and inflexible obstinacy was observed by the representative of Ashantee; and the haughty manner in which they broke up the palaver, impressed me with the conviction that the menace of war would prove something more serious than a mere threat." Some information respecting the origin of this dispute may shew us the disposition of a people, scarcely known in this country, till lately, except by name.

The dominions of the king of Ashantee, or Asiantee, are of very considerable extent; and though the population is great, yet it bears no proportion to the extent of country. Ever since the affair of Annamaboe, the king has had a strong desire to connect his dominions with the shores of the sea of Guinea; and since the partial revival of the slave trade, this desire has augmented, with a secret hope that the assistance promised by the late Dutch governor of Elmina, would enable him to enter on the slave trade without fear from the British; or, if opposed, that by the superior number of his forces he might compel them to decline resistance to his views. To fulfil this wish, he considered it only remained to obtain a proper supply for the market, and secure a position on the sea shore. The subjects of his neighbour, the king of Buncatoo, in all probability appeared the most ready means of supplying him with slaves, and an excuse for war was not long wanting. The extent or line of the Buncatoo country is not at all understood or determined; all that is known, is, that it is situated to the north and west of Ashantee. It is, however, well understood and ascertained, that nearly all the gold brought to the coast by the Ashantees is collected in the Buncatoo country. Indeed, it is said, that the stool upon which the chiefs of this part of Africa are seated when in state, was of solid gold. Its splendour and value was stated as every way superior to that used by the Ashantee chief, which is represented as being formed of the common wood of the country, cased

over with golden plates.* Azzay, the king of Ashantee, having been told of this circumstance, demanded this great mark of African royalty from him, either as tribute or a present. The king of Buncatoo is represented as having been an extremely mild and equitable ruler; of inoffensive disposition and manners; and his people numerous, peaceable, and unoffending, little accustomed to war, and less with the use of fire arms; bows and arrows being their general offensive weapons, a rude tomahawk their only defensive one.

King Azzay, as before stated, was the direct reverse; and his people also delighted in war, a large part of the population being well acquainted with fire arms, from having been great providers for the slave market.

The Ashantee messenger, an Aocra, (or cousin by election of the king,) having made his demand, and stated that the most powerful king in Africa, his sovereign, demanded the richest stool, that being the emblem and seat of royalty; the Buncatoo replied, ' If it was his master's wish to have one, he might by purchase obtain such an one, or even more rich; but that his honour, and his respect to his ancestors prevented his compliance with the present demand.' As the Ashantee had received positive instructions to obtain the objects of Azzay's desires, and knowing that his head would be the forfeit if he did not succeed, he had no alternative but to exercise his political talents; and what he could not obtain by treaty, he succeeded in

* Note H. Appendix.

gaining by deceit and treachery. Not that the care of life among the Ashantees is remarkable, on the contrary it is known to be trifling, as they meet death in the service of their chief with a fortitude and heroism truly surprising; but a disgraceful death has its terrors, even among these barbarians. The stool thus obtained was said to have been sought for and recovered by the queen of Buncatoo, even after its arrival at Coomassie; and at her instigation preparations were made for war, which were anticipated by Azzay, who informed her by messenger, if war was her wish, he would save her the trouble of a tiresome march, and transport himself and army to Buncatoo without loss of time. The issue of this war was considered a long time doubtful; and the total silence of the Ashantees from Coomassie as to victory, induced the Cape Coast people to believe that they had been defeated by the queen of Buncatoo; and in their joy upon this occasion, King Agary of Cape Coast is said to have offered insult to some of the Ashantees trading or passing through the Fantee country. From Cape Coast Castle a messenger had been dispatched with the intelligence to the king, that a gentleman deputed by the government of England as consul to the capital of Ashantee, had arrived with presents from the African Company.

In the meantime, while all was doubt and uncertainty at Cape Coast Castle, and a variety of rumours prevailed of the total defeat of the Ashantees, or of their failure against the Buncatoos, the governor's messenger returned from Coomassie, followed by an Accra, who came to demand reparation for the injurious reports circulated at Cape Coast.

This messenger made known the result of the Buncatoo war; by which it appeared that the king had been taken prisoner by Azzay, and his country subdued; the people enslaved, or put to death, according to their ages, or probable value as slaves; while many were retained to grace the triumphal entry of the conqueror into Coomassie, or to add to the number of human sacrifices on that occasion.

In consequence of this a palaver was held at Cape Coast Castle, which was broken up in the abrupt manner already related, the terms for maintaining peace being not only extravagant, but a very large tribute was demanded in gunpowder, muskets, and brandy; and for some other imaginary insult, the jaw bone of the king of Cape Coast was required. This of itself would prove conquest to be the only object of the king of Ashantee.

Ceremonial of Mr. Bowditch's introduction to the king of the Ashantees.

The mission took its rise from the repeated invasions of the Ashantees on the Fantees, our neighbours and friends, at the Presidency of Cape Coast; and in the course of the wars, in which they nearly extirpated their miserable adversaries, they not only threatened, but attacked our forts.

After this it was deemed expedient to send an embassy to Coomassie, the capital and seat of government, and containing 100,000 souls, in order to negotiate a treaty of alliance with a monarch so dangerous and potent as Sai Tootoo Quamina, king of the Ashantees, Presents, &c. being prepared, Mr. James, Mr. Bowditch, Mr. Tedlie, and Mr. Hutchinson were despatched on this conciliatory errand, under the guidance of an Ashantee, named Quamina.

They left Cape Coast on the 22nd April, 1817, and proceeding by Annamaboe, struck 'into the bush,' or forests, for the interior. They crossed many streams and swamps, and appear to have journeyed along a path cut through an otherwise impervious wood.

" We entered Coomassie," says Mr. Bowditch, "at two o'clock on the 19th May, passing under a fetish or sacrifice of a dead sheep, wrapped up in red silk, and suspended between two lofty poles. Upwards of 5,000 people, the greater part warriors, met us with awful bursts of martial music, discordant only in its mixture; for horns, drums, rattles, and gong-gongs were all exercised with a zeal bordering on frenzy, to subdue us by a first impression. When we reached the palace, about half a mile from the place where we entered, we were again halted, and an open file was made, through which the bearers were passed to deposit the presents and baggage in the house assigned to us. We were then squeezed at the funeral pace up a long street to an open-fronted house, where we were desired by a royal messenger to wait a further invitation from the king. Here our attention was forced from our astonishment

at the crowd to a most inhuman spectacle, which was paraded before us for some minutes. It was a man they were tormenting previous to sacrifice: his hands were pinioned behind him; a knife was passed through his cheeks, to which his lips were noosed like a figure of 8; one ear was cut off and carried before him, the other hung to his head by a small bit of skin; there were several gashes in his back, and a knife was thrust under each shoulder blade; he was led with a cord passed through his nose by men disfigured by immense caps of shaggy black skins, and drums beat before him.

"The king, his tributaries, and captains, were resplendent in the distance, surrounded by attendants of every description, fronted by a mass of warriors, which seemed to make our approach impervious. The sun was reflected with a glare, scarcely more supportable than the heat, from the massy gold ornaments which glistened in every direction. More than a hundred bands broke out at once on our arrival with the peouliar airs of their several chiefs; the horns flourished their defiances, with the beating of innumerable drums and metal instruments, and then yielded for a while to the soft breathings of their long flutes, which were truly harmonious, and a pleasing instrument like a bagpipe without the drone was happily blended.

"The king's messengers with gold breastplates made way for us, and we commenced our round, preceded by the canes and the English flag. We stopped to take the hand of every caboccer, which, as their

household suites occupied several spaces in advance, delayed us long enough to distinguish some of the ornaments in the general blaze of splendour and ostentation. The caboceers, as did their superior captains and attendants, wore Ashantee clothes of extravagant price, from the costly foreign silks which had been unravelled to weave them in all the varieties of colour as well as pattern; they were of incredible size and weight, and thrown over the shoulder exactly as the Roman toga. A small silk fillet generally encircled their temples, and many gold necklaces, intricately wrought, suspended Moorish charms, dearly purchased, and inclosed in small square cases of gold, silver, and curious embroidery. Some wore necklaces reaching to the navel entirely of Accra beads; a band of gold and beads encircled the knee, from which several strings of the same depended; small circles of gold like guineas, rings, and casts of animals, were strung round their anoles; their sandals were of green, red, and delicate white leather; manillas, and rude lumps of rockgold hung from their left wrists, which were so heavily laden as to be supported on the heads of their handsomest boys. Gold and silver pipes and canes dazzled the eye in every direction. Wolves' and rams' heads, as large as life, cast in gold, were suspended from their gold-handled swords, which were held around them in great numbers; the blades were shaped like round bills, the sheaths of leopard skin, or the shell of a fish, like shagreen. The war caps of eagles' feathers nodded in the rear, and large fans of the wing feathers of the ostrich played round the dignitaries: immediately behind their chairs,

which were of a black wood almost covered with inlays of ivory and gold embossment, stood their handsomest youths with corslets of leopard's skin, covered with gold cockle shells, and stuck full of small knives, sheathed in gold and silver, and the handles of blue agate: cartouch boxes of elephant's hide hung below; a large sword was fixed behind the left shoulder; and silk scarves and horses' tails, generally white, streamed from the arms and waistcloth. Their long Danish muskets had broad rims of gold at small distance, and the stocks were ornamented with shells. Finely grown girls stood behind the seats of some with silver basins. Their stools of the most curious carved work, and generally with two large bells attached to them, were conspicuously placed on the heads of favorites; and crowds of small boys were seated round flourishing elephant's tails curiously mounted. The warriors sat on the ground close to these; their caps were of the skin of the pangoin and leopard, the tails hanging down behind their cartouch belts, composed of small gourds which hold the charges, and covered with leopard's skin, were embossed with red shells, and small brass bells thickly hung to them. Iron chains and collars dignified the most daring, who were prouder of them than of gold; their muskets had rests affixed of leopard's and the locks a covering of the same; the sides of their faces were curiously painted in long white streaks, and their arms also striped, having the appearance of armour. We were suddenly surprised by the sight of the Moors, who afforded the first general diversity of dress; they slowly raised their eyes from the ground as we passed, and with a most malignant scowl.

" The prolonged flourishes of the horn, a deafening tumult of drums, and the fuller concert of the intervals, announced that we were approaching the king; we were already passing the principal officers of his household, who were all surrounded by a retinue and splendour which indicated the importance of their offices. Among them, however, was the executioner, a man of immense size, who wore a massy gold hatchet on his breast, and with the execution stool held before him intruded in blood.

" A delay of some minutes, while we were severally permitted to kiss the king's afforded us a perfect view of him. His deportment first excited my attention, for native dignity in princes we may call barbarous was a novel spectacle. His manners were majestic yet courteous, and he did not allow his surprise to beguile him a moment of the composure of the monarch. He appeared to be about thirty-eight years of age, inclined to corpulence, and of a benevolent countenance. He wore a fillet of aggrey or Accra beads round his temples, a necklace of gold cockspur shells strung by their largest ends, and over his right shoulder a red silk cord, suspending three sapphies encaused in gold. His bracelets were the richest mixture of beads and gold, and his fingers covered with rings. His cloth or lambe was of dark green silk. A pointed diadem was elegantly painted in white on his forehead, also a pattern resembling an epaulette on each shoulder, and an ornament like a full-blown rose, one leaf rising above another until it covered his whole breast. His knee bands were of Accra beads,

and his ankle strings of gold ornaments of the most delicate workmanship. Small drums, sonkus, swords, stools, guns, and birds clustered together. His sandals of a soft white leather, were embossed across the instep band with small gold and silver cases of sapphires. He was seated in a low chair, richly ornamented with gold, and wore a pair of gold castanets on his finger and thumb, which he clapped to enforce silence.

" We pursued our course through this blazing circle, which afforded to the last a variety, exceeding description and memory; so many splendid novelties diverting the fatigue, heat, and pressure we were labouring under; we were almost exhausted, however, by the time we reached the end, when, instead of being conducted to our residence, we were desired to seat ourselves under a tree at some distance, to receive the compliments of the whole in return. They dismounted as they arrived within thirty yards of us. Manner was as various as ornament;—some danced by with irresistible buffoonery, some with a gesture and carriage of defiance. The king's messengers, who were posted near us, with their long hair hanging in twists like a thrum mop, used little ceremony in hurrying by this transient procession, yet it was nearly eight o'clock before the king approached. He stopped to inquire our names a second time, and to wish us good night. His address was mild and deliberated. He was followed by his aunts, sisters, and others of his family, with fine gold chains round their necks. Numerous chiefs succeeded, and it was long before we were at liberty to retire.

We agreed in estimating the number of warriors at 30,000. We were conducted to a range of spacious but ruinous buildings, which required much repair to defend us from the wind and rain, which frequently ushered in the nights."

Accra, the second settlement in rank of the African Company's forts, is well worthy the attention of his Majesty's government.

In this neighbourhood slavery is still encouraged by those under the protection of the Dutch flag. Accra may be divided into British and Dutch; the flags of the two nations flying at each extremity of the town in the respective forts :—the British, the avowed enemy of slavery; the Dutch, as certainly the encouragers of it. The British are at a considerable expense in maintaining a fort in the most miserable condition; the Dutch are at none, but still maintaining the same right to their territorial acquisition. The Dutch flag appears amidst a heap of ruins, being all it seems necessary to exhibit, the fort being literally in ruins; yet the flag commands respect, and is made subservient to protect the worst practices.

The garrison of British Accra is next in respectability to Cape Coast Castle; but its walls, its cannon, and gun carriages require every thing. The Fort is very small, and in consequence of the war in the interior, the gold trade of Accra is nothing, and that in ivory inconsiderable. Hence arises the little care and attention paid to the support of a place which demands, perhaps, quite as much as the

Presidency; but the stagnation of the gold trade promises to give rise to other pursuits.

If due encouragement were given to the lawful enterprises of the free merchant, agriculture and husbandry would flourish; grazing has already commenced; and it is to the spirited exertions of two individuals, unconnected with the company, that his Majesty's ships are enabled to obtain supplies and occasional refreshments, not procurable in any other part of the coast. The landing at Accra is, however, rather more dangerous than at Cape Coast Castle; but a reef of rocks, extending a considerable distance into the sea, offers a more convenient foundation for a break-water or pier, than at Cape Coast itself. The fort is in a lamentable state of defence, and its condition altogether bad. The town is filthy, and yet the capabilities are great; and as the native chiefs are under certain pay from the company, order and cleanliness might be restored, whenever it is the wish of the African company. This settlement of Accra, of all others, appears to require the close attention of the company, not only in a commercial and military, but also in a moral point of view. No settlement can be much worse, and few upon the coast deserve more from government. The Dutch settlement should be entirely abandoned, or made over to the British, during the indifference of the Dutch to the abolition of the slave trade. The natives of Accra are the most civilized of any on the sea coast; a stranger may perceive much difference between a Fantee and an Accra man.

The native traders on the gold coast are, however, in general, keen in making bargains, and conduct their business with ease, intelligence, and address, and are dexterous in taking an advantage where an opportunity is given them. Those who gain a livelihood by fishing, are a laborious people; and as they are frequently employed by the British as canoe men and labourers, we have the means of judging of them;—and surely it may be added, of gradually instructing and improving them, both by example and precept. Their employment is profitable, for fish is readily purchased by the people, both inland and on the coast. Their nets, which are large and heavily laden with lead, are thrown by them with much dexterity. When these men are employed by the British, as canoe men or labourers, they perform their duty with cheerfulness, and, if encouraged, will go through a vast deal of labour; but they must be treated with exactness and punctuality. When they call for any customary allowance, or for payment, they do not like to be put off. They expect that their labour will meet with its immediate reward, otherwise they become negligent and inattentive to the interest of their employer. They are much addicted to thieving, and, indeed, are very expert in the practice of it, particularly such small articles as they can easily conceal. Those men who follow an agricultural life, and who inhabit the inland parts, are found more uniformly well-behaved than the traders, or fishermen; and, making allowances for their uncivilized state, they may be considered as a well-meaning set of men; they are free from all that low cunning and artifice practised

by those who gain a livelihood by a more frequent intercourse with the whites. They possess no small share of honesty, sincerity, and benevolence, and are strangers to the corrupt and licentious conduct so apparent among the inhabitants of the water side, particularly among the Fantees, who bear the most unfavourable character of any of the natives of the gold coast.

The chief Danish settlement, Christianberg, on the gold coast, is close to Accra; and its state and condition do credit to the officers at large. Its expenses are stated to be moderate, more so than any upon the coast.

Pampran, the last of the British forts, is scarcely more than a factory. Its garrison is as trifling as possible, and its expenses ought to be on the very lowest scale. The other British forts are now either in the hands of the native chiefs, or mouldering into decay.

Whydah was the most important; but its construction and situation were alike inconvenient and useless. It is now under the dominion of the king of Dahomey. The good sense of the reigning chief promises to make amends for the wanton barbarity, cruelty, and deceit of the late king, who was deposed. The present chief has offered terms and proposals of intimacy and connection with the British, "which," adds Sir George Collier, "in my humble opinion, ought to have been received and closed with; as more likely to open a communication with Tombuctoo, than either by the Senegal, the Gambia, or the Congo,"

The capital of Dahomey is about seventy miles from Whydah; and the protection of the present chief, if properly sought, might prove highly beneficial to the accomplishment of objects which are held high in estimation by every true lover of his country. Intimacy is kept up between Dahomey and Gago, and it is supposed that this might be carried on to Tambuctoo.

Little more remains to be said respecting the gold coast, except that it is from this part of Guinea facilities for embarking the slaves are given. The vessels under the Portuguese and Spanish flags call at the settlements and forts which are not under the control of the British, and there make arrangements for the supply of canoes, as well as canoe men; the former are usually purchased, and the men hired.

The canoes either follow the vessel, or are taken in tow in such particular point of the coast as best suits the views of the slave factor or supercargo, who has been previously landed from some other vessel, in order to make his arrangements. Porto Novo, Lagos, and Benin, are not unfrequently preferred for collecting the slaves; and the canoes are there employed in taking them off, or transporting them coast-ways to some more convenient spot, until a fresh cargo is in readiness, when a few hours only are required to ship them. For, with all the desires of his Majesty's government, and all the vigilance of the authorities on the coast to prevent this horrid traffice on the north of the line, still the temptations are so great, and the facilities for evading detection are so many, both to Portuguese as well as

Spaniards, that all the zeal and activity of officers employed to put in force the orders of government are still baffled.

The slave trade, especially as it now is conducted by the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Americans, is more horrible than those who have not had the misfortune to witness can believe; indeed, no language can convey a true picture of its baseness and atrocity: and it is but too evident to those who are able to judge from local observation, that until the Northern Slave Trade shall be declared piracy, and every one found engaged in it made subject to all the penalties of piracy, this most detestable, and more than ever cruelly conducted trade will never be abandoned by the subjects of Spain, Portugal, and America.

Dutch Accra is one of the principal points on the coast for a supply of canoes for the slave vessels; and the protection given by the flag of that nation on these occasions, is afforded under the eye of the British and Danish settlements there, without even the power of remonstrance.

The vessels employed in the slave trade, are navigated almost entirely by natives of Africa, or of a similar climate, and they are thereby enabled to endure much, which a ship manned by Europeans never could. For it may confidently be predicted, that every British cruizer, exposed to the deluging rains of Africa during the sickly season for only a few days, would generate fever of so alarming and so malignant a nature, that half the crew would probably be the sacrifice, and the vessel thereby incapacitated for service. By no other means

can the smaller vessels of war be rendered effective in the sickly season, than by being manned principally by native seamen, who, accustomed to the climate, can resist disease, which will ever be found the certain destruction of Europeans.*

From Cape Three Points to Cape Palmas on the Gold Coast, the palm oil, cam wood, and ivory trade is in a progressive state of improvement; and with the encouragement given by the government, whenever the slave trade north of the line shall be completely abolished, commerce will not only increase, but a profitable trade to Great Britain result. The tobacco of the Brazils formed into rolls is, however, one of the articles most in demand among the natives, and must be had by the merchants; as none other will be accepted in barter, to any extent, by the native traders. It is along this great extent of coast that foreign vessels frequently anchor. That their object is unlawful cannot for a moment be doubted, for every one which has undergone inspection (one only excepted) has been found fitted for the reception of slaves. Even their coppers for cooking plainly shewed the number of slaves they meant to provide for; as did their watercoasks, the probable length of time the vessels would be occupied in their voyage.

This coast is so situated and so connected, that, supposing a slave vessel at Mezurado about to take in her cargo of slaves, and a man of war appears off the River Gallinas, or is observed examining a

* See 15th African Report.

ship at the anchorage off Cape Mount, the signal by fires is immediately made; the whole range of coast is then apprized, and precaution taken to elude detection by going off the coast. If slaves be actually embarked, or if they are still on shore, they are there detained till the result of the examination of the vessel; for slaves have been known to be kept waiting, in some parts of this coast, more than twelve months to embark in a particular ship. Though this may appear a heavy drawback upon the profits of the slave dealers, those profits are so enormous, and the temptations to them so great, that once entered upon successfully, no subsequent losses are felt or considered. Vessels fitted up as we have described can have no other object but that of slavery. They should not therefore be permitted to anchor upon this coast; for it is not necessary that they should do so in their course to that part of Africa where the slave trade is still permitted, nor does it afford the apology of its being convenient for the purpose of watering. It may therefore most justly be apprehended that, until vessels thus fitted up evidently for the horrid traffic, trading upon the coasts north of the line, shall be subject to confiscation; and until the carrying or trading in slaves illegally shall be declared piracy; men of most European nations will be found ready to engage in it, and incur all the hazards of it.

St. Annes. Cape Mesurado.

FROM the shoals of Cape Anne to Cape Palmas, the southern pitch of the windward coast, Slave Factories have been established and maintained, with the exception of that part called the Kroo country.* North of Settra Kroo, to the very verge of our Sierra Leone northern boundaries, (Cape Shillen,) there are slave depots established, conducted by European renegades or their descendants.

The small river of Gallinas, between Cape Mount and St. Anne's shoals, is the first establishment of this sort. The shore of the Gallinas is uniformly very low, with a fine sandy beach.

At Cape Mount a chief resides, calling himself King Peter; and here vessels of all nations resort, for under this cape excellent anchorage in the dry season is obtained. The same may be said of Cape Mezurado, though it is more exposed.

Cape Mezurado, itself, is formed by a hill about four hundred feet high, steep on the west and northwest sides, but declining gradually in other directions. The French formerly projected a settlement here; and it is certainly one of the strongest situations for a fort that can be found on the windward coast. But it offers few other inducements as a settlement, except the strength of the position.

* See Sketch XV.

The productions of the country around it are trifling: The river itself is indifferent; and the bay, of which the Cape forms the southern extremity, is too open to the winds, which are reported to be most dangerous and hazardous, viz. the north-west in the tornado, and the south-west in the rainy season. The river (Mezurado, or Rio Doro) in its natural course would fall into the sea close to the Cape; but a spit of land runs from the later in a north north-east direction athwart the stream, and turns it along the shore for about half a mile; a bar of hard and even sand then extends itself before the river's mouth, causing not more than four feet water in any part. The breakers upon the bar are, indeed, by no means dangerous, the least so, it is said, of any bar upon the coast; but, having crossed it, the river is found full of banks, and the deepest water in any part not to exceed eight feet. The breadth of the river at its entrance is about a hundred and twenty yards. In the river, just above where the current is turned by the spit of land, are two or three small islands; one of these is occupied by a factory, and at a small distance is another, kept by a mulatto woman. The space between them is nearly fordable at low water. East of the former, and scarcely a quarter of a mile from the sea side, a considerable branch of the Mezurado strikes off in a north-east direction and joins the river St. Paul about six miles from its mouth. Europeans are stated to have gone about forty miles up the Mezurado; but a considerable part of that small distance, it was found too shallow to allow any thing larger than a jolly boat to

ascend it, and a little higher up there are falls, which prevent navigation altogether.

The river St. Paul is more considerable, and navigable for boats a greater distance; but its channel is also full of rocks, and, as in the Mezurado, the falls prevent the passage at about the distance of sixty miles from the sea. The natural productions of this part of the country are not many. Rice is raised in small quantities: cassada, which requires less attention and labour, forms the chief food of the inhabitants. The plantain and banana trees round the King's town (which is at the foot of the mountain) are much fewer than in the neighbourhood of Sherbro' and Sierra Leone: vegetables and stock are rare. A little camwood of an inferior species is brought down the river, and some ivory from places where no factories are established: nevertheless the country does not appear less fertile than the coast in general. The soil seems the same as that of the lowlands to the northward, and that of the hills resembles those of Sierra Leone.

The chief, or king of the country, has begun to keep cattle with a view to profit, at the suggestion of an European factor; who states, that he had obtained six of the small short-horned breed which exists to the southward, that they had produced three calves, and were all in excellent condition.

While the slave trade existed, the commerce of this part of the country was more considerable; but it never supported more than two factories! A smuggling slave trade is, however, still carried on;

and an officer visiting the place, saw at the mouth of the river a sloop; which was going to enter it for slaves; but fearful of being detected, the slaves, who had been in readiness to embark, were concealed in the woods.

A chief on the south side of the river, who is dignified with the title of King George, is considered as having the factories and islands in the river under his protection and command. When Governor Ludlam visited the Mezurado, himself and officers were vehemently urged to visit this chief; an invitation with which they complied. His town, situated under the hill, about a hundred yards distant from the spit of land, did not consist of above a dozen houses; their sides were formed chiefly of mats, and they were thatched with palm leaves. In form and size they differed but little from other native dwellings, but on the whole were inferior.

St. Mary's. Bathurst.

THE new settlement of Bathurst, situated in the island of St. Mary's, on the western coast, is rising with the same rapidity that the most healthful climate might render probable and desirable, or the most fruitful and productive country might tempt to exertion in building: yet St. Mary's is a barren sandy spot, scarcely above the level of the sea; indeed, a large portion of it is evidently thrown up by the force of the surf on the sea shore, and appears composed of large beds of shell, principally the African cockle. The island of St. Mary's is divided from the main land by one or two swampy creeks, which overflow during the heavy rains. A dyke, however, thrown up to the north-west of the town, as proposed, may effectually protect the residents from the unpleasant, not to say dangerous, predicament, they must otherwise be exposed to, in the rainy season. Of the healthfulness of St. Mary's not much, under these circumstances, can be said: when, however, an attempt shall be made to clear away the mangrove which bounds one side of the Island, and the dyke proposed shall be formed, it is probable that sickness of climate may be considerably meliorated. In the meantime, buildings combining neatness and beauty are appearing; and though every material is obtained from the opposite shore, yet population is rapidly increasing, and Bathurst bids fair to rival in commerce and industry, any spot upon this long line of African coast.

Trading with natives.

THAT there exists a strong desire among the natives of Africa to enter into a general and legitimate commerce with the British, seems very evident from various detailed incidents and official accounts.

From a letter in the Sierra Leone Gazette we extract two passages in confirmation of our assertion.

" September 1, 1821.

" It is gratifying to know that within this last fortnight a great many Foulahs, and other natives from distant parts, have arrived at Port Loko for the purposes of bartering ivory, gold, and cattle, for articles of European manufacture. It is not generally known that Mr. Z. Macaulay, whose spirit and zeal for the extension of commerce with the natives of Africa are rendered conspicuous on every occasion where any prospect to that end appears, established a respectable trading factory at Port Loko, as soon as the success of the late mission to Almaney Abdulhadar was publicly known. To this factory the natives of Foulah now daily resort; and it is certainly most pleasing to all the real friends of Africa, and to those of this colony in particular, to find, that by the friendly intercourse which ensued from the late mission, so many of the inhabitants of near and remote countries are endeavoring to participate in the advantages of that fair and legitimate commerce, which led to the original foundation of that colony.

" They are well acquainted with the views and leading objects of the local government, and are likewise well aware of the rooted hatred with which the inhuman traffic in slaves is viewed by every inhabitant of this colony. It is therefore a great point gained in our friendly and commercial intercourse with these warlike nations, who have ever shewn the greatest attachment to the slave trade, that they now so freely resort to this colony, and are encouraged to do so as much by the influence of Almaney, of Tumbo, and other chiefs, as by the love of gain, the mainspring of all commercial exertions."

" ——— the band of commerce was design'd
 To associate all the branches of mankind;
 And if a boundless plenty be the robe,
 Trade is the golden girdle of the globe:
 Wise to promote whatever end he means,
 God opens fruitful nature's various scenes.
 Each climate needs what other climes produce,
 And offers something to the general use;
 No land but listens to the common call,
 And in return receives supply from all.
 This genial intercourse, and mutual aid,
 Cheers what were else, an universal shade:
 Calls nature from her ivy mantled den,
 And softens human rock-work into men."

Letter of king Dakabar or Dhaa.

AS a pleasing evidence of the good understanding subsisting between the native princes of Africa and the British Colonial Government, we subjoin the following literal translation from the Arabic, of a circular letter which the king of Bambarroa addressed to the kings and chiefs of the west, on the occasion of his sending a messenger, Mahomet Mustapha, to the governor of Sierra Leone.

" In the name of the most merciful God! glory to God alone! and peace to his servants.

" King Dhaa, son of king Mansang, son of king Engholloo, presents his noble greetings to the inhabitants of the west, and with them health and peace! King Dhaa earnestly greets Kanghi, chief of the town Bangassi, and engages him to have the bearer of the present letter conducted by one of his guides to Badongar, to Yeroina, to whom the king sends the same salutations; and engages him to have his messenger conducted to Chighiacan, unto Fanaha, who, on his part, is requested to do the same with a messenger to Gonnor, and to Fakhonda, who will have them conducted to Ava Dimba, to Saban Luicy, who will have them conducted to Townghe Amady, and Tumbo Yatine of Makharra, who will have them guided to Almaney Moussa, and to his brother Osmeni Moodi; these will send them accompanied by their conductor to Foota Terra, near Albany Bombacar and Jonsuf, who are likewise requested on the part of king Dhaa, to extend their protection to his envoy, allowing him to be

accompanied by their's to the British settlement.

" To the commandant of that place, Dhaa presents his greetings, and requests him to have his messenger conducted to Messrs. Gray and Adrian, to whom he sends his noble greetings.— With them he health and peace!

" Be it known that the doctor (Mr. Dockand) has left my country to rejoin you in the west. Nothing has been accomplished or determined on.

" This letter has been written and put in the hands of my messenger, to let you know that whoever may come from king George to king Dhaa, on arriving in his country, they will be at home; for truly they ought to consider themselves at home, as his country in general, is that of the children of Adam. Whether inhabitants of the east or west, he informs them that king George's messenger reached him, and delivered magnificent and splendid presents.

" Nothing had been taken, nothing spent by the doctor, whom may God bless! Punctually did he fulfil his message; and king Dhaa has no reason to despise him or his attendants. His own (Dhaas) messenger Lamin, behaved ill, and he has met with his discountenance.

" If the messengers from the west have been stopped a long while, it is on account of their coming during the war, and on no other. They were in this country well looked upon, well treated, and considered as his well beloved friends.

" King Dhaa laments that they did not remain to carry back the news of the result of the war, and what else passed between him and his enemies, his adversaries. If a friend visits us in the time of war, we ought not to allow him to depart until the war is decided, that he may have an opportunity of being acquainted with all our affairs; but if he leaves us before it is ended, how can he be informed? If by the reports of our enemies or friends, one and the other will say what they please. It was for these reasons king Dhaa detained the messengers from the west, that they might return at the termination of the war, and conduct the rest of their friends under peaceable arrangements to his territories. To-day, God be praised! please God! he hopes to be triumphant over his enemies; then all desires would be accomplished, peace and security be re-established to all travellers on their routes.

" Truly then, master (king George) is great and honoured by him (Dhaa) he loves him, and considers him as his nearest and dearest friend.

" King Dhaa desires no one to act rigorously or to injure, in any way, his messenger; for this is the truth, he is high in his esteem. And although his messenger (Lamina) had squandered away some of the presents intended for him, his friendship and exalted sentiments still exist for their messenger, (the doctor) and for this reason, he has expedited his own envoy to prove that he is disposed to their concerns, and that he retains for them peace, friendship, and liberality. He again informs them (the people of the west) that his messenger in going, is no more than his messenger, and will be the same in returning; that

he has no more to do than to be his messenger, is thus declared: and this is his desire.

" King Dhaa returns to the princes named in the commencement of this letter, and to the others (which are not named) he presents, his noble greetings and be with them health and peace!

" The object of this letter, O chiefs of the west! is to manifest to you that king Dhaa loves justice; and to engage you to protect the travellers and caravans. Do not harm any of them, but open your peaceful roads, and place them under your kind protection. Be always liberal to travellers and caravans. King Dhaa does not love the wicked, nor their agents, nor oppressors of any kind.

" His intention in addressing these lines to you is, at the same time to engage you to do good to all travellers. Protect them, and do not oppress them in their journeys. Do not ask, nor exact too enormous presents; and take care do not act otherwise than this! You must recollect, in the days of his ancestors, the roads were open and free, and no one dared to tyrannize over the traveller. Succeeding to the throne of his father, and preserving good intentions, he desires that the paths be as open and free as in their days.

" For example, should King Dhaa tyrannize over travellers in his country, what good? or who would profit thereby?

" If a traveller is evil treated in the country of a prince, that prince should act justly towards him. With these exalted sentiments he salutes the inhabitants of the West!"

The natives of the interior of Africa are fond of abbreviating their names and titles; Mahomed Mustapha was the name of Dhaa's messenger, Setafa the common abbreviation. Dakabar is the proper designation of Dhaa.

A.

THE Moors are thus described by a pleasing French writer:—' Eyes full of fire and courage; a ferocious look; manly and strong features; an aquiline nose; nervous arms; a tall figure; a haughty gait; legs and shoulders almost naked; are the characteristic marks which distinguish the greater part of the Moors.'

Their dress is as simple as possible;—a piece of fine light stuff, uncut, which they wrap round their bodies in long folds, giving it what form their fancy directs. Others add below either a kind of shirt, or a tunic of woollen cloth without sleeves, which reaches as far as the knees. The richest wear besides this a kind of robe, and the fineness of the dress is proportioned to their rank and fortune. Some of their woollen stuffs are as delicate as muslin, and of an exceeding bright white colour. The female costume differs from this only in arrangement. They wear various ornaments. The hair is formed into tresses, and frequently is suffered to flow over the shoulders; while the men are shaved, reserving only a tuft in the middle of the head. The ears, arms, and legs of a Moorish woman are ornamented with large metal rings, to which they sometimes add pieces of coral. They make use of antimony and gunpowder for tracing out various figures on their

foreheads and above their eyelids. The men do the same on their arms, breasts, and hands. The nails are dyed with henna. This dress of the Moors is common to almost all the inhabitants of Africa as far as Guinea, and even among the Arabs of Asia. Their habitations are as simple as their dress;—they inhabit only tents or huts, constructed with the branches of trees and reeds. A collection of these is called an Adawar, or Douare. They are placed circularly, in order that they may inclose their flocks during the night. The cloth with which they are covered and finished is of wool, very closely woven, and dyed either black or brown; they are removed with facility. According to the season the Moors change their abode:—in winter, a southern situation at the bottom of some hill; in summer, those places where there is abundance of pasture and plentiful springs. The most usual salutation when Moors meet, is to put the right-hand on the breast and to incline the head, and in this posture to wish each other good day: they inquire afterwards concerning the health of their relations, naming them in order; and do not forget to ask respecting the mare, the flock, the tent, &c.

" The Moors, though confined in their knowledge have often great natural sagacity and penetration, reading characters with facility. There is seen among their youth many instances of frankness and openness of heart; but it gradually declines with increasing years into a sullen indifference, so great is the influence of despotism over nature;

it brings all to a level, and that level is near the meanest of the species. Quick, fiery, and impatient, treacherous and cruel, rapacious and avaricious, the Moors require to be governed by a rod of iron, which must be kept constantly in their sight. Their history is fraught with instances of perpetual tumults, massacres, and civil wars. This character is the produce of their government; a cruel disposition and unfeeling conduct in both master and slave being the natural product of an arbitrary and despotic form of government."

B.

The Arabs collect these industrious insects in the bark of the cork tree formed into a cylinder, which they smear with honey to entice the bees to enter; they then close up the extremities, leaving only a small opening as a passage for the swarm; these tubes are extended lengthways on the ground and surrounded with thick bushes. It is almost incredible how much honey and wax they procure from them: the first serves them for food, and the latter is an article of commerce.

C.

Winnebah.--The fate of Mr. Meredith, the governor of Winnebah, is greatly to be regretted by the friends of their fellow-creatures. To his good offices and great intelligence the cause of oppressed Africa

was highly indebted; but he fell a victim to popular fury in the country, the good of which he had so much at heart.

Upon some vague and perfectly unfounded suspicions of his having improperly received a quantity of gold when the Ashantees visited the neighbourhood of Winnebah, the natives of that place seized his person; and although he offered to give up to them the whole of his property in lieu of the gold he was unjustly accused of having received, they positively refused to set him at liberty. It appears that whilst taking his usual morning's walk in his own garden, he was surrounded by a number of the town's-people and hurried away precipitately. They forced him to walk some miles in the heat of the sun, during which irksome journey they committed several outrages. The parched grass was set on fire, and he was compelled to walk close to its flame. His shoes he was obliged to take off, and put them on alternately, as it suited the caprice of his tormentors; and frequently to proceed, without any defence for his feet, upon the sharp and heated stubble of the grass that had just been burnt. They beat him severely, and twice attempted to cut off his stockings and put him in irons. His arms were extended by tying them to a stake which pressed hard on his throat; and at this time, he subsequently said, he fully expected they would have put him to death: they however cruelly spared him, to inflict more torments, which soon produced a melancholy death. They account of this savage transaction no sooner became known to Commodore Erby, than, with the promptitude which marks the character of that meritorious officer, he

proceeded to relieve the fort of Winnebah from the critical situation in which it was left by the lamented death of the governor. On the Commodore's arrival off the town, he found that the inhabitants (being probably informed of his approach, and justly dreading the punishment due to their crime) had chiefly deserted the place; some were in the act of doing so and carrying off their effects when Captain Irby arrived. In this proceeding they were not obstructed, but the town was destroyed; and as the possession of the fort under these circumstances would have been retained at a very great expense, and without any counterbalancing advantages in point of general trade, or as a check to the traffic in slaves, it was completely razed.

It is but justice to Commodore Irby to add, that no blood but that of the unfortunate Mr. Meredith was shed, nor any other the slightest act of severity committed on this melancholy occasion; and it must be remarked, that the whole of this atrocious transaction is totally unconnected with any thing relative to the slave trade. It was the desperate act of an uncivilized, turbulent, and barbarous people.

It is no less curious and interesting, as well as useful, to contrast the manners of these people, resident on the coast of Africa, with the habits and customs of some of the inhabitants of the interior of that vast continent, as mentioned by Mr. Park, so well known to most readers. From whence does this difference arise? Why are the inhabitants of the coast of Africa, contrary to the experience of all other countries, less civilized than those of the interior?

It can only be attributed to the baneful influence of the slave trade; which, co-operating with the advantages derived to it from the sea and navigable rivers, has driven civilization and improvement from these their natural and proper situations, to the interior parts of Africa, where a chance at least was left for the wretched inhabitants to escape the visits of the inhuman slave dealers. Yet such is the fertility of the soil of Africa, that Mr. Meredith, in a letter written a little while previous to his unfortunate death, states that the Gold Coast in the neighbourhood of Winnebah is quite as favourable to the production of coffee, and some other kinds of similar produce, as even the West Indies.*

D.

Red Water Ordeal.—When this is resorted to, two men are sent out before day-break for the bark which is to form the infusion; it is always taken either from the east or west side of the tree. It is then brought into the town, and put into a mortar and well beat, as they prepare rice or other grain, and by the same men who procured it; but before they begin to beat it they are obliged to wash their hands and arms very clean, and pare their nails close: after they have beat it as fine as they can it is put into a large kettle, which is then

* See 7th African Report, Pp. 25--30.

filled up with cold water and stirred about with a stick, which extracts the virtue of the bark without boiling it. It will ferment and rise to the top like soapuds. This operation is performed in the presence of all the people. This horrible potion the supposed guilty person is forced to drink, and under such circumstances of cruel violence that death almost certainly ensues.

E.

Witch Bag.—This is a something which they pretend will be found in the body of any witch. It is not defined, and it seems probable that any induration of uncommon appearance arising from disease is considered as an infallible sign of witchcraft. If the pretended bag be found, there is no further inquiry into the cause of the person's death—they are witches; but, if this bag is not found, the deceased has fallen a victim to witchcraft, and the murderer must be discovered.

F.

List of Growing Plants transmitted to the African Institution by Dr. Roxburgh of Calcutta, with the intention of cultivating them in Sierra Leone and elsewhere on the Coast of Africa.

1. Two grafted Mangoes, a very delicious sort.
2. Four Letchee, the famous well-known China fruit.
3. Eight Lonquat, *Mespilus japonica* Linn, a good fruit.

4. Two *Eugenia Malaccensis*, fruit large and tolerably good.
5. *Saquenis Rumphii*, R. a species of the Sago Palm, which yields a fibrous web, very fit for cables and large cordage.
6. One *Aguillania Agallocha*, R. the real aloe-wood tree.
7. Two *suti-am*, an undescribed plant, the fruit eaten by natives of India.
8. Two *Carissa Carandas*, red, variety from China.
9. *Carissa Carandas*, the common kind, both make excellent fences, and the fruit is in very general use for jellies.
10. Seven *Cajuputi*, oil tree.
11. One *Ratan*, a large kind, from Pegu.
12. One *Bamboo*, this sort bears a fruit as large as a middling-sized pear, and the Bamboo itself is serviceable as the other sorts.
13. Two *Asclepias tinctoria* R. its leaves yield indigo by the hot water process.
14. Four *Teak*, the timber well known.
15. Two or three *Urtica Tenacissima*, R. the bark abounds in very strong fine flaxen fibres.
16. The *Sultanee*, or Yellow Cocoa Nut.
17. *Areca Catechu*.
18. *Borassus Flabelliformis*.

The following List is taken from the 5th Report of the African Institution.

1. Teak.
2. Dalbergia Sissoo.
3. Crotalaria Juncos.
4. Corchorus Capsularis, or Paat.
5. Aeschynomene Cannabina, or Duneha.
6. Hibiscus Strictus.
7. Abroma Augusta.
8. Hibiscus Cannabinus.
9. Terminalia Chebula, an useful timber tree.
10. Areca Catechu, the Betel Nut.
11. Aleurites Triloba, or Indian Akdrowt.
12. Anacardium Semicarpus, or Marking Nut.
13. Mimosa Eleta, a very large tree of quick growth; the timber excellent, being hard, strong, and durable.
14. Mimosa Stipulata, an immense, very quick growing timber tree.
15. Lagerstroemia Reginae, a beautiful timber tree. In Pegu the wood is used for fences, &c. and crooked timbers in ships.
16. Cassia Sumatrena, a most beautiful quick growing timber tree.
17. Adenanthera Pavonina, a timber tree, wood deep red, and very hard.
18. Cassia Bacilus of Gartner.
19. Chrysophyllum Accuminatum, a fruit tree.
20. A very large Palm, a new species of Corypha.
21. Country Cucumber.

22. *Cucurbita Lagenaria*.
23. *Cucurbita Pepo*.
24. *Cucumis Mamordica*.
25. East India Water Melon.
26. *Suffa Austangula*.
27. *Solanum Melongena*.
28. Large Bengal Radish.
29. *Anethum Sowa*, the seed, an ingredient in curry powder, is cultivated during the cool season.
- 30.
30. *Hibiscus Sativus*, or Okra.
31. *Amaranthus Gangeticus*,) Both much cultivated by the
 32. *Amaranthus Palagamus*,) Hindoos during the rains for
 their stews, curries, &c.
33. *Trigonella Foenum Graecum*, cultivated during the cool seasons as a pot herb.
34. *Trigonella corniculata*. Cultivated during the cool season for the green plant, which the natives eat.
35. A species of *Chenopodium*. Cultivated during the cool season as a pot herb.
36. and 37. Two species of Mustard, extensively cultivated during the cool season (from October to February inclusive,) from the seeds the natives express the common and cheap oil for eating, and for burning, and the green herb is very generally eaten in their curries, &c.
38. White or opium poppy.
39. *Carpapogon nivenum*.
40. *Dolichos tetragonolobus*.) Hindoo kidney beans they may
 41. *Dolichos Lablab*.) be termed, as they are used in
 the same way.

42. Bengal beet. Cultivated between September and May, the dry season.
43. Cucurbita Melopepo.
44. Dolichos gladiatus. An excellent substitute for kidney beans.
45. Melaleuca Cajuputi, before called M. Leucaderdron Duncha plant. This is deemed the coarsest, though not least durable of the Bengal substitutes for hemp. It is reckoned to be more durable in the water than either Crotolana juncea, or Corchorus olitonius and capsularis, it is therefore universally used for the drag ropes and other cordage about fishing nets. The nets themselves are made of Sunn twine (Crotalonia juncea) and well tanned with the bark of a species of Rizophora.

Hibiscus caunabinus and stricters, both plants used for the same purpose, are annuals. The teak and the sissoc, are both valuable timber trees.

The Mulberry, Peruvian bark, Camphor laurel, Green and Bohea tea, Tobacco, and various other plants have also been sent to our settlements in Africa. The Mulberry, and also the Silk-worm, entirely succeed there. Cotton imported from thence has been sold for 2s. 10d. per pound. Cordage from a particular species of palm has been found superior in strength to the hemp, 10 pounds to 43 pounds. Mongrove Bark is found very superior for tanning.

G.

White Ants. This pernicious vermin are called Buggabugs: they are most destructive wherever they gain admittance. Their mode of travelling is curious. They raise an hollow tube of earth like an arch under which they pass unseen. In the course of twelve hours they will raise a tube and travel eight or nine yards to reach a chest, box, or barrel, into which they work; nothing escapes them; but woollen cloths they particularly attack, and such is their insidious progress, that having entered, for instance, a chest or box, they will destroy every article within, and even eat the substance of the chest to a mere shell, yet penetrated not through in the smallest place; therefore it still appears to the eye, fair and uninjured. Perhaps, however, this may be accounted for from their instinctive dread of the sun, which is their enemy, appearing even to destroy them even if exposed to it; but upon being removed they recover their strength and vigour.

The only mode found to preserve chests from these vermin, is to place them on stands with legs well tarred, very frequently renewed, or place them in water.

H.

The following account from an ancient geographer who visited Africa, illustrates in a curious manner the

existence of a golden stool, the contested seat of royalty; and also describes the portion of Africa which is now known as the Ashantee and Buncatoo countries. He divides Africa into climates, and included in the first, he says, "From the city Malel, to the great city Ghana, are about twelve stations, through sandy places and parched plains. In Ghana are two cities situated on the two opposite shores of what they call a fresh water sea, and is the largest, the wealthiest, and most populous in all the negro countries; and thither the rich merchants resort, not only from all the neighbouring places, but also from the remotest parts of the west. Its inhabitants are Musselmen, and the king of it (as is reported) derives his pedigree from Saleh, the son of Abdallah, the son of Hassan, the son of Hosain, the son of Ali, the son of Abi-Taleb; and the king is absolute, although he pays obedience to the emperor of the Musselmans. He hath a palace which is a strong and well fortified structure, on the bank of the Nile (Gambia, called Niger Nile, by this geographer) apartments adorned with various devices, paintings, and glass windows.

"The aforesaid palace was built in the five hundred and tenth year of the Hegeira. His kingdom and dominions is bounded by the country of Vaneara, very famous for the plenty and excellency of their gold mines: and from the confirmed reports of the people who come from the remote parts of the west, it is certain that there is in the palace of the king an entire lump of Gold, not cast, not wrought by any instruments, but perfectly formed by the Divine Providence only of thirty

pounds weight, which has been bored through, and fitted for a seat to the royal throne.

" The negroes choose very low seats, and very small withal, not above ten inches high and six over, and very often in the shape of hour glass. And truly it is a most extraordinary thing, granted to no other but to him, by which he procures to himself a peculiar glory in comparison of all the negro kings. And that king, as is reported, is the most just of all kings; no other king has so many captains, who every morning come to his house on horseback; and one of these carrying a drum, beats it; nor is he silent until the king comes down to the palace gate: and when all the captains meet him, he himself gets on horseback, and going before them, he passes through the streets of the city. Then if any be grieved or oppressed with any trouble, he presents himself to the king, nor does he depart from his presence till his cause is decided. In the afternoons, when the heat of the sun permits, he gets again on horseback, and goes out guarded on all sides by his soldiers. Then no admittance or access is open to any one; therefore in a certain and appointed custom he rides out twice in a day, and so much is remarkable of his justice. He generally wears a habit of satin, or a black mantle, after the Arabian manner, with drawers, and leathern sandals on his feet. He never goes out but on horseback. He has abundance of rich ornaments and horses, with most sumptuous trappings on solemn days led before him. He has many troops which march each with their colours under his royal banner.

" From the city of Ghana to the confines of the country of Vancarra is a journey of eight days; and this of Vancarra is most famous for the excellency and plenty of gold. It is an island of three hundred miles in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth, which the Nile (Gambia) surrounds all the year: but the month of August approaching, and the scorching heat increasing, and the Nile (Gambia) overflowing, that Island, or the greater part of it is covered over with water: but when the waters decrease, and the Nile begins to gather itself in its proper bounds or channel, all who are in the kingdom of the blacks, living in those islands, return to their habitations, and every day in which the Nile decreases, they slightly dig the earth, and not one of them is disappointed in his labour; but whosoever he be, by digging finds more or less of gold, according to the gift of God. And after that the Nile hath entirely betaken itself to its bounds, they sell what they have found, and merchandize among themselves; and indeed the greater part of the gold is brought by the merchants of Varcelan, and by the remotest western merchants; and they, carrying it into their countries, strike and coin it into pieces of money, and by them they are bought, and that every year."*

* Nubian's Geography, translated from the Arabic into Latin at Paris, 1619.

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" And thou, poor Negro! scorn'd of all mankind,—
Thou dead in spirit! toil-degraded slave;
Crush'd by the curse of Adam to the grave:
The messengers of peace, o'er land and sea
That sought the sons of sorrow, stoop'd to thee.
The Captive rais'd his slow and sullen eye,—
He knew no friend, nor deem'd a friend was nigh;
Till the sweet tones of pity touch'd his ears,
And Mercy bath'd his bosom with her tears !

* * * * *
* * * * *

His heart is aw'd, confounded, pierc'd, subdu'd,—
Divinely melted, purifi'd, renew'd;
The bold, base savage, Nature's harshest clod,
Rises from dust,—the image of his God !"

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